'More divine than human': Early Tudor plainchant and polyphony of the Lenten Compline Office in the Use of Salisbury, 1485-1558

Mark Wayland Ardrey-Graves

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‘MORE DIVINE THAN HUMAN’: 
Early Tudor Plainchant and Polyphony of the 
Lenten Compline Office in the Use of Salisbury, 1485-1558

Mark Wayland Ardrey-Graves

A Research Project submitted to the Graduate Faculty of 
JAMES MADISON UNIVERSITY

In
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Musical Arts

School of Music

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Dedication

This thesis is lovingly dedicated to the Rev. Sara Ardrey-Graves, who has sung Compline with me for the entirety of our life together.
Acknowledgments

Just as it takes a village to raise a child, it is equally the case that an entire community of people have guided me to the pursuit and completion of this project. Among the countless people to whom I owe an expression of gratitude, particular thanks must go to the following: Glenn and Cindy Graves, Tom and Peggy Ardrey, Ellen Church, Larry Carmichael, Carolyn Orr, David Fellows, Dr. Ross Duffin, Dr. Jeff Riehl, Dr. Jennifer Cable, Dr. Robert Parkins, Dr. Alexander Silbiger, Penelope Jensen, Randall Love, Dr. Sue Klausmeyer, Dr. John Nádas, Dr. James Haar, Dr. Allan Friedman, Dr. Timothy Dickey, Dr. Rodney Wynkoop, The Rev. Drs. John Wall and Brooks Graebner, Dr. Ellen Davis, Dr. William Willimon, Dr. David Arcus, the late Dr. Susan Keefe, Dr. Wylie S. “Van” Quinn III, Dr. Robert Lehman and the Andrew Institute for Anglican Music and Spirituality, Dr. Tasi Perkins, and Mr. Andrew A. Kryzak.

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Abstract

Codified at Salisbury Cathedral in southern England during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Use of Salisbury, or Sarum Use, was an influential model of church structure and liturgy across England until the middle of the sixteenth century. Within this model, certain distinctive features are observable, including patterns of ritual observance in such liturgies as the Office of Compline, prayed at the end of the day. This study examines the structure of the Sarum Compline Office, and the phenomenon of polyphonic music created for its observance, during the forty-day penitential season of Lent. This thesis specifically explores ways in which early Tudor-era composers, in the shadow of the turbulent politics of the Tudor era, treated the ritual musically in terms of the creation and enactment of polyphonic music within the context of normative plainchant, in turn considering how the ritual format, architectural style, and acoustical characteristics of spaces such as Salisbury Cathedral impacted the performative contexts of this composed music.

The study focuses on the following questions: (1) Based on ritual indications from both the printed sources of the period ca. 1500, and the older manuscript sources of Salisbury Cathedral, how was the chanted Office of Compline enacted liturgically, musically, and spatially, during the Lenten season? (2) What items of composed polyphony exist specifically for performance in the Sarum Use for Compline during Lent? (3) How did the use of this composed polyphony inform the ritual and liturgical ceremonial discussed above? (4) What do the ritual rubrics of Sarum Use have to say to us about the performance practices of the polyphony? (5) What do the local contexts of the parish church, cathedral church, university/collegiate chapel, and household chapel(s) bring to bear on the performance practices of this ritual music? The study concludes with recommendations for
further research, and a performance edition of the plainchant for the Compline Office
during the Lenten season, as well as transcriptions of selected polyphonic compositions (by
John Taverner, John Sheppard, Robert White, Philip Alcock, John Norman, Philip ap Rhys,
and John Redford) associated with the Compline ritual from the period ca. 1485-1558.
PART I

Chapter 1. Introduction

With the further emphasis on the history of music as an aspect of the history of man in society, the traditional enterprises of musicology can no longer be pursued in vacuo. For their ultimate meaning and value rest on their contribution to restoring silent music to the state of being once more a medium of human communication. Re-creation in any full sense cannot be divorced from the original function of the music…Looked at in this way, it is the function of all musicology to be in fact ethnomusicology.

- Frank Llewellyn Harrison in “American Musicology and the European Tradition”¹

The Christian Church from its earliest centuries has marked the passage of time with daily observances of prayer, both individual and communal. The earliest written account of the nascent Church, the Biblical book of Acts, describes such activity.² Over time, these observances became increasingly organized, codified, and ritualized into ceremonies of supplication, meditation, thanksgiving, and the reading of Scripture, each ceremony with its own discrete structure and pattern. These rituals of prayer through the day and night became collectively known as the Office, which complemented weekly (or daily) ritual observances of the Mass, the distinctive and solemn communal commemoration of the Last Supper and the Passion of Jesus.³ Together, the Office and the Mass are known collectively as the liturgy of the Church – from the Greek word leitourgía (λειτουργία), a public work made at private expense. The word occurs in the New Testament six times with the connotation of “duty” or “ritual service,” and it is from this usage that it developed the specifically religious

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² See Acts 1:14: “All these with one accord devoted themselves to prayer, together with the women and Mary the mother of Jesus, and with his brothers.” (RSV)
connotation it carries today. In simplest terms, the liturgy is the prescribed, formalized system of worship events of the Church and the sum of their various constituent parts.

From the first decades of the Church’s existence, liturgy differed in its particulars between regions and even between congregations. As the Church grew and spread throughout Europe, North Africa, and western Asia, differences in liturgical expression expanded into regional variants. These variants took on certain distinctive features, which over time were codified into normative practice for the communities or groups of communities in question. Such overarching liturgical organization, structures, and patterns practiced in an ecclesiastical or geographical region is known as a Rite. Although students of Christian history may be quick to consider two distinctive normative Rites – the Eastern (Orthodox) and Western (Catholic) – a multiplicity of Rites existed even in the Western Church during the early Middle Ages, including those of Rome (Old Roman), Milan (Ambrosian), Spain (Mozarabic), Gaul (Gallican), and Ireland-Britain (Celtic), among others. Beginning from the late eighth century, due in large part to the efforts of Charlemagne and his successors, and their strong ties with the Pope in Rome, the Frankish-Roman Rite became the normative ecclesiastical and liturgical Rite for Western Europe.

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6 See Appendix I, Glossary.

7 Harper, *Forms and Orders*, 11. As the Frankish-Roman Rite became normative for use throughout most of Western Europe by the tenth century, this paper will refer to it hereafter as the “Western Latin Rite” or, more simply, the “Roman Rite.”
Likewise, from the earliest decades of its existence, the Christian Church has utilized song and music in its communal worship; again stemming from Biblical witness itself, particularly in the Epistles of St. Paul. As the centuries progressed, the Church developed an organized, highly structured system of musical ceremony, and a class of liturgical officer-custodians devoted to the fostering and performance of music. Along with this development, the church also sponsored the creation of expressive musical works for use in its rites and liturgies.

The nexus of the structure of the Office of Compline, and the creation and enactment of music for its observance, form the focus of this study. To that end, this thesis examines the interaction between the daily sung ritual of a single Office – that of Compline – prayed at the end of the day before bedtime, the way that composers treated the ritual musically, and in turn how the ritual itself impacted the performative contexts of their composed music. Specifically, this study involves an examination of the manner in which the Western Latin Rite, through its particular manifestation in England at the end of the medieval period, observed the liturgical ritual of Compline, and how the particular polyphonic language of the pre-Reformation English compositional school interacted with this liturgy. Furthermore, the study focuses on the form that the Compline Office took during a particular season of the liturgical year, the forty-day penitential season of Lent.

Between the late eleventh and thirteenth centuries, a distinctive variant of the Western Latin Rite was codified at Salisbury Cathedral in southern England. This

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See Colossians 3:16: “Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly, teach and admonish one another in all wisdom, and sing psalms and hymns and spiritual songs with thankfulness in your hearts to God.” (RSV)
Salisbury proved an influential model, and by the fifteenth century, the Use of Salisbury was the dominant ritual use in the Province of Canterbury. After England’s break with Rome in 1534, this Use was formally mandated as the kingdom’s normative ecclesiastical liturgical format. It was displaced between 1549 and 1553 by the new vernacular Book of Common Prayer, but restored during the reign of Mary in the 1550s, until the Elizabethan Book of Common Prayer (1559) permanently superseded it.

Although part of the family of the Western Latin Rite, the Use of Salisbury, as with other diocesan and regional Uses throughout Western Europe, carried its own distinctive features in relation to both ritual practice and chant repertory. One such feature was the treatment of the night prayer Office of Compline during Lent. In the Use of Salisbury, during the rest of the year, Compline was usually recited immediately after Vespers, sung to plainchant. However, during Lent, Compline was separated from Vespers and stood as its own discrete Office. Furthermore, in the latter fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, it was

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9 A Use, in contrast with a Rite, is a regional or monastic modification or variant of the standard Rite followed in that region. A Use differs from its parent Rite only in detail, and not in essential substance. See Harper, Forms and Orders, 14-15.

10 Ibid.


12 The Use of Salisbury is frequently referred to as Sarum Use. The word Sarum, stemming from a scribal mis-reading of an abbreviation in a medieval manuscript concerning Salisbury (Saresberie in Latin), commonly used to designate the Use of Salisbury in an overarching, monolithic way, is problematic on a number of levels. The term has its place and can be applied in certain contexts as a useful short-hand, and will appear as such in this paper, with an acknowledgment of the literary and socio-historical baggage it carries. For more on the word, its history, and its multifaceted connotations, see Chapter 3, p. 58.

subject to specific polyphonic embellishment. This apparent “richness” in Lent\textsuperscript{14} contrasts with some Continental practice,\textsuperscript{15} as well as more modern notions of Lent as an especially austere season.

The study of a liturgical Use covers a broad scope of topics, not all of which, in the case of the medieval Salisbury Use, have profited from the same level of research and study. Beginning in the twentieth century, the polyphonic music tied to the Use of Salisbury has enjoyed considerable attention from musicologists and performers, though the Use as a whole has attracted less attention in liturgical scholarship. The *Experience of Worship in Late Medieval Cathedral and Parish Church* project, initiated at the University of Bangor in 2009 under the umbrella of the larger *Religion and Society* research program of the UK, has begun to explore this lacuna of historical-liturgical scholarly work with Salisbury sources, in particular through its connecting of liturgical study with both musicological concerns and exploratory reconstruction and enactment.\textsuperscript{16}

It is the goal of this thesis to provide an in-depth exploration of the Office of Compline during the season of Lent, particularly as it was celebrated in choral establishments during the early Tudor era. Specifically, the focus will center on the following questions: (1) Based on rubricial\textsuperscript{17} indications from both the printed Salisbury-Use sources of the period c.1500 (Antiphoner, Breviary, Processionale), and the older Customary of Salisbury Cathedral, how

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{14} Not only in Compline, but evident in other Offices as well.
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{15} See, for example, the cycle of Office hymn settings by Guillaume Dufay, and surviving organ settings of hymns by Continental composers. See Chapters 5 and 8 for a more in-depth discussion.
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{16} For more on these endeavors, see http://www.experienceofworship.org.uk (*The Experience of Worship*) and http://www.religionandsociety.org.uk (*Religion and Society*).
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{17} Rubrics are instructions in a liturgical text, written in red ink (from Latin, ruber, ‘red’) to contrast with the primary text (in black). See page 11, and the full Glossary in Appendix I.
\end{flushright}
was the chanted Office of Compline enacted liturgically, musically, ritualistically, and spatially, during the period from Ash Wednesday through the Wednesday of Holy Week? (2) What items of composed polyphony exist specifically for use in the Salisbury-Use Compline Office during this phase of the liturgical calendar? (3) How did the use of this Salisbury-influenced composed polyphony inform the ritual and liturgical ceremonial discussed above? (4) What do the ritual rubrics of the Use of Salisbury have to say to us about the performance practices of the polyphony? (5) What do the local contexts of the parish church, cathedral church, university/collegiate chapel, and household chapel have to bear on the performance practices of this ritual music? Finally, this study places ritual polyphony within a context of both liturgical function and a foundation in plainchant, which in turn will help to inform modern understandings of this repertoire.

This study examines the particularities of the form of Compline during Lent and Passiontide\(^\text{18}\) as codified in both manuscript editions of the Salisbury *Customary* and fifteenth- and sixteenth-century printed editions of the Salisbury *Breviary* and *Antiphoner*, and manuscript editions of the *Tonale*. The study takes particular note of seasonal hymns, antiphons, responds, psalms, prayers, and canticles, both in their standard plainchant forms and as they were treated polyphonically by such coeval composers as John Sheppard, John Taverner, Thomas Tallis, Robert White, and Christopher Tye. The research examines both liturgical and musical primary sources: first, documents that describe and entabulate the liturgical forms for Lenten Compline, as they survive in thirteenth-century manuscript form (extant copies of the *Customary*, and the *Tonale*) and in early sixteenth-century printings (the *Breviary*, *Antiphonale*, and *Processionale*); and second, the surviving works of English polyphonic

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\(^{18}\) *Passiontide* consists of the final two weeks in the liturgical season of Lent, the six weeks between Ash Wednesday and Holy Week. Properly there are three elements to this penitential season: Septuagesima, Quadragesima (extending back to Ash Wednesday), and Passiontide. See Appendix I, Glossary.
composition that pertain to Compline during Lent, consulting the primary manuscript sources in which these works are to be found. The study includes an overview of extant research and scholarly sources of liturgical information and musical repertoire, including a survey of representative composers and their compositional styles.

The thesis is structured in two main sections. Part One provides an historical overview, examines and describes both the liturgical and musical sources, and documents the form and order of Compline and its place in the larger structure of the daily cycle of prayers, taking note of the changes that occur within the liturgy over the course of the Lenten season. Part One also addresses the issues and concerns pertaining to performance practices of musical repertoire, and examines contexts for the enactment of the Compline ritual in contrasting locales: a collegiate university chapel, a secular cathedral, a parish church, and a household chapel.

Part Two includes a comprehensive modern performance edition of the reconstructed liturgy: first, entirely in plainchant, as it would have been observed on weekdays (feria)\(^\text{19}\) at a chapel or parish church in the late medieval period, and second, as it might have been performed at a larger institution/establishment with a choral foundation – such as the contextual locations discussed in Chapter 8 of Part One: the English Chapel Royal, Salisbury Cathedral, Magdalen and Cardinal College Chapels, Oxford, and St. Mary-at-Hill, London – at which polyphonic music would have been included and embedded within the liturgy. Performance editions of representative polyphonic compositions allow for a contextual performance of a Compline liturgy with as much polyphonic inclusion as the surviving representative music can attest to, allowing for a “complete” polyphonic performance of the liturgy.

\(^{19}\text{Fería (or ferial) refers to a weekday with no associated feasts or special observances. See page 10, and Appendix I, Glossary.}
At its core, this project strives to provide a descriptive, considered, conjectural collation of the forms and orders of medieval Compline with the written (as opposed to improvised) polyphony of the composers surveyed. Through a review of extant scholarship in performance practice and the liturgical-reconstruction work undertaken by the *Experience of Worship* project, particular attention is paid to the contextual use of the polyphonic compositions within the Office, examining how the compositions interact and alternate with the plainsong elements, and the contextual expectations for their performance. Discussion of pertinent performance-practice concerns is included, with suggestions and strategies for the modern performer. Recommendations for applicability and adaptability of the reconstructed Tudor-era Compline within the context of modern worship are also addressed. Thus, the document will serve as a resource guide for liturgists and church musicians, as well as for choral conductors interested in the Tudor repertoire.

Within the scope of this project, certain elements of inquiry are left unexplored. No attempt has been made to specify, record, or unify any of the following factors: the earlier history and development of the Use of Salisbury other than in cursory overview, the stylistic polyphonic antecedents of the repertoire, the other Offices or the Mass, the work of other composers beyond those specifically delineated in this document, the exportation of the Use of Salisbury beyond England (Ireland, Scotland, France, or the Low Countries), the sister English Uses of Hereford, Bangor, and York, the concerns of the nineteenth-century revival of Sarum Use, and performance-practice issues surrounding tuning and temperament.

As this thesis draws from discrete branches of study – musicology, liturgy, and church history – a Glossary is included, defining terms pertinent to this investigation and included as Appendix I at the end of this document. A condensed list of terms immediately
applicable to the document appears below. For the purposes of this study, the pitch-name system as set forth in Figure 1 will be employed.

Figure 1. Pitch-designation Nomenclature for this Document

PRELIMINARY GLOSSARY

Antiphon: A single verse or sentence, or collection of verses, recited or sung before, after, and/or in the middle of canticles and psalms in the Office or Mass. Antiphons are typically proper to the season or day; some are also self-standing without an associated canticle or psalm.

Ash Wednesday: The Wednesday six and a half weeks before Easter Day, symbolizing the beginning of Lent.

Bishop: The highest of the Holy Orders and one of the chief pastors in the Church, possessing the responsibility for ordination and confirmation. From the Greek *episkopos*, “overseer,” bishops normally have administrative and pastoral oversight of a diocese.

Canon: [1] A law, order, form, or regulation, particularly those of Ecclesiastical edict. [2] A musical form involving strict contrapuntal imitation, so-called because of the “rule” set forth by the initiating musical line. [3] An ecclesiastical officer (typically in Holy Orders, but sometimes also lay) bound by a regulatory statute under Ecclesiastical authority and typically a senior member of a collegiate church foundation. In the Middle Ages, *Regular Canons* lived, under a Rule, communally, similar to monastics.

Cathedral, Secular and Monastic: The Cathedral is the ecclesiastical center of a diocese, from which the bishop officially presides. The governing chapter of a secular cathedral, as the name suggests, consisted of non-monastic clergy; that of a monastic cathedral comprised the members of a religious order.


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See Appendix I (Glossary) for a more complete listing of terminology, and source citations of definitions. This preliminary listing will serve to guide the discussions that follow in Chapters 2 and 3.
**Collegiate Church:** An ecclesiastical institution organized by a set of statues and under the governance of a “college” (community) of canons under the authority of a dean; distinguished from a cathedral by the absence of episcopal connection, from a monastic community by its constituency of secular clergy, and from a parish church as not being geographically bound and being a self-sustaining center of daily prayer.

**Compline:** In the cycle of daily communal prayers of the Church, the Office observed early in the night before retiring to sleep.

**Diocese:** The basic geographic unit of church governance and organization. Each diocese comprises a number of parishes and is under the authority of a bishop, whose seat is at the diocesan cathedral.

**Episcopal:** Of or pertaining to a bishop.

**Feria:** A weekday, with no associated feasts or special observances.

**Holy Orders:** The major ranks or grades of the ordained ministry in the Church; specifically bishop, priest, and deacon (and in the Middle Ages, subdeacon); distinct from the minor orders.

**Holy Week:** The most solemn week of the Christian year; recounts the week leading up to the Crucifixion of Jesus.

**Lent:** A penitential season (marked by fasting, prayer, almsgiving, and liturgical alteration) of the Christian year lasting forty days, representing approximately 10% (a tithe) of the year and congruous with the forty days that Christ spent in the wilderness fasting and being tempted. Lent begins at Ash Wednesday and continues to Maundy Thursday.

**Liturgy:** The prescribed, formalized system of worship events of the Church and the sum of their various constituent parts.

**Mass:** The principal act of liturgy in the Western Church; also called Eucharist or Holy Communion.

**Monastery:** A building or, more properly, campus of buildings that houses a monastic community of Religious who live under a Rule.

**Office (Divine Office, Daily Office, Opus Dei):** The daily cycle of communal prayers of the Church. During the early Middle Ages, the Office in the West developed into two differing strains, the Monastic and Secular.

**Parish:** The local church of a village, town, or neighborhood area of a city; also the geographical area served by that church.

**Plainchant:** The extensive corpus of liturgical and ritual melodies, traditionally sung
unaccompanied in free rhythm, used in the Church in the West from the early Middle Ages on. Also called plainsong and Gregorian chant.

**Province:** A collection of dioceses under the authority of an archbishop or metropolitan.

**Quadragesima:** (Latin, “fortieth”) The name for the Sunday (forty days before Easter) that marks the beginning of Lent; also the Latin name for the Lenten season.

**Religious:** A member of a Congregation or Order who has taken vows.

**Rite:** An overarching liturgical organization of structures and patterns practiced in an ecclesiastical or geographical region. Also, the order, script, and structure of a specific liturgical observance.

**Rubric:** An instruction or explicatory note in a liturgical text, written in red ink (from Latin, *rubet*, ‘red’) to contrast with the primary text (in black).

**Sarum:** A scribal abbreviation (read incorrectly) for the Latin *Sarisberie* (Salisbury) that came to be adopted as a sort of shorthand for the city, its cathedral, and its liturgical structures. The use of the term gained much traction in the later 19th century as a catch-all for those elements of the medieval liturgy in some manner or other distinctive to England.

**Secular:** In ecclesiastical terms, pertaining to churches or clergy not connected to a monastic rule or vows.

**Septuagesima:** (Latin, “seventieth”) The Sunday seventy days before Easter and three weeks before the beginning of Lent, marking the beginning of a pre-Lenten penitential season also known by the name Septuagesima.

**Tudor:** Of or pertaining to the ruling dynasty of English monarchs from Henry VII to Elizabeth I (1485-1603); also used to refer to the art, music, architecture, literature, and other cultural phenomena of the period. The Tudors were a Welsh family who rose to prominence during the closing years of the Wars of the Roses.

**Use:** In contrast with a Rite, a regional or monastic modification or variant of the standard Rite followed in that region. A Use differs from its parent Rite only in detail, and not in essential substance.

**Versicle (and Response):** A brief liturgical dialogue exchanged between a cantor or officiant and the choir or assembly.
Chapter 2. Review of Sources, Literature, and Research

In College or monastery it is still the same: music, nothing but music.

- Desiderus Erasmus, on English liturgy

English sacred music of the fifteenth, and more especially sixteenth, centuries has been the dedicated study of a number of prominent musicologists. The scholarly emphasis given to the English sacred repertoire among musicologists has historically given primary attention to objective study of records, accounts, archival documents, and other public and institutional records. Given the untold volumes of polyphonic music that have not survived the passages and ravages of time, and the incomplete state of much of the music that does survive, such a comprehensive and interdisciplinary focus has proven to be invaluable in the understanding of music as a social, religious, creative, and political enterprise during the Tudor era.

Scholarly Work through the 1960s

The roots of scholarly interest in the sacred music of the first half of the sixteenth century can be traced to the Elizabethan antiquarians of the late sixteenth century. Manuscript compilers such as Robert Dow and John Baldwin in the 1580s collected works from six to eight decades earlier, no longer in liturgical use, and meticulously copied them into the partbooks that now bear their names. Collected, retrospective performance editions of Tudor repertoire have appeared in print since 1641, when John Barnard of London

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22 Dana Marsh, *Music, Church, and Henry VIII’s Reformation* (Diss., The Queen’s College, 2007), 1-2.

23 See pp. 39-44.
published his *First Book of Selected Church Musick*. Barnard’s book was in use in Cathedral and collegiate churches in Britain from the time of the Restoration in 1660 through the middle of the eighteenth century. The Georgian-era composer and organist William Boyce published his three-volume *Cathedral Music* collections in 1760, 1768, and 1773, featuring music by Thomas Tallis, Christopher Tye, and William Byrd, alongside works by more recent composers.

No discussion of late medieval English sacred music scholarship would be complete without the pioneering work of Walter Howard Frere (1863-1938), one of the founding monks of the Community of the Resurrection, later bishop of Truro and one of the foremost liturgical scholars of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Frere’s monumental two-volume *The Use of Sarum* (1898 and 1901) presented for the first time in modern publication the complete texts, in Latin, of the *Customary, Ordinale*, and *Tonale* of the Use of Salisbury, as well as a scholarly Introduction and extensive footnotes.

English medieval and Renaissance musicological scholarship blossomed in the 1950s and 1960s. An important dissertation from the late 1950s, Hugh Baillie’s *London Churches, Their Music and Musicians, 1485-1560* presented an exhaustive documentation and discussion of extensive archival material relating to composers, performers, and music-making from the Cathedral and parish churches of London. Baillie’s dissertation is still an important starting point for researchers today, even as his findings and conclusions have been amended, re-

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25 For a discussion of these manuscripts, see pages 22-26.

evaluated, and expanded by succeeding generations of scholars. Another seminal work from this period is Frank Llewellyn Harrison’s *Music in Medieval Britain*, which first appeared in print in 1958 and went through three subsequent editions (Second Edition, 1963; Third Edition, 1967; Fourth Edition, 1980).\(^{27}\) Harrison’s scholarship and attention to detail “were such that the value of [his] work is undiminished by time.”\(^{28}\) Harrison once described his scholarly philosophy with the phrase, “we have to widen our vacuum-cleaner opening a bit,” with an assertive insistence that “it is the function of all musicology to be ethnomusicology.”\(^{29}\) This perspective has continued to undergird the pursuit of English musicology since the middle of the twentieth century.

Other important musicological work from the mid-century in the realm of late medieval English sacred music includes studies by scholars including Denis Stevens, Margaret Bent, Peter Le Huray, and John Caldwell. This period also saw the production of a number of collected scholarly editions of music, often referred to as *Monuments* series, including *Tudor Church Music* (1920s), *Musica Britannica* (1950s), and the first volumes of *Early English Church Music* (1960s).\(^{30}\)

**Late Twentieth Century Musicological Scholarship (1970-1990)**

The succeeding generation of modern English medieval musicologists built upon and expanded the work of the aforementioned formative scholars. Important work by Raymond

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\(^{30}\) See pp. 46-47.
Wilson, Hugh Benham, David Wulstan, Watkins Shaw, John Milsom, Howard Mayer Brown, Roger Bray, Roger Bowers, John Aplin, Nick Sandon, and May Hofman extended research into composer studies, in-depth examination of specific music manuscripts, and a continuation of the focus on archival and other source documentation. General overview books from these years include those by Howard Mayer Brown (Music in the Renaissance, 1976)31 and David Wulstan (Tudor Music, 1985).32 Brown has also published a number of articles and book chapters dealing with issues of Renaissance performance practice and ornamentation.

Important work on English choral institutions also appeared during the 1970s and 1980s, including Raymond Wilson’s English Royal Chapels and Chapel Music, ca. 1475-1515,33 Roger Bowers’s Choral Institutions Within the English Church, 1340-1500,34 and Watkins Shaw’s The Succession of Organists at the Chapel Royal and the Cathedrals of England and Wales from c.1538.35 Bowers also published English Church Polyphony: Singers and Sources from the 14th to the 17th Century in 1999,36 as well as numerous articles on performance practice and Tudor musical establishments. Work dealing with composers, either individually or in overview, includes

33 Raymond Wilson, English Royal Chapels and Chapel Music, ca. 1475-1515 (Diss., University of Michigan, 1983).
34 Roger Bowers, Choral Institutions Within the English Church, 1340-1500 (Diss., University of East Anglia, 1975).
36 Roger Bowers, English Church Polyphony: Singers and Sources from the 14th to the 17th Century (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999).
Hugh Benham’s 1969 dissertation on John Taverner,\(^{37}\) expanded into a book in 2003,\(^{38}\) as well as his 1977 book, \textit{Latin Church Music in England, c.1460-1575}.\(^{39}\) Benham has also published numerous articles, and edited volumes of \textit{Early English Church Music} for Stainer & Bell.\(^{40}\) In 1983, John Milsom wrote an important dissertation on the music of Thomas Tallis,\(^{41}\) has published articles on Tudor compositional style and analysis, and also served as editor for volumes of \textit{Early English Church Music}.

Manuscript studies also were an important area of research and publishing during these decades. Roger Bray published articles on the Baldwin Partbooks,\(^{42}\) while Nick Sandon wrote his dissertation on the Peterhouse Partbooks,\(^{43}\) also writing numerous articles on composer topics and the Sarum Use, and editing many editions of polyphony.\(^{44}\) In 1987, May Hofman and John Morehen published \textit{Latin Music in British Sources} for Stainer & Bell as

\begin{itemize}
\item[37] Hugh Benham, \textit{The Music of John Taverner: A Study and Assessment} (Diss., University of Southampton, 1969).
\item[38] Hugh Benham, \textit{John Taverner} (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).
\item[40] See “Modern Editions of Vocal and Organ Polyphony,” p.46.
\item[44] See p. 47.
\end{itemize}
a supplemental volume and index for the *Early English Church Music* series.\(^{45}\) Hofman had earlier published *The Survival of Latin Sacred Music by English Composers, 1485-1610.*\(^{46}\)

Volumes in the *Early English Church Music* and *Musica Britannica* series continued to be issued during these decades, and it was also during these years that a large number of scholarship-influenced performances and recordings began to appear, by such professional ensembles as the Tallis Scholars (directed by Peter Philips), the Hilliard Ensemble (directed by Paul Hillier), and the Sixteen (directed by Harry Christophers), as well as by college and cathedral choirs such as those of Christ Church, Oxford, King’s College, Cambridge, and Westminster Cathedral, under such directors as Stephen Darlington, Stephen Cleobury, and David Hill.

**Recent Scholarship (Since 1990)**

A number of important books, monographs, journal articles, and dissertations have appeared since 1990, enlarging the scope of the field of medieval musicological research, and expanding into interdisciplinary realms of social and cultural history, and contextual and genre studies. Academic journals such as *Early Music* and *Early Music History*, among others, have provided venues for such discourse. John Harper, recently of the University of Bangor in North Wales, published the book *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century*\(^{47}\) in 1991, providing a comprehensive overview of the structures of Western liturgical practice, with particular emphasis given to the interplay between music

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and liturgy. Harper has also published a number of important articles on music and ceremonial, and use of the pipe organ, in late-medieval English worship. David Allinson’s dissertation, *The Rhetoric of Devotion*, explores the phenomenon of the Votive Antiphon in the context of late medieval worship. Dissertations by Fiona Kisby (*The Early-Tudor Royal Household Chapel, 1485-1547*) and Richard Lloyd (*Provision for Music in the Parish Church in Late-Medieval London*) revisit the ideas and subjects explored by Hugh Baillie in the 1950s through a study of performers, composers, archives, and performance contexts in and around late medieval London. Kisby continued the interdisciplinary concerns highlighted by her dissertation in her editing of *Music and Musicians in Renaissance Cities and Towns*, a book that features contributions by a number of scholars all concerned with the juncture of urban history and musicology. More recently, the 2007 doctoral thesis by Dana Marsh (*Music, Church, and Henry VIII’s Reformation*), and chapter-length articles expanded from it, has expressly delved into issues of historical theology, religious history, and cultural history, in order to situate his musicological study in a thoroughly interdisciplinary context.

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The past quarter century has also witnessed the development of the internet as a resource and depository for scholarly endeavors. The Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music (hereafter DIAMM),\textsuperscript{54} which dates to 1998, is an ongoing imaging project based at the University of Oxford, with significant support from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation.\textsuperscript{55} DIAMM serves as a resource to “obtain and archive digital images of European sources of medieval polyphonic music, captured directly from the original document. The purposes [are] (1) conservation and protection against loss, especially of vulnerable fragments, and (2) to enable libraries to supply the best possible quality of images to scholars.”\textsuperscript{56} The DIAMM archive collection includes images, descriptions, and bibliographic information for manuscript sources, both fragmentary and complete, of polyphony from Britain, Spain, Italy, The Netherlands, Belgium, France, Austria, Czech Republic, Germany, and Italy through the sixteenth century. DIAMM also sells a number of manuscript facsimile editions in book form, including reproductions of the Eton Choirbook\textsuperscript{57} and the Dow Partbooks.\textsuperscript{58} DIAMM also serves as a repository for a number of doctoral dissertations related to its archival contents.

Another web-based resource germane to the present study is the \textit{Sarum Rite} page sponsored by the Gregorian Institute of Canada, which hosts an on-going research and publication project under the auspices of McMaster University, directed by Dr. William

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Ibid.
\item GB Ec MS 178.
\item GB Och MS 984-988.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
The project is guided by an international team of scholars and consultants. The aim of the project, which began in 2006, is to publish, in PDF format, a comprehensive performing edition, “both historical as well as practical…containing the full text and music for the Breviary Office, for the Processional, and for the Missal.” The publications are set in square-note, four-line staff plainchant notation, with red-ink rubrics and exhaustive notes detailing variant readings from the manuscript sources. From 2010, the project has included a translated English-language version of the publication, adapted from the Latin sources, also including music.

Other recent activity in late medieval British liturgical-musical scholarship includes the multi-disciplinary *Experience of Worship in Late Medieval Cathedral and Parish Church* project, initiated at the University of Bangor in 2009. This project’s focus, under the leadership of scholars John Harper, Sally Harper, Paul Barnwell, and Magnus Williamson, is the exploration of the “experience of late medieval worship for all who participated…through practice-led research, and particularly ritual enactments of medieval liturgies.” The project brings together scholars in the fields of “liturgy, musicology, architectural, social, cultural and church history, ethnomusicology, practical theology, and anthropology and sociology of religion.” Under the auspices of this project, a number of medieval liturgical rituals have

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61 http://www.experienceofworship.org.uk


63 Ibid.
been reconstructed and enacted in a variety of liturgical spaces, including Salisbury Cathedral and the restored medieval church of St. Teilo’s at St. Fagans National History Museum in Cardiff. The *Experience of Worship* project has had a great deal of influence on the present study, both in the inspiration and scope of my attempt to provide resources for the recreation of a conjectural Tudor-era Lenten Compline liturgy, and in utilization and referencing of its published resources.

**CONTEXTUAL STUDIES: RELIGIOUS LIFE, HISTORY, THEOLOGY, AND LITURGY**

Essential for the present study have also been a number of scholarly works beyond the scope of musicological study. The work of religious historians and liturgical scholars has its own lineage and methodological history, which has received a comprehensive overview in the introduction to Richard Pfaff’s *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History*. Foremost among scholars of the theology, ecclesiology, and liturgy of the medieval Use of Salisbury is W.H. Frere, whose monumental work in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries remains undiminished by time. More recently, the scholarship and writing of Eamon Duffy has focused on the social history of the English people during the religious upheavals of the sixteenth century. His book *The Stripping of the Altars* focuses on lay religion and piety in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Richard Pfaff of the University of North Carolina has published *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History*, a comprehensive overview

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64 Both video recordings and performance texts of these reconstructed liturgies are available on the *Experience of Worship* website at http://www.experienceofworship.org.uk/enactments/introduction/.


**Sources of Plainchant, Ceremonial, and Form**

A more thorough exploration of the contexts that led to the creation, cultivation, and preservation of books of plainchant for various liturgical functions, as well as books of instruction and order, will feature in Chapter Three. By way of overview, a list of the main sources is presented here.

**Salisbury Customaries**

The earliest extant sources for the Use of Salisbury are manuscripts of the early thirteenth century, particularly the \textit{Customary} of the Cathedral. The Customary seems to have been compiled in its existing manuscript form in 1214, following the period when the cathedral, and other cathedrals and churches in England and Wales, had been closed during the Papal Interdict of 1208-1213.\footnote{Harrison, \textit{Medieval}, 47. See Chapter 3 for more on the Interdict.} There are three separate surviving forms of the Customary, the first two together known simply as the “Old Customary,” and the third as the “New Customary.”\footnote{John Harper, Editor and Project Director, “The Versions of the Sarum Customary,” \textit{Sarum Customary Online}, Stable URL: http://www.sarumeustomary.org.uk/customary/versions/ Accessed November 1, 2014.}

The intent of an ecclesiastical institution’s Customary was to delineate the structure of the liturgical celebration in that place: along with the related \textit{Ordinale}, it “established the
when, what, and how of a foundation’s worship.” The Customary sets forth the offices and duties of the members of the Cathedral Chapter, and is the source for information on not only how the ceremonial of the liturgies is to proceed, as well as who is to perform the various actions, and how to perform them.

As Harrison states, “Ordinal and Customary could be combined to give a running commentary on the ceremonial as well as the opening words of the chants and lessons.”

This is certainly the case with the Salisbury Customaries: the Old Customary sets forth “the arrangement of seating in the choir-stalls, the rules of deportment in choir, and the duties and procedures of those who carry out the services throughout the year” in addition to describing the variations in ritual liturgical action across the seasons of the year.

THE OLD CUSTOMARY

The “Old” Customary was probably compiled in its existing manuscript form in 1214, following the Papal Interdict of 1208-1213. This document was compiled under the direction of Bishop Richard Poore, and opens with a copy of the Institutes of St. Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury from 1078 to 1099. The Old Customary survives in two forms, the first dating to the early thirteenth century and the second to the early years of the fourteenth century.

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70 Harper, Forms and Orders, 60.
71 Harrison, Medieval, 47.
72 Ibid.
73 Dean of the Cathedral from 1197-1215; Bishop of Salisbury from 1217-1228 (Harrison, Medieval, 5).
74 Harrison, Medieval, 3. Tradition holds that St. Osmund wrote his Institutes in 1091, but the copy contained at the beginning of the Old Customary is the oldest extant version. See Chapter 3 for more information.
THE NEW CUSTOMARY

A completely re-worked version of the Customary appeared after the Cathedral moved to its second, current location in the new town of Salisbury in the middle of the thirteenth century.\textsuperscript{75} This “New” Customary substantially overlaps with the Old Customary, but with significant textual variation owing to the differing demands of the new cathedral’s architectural layout. The surviving source manuscript of this version dates to the fourteenth century.

BREVARIUM SARISBURIENSIS

The Sarum Breviary (\textit{Portiforium seu Breviarium ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis, hereafter BS}) was printed frequently from the late fifteenth century through the middle of the sixteenth century, both on the Continent and in London. Francis Regnault issued important printings in Paris in the 1520s and 1530s; for the present study I have consulted a printing by Regnault from 1533, available electronically at Early English Books Online.\textsuperscript{76} As with the majority of Breviaries copied, printed, and issued during this time, the 1533 BS contains no music notation, but includes rubrics and texts for all of the Offices through the year, along with a \textit{kalendar}\textsuperscript{77} of feasts and observances.

ANTIPHONALE SARISBURIENSIS

The Sarum Antiphoner (\textit{Antiphonale Sarisburiense, hereafter AS}), as did the Breviary, appeared in print in the early sixteenth century, and is also available electronically at Early

\textsuperscript{75} See Chapter 3, pp. 70-78.


\textsuperscript{77} See Appendix I (Glossary).
English Books Online. The publication by Byrchman (who had print shops in both London and Paris) in 1519 is fully noted with the proper Office antiphons through the year for both Temporale and Sanctorale, and also includes a noted Psalterium (Psalter) with the standard elements (invitatories, responds, antiphons, and versicles) for the Offices. Not included in the AS are the Hymns for the Offices; nor does it write out the chant tones for the recitation of the Psalms.

Hymnorum Sarisburiensis

The Sarum Hymnal (Hymnorum cum notis opusculum secundum usum insignis ecclesie Sarisburiensis, hereafter HS) contains hymns for the Offices through the year, in notation. The HS, similarly to the AS, also received numerous printings through the period, primarily on the Continent. For this study I have used the printing published by Ruremond in Antwerp in 1525.

Processionale Sarisburiensis

The Sarum Processional (Processionale ad usum… Sar[isburiense], hereafter PS) is the other major primary source for information regarding the liturgy of the Cathedral of Salisbury that includes notated music. As with the other sources, it was published numerous times throughout the sixteenth century, both in England and on the Continent, being printed as late as 1600 in Antwerp. For this study, I have consulted two editions of the PS:


Please refer to the Bibliography for the full title of this document.
the first, published in Rouen by Morin in 1517, and the second, published in London by Byrchman in 1519.

**TONALE SARISBURIENSIS**

The *Tonale* (hereafter *TS*) provides the source for specific chant tones and melodies, particularly those involved in the intonation of Psalmody. The *TS* classified the chants by mode and tone, and provided the means with which to match antiphons with their proper psalm-tone formulas and melodies. It also codified the *neuma*, the melismatic codas that were added to the endings of certain chants and psalm tones. Unlike the *BS*, *AS*, *HS*, and *PS*, no printed source of the *Tonale* exists from the early sixteenth century, and it survives in a unique handwritten manuscript source from the late fourteenth century, bound together with an *Ordinale*. It has also been transcribed in modern edition in Volume Two of Frere’s *Use of Sarum* publication of 1901.

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84 Ibid.

85 Ibid., 207. The manuscript is still in the possession of the Salisbury Cathedral Library, GB-SB MS 175.
SOURCES OF POLYPHONY

THE PEPYS MS

The library of Magdalen College, Cambridge, in its collection from the holdings of seventeenth-century man of letters Samuel Pepys, contains a manuscript, in choirbook layout, known as the Pepys Manuscript (Cmc MS 1236). This volume dates to the reign of Edward IV, ca. 1460-1465, placing its contents slightly outside of the scope of the present study. Nevertheless, the manuscript is notable for containing among its one hundred twenty-one items a number of polyphonic compositions, primarily for two or three voices, associated with the Lenten Compline liturgy, including four settings of the Respond In pace (two of which are incomplete), two settings of the Respond In manus tuas, two settings of the Psalm Antiphon Miserere mihi, and numerous settings of the Benedictus Domino (most likely composed for use at Vespers, but possibly intended for Compline as well). Thus, the Pepys Choirbook stands as the oldest known English source for Office polyphony in the fifteenth century. It is thought that the book’s origins are in Kent, originally intended for use at Canterbury Cathedral, placing its compilation in the domain of a Monastic rather than

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89 Although the Old Hall Manuscript (GB-Lbl Add. ms 57950) of Henry V’s chapel is some four decades older, it primarily contains music for the Mass and a number of Marian antiphons. Digital imagery and bibliographical information of this MS located at DIAMM, stable URL http://www.diamm.ac.uk/jsp/Descriptions?op=SOURCE&sourceKey=210. Accessed July 25, 2014.
Secular liturgical context, further separating its consideration from the scope of this present study. However, there is no evidence that polyphonic repertories were not shared between Monastic and Secular choral foundations. Research by Magnus Williamson has demonstrated the extent to which establishments of various sorts across the kingdom maintained musical connections, and undoubtedly shared ideas as well as repertoire.  

**The Ritson MS**

The collection housed in the British Library (Lbl Add. ms 5665) known as the Ritson Manuscript, compiled during the years c.1460 – 1515, stands as the most important source for English music between the Old Hall Manuscript (Lbl Add. ms 57950) of ca. 1420 and the Eton Choirbook (Ec ms 178, see below) of ca. 1505. The manuscript takes its name from Joseph Ritson, a late eighteenth-century collector who donated the volume to the British Museum. It contains no fewer than ninety-eight compositions, all but one of which are polyphonic works for between two and five voices. The manuscript is also notable not only for including liturgical and devotional works in Latin, but also Latin-texted carols, religious songs in English – including a paraphrase of the Te Deum – and a French chanson. This manuscript also includes seventeen secular English part songs, most notably two entries of Passetyme with good cumpanye, attributed to King Henry VIII. Among the liturgical works are

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92 Sandon and Lane, i.

93 Ibid. The sole non-polyphonic work in the collection is a plainchant setting of Salve Regina with the traditional Sarum tropes (See Chapter 7).

94 Ibid.
three settings of the Mass ordinary (along with an additional Kyrie-Gloria pair), a number of Marian and other Votive Antiphons, a Vespers hymn, an Alleluia for Lady Mass, other Mass propers, a processional antiphon for Candlemas, and responsories for Vespers and other Hours. Scholarship suggests that the manuscript has its origins in Devonshire, in the southwest of England, with a strong likelihood of a connection to Exeter Cathedral, where the (Secular) canons and vicars choral would have had occasion to sing not only the manuscript’s Mass settings, Votive Antiphons, and Office polyphony, but also presumably the non-religious music as well.\footnote{Ibid., v.} The connection to Exeter is suggested in part due to the inclusion of a number of liturgical works by Richard Smert (ca. 1400-1479), John Trouliffe (fl. ca. 1448-1475), and Thomas Packe (fl. 1489-1499), who were all associated with the Cathedral either as vicars choral or chantry chaplains. Although the manuscript is in close chronology with the Pepys Choirbook, with its earliest contents overlapping the period of the former book’s compilation, there is no shared repertoire between the two books and only one named composer – Hawte – is represented in both.\footnote{Benham, Latin Church Music, 106.} Ritson, unlike Pepys, also reveals itself to be the work of multiple scribal hands, compiled over time in five major strata, with the oldest dating to the 1460s and the latest to the 1510s.

The Ritson Manuscript contains two settings of Miserere michi Domine, the Psalm antiphon for Compline through much of the year.\footnote{See Chapter 5.} Based on the qualities of their scribal hands, both settings are representative of the final stratum of the manuscript, dating to the first decade of the sixteenth century.\footnote{Benham, Latin Church Music, 106.} The first setting, for two voices and the opening work...
in the manuscript, is freely composed with no *cantus firmus* or other reference to the antiphon chant melody. The second setting and the final work in the manuscript, ascribed to John Norman (fl. 1502-1522),99 is set for three voices, the middle (Tenor) carrying the chant melody as *cantus firmus* in even note values. A great number of votive antiphons – sixteen – are also contained in the manuscript, permeating the various layers and scribal hands, and covering the entire period of the collection’s chronological survey. These antiphons are predominately in three voices, but an anonymous *Ave Regina celorum* for four voices.100

**THE ETON CHOIRBOOK**

Widely considered to be the most important music manuscript of the Tudor era, the volume commonly known as the *Eton Choirbook* (ETc MS 178) is one of the great musical treasures of England.101 The manuscript is equally notable for its visual richness as for its musical content: highly ornate capital letters adorn the opening pages of each musical work, accompanied by numerous illustrations, both representational and abstract (see Plate 1, p. 33). MS 178 is intimately associated with the early history of Eton College, specifically the period from its founding by Henry VI in 1440 to the middle years of Henry VIII’s reign in the early 1520s.102 The statutes of the College, which date to 1443, delineate the duties of the members of the choir, including the nightly singing of the *Salve* service before the statue of

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99 See Chapter 10, p. 191.


the Blessed Virgin in the chapel, in addition to the daily round of Offices and Masses. It was for these liturgies, particularly the Office of Vespers and the Votive Antiphon (Salve) devotion, that the works in MS 178 were composed, collected, and preserved.\footnote{103}{For a detailed examination of MS 178, its contents, structure, and context, see Magnus Williamson, \textit{The Eton Choirbook: Its Institutional and Historical Background} (Diss., University of Oxford, 1997).}

The Eton Choirbook was compiled in a relatively short period of time, most likely from around 1500 to 1505, although a significant percentage of its contents was probably composed during the final two decades of the fifteenth century.\footnote{104}{Williamson, \textit{Eton}, 15-16, 183.} The manuscript contains music of three overlapping generations of composers, beginning with William Horwood (d. 1484), continuing through the works of the late-century generation of Walter Lambe and John Browne, and culminating in the work of Robert Wylkynson and the young Robert Fayrfax.\footnote{105}{Noël Bisson, \textit{English Polyphony for the Virgin Mary: The Votive Antiphon, 1430-1500} (Diss., Harvard University, 1998), 130; see also Harrison, \textit{Medieval}, 312.} Wylkynson himself was possibly the original compiler of the manuscript; many of the pieces in the volume are notated in what conjecturally is his own hand.\footnote{106}{Bisson, 132-33.} The manuscript was re-bound sometime during the mid-sixteenth century; that fact, along with the presence of marginal notes from the same period, suggests a possible resurrection of the manuscript for use during the reign of Mary in the 1550s.\footnote{107}{Williamson, \textit{Eton}, 17.}
The statutes of Eton College further stipulated the makeup of the choir: at least eight choristers, four “gentlemen” (i.e. lay) clerks, and four chaplains. This information provides compelling insight into the specific performing forces for which much of the music in the codex was composed – and certainly the ensemble for which it was compiled to be used in the liturgy. The proportionate numbers reveal, in the absence of augmentation of voices from the body of student scholars, a relatively modest choral body, especially given the demands and voicings of the manuscript’s repertoire.

For all its opulence, grandeur, and artistry, the manuscript survives in a fragmentary state: forty-nine complete compositions (on one hundred twenty-six pages), with an additional eighteen incomplete entries, out of an original collection of ninety-three pieces (and two hundred twenty-four pages). We possess this information, along with titles and composers, thanks to the survival of an original table of contents page at the beginning of the codex. The contents of the book can be divided into three major categories: Magnificat settings for Vespers (originally, twenty-four total), Votive Antiphons for Marian devotions (originally, fifty-seven total, including fifteen settings of Salve Regina alone), and works for

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108 Van Nevel, 8. These statutes from the original 1440 charter were expanded at the end of the fifteenth century to comprise ten chaplains, ten clerks, sixteen choristers, and seventy scholar-students, some of whom may have augmented the body of singers in chapel on days of special solemnity. For more information, see Williamson, Eton, 18ff.

109 For further discussion on choir size and makeup, see Chapter 8.

110 Williamson, Eton, 183.
numerous Holy Week liturgies and devotions (five settings of the Stabat Mater dolorosa, three textual tropes of the Stabat Mater, and a setting of the St. Matthew Passion by Richard Davy). The remaining works include two motets for the feast of the Ascension (Ascendit Christus) and the final work in the codex, Jesus autem transiens, a remarkable thirteen-part canonic treatment of the Apostles’ Creed by Robert Wylkynson. The majority of the works, both those that survived and those that did not, are scored for five polyphonic voices: fifty-two out of a total of ninety-three. The remaining works are scored for four, six, seven, eight, nine, and thirteen voices. Even in its fragmentary state, however, the Eton Choirbook remains the most important source for the longer-form antiphons and Magnificats of the early Tudor repertoire.

THE PETERHOUSE PARTBOOKS

The library of Peterhouse College, Cambridge, possesses three sets of partbooks of sacred music, all purchased by the college in the 1630s to stock its nascent chapel choir holdings. Two of the partbook sets date to the period of their acquisition, but the third (GB-Cp 31, 32, 40, 41), known as the “Henrician” set, is significantly older, dating to ca. 1540. The collection comprises four surviving books from an original set of five (the Tenor book is lost), and the Triplex book is missing pages at the beginning and end. Contextual research has determined a date of compilation for the collection in the early 1540s, in the years after

111 Williamson, Eton, 183.

112 Bisson, 206.

113 Benham, Latin Church Music, 58.

114 Nick Sandon, “Music from the Peterhouse Partbooks,” liner notes for Blue Heron, Music from the Peterhouse Partbooks, Vol.1. Compact disc (Boston: Blue Heron, 2009), 1ff.
Henry VIII’s break with Rome and the dissolution of the monasteries and monastic cathedrals, but while worship in England was still conservatively traditional and Latin-texted. The collection has connections with Magdalen College, Oxford, but was in all likelihood originally compiled for use at Canterbury Cathedral, which was re-founded as a secular cathedral in 1541, and where a young Thomas Tallis (represented by two Votive Antiphons in the collection) had his first major musical post.

The Henrician Peterhouse partbooks contain seventy-two polyphonic works: Mass settings, Votive Antiphons, Magnificat settings, and ritual polyphony for Office and Mass. Of the seventy-two works, only twenty-two have concordances in other sources: fifty are unique to this collection, which makes the lack of the Tenor (and, in the case of nineteen works, Triplex) parts particularly unfortunate. As it stands, though, the collection presents a large repertoire of conservative sacred music: conservative both in its musical style – ornate and melismatic – and in its texts and genres, with prominence of place to large-scale Votive Antiphons for Marian devotion, similar to the Eton Choirbook repertoire from forty years earlier.

Pertinent to the present study is the inclusion, at the head of the collection, of a setting of *O rex gloriose* by John Mason (see Figure 1). *O rex gloriose* is the Gospel Antiphon at Compline from Passion Sunday until Holy Week; Mason’s setting represents the only polyphonic treatment of this text from the period. The partbook set also includes a number

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115 See Chapter 3.

116 Sandon, “Music from the Peterhouse Partbooks,” 2. See also Chapter 10, Thomas Tallis, pp. 208-212.

117 See Chapter 9 for a discussion of trends in compositional style.

118 Sandon, 2.
of Votive Antiphons, including two *Salve Regina* settings, which would have been sung at the post-Compline devotions observed across the kingdom before the Reformation. The Peterhouse books are the subject of an in-depth analysis by Nicholas Sandon in his 1983 doctoral dissertation, in which he also provides editorial completions of nearly all the works for which concordances do not exist. Sandon has subsequently revised these completions in scholarly performance editions published by Antico Edition.

Figure 2. John Mason, *O rex gloriose*, Contratenor Folio 1v, Peterhouse Partbook (GB-Cp Ms 31)

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119 See Chapter 7.


121 See pp. 46-47.
THE GYFFARD PARTBOOKS

The collection of four partbooks housed in the British Library (GB-Lbl Add. MS 17802-17805) known as the Gyffard Partbooks stands as the most important source for four-part sacred repertoire of the early Tudor era. The manuscript contains a total of ninety-four polyphonic works, all but three of which are not to be found in any other music manuscripts from the sixteenth century. Thus, the Gyffard Partbooks are a critical source for much of the surviving repertoire of many of the most famous composers of sixteenth-century England. As David Mateer writes, “had it not survived, our knowledge and appreciation of the work of John Taverner, Thomas Tallis, John Sheppard, Christopher Tye, William Mundy, and a host of lesser figures would be immeasurably the poorer.” The Gyffard set is also notable for being one of the few partbook collections to have survived with all of its component volumes, unlike the Peterhouse collection discussed above, or the “Baldwin” partbooks (see below), both of which have a lost Tenor book.

The origins and dating of the Gyffard collection are the subject of some speculation and have recently been re-assessed with regards to earlier scholarly thinking. Frank Ll. Harrison, who first suggested the name “Gyffard” for the collection, hypothesized a Marian-era provenance of the mid-1550s for the partbooks, based upon the book’s contents and at least the majority of the composers represented. However, more recently David Mateer has established that it is overwhelmingly likely that the collection instead dates to the second decade of the reign of Queen Elizabeth – the 1570s – and thus is better understood as a


123 Ibid.

124 Ibid.
retrospective collection or antiquarian endeavor rather than for active use in the Latin liturgy. Mateer bases his reassessment upon study of the paper used in the books’ binding as well as the inclusion of certain composers in the collection, who would have only been small children during the reign of Queen Mary.

Regardless of its ultimate provenance, the Gyffard partbook collection contains a "broad and representative selection of ritual types current in the English church on the eve of the Reformation." Its contents include Mass ordinaries, Kyries and Alleluias for Lady Mass, Magnificats, processional psalms and antiphons, Votive Antiphons, and hymns and responds for the Offices across the liturgical year. The Gyffard partbooks are the only English musical source for Jesus Mass proper, and contain the only complete surviving English musical setting of the St. Matthew Passion, by an unknown composer. Regarding music specifically for the Compline Office, the Gyffard collection is an invaluable source for much of the ritual music that would otherwise be completely unknown to us. Grouped together in the manuscript are five settings of the Lenten Compline Respond In pace in idipsum, set by John Taverner, Thomas Tallis, John Sheppard, Christopher Tye, and John Blitheman. Immediately following these entries in the partbooks are three settings of the other Lenten Compline Respond, In manus tuas, by John Sheppard. Taken together, these eight settings represent the only surviving polyphonic treatments of these texts from pre-Reformation Britain. The Gyffard collection also contains a number of four-part Votive

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125 Ibid., viii–xiii.
126 Ibid.
127 A Jesus Mass contains proper and devotions specifically related to the Passion of Christ.
128 See Chapter 5.
129 See footnote 719 on p. 211.
Antiphon settings that could have found a liturgical home in the antiphon ceremonies following Compline, including a setting of *Salve Regina* by the otherwise unknown composer Philip Alcock, *Sancta Maria virgo intercede* by Thomas Knyght, and anonymous settings of the *Ave Maria* and *O bone Jesu*.\(^{130}\)

Figure 3. John Taverner, *In pace in idipsum*, Contratenor Folio 111 (Lbl Add. MS 17804)

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**The Baldwin Partbooks**

The collection of partbooks known as the *Baldwin* books, housed at Christ Church, Oxford (GB-Och Mus. 979-983), would appear to share with the Gyffard manuscript an

\(^{130}\) Mateer, *Gyffard*, 205.
origin as an Elizabethan antiquarian’s retrospective collection. The manuscript is an important collection of sacred Latin repertoire from the earlier sixteenth century, and a major source for the music of John Sheppard. Named for John Baldwin, an Elizabethan lay clerk in the choir of St. George’s Chapel, Windsor, who was both copyist and original owner of the collection, this collection is universally praised for his exquisite script. Based on the contents of the manuscript, in conjunction with Baldwin’s own career as a professional singer, Roger Bray has suggested a compilation date of ca. 1575-1581 for the collection. Furthermore, the printed, ruled paper used by Baldwin for his entries corresponds to that published by Thomas Tallis and William Byrd beginning in 1575; John Baldwin almost certainly knew William Byrd personally. The collection originally consisted of six partbooks, but like the Henrician set of the Peterhouse partbooks discussed above, the Baldwin set is also missing its Tenor book. However, one hundred of its one hundred seventy-two works can be reconstructed, either by way of concordances from other sources or by the reconstruction of even-note-value cantus firmus Tenors from plainchant or faburdens. Additionally, a further nine works in the manuscript can be at least partially completed by means of similar methods.

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134 Ibid., 55.


136 See the discussion of John Sheppard’s *Media vita* in Chapter 10 for an example.
Of the manuscript’s one hundred seventy-two pieces, forty-one are composed by John Sheppard, more than any other composer in the collection, also representing the most works by that composer to survive in any single source. William Byrd is represented by thirty-three works, Robert White by seventeen, William Mundy by thirteen, Thomas Tallis by fifteen, John Taverner by eleven, Robert Parsons by eight, Christopher Tye by five, and John Mundy by four. Other composers featured include John Redford, Robert Fayrfax, Robert Johnson, Patrick Douglas, Hugh Aston, Elway Bevin, William Daman, and even Orlandus Lassus. Baldwin himself is represented by four of his own compositions.

Figure 4. John Sheppard, Media vita, Bassus Folio 201 (Och Mus. 983)

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The Baldwin collection contains a number of works connected to the Compline liturgy, including three of Robert White’s four settings of the Lenten hymn *Christe qui lux es et dies*. The Baldwin set is also the unique source for John Sheppard’s six-voice *Media vita morte sumus*, the Gospel Antiphon at Compline from the third Sunday in Lent until Passion Sunday. The manuscript also contains Compline hymn settings by John Sheppard for seasons beyond Lent, and a number of Votive Antiphons by John Taverner, Robert Fayrfax, and Thomas Tallis appropriate for post-Compline devotions.

**The Dow Partbooks**

Another collection of partbooks now held in the library of Christ Church, Oxford, known as the *Dow Partbooks* (GB-Och Mus.984-988), is also an invaluable source for Tudor polyphonic repertoire. Most of the contents of the collection were copied beginning in 1581 by Robert Dow, whose scribal hand rivaled that of John Baldwin in its beauty and meticulousness. Robert Dow was a scholar, trained calligrapher, and amateur musician, who was a Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, during the 1580s. After Dow’s death in 1588, the manuscript passed into the ownership of his friend Giles Thomson, who in 1603 became Dean of Windsor and later served as one of the translators for the Authorized Bible under King James. Thomson’s move to Windsor in 1603 brought the manuscript to the attention of John Baldwin, who copied a number of additional pieces into these partbooks.

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The contents of the Dow books are quite similar to those in the Baldwin set: a similar roster of composers, including Robert White (fourteen pieces), Robert Parsons (seven pieces), Thomas Tallis (five pieces), Christopher Tye (four pieces), John Taverner (one piece), William Mundy (one piece), John Sheppard (one piece), William Byrd (forty-nine pieces), and Orlandus Lassus (three pieces). Unlike the Baldwin collection, however, the Dow partbooks contain sacred music both in Latin and English. The partbooks also contain instrumental works, predominantly for viol consort, and a number of secular part songs and consort songs as well.

Figure 5. Robert White, *Christe qui lux es II*, Bassus Folio 16 (Och Mus. 988)
The Dow set survives complete in its five volumes, making it one of the most valuable sources of vocal music from the sixteenth century.\textsuperscript{141} Even though it is of Elizabethan provenance, its complete state marks it as one of the most important manuscript sources for music from earlier in the century: it is an important source in particular for the music of Robert White, containing all four of White’s settings of the Lenten Compline hymn \textit{Christe qui lux es et dies}.

\textbf{Sources of Organ Music}

When compared with surviving manuscripts of vocal polyphony, the extant sources of liturgical organ music from the first half of the sixteenth century are scant: only a handful of manuscript sources containing this repertoire survive from Tudor Britain. This fact is tempered somewhat by the very nature of the organ’s use in late medieval religious ritual, as primarily a vehicle either for improvised performance rather than pre-composed organ repertoire, or in substitution of vocal music itself.\textsuperscript{142} Nevertheless, when compared with the surviving sacred keyboard works from Continental Europe during this same period, the British repertoire “rival[s] in bulk the entire production…of Italy, France, and Germany during the same half-century.”\textsuperscript{143}

Three complete manuscripts (Lbl Add. MS 29996, Lbl Add. MS 30513, Lbl Add. MS 15233) represent this period, containing music for the Office, in the form of antiphon and


\textsuperscript{142} Correspondence with John Harper, January 5, 2015. For more on the liturgical role of the organ, see Chapter 7 and Chapter 10.

hymn settings involving polyphonic elaboration in two, three, or four voices around a *cantus firmus*.\textsuperscript{144} All three of these organ manuscripts are now housed in the British Library. The first, and most germane to the current study, is Lbl Add. MS 29996. This volume, compiled over a number of decades by various scribes, contains an assortment of organ works for both Mass and Office, and includes a central, original section most likely copied out for use in liturgies during the late 1540s.\textsuperscript{145} This core layer of the manuscript contains compositions for Offices and the Mass, many arranged seasonally, highlighting music by John Redford, Philip ap Rhys, and Thomas Preston.\textsuperscript{146} For a period in the early seventeenth century, MS 29996 was owned by the composer Thomas Tomkins, by which point the manuscript had nearly doubled in size from its original content. Tomkins apparently played through the music, and wrote in note corrections, barlines, and opinions on the various pieces.\textsuperscript{147}

The second manuscript, Lbl Add. MS 30513, is commonly known as the *Mulliner Book*. The *Mulliner Book* contains a wide variety of keyboard genres, including liturgical pieces from the pre-Reformation period, intabulations of vocal pieces, secular works such as dance forms and fantasias, and works in tablature for cittern. The manuscript dates to the early years of Elizabeth’s reign; due to the nature of these works and the shifts in liturgical worship after the Act of Uniformity of 1559, the liturgical contents of the book were therefore no longer of use for worship in the English Church and must represent instead the concerns of an antiquarian collector, along the same lines as the music of the Dow

\textsuperscript{144} See Chapter 9 for more on this compositional style.

\textsuperscript{145} Caldwell, “Introduction,” xii.


\textsuperscript{147} Ibid.
partbooks discussed above. In her dissertation, *A Reconsideration of the Mulliner Book*, Jane Flynn has argued that the manuscript is best understood as the work of a choir-school student, trained as a chorister during the reign of Queen Mary, creating a book for pedagogical purposes that reflect this student’s own training but are aware of the changing needs of the Elizabethan church.¹⁴⁸

The third source for Tudor organ repertoire, Lbl Add. MS 15233, is a much smaller volume than Add. 29996 or the *Mulliner Book*, and appears to date from the 1550s, perhaps during the reign of Queen Mary.¹⁴⁹ In addition to organ works, primarily by John Redford, the manuscript also contains a play, *The Play of Wyt and Science* (also by Redford), and secular poetic texts, presumably songs to be sung by choirboys.¹⁵⁰

**Modern Editions of Vocal and Organ Polyphony**

Beginning in the late nineteenth century, multi-volume collected works of music from earlier centuries began to appear across Europe. These projects, often called *Monuments* series,¹⁵¹ were commonly undertaken along nationalist lines, also serving to collate the collected works of various composers. These projects have continued to be issued to the present day.


¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 567.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 72ff.

The choral polyphony of late medieval Britain has received this compendium treatment in more than one edition. The pioneering collection of this repertoire in Britain was the *Tudor Church Music* series, begun in 1921 under the editorial auspices of Edmund Fellowes and Herbert Howells. This series issued ten volumes before losing funding in 1929. Two decades later, the publishing house of Stainer & Bell founded its scholarly *Musica Briannica* series, issuing the first volume in 1951 and as of early 2015, comprises ninety-six volumes. *Musica Briannica* covers a wide scope of repertoire by British composers from the high Middle Ages through the early twentieth century. Stainer & Bell has also published another scholarly series, *Early English Church Music*. Begun in 1963, this series covers a much narrower scope of repertoire than *Musica Briannica*, to date it has released fifty-six volumes.

Smaller publishing firms have also specialized in scholarly performance editions of the Tudor repertoire. Notable among these are Antico Edition and Mapa Mundi. Antico Edition, under the editorial supervision of Nicholas Sandon, publishes scholarly and performance editions of individual works from such primary sources as the Henrician Peterhouse Partbooks and the Ritson Manuscript. These volumes are widely available in research libraries as well as for purchase online. Mapa Mundi was founded by Bruno Turner in 1977 to provide practical performance editions chiefly of Hispanic music of the sixteenth century, but has issued a number of volumes of Tudor music as well, including works by Robert Fayrfax, Hugh Aston, John Taverner, and John Sheppard.

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153 See the section on the *Peterhouse Partbooks*, p. 34.
CHAPTER 3. The Use of Salisbury: A Brief Overview

The church of Salisbury shines as the sun in its orb among the churches of the whole world in its divine service and those who minister in it, and by spreading its rays everywhere makes up for the defects of others. Therefore, lest through our neglect its splendour should be diminished by the unworthiness of its ministers, we ordain that hereafter none shall be presented to the office of vicar in this church unless he has a good and musical voice and skill in plainsong, besides the merits of character required in such ministers.

- Giles de Bridport, Bishop of Salisbury (1256-1262), Statutes

BACKGROUND: THE CELTIC AND ANGLO-SAXON CHURCHES

The date of the initial introduction of Christianity into the island of Britain has been forever lost to antiquity, as have the names of its first missionaries. The southern two-thirds of the island became a province of the Roman Empire during the reign of the emperor Claudius in the mid-first century AD. Most likely, the young religion was first brought to Britain by the end of the second century, either by soldiers, merchants, or slaves coming from the eastern Mediterranean, in the context of Rome’s remarkable network of far-flung travel.

The most prominent early historian of Christianity in Britain is the eighth-century monastic writer the Venerable Bede. In many instances, Bede is the only source for names, dates, and events. Although he is for the most part considered a reliable source, especially

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154 Quoted in Harrison, Medieval, 5.


157 Pfaff, Location 1479 of 20791. Pfaff writes, “It is inevitable that any treatment of what becomes England should up to about 730 be colored by the overwhelming figure of Bede; his Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum, in particular, has always been in the forefront of the consciousness of historians and other scholars who have dealt with the early Anglo-Saxon period.”
for events closer to his own lifetime, much of his work bears the stamp of legend as well, and he writes with a particular Anglo-Saxon bias.\footnote{Ibid.}

In the absence of verifiable fact, numerous legends recount the arrival of Christianity into Britain, whether Bede’s seventh-century account of the second-century King Lucius’s appeal to Pope Eleutherius,\footnote{Charles Thomas, \textit{Christianity in Roman Britain to AD 500} (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 41-42.} or the later thirteenth-century legend of Joseph of Arimathea founding a chapel at Glastonbury.\footnote{Moorman, 3.} Tertullian of Carthage and Origen of Alexandria, both writing around the year 200, mention Britain when describing the extent to which Christianity had spread throughout the empire.\footnote{Ibid., 3.} Tertullian, in \textit{Adversos Judaeos}, wrote that the Christian faith had spread to the Persians, the far side of the Sahara, Mauritania, the far reaches of Spain, the Scythians, and “places of the British not approached by the Romans.”\footnote{Thomas, 43. (\textit{Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca})} Likewise, Tertullian’s contemporary Origen wrote, in more than one homily, of the Gospel being proclaimed to the edge of the earth, even to the “\textit{land of Britain},”\footnote{Ibid. (\textit{terra Britanniae})} “\textit{which is to be found at the edge of the world}.”\footnote{Ibid. (\textit{quae mundi limites tenent})} The names of Britain’s first Christian martyrs are given by Bede as Alban, Julius, and Aaron; they cannot be dated to any precise

\begin{footnotesize}
\footnote{\textit{Adversos Judaeos}.}
\footnote{\textit{Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca}.}
\footnote{\textit{quae mundi limites tenent}.}
\end{footnotesize}
time, but the general persecution under the emperor Diocletian in 304 is the most likely contender.\footnote{Moorman, 4.}

A formal church structure was in place in Britain by 314, when three bishops – Eborius of York (Eboracum), Restitutus of London (Londinuium), and Adelphius of Colchester (Colonia Victricensis) – travelled to the Synod of Arles.\footnote{Ibid., 4; Thomas, 44. The location of Colchester (Camulodunum) as the seat of the third bishop is scholarly speculation; the source manuscript gives it a two-word name, the first of which is Colonia and the second may be Camulodensis or Lindinensis; Lincoln (Colonia Lindum) is also a possibility.} British bishops attended another Continental synod, the Council of Rimini, in 359. A handful of Roman-era chapels and other religious sites survive in England, particularly at Lullingstone and Hinton St. Mary.\footnote{Ibid., 5.}

By the middle of the next century, Rome had abandoned the colony of Britain and withdrawn its legions. However, the British Christians maintained some ties with the Church in Europe. In 429, two bishops from Gaul, Germanus and Lupus, travelled to Britian to preach against heresy.\footnote{Ibid., 6. The “heresy” is typically considered to be Pelagianism, the anti-Augustinian stance promulgated by the late-fourth century native Briton (but Roman resident) Pelagius.} A number of influential British Christian saints date from this period: Ninian, who founded a monastery at Candida Casa in Galloway in 397, Patrick (Padraig), who travelled as a missionary to Ireland in 432, and David (Dewi), who founded monasteries across Wales in the early sixth century.\footnote{Ibid., 6-9; Douglas Dales, \textit{Light to the Isles: A Study of Missionary Theology in Celtic and early Anglo-Saxon Britain} (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 1997), 31-32.}
After Rome withdrew its armies and abandoned the province of Britain, the island began to be attacked – and settled – by pagan Germanic tribes known as Jutes, Angles, and Saxons. During the second half of the fifth century, the Anglo-Saxons (“English”) gained a strong foothold over native Celtic populations on the island, beginning their conquests and settlements in the southeast, and steadily pushed westward. The native British either became absorbed into the new Anglo-Saxon structures, or fled westward into Wales and Cornwall, taking their Christian faith with them and leaving the Church in present-day England essentially to die. The sixth-century British church in Wales and Cornwall “tended to become insular and self-absorbed; and, as Bede complained, it made no attempt to convert the Saxons.”

The history of Christianity in England begins its next chapter in the late sixth century, when Pope Gregory the Great of Rome sent the monk Augustine to evangelize the English. Augustine landed in the kingdom of Kent in 597, and was received by the Christian Queen Bertha and her pagan husband, King Ethelbert. Augustine’s mission, which eventually grew into Canterbury Cathedral, was hugely successful, and Christianity spread rapidly through the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms over the course of the seventh century, although not without competition from traditional Anglo-Saxon paganism.

As the Christian Church established itself in the English kingdoms, it quickly became organized, enmeshing itself into the social, communal, and hierarchical culture of the land. Fragmentary evidence of liturgical structure – lectionaries, calendar observances, hours of the Divine Office, and prayer texts – survives from the late seventh and early eighth

170 Ibid., 9.

171 Ibid.

172 Pfaff, Location 1562.
centuries, but no complete service books survive from before the early tenth century.\textsuperscript{173} The Anglo-Saxon church leaders, episcopal and monastic, founded a number of dioceses with cathedral churches at their center.\textsuperscript{174} The earlier Celtic tradition, promulgated by missions from Ireland and Scotland into northern England, placed diocesan cathedrals in combination with, and directed by, monastic foundations; even the bishops often were in Religious orders. This monastic-episcopal tradition continued alongside the secular-episcopal cathedral system introduced by Augustine and the Roman missionaries.\textsuperscript{175}

Early English dioceses often covered very large geographical areas; the bishops appointed assisting priests known as the bishop’s \textit{familia} to travel and minister away from the cathedral centers.\textsuperscript{176} Out of this tradition, and with the growing need for more permanent church establishments in population centers far from the cathedral towns, developed what came to be known as \textit{Minster} churches – large churches staffed by secular Canons appointed by the diocesan bishop. After the Norman conquest, these Minster churches “were the origin of the collegiate churches…which played an important part in the later Middle Ages.”\textsuperscript{177} The last centers of worship to develop during the Anglo-Saxon period were the parish churches, which spread during the late eighth and ninth centuries alongside the development of manorial villages.\textsuperscript{178}

\textsuperscript{173} Pfaff, Location 1698-1712.

\textsuperscript{174} Moorman, 20ff.

\textsuperscript{175} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{176} Ibid., 27.

\textsuperscript{177} Ibid.; also see Pfaff, Location 2396.

\textsuperscript{178} Moorman, 28; Pfaff, Location 2383.
THE CHURCH IN THE NORMAN ERA

Church life in England did not suddenly or fundamentally change in the year 1066, but the political conquest of the Kingdom of England by Duke William of Normandy in that year did have drastic consequences for the ordering, hierarchy, and worship ritual of the English church, leading to a series of changes enacted over the succeeding three decades.\textsuperscript{179} One of the new king’s first orders of church business was to replace most of the remaining Anglo-Saxon bishops with Norman churchmen,\textsuperscript{180} so that by the year 1075 only one native English bishop, Wulfstan of Worcester, remained in office.\textsuperscript{181} Along with the replacement of bishops, King William also instituted a series of diocesan re-orderings, moving the seat and cathedral of six dioceses from small villages to the largest fortified town in each diocese, effectively creating new dioceses, if in name only, as the overall “number of provinces and dioceses did not change from what it had been in 1065.”\textsuperscript{182} King William also oversaw the beginning of a building project, replacing the earlier Anglo-Saxon wooden cathedral buildings with larger, more imposing structures made of stone in the new Norman-Romanesque style.\textsuperscript{183}

\textsuperscript{179} Pfaff, Location 2370.

\textsuperscript{180} A number of Norman-born bishops had been appointed to office earlier in the eleventh century by King Edward the Confessor. See Moorman, 60.

\textsuperscript{181} Moorman, 60. Wulfstan remained Bishop of Worcester until his death in 1095.

\textsuperscript{182} Pfaff, Location 3478. Also Moorman, 62. Before the end of William’s reign in 1087, Dorchester had transferred to Lincoln, Elmham to Thetford (and then to Norwich), Selsey to Chichester, Lichfield to Chester (and then to Coventry), Wells to Bath, and Sherborne moved to Salisbury.

\textsuperscript{183} Moorman, 61. Surviving examples of the Romanesque style of the Norman building project include the cathedrals at Durham, Ely, St. Alban’s, Norwich, Canterbury, and Gloucester.
One significant carry-over from the Anglo-Saxon church was the continuation of the native English system of monastic cathedrals, “unknown in Normandy.” The monastic tradition was also invigorated under the new Norman regime. In 1065, there were fewer than forty monasteries and nunneries; by the mid-twelfth century that number had swelled to more than two hundred. This number included not only Benedictine houses, but also communities of other orders unknown in England before the Conquest: Cluniac, Cisercian, and most especially Augustinian. All of these shifts served to bring the English church into closer alignment with the most recent trends and reforms of the Continental church, even as William adapted to, and claimed as his own, the traditional English model of king as head of the church within his realm, resisting subservience to Rome in the face of increased Papal power during the eleventh century.

The English church after the Norman Conquest underwent a period of liturgical shift as well – shifts that would leave a permanent mark on the face of the structure, governance, and ritual of English worship. The Normans codified a system of governance for Cathedrals, nascent in the Saxon church but standardized after ca. 1070. Each secular cathedral consisted of a body of resident clergy, known as canons, under the authority of the bishop, and presided by four dignitaries: the dean, precentor, chancellor, and treasurer. The dean, under the direct authority of the bishop, was the senior officer in cathedral governance, with

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184 Pfaff, Location 3488.
185 Moorman, 69.
186 Pfaff, Location 3489.
187 Moorman, 59.
final authority for the business and worship life of the cathedral. The precentor (literally, “first cantor,”) held responsibility for the ordering and execution of the worship life of the cathedral. The chancellor was the cathedral’s representative in the system of ecclesiastical courts, and also advised the local community in its legal concerns. The treasurer was responsible not only for the cathedral’s finances, but also for the maintenance and care of its vestments, fabrics, vessels, and other liturgical treasures. This body of clergy met together to discuss matters pertaining to the structure and governance of the cathedral in an assembly known as the Chapter, which gave its name to the room or building where such meetings were held.

One of the key figures in the liturgical reform of the English church during the nascent Norman period was Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1070. In addition to championing the new Romanesque architectural style in the construction of cathedral and other church buildings, Lanfranc was also engaged in a campaign of liturgical, structural, and disciplinary housecleaning in the English church. Most notable is his Constitutions, dating to ca. 1078, a document which outlines the ordering of a number of liturgical practices including use of vestments, specific calendrical observances (particularly during Advent, Holy Week, and certain feast days), and the ordering of hymn singing. Although Lanfranc


190 Ibid., 310.

191 Ibid., 292.

192 Ibid., 317.

193 Ibid., 292-293.

194 Pfaff, Location 3544.

195 Ibid., Locations 3559-3602.
in his *Constitutions* was writing primarily of liturgical use and customary concerns at his own Canterbury Cathedral, there is also evidence that he was concerned with a wider audience of abbeys, collegiate churches, and cathedrals across England.\(^{196}\) The *Constitutions* were highly influential as far afield as Durham Cathedral, amounting to something approaching an authoritative *Use* of Canterbury, characterized by a fusion of native English and newer Norman liturgical practices.\(^{197}\)

**SALISBURY CATHEDRAL AND SARUM USE**

**RITE AND USE**

Although often used interchangeably, the terms *Rite* and *Use* carry subtle but important distinctions, which when thoroughly grasped can avoid confusion and misunderstanding.\(^{198}\) A *Rite*, purely defined, is the overarching organization of structures and patterns, governing worship and church formation. *Rite* “connotes the collected liturgies proper to an ecclesial body, as well as certain structures of authority and administration.”\(^{199}\) Within Roman Catholicism, in those archdioceses and dioceses under the authority of the Bishop of Rome, a number of distinctive Rites exist in the present day, typically confined to specific geographic areas: the Mozarabic Rite in the Diocese of Toledo in Spain, the Ambrosian Rite in the Diocese of Milan in Italy, and the Bragan Rite in the Archdiocese of

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\(^{196}\) Ibid., Location 3630.

\(^{197}\) Ibid., Locations 3799 & 5031.


Braga in Portugal, in addition to distinctive Rites observed by certain monastic communities.\textsuperscript{200}

A number of other Rites were also extant in Western Christendom in earlier centuries, including the Gallican and Celtic Rites.\textsuperscript{201} From the time of Charlemagne in the late eighth century, however, the predominant Rite in the Western Church has been the Latin (Roman) Rite.\textsuperscript{202} The Roman Rite itself has been subject to variation and change over the centuries, notably at the Council of Trent in the mid-sixteenth century, and again after the Second Vatican Council in the mid-twentieth century.

By contrast, a \textit{Use} is a local adaptation of a Rite. It is a “variant form of a normative Rite used in a particular region, diocese, or monastic Order.”\textsuperscript{203} A Use maintains the forms and structures of its parent Rite, only differing in certain “geographically and culturally circumscribed, identifiably unique” particularities, such as ceremonial elements, chant melodies, or local calendrical observances.\textsuperscript{204} Prior to the 1530s, the English church, although adhering to the Roman Rite, exhibited a number of local Uses: those of Bangor, Hereford, Lincoln, Salisbury, and York are all attested to.\textsuperscript{205} Thus, although from time to time one will encounter in writing a reference to \textit{Sarum Rite}, this is at its core an inaccurate rendering: the forms of worship, ceremonial, and governance codified at Salisbury Cathedral

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{Unterseher200} Unterseher, 7.
\bibitem{Harper14} Harper, \textit{Forms and Orders}, 14.
\bibitem{Ibid} Ibid.
\bibitem{Ibid318} Ibid., 318.
\bibitem{Unterseher8} Unterseher, 8.
\bibitem{Harper5} Harper, \textit{Forms and Orders}, 5.
\end{thebibliography}
and exported across the British Isles were always part of the pre-Tridentine Roman Rite, and thus, properly speaking, constitutive of a local Use rather than a discrete Rite.

ON THE WORD $\textit{Sarum}$

As mentioned in Chapter 1,\textsuperscript{206} the Use of Salisbury is frequently referred to as $\textit{Sarum}$ Use. The word $\textit{Sarum}$ stems from a scribal misreading of an abbreviation in medieval manuscripts concerning Salisbury, and from an early date – sometime in the thirteenth century – was commonly used to designate the town, cathedral, ecclesiastical See, and Use of Salisbury in an overarching, monolithic way. The Latin name of the location, Sarisberium, is a cognate of the Old English Searoburh (various spellings exist) and Norman French Sarisberie, which first appears in the Domesday Book of 1086. Medieval scribal conventions included abbreviating many words, with the addition of a short horizontal stroke (¯) over the abbreviation. Thus, many documents from the twelfth century feature the rendering $\textit{Sar}$. However, the use of the horizontal stroke in medieval Latin also carried the connotation of the suffix $-um$ specifically, which suffix was common in place names. Thus, over time, the reading of the abbreviation shifted from $\textit{Sar}\text{(isberium)}$ to $\textit{Sar}(um)$.\textsuperscript{207}

However, blanket, uninformed use of the term $\textit{Sarum}$ is not without its problems. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the term was adopted by the High Church-Ritualist party in the Church of England. In a drive to enrich the conduct and experience of worship in their churches, the Ritualists sought to re-claim what they saw as lost riches of the church’s medieval past. Roman Catholic emancipation in England was still

\textsuperscript{206} See p. 4, footnote 12.

\textsuperscript{207} Unterseher, 6.
a fairly recent occurrence (1829), and anti-Roman Catholic sentiment was commonplace.\textsuperscript{208} Although at first the Ritualists looked to current, late-Tridentine, Roman practice to inform their rituals and augment their Prayer Book services, this custom became increasingly unsatisfactory, and they sought to find a more native, “authentically English” expression, in order to “distinguish itself from the…Roman Catholic Church.”\textsuperscript{209}

The Use of Sarum was identified as this sought-after “English Use,” and the influential Percy Dearmer, through his 1899 book \textit{The Parson's Handbook},\textsuperscript{210} made a detailed case for such an English Use, free from Papal entanglements.\textsuperscript{211} The word \textit{Sarum} became increasingly – misleadingly – synonymous with native English Catholicism completely separate from Rome. The fact that the medieval Sarum Use was inherently connected to, and a part of, the Roman Rite of Western Latin Catholicism was downplayed, and a century later many people still speak of a \textit{Sarum Rite} as if it were its own independent structure.\textsuperscript{212} Furthermore, Salisbury Use was not the only ecclesiastical Use in Britain before the Reformation. Even though it was to be found within their diocesan bounds as well, the dioceses of York, Lincoln, Hereford, and Bangor maintained their own local Uses, until the

\textsuperscript{208} Moorman, 401.


\textsuperscript{210} Dearmer's book went through twelve editions during his lifetime, the last in 1932.

\textsuperscript{211} Harper, “The Medieval Use of Sarum” (2013), 9.

\textsuperscript{212} Unterseher, 8.
Act of Uniformity of 1549 established the English-language Use of the *Book of Common Prayer.*

**THE MEDIEVAL SARUM USE IN CONTEXT**

One way in which the Use of Salisbury developed distinctive traits was that it was not subject to the Roman Use reforms in the fourteenth century. These reforms had been motivated by the Roman Curia and by the Franciscans, two groups that needed shorter times for worship in order to fulfill their respective administrative, ministerial, and preaching duties. Other Continental Uses came under the influence of these reforms, while the Use at Salisbury continued to maintain older, pre-fourteenth century features. As a result, these features diverged from the Continental forms and retained their distinctive character.

Sarum Use, once established, proved an influential model, and there is evidence that, as the Use spread to parish churches throughout the diocese, it was soon also adopted by a number of other cathedrals, including those as far afield as St. David’s in west Wales, and Christ Church, Dublin, in the first half of the thirteenth century. Manuscript evidence for Salisbury Use in the form of multiple thirteenth-century missals suggests an early adaptation

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213 Harper, *Forms and Orders*, 203. Harrison (*Medieval*, 49) states that “the rites of York and Hereford maintained their standing as more or less independent uses until the Reformation. York…remained distinct in its Calendar of observances, in the antiphons and responds of the Breviary, and conspicuously in its greater number of sequences, many peculiar to itself. York had one hundred and seventy-two sequences, Salisbury ninety-four and Hereford eighty-one. The differences between the Sarum and Hereford uses were of the same kind, though less extensive.”


of the Use at Exeter Cathedral. By the fifteenth century, the Use of Salisbury was the dominant ritual Use in the Province of Canterbury, which covered over half of England, and was often specifically prescribed in the statutes of new collegiate foundations, such as those at Winchester and Eton. Sarum Use was adopted in dioceses that contained monastic cathedral foundations (see Table 1), either for use in collegiate and parish churches within those dioceses, or even at the cathedrals themselves, apart from the priory churches. Among those diocesan cathedrals which had adopted the Use of Salisbury by the mid-fifteenth century were Chichester, Exeter, Lichfield, Lincoln, London (St. Paul’s), and Wells. Furthermore, Salisbury Use was influential in Augustinian Abbey churches such as those of Walsingham, St. Frideswide’s (later Christ Church, Oxford), and St. Bartholomew the Great in London. Along with the aforementioned spread to Wales (St. David’s) and Ireland (Dublin), Salisbury Use also became influential in dioceses in Scotland, such as Aberdeen, Elgin, and St. Andrews.

216 Pfaff, Location 11544ff.


221 Ibid. Harrison (50) states that Elgin adopted the Use in 1242.
Table 1. Dioceses in England and Wales During the Reigns of the Early Tudor Monarchs, 1485-1558.
(Italics indicate locations with evidence of [pre-1542] Salisbury Use.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diocese (Cathedral)</th>
<th>Cathedral Foundation (until 1536-1540)</th>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bangor</td>
<td>Secular</td>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>Own Use until 1549</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bath &amp; Wells (Bath Abbey)</td>
<td>Monastic</td>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>Bath Abbey dissolved in 1538 &amp; episcopal seat moved to Wells alone; re-founded as parish church in 1574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bristol</td>
<td>(new foundation)</td>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>New foundation, 1542</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>Monastic</td>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>Re-founded 1541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carlisle</td>
<td>Monastic</td>
<td>York</td>
<td>Re-founded 1541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chester</td>
<td>(new foundation)</td>
<td>York (originally Canterbury)</td>
<td>New foundation, 1541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clithero</td>
<td>Secular</td>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coventry &amp; Lichfield (St. Michael’s)</td>
<td>Monastic</td>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>Re-founded in 1541 as a collegiate church; Episcopal See moved to Lichfield</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dublin (Christ Church)</td>
<td>Monastic</td>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>Re-founded 1539</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dublin (St. Patrick’s)</td>
<td>Secular</td>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>Suppressed in 1547; restored to cathedral status in 1555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durham</td>
<td>Monastic</td>
<td>York</td>
<td>Re-founded 1540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ely</td>
<td>Monastic</td>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>Re-founded 1541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exeter</td>
<td>Secular</td>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloucester</td>
<td>(new foundation)</td>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>New foundation, 1541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hereford</td>
<td>Secular</td>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>Own Use until 1549</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lichfield</td>
<td>Secular</td>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>(Diocese combined with Coventry until 1837)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln</td>
<td>Secular</td>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>Own Use until 1549</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llandaff</td>
<td>Secular</td>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London (St. Paul’s)</td>
<td>Secular</td>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norwich</td>
<td>Monastic</td>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>Re-founded 1538</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford (Christ Church)</td>
<td>(new foundation)</td>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>New foundation, 1546; also the chapel for Christ Church College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peterborough (St. Peter’s)</td>
<td>(new foundation)</td>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>New foundation, 1541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rochester</td>
<td>Monastic</td>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>Re-founded 1541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Asaph</td>
<td>Secular</td>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. David’s</td>
<td>Secular</td>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salisbury</td>
<td>Secular</td>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sodor &amp; Man (Peel)</td>
<td>(Secular)</td>
<td>York</td>
<td>Transferred to Province of York in 1541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bath &amp; Wells (Wells)</td>
<td>Secular</td>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>See note on Bath, above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winchester</td>
<td>Monastic</td>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>Re-founded 1540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worcester</td>
<td>Monastic</td>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>Re-founded 1540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>York</td>
<td>Secular</td>
<td>York</td>
<td>Own Use until 1549</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The first elements of Salisbury Use to be influential in locales beyond Salisbury Cathedral were those pertaining to governance and order. Beginning in the thirteenth century, multiple cathedrals of secular structure either copied or adapted the Salisbury Statutes for their own use. However, it was not long before the liturgical and ritual elements of Salisbury Use also became influential across the kingdom. Although these various locales – whether cathedrals, collegiate churches, private chapels, or parishes – adapted the particulars of the Use to their own circumstances, its trademark stamp of distinctive chant melodies and textual particularities remained apparent. With the advent of printing, the Salisbury Use liturgical books (Breviary, Missal, Antiphoner, Hymnal, and Processional) travelled even further afield from their original home in Wiltshire, as they began to be published and distributed in print form, both throughout England as well as on the Continent.

OLD SARUM

Among the new dioceses created in the years of ecclesiastical restructuring after the Norman Conquest was that of Salisbury, in southern England. In 1075, the seat of the old Saxon diocese of Sherborne and Ramsbury was moved to the old Saxon walled town of Searoburh, situated atop an ancient Iron Age hillfort in central Wiltshire. Herman (or Hereman), who had been Bishop of Sherborne since 1045, remained bishop in the new diocese, holding that office for two years before his death in early 1078. During his two years as Bishop of Salisbury, Herman oversaw the beginning of construction on a new

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223 Ibid., 203.

224 Pfaff, Location 10525.
cathedral building, built of locally-quarried stone and designed in the new Norman Romanesque style.\textsuperscript{225}

The hillfort at Searoburh (in Latin, \textit{Sarisberium}, and in Norman French, \textit{Sarisberie}) is now known as Old Sarum. It had been the site of a settlement for millennia, predating the Roman occupation of Britain, with evidence of occupation as early as 3000 BC.\textsuperscript{226} By the end of the eleventh century, Sarisberie boasted a royal castle, a Norman motte-and-bailey structure built atop a manmade hill in the center of the natural hill. Around this castle, inside stone walls built atop the Iron Age earthworks, grew a bustling, if small, urban center.\textsuperscript{227}

The diocesan cathedral chapter at Sherborne was monastic in structure, but upon the move to Salisbury, Herman instituted a chapter of secular canons. Herman’s successor as bishop was Osmund, a cousin of King William’s, who held the office from 1078 to 1099. In 1091, Osmund drafted a constitution for the organization of the cathedral chapter, the \textit{Carta Osmundi} (Osmund’s Charter).\textsuperscript{228} This Charter established a chapter of thirty-six canons and outlined the rudiments of their communal life. Also under Osmund’s episcopacy, the first cathedral building was completed in 1092, although seemingly severely damaged by storms within weeks of its consecration.\textsuperscript{229} Osmund died in 1099, and soon after, a campaign was begun to have him canonized a saint, which after many fits and starts finally succeeded in the

\textsuperscript{225}Ibid.


\textsuperscript{227}Ibid. Accessed February 25, 2015.

\textsuperscript{228}Pfaff, Location 10593. The attribution of this Charter to Osmund himself, at least in its current form, is tenuous at best. Most historians now consider the document to be largely a twelfth- and thirteenth-century product, using Osmund’s name to lend weight to his status as the founding bishop (personal correspondence with John Harper, March 2015).

\textsuperscript{229}English Heritage, \textit{Old Sarum} List Entry, np.
From the end of the twelfth century, Osmund became associated with another cathedral document, the Institutio, which provided a much more in-depth account of the structuring of the life of the cathedral. In 1985, however, it was established that the Institutio was a product of the mid-twelfth century, and its attribution to Oswald spurious.231

After a vacancy of nearly four years, Roger le Poer succeeded Oswald as bishop of Salisbury, holding that post for over thirty years, until his death in 1139. Roger's major accomplishment as bishop was the expansion of the cathedral building. At the onset of the twelfth century, the cathedral at Old Sarum was “by far the smallest of the cathedrals built in England after the Norman Conquest,”232 with an estimated quire length of only eighteen meters – a tight fit for a cathedral chapter of over thirty resident canons.233 Bishop Roger greatly increased the size of the cathedral building, which had also never been satisfactorily repaired from the initial storm damage in 1092: he doubled the length of the quire and presbytery and added an ambulatory around it, added a treasury to the north transept, and constructed additional chapels for more altars (See Figure 5).234 Further additions to the building, including the pulpitum screen, South Porch, and west towers, were made by Jocelin de Bohun, who was bishop from 1142 to 1184.235

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230 Pfaff, Chapter 10, footnote 8, Location 10801.

231 Ibid., Location 10593.

232 Diana Greenway, Salisbury 1066-1300, xxii, quoted in Pfaff, Chapter 10, n. 10, Location 10803.

233 Pfaff, Location 10593.

234 Ibid., Location 10607.

At some point during the twelfth century, a Customary was codified for the ordering of the cathedral’s liturgy.\textsuperscript{236} The original form of this document no longer exists; what survives as the oldest liturgical witness to ritual practice at Old Salisbury Cathedral, the older form of the “Old Customary,” bound together in the manuscript known as the \textit{Register of St. Osmund}, has an estimated scribal date of ca. 1215, during the tenure of bishop Herbert Poore – the final years before the abandonment of the cathedral building at Old Sarum. “The date of copying is not necessarily the same as the date of compilation,”\textsuperscript{237} internal evidence suggests that this version had as its model a document composed in the latter half of the twelfth century, after the south porch was constructed to serve as a primary ceremonial entrance into the church.\textsuperscript{238}

\textsuperscript{236} See Chapter 2.


\textsuperscript{238} Ibid.
Figure 6. Reconstructed Plan of the Cathedral at Old Sarum, with Original Foundation Outlines Indicated.\textsuperscript{239}

One of the great ironies of the medieval Use of Salisbury is that, as the great exemplary model that spread throughout England and was widely adopted across the kingdom, very few liturgical sources survive from Salisbury itself, and most of the

information we possess about Sarum Use comes from other locations.\textsuperscript{240} The library at Salisbury Cathedral contains one of the most important and impressive collections of medieval books in England, many of which date to the earliest years of the old cathedral’s establishment.\textsuperscript{241} However, most of these books are theological works, rather than ones that deal with the liturgy of the cathedral. This discrepancy can be attributed to the fact that the theological and liturgical libraries of the cathedral were not kept together during the Middle Ages, but each was under the supervision of a different canon. The Chancellor, responsible for the maintenance of the theological library, stored his volumes in the cathedral library proper, while the Precentor, responsible for the liturgical library, kept those volumes in various cupboards and chests near the altar, in the quire, elsewhere in the cathedral,\textsuperscript{242} or in the treasury – all locations most susceptible to raiding and destruction during the Reformation.\textsuperscript{243} The fact that the Old Register version of the Old Customary survives at all is remarkable, and most likely due to its (incorrect) association with St. Osmund himself.

The reason for the Old Customary’s copying out in a manuscript that also contains other documents – including the aforementioned Carta Osmundi, and a new Constitution and inventory of cathedral possessions, both of which date to 1214 – is most likely due to the recent lifting of a Papal interdict, which had been in force since 1208.\textsuperscript{244} This interdict, imposed upon the kingdom of England by Pope Innocent III, was a politico-religious


\textsuperscript{242} The choirbooks and other liturgical texts at the chapel of Eton College were stored in chests atop the pulpitum. See Chapter 7.


\textsuperscript{244} Ibid.
manoeuvre by the Bishop of Rome in a power struggle with King John over the nomination and appointment of Stephen Langton as Archbishop of Canterbury. The declaration of interdict was one of the most powerful tools of persuasion and pressure in the Pope’s arsenal: all churches (except for cloistered monastic houses) were declared closed, with no celebrations of Mass and only the most basic of sacraments – baptism, marriage, and burial – allowed to take place. Clergy were deprived of their incomes, and many bishops and other senior clergy fled abroad, either to Scotland or France. When the interdict was finally lifted in 1214, Salisbury Cathedral re-opened after over five years of de facto closure. There was a practical need to take an inventory of the cathedral’s goods – vestments, sacred vessels, liturgical books, lamps, and the like – and to determine how they should be used. After five years of inactivity, there was also need for training junior clergy and acolytes, and a review of how the liturgy was to take place from day to day. It is within this context that the Old Register version of the Old Customary was most likely copied out. It may have been the project of Richard Poore, Dean of the cathedral and brother of the bishop. The first items discussed in the Customary are the “arrangement of seating in the choir-stalls, the rules of deportment in choir, and the duties and procedures of those who carry out the services throughout the year.”

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245 Moorman, 83.

246 Burials, however, were typically not permitted in consecrated ground during an interdict. See Harper, “The Medieval Use of Sarum” (2013), 6.

247 Moorman, 83.

248 Harrison, *Medieval*, 47.

249 Ibid.
Within three years of the lifting of the interdict, Richard Poore had succeeded his brother Henry as bishop, and had made the decision – and secured royal and papal permission in 1218 – to transfer the episcopal see of Salisbury one and a half miles to the south of the hill of Old Sarum, where he laid the groundwork for a new cathedral and made plans for a new town around it. This settlement of New Sarum would become the modern town of Salisbury. Construction of the new cathedral began in 1220. A temporary high altar was consecrated in 1225, and the cathedral Chapter officially moved to their new home in 1227, one year before Bishop Poore’s death, by which time the easternmost end of the cathedral had three additional altars ready for use.

By 1258, the nave, transepts, and quire were complete and roofed: the cathedral was dedicated in September of that year, in the presence of both the Archbishop of Canterbury and King Henry III. Eight years later the Cloisters and Chapter House were finished. The next major exterior addition came some sixty years later, with the completion of the central tower and spire, the tallest in England.

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251 Ibid.
254 Tatton Brown et al., 52.
Although the overall effect of the structure demonstrates a unified, constant architectural style throughout – known as *Early English Gothic* – research by Timothy Tatton Brown, David Lapine, and Nigel Saul has shown that as early as 1297, a number of evolutions,

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*255 Image by Jill Atherton, taken from Tatton Brown, 53.*
modifications, and adaptations punctuated the history of the structure in a more or less constant stream for the next three hundred years.\textsuperscript{256}

The new cathedral, built in the novel Early English Gothic style of architecture – tall and imposing, with high pointed arches and thin walls supported by a network of graceful flying buttresses, punctuated with large stained glass windows – was much larger than the Romanesque cathedral at Old Sarum. In contrast to the original cathedral’s thirty-six canons, the new foundation would eventually provide endowments for over fifty.\textsuperscript{257} Along with the geographic move and new building design, the writing of a revised cathedral Constitution and new Customary probably date from around this time as well, but no such documents survive.\textsuperscript{258}

Harrison discusses a new Constitution under Bishop Poore, one which makes mention of a revised \textit{Ordinale} for the new foundation, but the earliest documentary evidence appears to be a product of the latter thirteenth century.\textsuperscript{259} In fact, no new Customary appears to have been drafted at all until some time after 1279.\textsuperscript{260} Instead, a revised version of the Old Customary seems to have been maintained for use until at least the 1280s.\textsuperscript{261} As the new cathedral was built in stages (see Table 2), “it may have been difficult to prepare a new Customary, or it may not have been a priority within a community that knew its liturgy well,

\textsuperscript{256} Tatton Brown et al., 51.

\textsuperscript{257} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{258} Ibid.


\textsuperscript{261} Ibid.
and where ongoing change could readily be accommodated without the need” to take time for drafting an entirely new document. 262 Furthermore, “customaries generally represent retrospective codification of accumulated custom.” 263 Finally, by the year 1300, many of the cathedral canons, holding multiple benefices, were largely absent from the cathedral for much of the year – including the dignitaries of Dean, Chancellor, Precentor, and Treasurer. Thus, there was less impetus and incentive from the Chapter leadership to make the crafting of a new Customary a priority. 264 An adapted, makeshift version based on the Old Customary seems to have been the workable solution.

Table 2. Phases of Construction of the New Salisbury Cathedral, 1220-1330 265

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1220</td>
<td>Foundation stones laid</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca. 1225</td>
<td>First liturgies celebrated</td>
<td>Temporary high altar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1225</td>
<td>Three eastern Chapels consecrated</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1227</td>
<td>Chapter moves from Old Sarum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca. 1244</td>
<td>Quire &amp; Transepts completed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca. 1244</td>
<td>East end of Nave roof in place</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca. 1251</td>
<td>Roof completed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca. 1258</td>
<td>Nave, North Porch, West Doors completed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1258</td>
<td>Consecration of Cathedral</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca. 1263</td>
<td>Exterior West front completed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca. 1266</td>
<td>Cloister &amp; Chapter House completed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1266</td>
<td>Cathedral declared “complete”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca. 1310</td>
<td>Work begins on the tower</td>
<td>Tatton Brown et al. make the case for earlier work on the tower than previously thought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca. 1320</td>
<td>Upper reaches of the tower completed; work begins on the spire</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca. 1329-1330</td>
<td>Spire completed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


264 Ibid.

Just such a document survives: the so-called Recension of the Old Customary, GB-Lbl Harley MS 1001. This manuscript in its current form dates to the early years of the fourteenth century, and would appear to be a copy of a source document from the 1290s.\textsuperscript{266} It also does not come directly from Salisbury Cathedral itself, but instead from the parish church of Risby, in Suffolk, during the fourteenth century a part of the diocese of Norwich. Although in the ownership of the Risby parish, the document nevertheless refers specifically to the architecture and layout of the (old) cathedral of Salisbury: Norwich was a monastic cathedral, so the secular parish of Risby was precisely the type of church foundation that would look beyond its own diocesan boundaries – to Salisbury – for a liturgical Use after which to model its own patterns.\textsuperscript{267}

A new Customary, corresponding to the layout of the Gothic cathedral at New Sarum, eventually did appear. Documentary evidence from the version of the Old Customary in MS Harley 1001 points to makeshift adaptation of the architecturally-specific rubrics during the first three-quarters of a century in the new space. Eventually, however, the differences in layout between the two cathedral buildings, and the repercussions those differences had on ritual, necessitated the creation of a new Customary and Ordinal.

Although both cathedral structures were cruciform, with the same overall format of presbytery and quire separated by a pulpitum from a nave with two aisles, they had marked differences as well. The former cathedral’s primary liturgical entrance was at the South Transept, while the new cathedral made primary use of a North entrance near the West end of the Nave. The cathedral at Old Sarum had its Cloister adjacent to the East end of the

\textsuperscript{266} Harper, ed., “The Old Customary 2,” np.

\textsuperscript{267} Ibid.
North Transept, while the new cathedral’s Cloister was placed near the South side of the Nave, with an attached octagonal Chapter House.\footnote{Harper, “The Medieval Use of Sarum” (2013), 4-5.}

How these differences of spatial layout affected the ritual celebration of liturgy is clearly demonstrated by the descriptions of the Procession for Palm Sunday, as prescribed in each version of the Customary (see Plates 2 and 3). Both forms of the Procession involve a basic clockwise progression around the cathedral buildings. However, that for the new cathedral is a much more complex – and lengthy – journey, necessitating a longer antiphon and responsory to accommodate the extra travel time of the Procession.\footnote{See GB-Lbl Harley MS 1001, Chapter 38.2, for a description of the Palm Sunday Processional. Accessed at the Sarum Customary Online, URL: http://www.sarumcustomary.org.uk/exploring/downloads.php.}

Two copies of the New Customary exist from the mid to late fourteenth century. The first, GB-SB MS 175, is one of the few liturgical documents describing Sarum Use ritual to both originate from and still reside at Salisbury Cathedral.\footnote{Harper, ed., “The New Customary,” np.} The second, GB-Occ MS 44, is housed in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and may also originate from Salisbury Cathedral, but its specific provenance remains unknown.\footnote{John Harper, ed., “The Versions of the Customary,” Sarum Customary Online, URL: http://www.sarumcustomary.org.uk/customary/versions/ncc.php} The pivotal figure in the background of both of these source documents is Roger Martival, Bishop of Salisbury from 1315 to 1330. The Corpus Christi version includes an injunction for censing the tomb of Bishop Martival on Double Feasts, indicating a copying date after 1330. Bishop Martival authored a regulatory code for the cathedral during his episcopacy, which among many other topics spoke to the duties and behaviors of the vicars choral, who sang the Offices and
Plate 2. Palm Sunday Procession in the Old Cathedral, as described in the Old Customaries\textsuperscript{272}

Plate 3. Palm Sunday Procession in the New Cathedral, as described in the New Customaries\textsuperscript{273}

\textsuperscript{273} Image from John Harper, “The Medieval Use of Sarum” (2013), slide 27.
Masses in the absence of the prebendary canons.\textsuperscript{274} The New Customary is a shorter and less tidily organized document than either version of the Old Customary, and has much less information on the ceremonial of the Mass and Procession than does the Old. Nevertheless, it provides specific detail on the conduct of worship in the space of the new cathedral.\textsuperscript{275}

All of the versions of the Sarum Customary, as well as ritual instructions found in the Processionale and Ordinale, reveal an intentionality of ritual action in relation to the architectural layout of the cathedral(s). They are characterized by restraint and a focus on liturgical purpose: every participant has a particular role to play, and every ritual action and movement has an express purpose in the liturgy, be it symbolic or practical. One item of ritual gesture often singled out as distinctive of Sarum Use is the prescription of the solemn bow – rather than genuflection, as is common in the standard Western Latin Rite – at key points during the Creed and Canon of the Mass. The Customaries also stipulate, however, that genuflections are to be performed at specific times – namely, at the beginning of each Office only during the season of Lent.\textsuperscript{276} This ritual specificity serves to highlight the increased penitential and austere ethos of the Lenten season, and to further distinguish it from the rest of the year through a specific ritual action.


\textsuperscript{276} (Preterea) in Quadragesima in (i)nceptione cnuislibet bore fit genuflexio: “(Moreover) during Quadragesima [Lent] there should be a genuflection at the beginning of every hour.” The Old Customary from the Register of St. Osmund (Chippenham, W&SA, D1/1/1), 18.2. URL: http://www.sarumcustomary.org.uk/exploring/PDF_files/1%20OCO/OCO-LE.pdf
THE ENGLISH REFORMATIONS AND THE DEMISE OF SARUM USE

The beginnings of the sequence of events now understood to be the "Reformations" in England, leading ultimately to the setting aside of the Roman Rite and Sarum Use, were not theological or liturgical in nature, but instead political. King Henry VIII, as a young man a staunch supporter of the Papacy and traditionalist Western Latin orthodoxy, became embroiled in a debate with the See of Rome over a desired annulment of his marriage to Katherine of Aragon. This conflict led to questions of ecclesiastical authority within the realm of England; a conflict with precedents not only among Henry’s Norman and Plantaganet forbears, but also with roots in the ancient Anglo-Saxon church. Only over time did elements of theological and liturgical import present themselves during this process.

In its slow process of Reformation and shift from traditional, Western Rite, Latin worship to distinctive vernacular forms of worship, the English Church maintained certain foundational structures of both Divine Office and Mass. In so doing, the Church of England would maintain a commitment to “public recitation of the Office,” which “declined sharply in the Roman Church” after the early seventeenth century. This preservation of the Office took the form of Mattins and Evensong, canonically required to be recited by all ordained clergy, and sumptuously sung by choirs in the collegiate churches and cathedrals down to the present day.

277 See, for example, Dana Marsh, Henry VIII's Reformation, particularly the Introduction and Chapter 1.

278 See Moorman, 39, 81-84, and 167-170.

279 Harper, Forms and Orders, 166.

280 In Anglican convention, Mattins (so spelled) refers to the Prayer Book Office of Morning Prayer, distinctive from the earlier Divine Office of Matins.
Table 3. Chronology: Steps Towards Vernacular Liturgy and the *Book of Common Prayer*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Monarch</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1517</td>
<td>Henry VIII</td>
<td>Martin Luther: 95 Theses</td>
<td>Henry VIII condemns Lutheranism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1521</td>
<td>Henry VIII</td>
<td><em>Assertio Septem Sacramentorum</em></td>
<td>Henry VIII’s written condemnation of Luther</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1533</td>
<td>Henry VIII</td>
<td>Statute in Restraint of Appeals</td>
<td>Establishes King as final legal authority for all matters temporal and religious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1534</td>
<td>Henry VIII</td>
<td>Act of Supremacy</td>
<td>The monarch is “Supreme Head” of the Church in England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1536</td>
<td>Henry VIII</td>
<td>Marshall’s Primer</td>
<td>English-language primer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1537</td>
<td>Henry VIII</td>
<td>Dissolution of the Monasteries begins</td>
<td>Not completed until 1540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1538</td>
<td>Henry VIII</td>
<td>Matthew’s Bible</td>
<td>English-language Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1537</td>
<td>Henry VIII</td>
<td>Archbishop of York: Vernacular elements in liturgy</td>
<td>Epistle &amp; Gospel to be read in English during the Mass; Lessons to be read in English at Mattins and Vespers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1538</td>
<td>Henry VIII</td>
<td>Vernacular elements in liturgy</td>
<td>Creed, Lord’s Prayer, Ten Commandments allowed in English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1538</td>
<td>Henry VIII</td>
<td>Six Articles</td>
<td>Affirmation of traditional Latin theology: transubstantiation, communion in one kind, clerical celibacy, vows, private Masses, private confession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1539</td>
<td>Henry VIII</td>
<td>Matthew’s Bible re-issued as the Great Bible</td>
<td>Authorised by the King for placement and use in English churches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1544</td>
<td>Henry VIII</td>
<td>The Exhortation &amp; Litany</td>
<td>Published &amp; mandated for use in processions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1545</td>
<td>Henry VIII</td>
<td>The King’s Primer</td>
<td>English-language versions of the Offices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1547</td>
<td>Edward VI</td>
<td>Injunctions</td>
<td>Images in churches to be removed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1548</td>
<td>Edward VI</td>
<td>Order of Communion</td>
<td>Communion (Mass) liturgy in the Vernacular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1549</td>
<td>Edward VI</td>
<td><em>Book of Common Prayer</em></td>
<td>Complete liturgies in English; Official Use for all England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1552</td>
<td>Edward VI</td>
<td><em>Book of Common Prayer</em></td>
<td>More radical and Reformist than 1549; Six Articles also repealed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1553</td>
<td>Mary I</td>
<td>Accession to Throne</td>
<td>Reversal of earlier Reforms; Return to Papal authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1556</td>
<td>Mary I</td>
<td>Execution of the “Oxford Martyrs:” Latimer, Ridley, and Cranmer</td>
<td>The tide of public sentiment gradually turns away from Mary’s position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1559</td>
<td>Elizabeth I</td>
<td>Act of Uniformity</td>
<td>Severance from Rome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1559</td>
<td>Elizabeth I</td>
<td>Elizabethan Settlement</td>
<td>3rd <em>Book of Common Prayer</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Part of the reason the English church experienced this distinctive form of ecclesiastical transformation was the gradual, progressive, episodic nature of the English Reformation.\textsuperscript{281}

Even the \textit{Book of Common Prayer} itself, the linchpin of Anglican identity, took shape over a number of years: Cranmer’s first draft of what would become the 1549 Prayer Book, which would be further revised in 1552 and 1559, was completed around 1538.

**HENRY VIII (r. 1509-1547)**

Henry VIII was not born to be king: his elder brother, Arthur, Prince of Wales, was the heir apparent to Henry VII – the first Tudor King – until his unexpected and untimely death at the age of fifteen in 1502.\textsuperscript{282} Arthur left a young widow, the princess Katherine of Aragon, who was seen as key to the maintenance of an important alliance with the powerful Spanish monarchs in the never-ending chess match of late-medieval European politics. Upon his accession to the throne, after a period of hesitation and deliberation, the eighteen-year-old Henry married Katherine in 1509, an act that would begin a cascade of consequences unforeseen by any at that point.

Henry possessed a keen intellectual mind, paired with a strong sense of tradition and loyalty. When the nascent Lutheran movement first made its way to England, by way of the scholars at Cambridge University in the 1520s, the king quickly rushed to suppress it.\textsuperscript{283} However, the movement for church reform grew and spread: Henry, very much in keeping

\textsuperscript{281} Harper, \textit{Forms and Orders}, 167.

\textsuperscript{282} Moorman, 161.

\textsuperscript{283} Ibid., 163.
with the ideas of his day, equated religious dissent with political dissent, and regarded reformers as disloyal subjects, punishable as traitors.284

In 1527, the sands shifted, when after eighteen years of marriage Henry as of yet had no male heir, and only one living daughter. Henry sought a means for declaring his marriage to Katherine null, which justification he found in the logic that marriage to his brother’s widow was forbidden according to Leviticus 20:21. Only the Pope could declare a marriage annulled: however, in the 1520s Pope Clement VII was held political hostage by Carlos V, Holy Roman Emperor – and Katherine’s uncle.285 As a man desperate for resolution and action, while still seeking the stamp of legitimacy and legality, Henry forged an uneasy alliance with his former adversaries: moderate church reformists who would gladly enter into a dispute with the Bishop of Rome and not flinch at the thought of severing ties with the Papacy over the question of the annulment. Henry had no desire for ecclesiastical reform in its fundamentals, either liturgical or structural, but his anxiety over the marriage question was paramount in his thinking. The process of separation from Papal authority began in 1532, culminating with the Act in Restraint of Appeals of 1534, which declared England to be an “empire,” an ancient sovereign state with no necessary allegiance to any foreign prelate, temporal or spiritual. This act proclaimed the king to be supreme head of both State and Church.286

After Henry’s break with Rome in 1534, the Use of Salisbury, as the most prevalent expression of the Roman Rite in England, was the de facto official liturgy of the English

284 Ibid.

285 Ibid.

286 Ibid., 167.
church (*Ecclesia Anglicana*). In 1542, the Use of Salisbury was formally declared by royal edict to be the normative liturgical Use throughout all dioceses in the Province of Canterbury in England and Wales. However, as Henry had surrounded himself with reformist-minded academics and churchmen during the years of his marriage controversies, these advisors had gradually assumed positions of power and leadership in his government and in the church; a drive for church reform slowly but steadily pushed its way into the king’s ear. Henry maintained his conservative ecclesiastical bent to the end, but also was convinced of the reasonableness of many of his advisors’ agendas and concerns, and as Supreme Head of the Church was the final authority in how the official policies of the English Church would proceed. Gradual changes emerged: in the context of a Latin-language Mass and Office, the reading of scripture lessons and recitation of the Creed in English; the officially sanctioned translation and placement of English-language Bibles in every church in the kingdom; and the creation and promulgation of an English-language Litany.

**EDWARD VI AND THE FIRST AND SECOND BOOKS OF COMMON PRAYER (r. 1547-1553)**

King Henry died on January 28, 1547 (1546 OS), and was succeeded by his only son, the nine-year-old Edward. On the Feast of Pentecost (June 9) in the year 1549, the newly

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288 Harper, “The Medieval Use of Sarum” (2013), 2. At this time the Province of York only included the dioceses of York, Carlisle, and Durham.

289 For a more thorough discussion of Henry’s religious conservatism in the midst of reformist tendencies among many of his advisors, see Dana Marsh, “Sacred Polyphony ‘Not Understandid’: Medieval Exegesis, Ritual Tradition and Henry VIII’s Reformation,” *Early Music History* 29 (2010), 33-77. Of particular interest to the present topic is Marsh’s discussion of the commissioned but never published *Ceremonyes to be used in the churche of Englonde* of 1540.
published Book of Common Prayer became the uniform and sole legally recognized medium for public worship in the Church of England. The Prayer Book established the use of the English language for all liturgical observances, both the Daily Offices (now only two: Mattins and Evensong) and the Mass, also called the “Supper of the Lord and holy Communion.” However, vernacular liturgies had been featured in churches and cathedrals throughout the kingdom for the previous two years, since the autumn of 1547, most notably in the young king’s Chapel Royal. Thomas Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury and liturgical-literary genius behind the Book of Common Prayer, published an Order for Communion, an English-language setting of the Mass, some twelve months before the appearance of the Prayer Book itself. Contemporary accounts remark on the prevalence of English-language Mass celebrations in London, including the Chapel Royal, Westminster Abbey, and St. Paul’s Cathedral, during 1548 and 1549. With the appearance of Mass liturgies in the vernacular, and most especially of the Prayer Book, musical settings of the Latin Mass became obsolete. Churches and chapels with choral establishments found themselves in immediate need of new repertoires of sacred music in English, Mass and Office settings among them.

Musicians and composers responded to this need in a variety of ways, initiating a period of great experimentation and stylistic change. This period of musical change was complicated by a series of political upheavals with religious consequences: 1552 saw the

290 The Book of Common Prayer (1549), 2.
292 Wrightson, xii. See also Williamson, Sheppard, xii n. 25.
293 An important musical manuscript survives from the very crucible period in question: the so-called “Wanley” partbooks of Oxford’s Bodleian Library (GB-Ob Mus. Sch. e. 420-422), which has been dated to the years 1547-1549.
publication of Cranmer’s second *Book of Common Prayer*, requiring yet further changes to the form and shape of English liturgy. The 1552 Prayer Book exhibited a much more overtly radical and Genevan-Reformed character, particularly in its Communion Service, removing the term “Mass” (used in the 1549 book) from its wording, moving the *Gloria in excelsis Deo* to the end of the liturgy, removing any reference to priestly vestments, replacing the word “Altar” with “Table,” and specifying that the priest should celebrate “standing at the north syde of the Table.”

One of the methods that church musicians during Edward’s reign employed to fill the need for music in English was that of *contrafactum* – the retrofitting of a pre-existent Latin-texted work with a new text in the vernacular. This method of musical recycling and re-purposing had the added benefit of allowing choirs to continue to perform music already in their known repertoire, albeit with new texts. The use of *contrafacta* would continue after the accession of Elizabeth in 1559 – in this guise, a number of choral works that began their life as antiphons for Latin ritual would remain in the canon of reformed Anglican vernacular cathedral repertoire until the late seventeenth century and beyond.

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294 Geneva (Switzerland) was the center of operations for the Reformer John Calvin and his followers, who advocated much more radical points of departure from existing Western (Latin-Roman) Christianity than did Martin Luther and his adherents. Genevan (adjective) refers to the theological and liturgical philosophies espoused by Calvin’s followers.


QUEEN MARY I: REACTION AND RESTORATION (R. 1553-1558)

When Edward VI’s eldest sister, Mary\textsuperscript{297} succeeded him to the throne in the summer of 1553, she swiftly acted to repeal her brother’s legislations and restore not only the Latin Rite liturgies, but also ties with the See of Rome. Mary restored to their episcopacies many of the bishops who had been deposed by her brother, and imprisoned many key reformers who had not fled to the Continent, including Thomas Cranmer.\textsuperscript{298} Married priests were removed from their posts, and churches were restored with the furnishings they had prior to 1547, including a return to stone altars, rood screens, and images and statuary. The Prayer Book was banned and liturgy according to the Latin Rite – with the customs and practices of Sarum Use – once more became normative.\textsuperscript{299}

This move, effectively an English “Counter-Reformation,” obliged composers and choirs to once more provide Latin Mass settings and Office music. Composers responded to this change in several ways. There was an interest in recapturing the grand, expansive compositional language of the early sixteenth century, exemplified in the votive antiphons, responds, and Mass settings of John Sheppard and William Mundy.\textsuperscript{300} This trend has been interpreted as a deliberate encouragement on the part of Queen Mary to consciously hearken back to the “golden age” of the reign of her father, during his most powerful years before the tensions with Rome began.\textsuperscript{301} In fact, the \textit{Act of Repeal} of late 1554 effectively undid all

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext[297]{Mary was the sole surviving child of Henry VIII and Queen Katherine of Aragon, whose marriage to Henry was declared annulled and invalid by Thomas Cranmer in 1533.}

\footnotetext[298]{Moorman, 192.}

\footnotetext[299]{Ibid.}

\footnotetext[300]{Williamson, \textit{John Sheppard}, xvii-xix. See also Benham, \textit{Latin Church Music}, 162-176.}

\footnotetext[301]{Benham, \textit{Latin Church Music}, 162-176.}
\end{footnotes}
ecclesiastical legislation that had been enacted since 1528, with the sole exception of monastic dissolution. In the context of this legislated return to utmost ecclesiastical conservatism, some of the most opulent musical expressions of Sarum Use liturgy date from the period of Mary’s reign, in expressions of musical-liturgical grandeur not encountered for thirty years.

The return to traditional, pre-Reformation religious expression was fierce but brief. Upon her accession and coronation, Mary had the tide of public opinion largely on her side: people were happy to return to familiar modes of worship, which had been overturned for only four years. However, two of her most prominent decisions backfired and turned the tide of public sentiment against her – and, in large part, the traditions that she represented. First, her marriage to Prince Felipe of Spain, with the political ramifications of a future united Spanish-English kingdom, was tremendously unpopular in England. Second, her decision to actively and aggressively persecute, and execute, not only the publicly visible leaders of the reform movement, such as Thomas Cranmer, but also religious dissenters across all social classes, further drove a wedge between her and her subjects.

**QUEEN ELIZABETH I AND THE ELIZABETHAN SETTLEMENT (1558-1559)**

In November 1558, Mary died, and was succeeded by her half-sister Elizabeth, under whose rule the *Book of Common Prayer* was once more published, and worship in

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302 Ibid., 194.

303 See Chapter 10.


305 Moorman, 197-198.

306 Elizabeth was the daughter of Henry VIII and Queen Anne Boleyn.
English, free from Papal authority – after only a five year-hiatus – was again the law of the land. Upon her accession to the throne, Elizabeth’s first act in Parliament, in January 1559, was the passage of the *Act of Supremacy*, which reinstated her father’s anti-Roman statutes, proclaimed Elizabeth as “supreme governor” of both State and Church, and revoked jurisdictional authority of any “foreign prince, person, prelate, state or potentate, spiritual or temporal.”\(^{307}\) The Act of Supremacy further explicitly restored the administration of the Sacramental chalice to the laity in the Mass, which had been revoked under Mary.\(^{308}\) For a brief period of time, a modified Sarum Use of the Roman Rite, not unlike that found in the final years of her father’s reign, was the “official” liturgy of the English church: Latin-language Mass and Offices, with a vernacular Epistle, Gospel, Creed, and Our Father, and optional use of the Litany.\(^{309}\) The Act of Supremacy was soon followed by passage of the *Act of Uniformity*, which proclaimed a new Prayer Book, largely modelled after that of 1552 but with some of the earlier 1549 language inserted. The new Prayer Book was declared obligatory for use by June 1559. Although decidedly reformist and anti-Papist, Elizabeth’s religious settlement was somewhat more moderate and less severely Genevan-leaning than that under her brother ten years prior.\(^{310}\)

This posture was not without its own difficulties: the moderate *via media* between Geneva and Rome was an uneasy balance, out of which grew the Low Church (Puritan) and High Church parties that would define the struggles of the English church for the next century. In 1561, a motion in Church Convocation put forward by the reformist party, to

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307 Quoted in Moorman, 200.

308 Ibid.


310 Ibid.
ban the use of all pipe organs in English worship, was defeated by only one vote.\footnote{311}{John Harper, “Church Music and the English Reformation,” lecture given at St. John’s Episcopal Church, Washington, CT, 11 October 2013.} Thus, over the course of a single decade in the middle of the sixteenth century, not only were the bishops and other clergy in England required to make significant decisions about their loyalties,\footnote{312}{After the passage of the 1559 Act of Uniformity, all but one – Bishop Kitchin of Llandaff – of the sitting English bishops, most appointed by Queen Mary, refused to take the oath and were deprived of their sees. See Moorman, 201-202.} but church composers and musicians more than once were obliged to reinvent themselves musically, liturgically, and stylistically, with no certainty as to how permanent each change might be.

With the reaffirmation of the \textit{Book of Common Prayer} in 1559, the medieval Use of Salisbury came to an end in English worship. However, remnants of Sarum Use are to be discerned within elements of the vernacular Anglican liturgy of the Prayer Book, perhaps most notably in the Litany, which in its present manifestation is only very slightly modified from Thomas Cranmer’s text of 1544 – which, in turn, was directly based upon the models of pre-Mass processionals frequently employed in medieval Sarum Use.\footnote{313}{Gordon Jeanes, “Cranmer and Common Prayer,” in Charles Hefling and Cynthia Shattuck, eds., \textit{The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer: A Worldwide Survey} (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 23.} Furthermore, Sarum Use, in the most literal meaning of that term, is very much alive and thriving in the present day:

\begin{quote}
Across the ages it means, quite simply, what happens in the liturgy in Salisbury Cathedral. At the present time, it is the way in which the worship of the Church of England is conducted within the liturgical space of Salisbury Cathedral by its clergy, musicians, singers, servers, vergers and congregation... Ultimately the Use of Sarum identifies the way in which the cathedral community worships in this building.\footnote{314}{Harper, “The Medieval Use of Sarum” (2013), 1, 9.}
\end{quote}
Chapter 4. The Divine Office in the Church Year

And we believe that the divine presence and the eyes of the Lord are in every place…Therefore we should consider the manner in which we conduct ourselves in the sight of the Deity and his angels, and thus inhabit our singing of Psalms so that our minds are in harmony with our voices.

- St. Benedict of Nursia, Rule, XIX:1, 5-7

The practice of marking the passage of the day with prayer is older than the Christian Church: the recitation of corporate prayers at specific times of the day was observed by Jewish communities in the first century, and it was within these communities that the earliest Christian assemblies took form. The Book of Acts in the New Testament describes this nascent Church as being from the beginning a body concerned with prayer and worship: “All these with one accord devoted themselves to prayer….And they devoted themselves to the apostles’ teaching and fellowship, to the breaking of bread and the prayers.” The separation of the earliest church bodies from their Jewish parent communities occurred gradually over a period of decades – if not more than a century in some locales – but


318 The history of the chronology of the formal separation of Christianity from Judaism (or, indeed, if it can even best be described thus, rather than two distinct forms emerging alongside each other from a common parent tradition) is a contentious and much-debated topic among Church and Jewish historians and is well beyond the scope of this study. Although Christians began to be expelled from synagogues probably beginning in the 80s AD, scholarship suggests that in some locales Christians continued to self-identify as Jews and worship in community with non-Christian Jews as late as the middle of the second century if not beyond. See N.T. Wright, The New Testament and the People of God (London: SPCK, 1992), 161ff. See also F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone, eds., “Church.” The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 347.
“even if Christians did cease to pray in common with other Jews at an early date, the pattern of their worship was undoubtedly very strongly influenced by the Jewish worship from which it sprang.”

The Didachē (Διδαχή), a short manual of Christian practice most likely dating to the final decades of the first century, prescribes recitation of the Our Father (the Lord’s Prayer) thrice daily, pointing to the establishment of “a regular daily cycle of hours for prayer...probably morning, noon, and evening.”

As the centuries progressed and the church grew and formalized its structures, its practices of corporate prayer likewise became more formalized and codified, although detailed accounts of the shape and structure of Christian worship during these first centuries is sorely lacking.

The rise and growth of monasticism in the fourth and fifth centuries, with its attendant structures of daily prayer, significantly influenced the corporate worship of the Western Church, both within and beyond the confines of monastic communities. St. Benedict of Nursia, the founder of the Benedictine Order and “father of Western monasticism,” established a monastic community at Monte Cassino in central Italy around the year 529. Here he composed his Rule, the code of practices, behaviors, and structures that defined the lives of the monks in the community.

In his Rule, St. Benedict made provision for a round of eight communal prayer services each day, grounded in the reading of Psalms, which he termed Opus Dei — the work of God. This cycle of daily prayers became

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322 Ibid., 18-19.


It is common in contemporary parlance to refer to the Hours as “monastic” hours, but such a designation does not accurately portray the realities of the worship life of the Church before the Reformations. The structured cycle of daily prayer centred around the Psalter was as much a part of the quotidian reality of secular institutions, whether cathedrals or parish churches, as it was of the professed Religious houses such as those of the Benedictines or Cistercians. For the medieval Christian, “church” was not something that happened on Sunday morning alone, with the building standing largely empty and unused through the week. Instead, a pattern of both Mass and Office celebrated throughout the week – and day – meant that the houses of worship of medieval Europe were constantly active hubs of communal devotion and prayer for clergy and laity alike.

However, the structure of daily prayer normative in the Western Church did have its particular origins in the monastic tradition. In the eighth and early ninth centuries, liturgical reformers such Amalarius of Metz and St. Alcuin of York took much of their influence from the configurations of the earlier, sixth century Rule established by St. Benedict. In the decades and centuries following the foundation of the Benedictine tradition, a number of churches in the city of Rome were actually staffed by Benedictine monks, who per matter of course brought their own patterns of worship and prayer with them. These, in turn, were modified and adapted over the years, as were the structures of the monastic traditions themselves. The liturgical reforms and ideas advocated by Alcuin and Amalarius were codified under the authority of the Holy Roman (Frankish) Empire and spread across
Europe under the stamp of Papal desire for ecclesiastical unity. Thus, this ultimately monastic-inspired structure of daily prayer, grounded in the recitation of the Psalms, along with regular celebration of the Mass, took root as the normative experience of worship in the Western Church.\(^{325}\) By the end of the ninth century, two distinct forms of Divine Office celebration – the so-called “Secular” and “Monastic” – had taken shape throughout Christendom.\(^{326}\)

It is an oversimplification to describe these two forms of the Office, Secular and Monastic, as if they existed and were observed uniformly and consistently in all locales. Throughout the Middle Ages, variation and local adaptation were the norm rather than the exception, and even within the confines of an individual church foundation, specifics of observance would change based on such factors as the time of year (e.g., longer days in summer and shorter days in winter might affect the specific hour at which an Office was prayed).\(^{327}\) Nevertheless, for the sake of simplicity and examination, it is helpful to consider the two major forms (Monastic and Secular) in a broad, general sense; the present study concerns itself exclusively with the “Secular” forms, as those were the predominant contexts to produce both the Salisbury Cathedral Use and the polyphonic elaborations that grew from it.

By at the latest the eleventh century, the following pattern of daily observance became normative, grounded in the system first developed by St. Benedict in the sixth century: eight distinct Offices, with, in addition, at least one if not two or three Masses. The “day” began in the middle of the night, or the earliest hours of the morning, with \textit{Matins},

\footnote{Harper, \textit{Forms and Orders}, 19.}


\footnote{Harper, \textit{Forms and Orders}, 74.}
followed at set intervals by Lauds, Prime (the “first” hour [of daylight]), Terce (the “third” hour), Sext (the “sixth” hour), None (the “ninth” hour), Vespers, and Compline. High Mass would typically be celebrated following Terce, Sext, or None, with an additional Morrow (morning) Mass celebrated earlier in the morning, following either Prime or Terce. The Hours themselves were classified as either “Major” or “Little,” based on their overall length. The Major Hours consisted of Matins, Lauds, and Vespers. Prime, Terce, Sext, and None were the Little Hours. Compline was sometimes considered a Major Hour, sometimes a Little Hour.329

In its early manifestations under St. Benedict’s Rule, the cycle of Offices could be mapped symmetrically onto a clock-face, as indicated in Figure 3. However, by the tenth and subsequent centuries the highly variable pattern discussed above, somewhat less symmetrical, might look more akin to the structure set forth in Figure 4. Another factor in the shifting of the specific times of Office observance was, over the centuries, the lengthening of the duration of each of the Hours through the addition of more elaborate chants, Versicles, Hymns, and other elements to the original Benedictine models. The various Offices contained a number of structural elements in common: they all began with an opening Versicle, included substantial Psalmody, and contained a Hymn, a mid-office Versicle, at least a brief reading or sentence of Scripture, and set prayers and blessings. Variations between monastic and secular observances of the Offices could be slight (as at Lauds, the Little Hours, and Vespers) or substantial (as at Matins and Compline). The following discussion will focus primarily on the secular forms of the Offices.

328 Ibid., 45-46.

329 Ibid.
Figure 8. Daily Structure of the Divine Office under Benedict’s Rule\textsuperscript{330}

![Diagram of Divine Office under Benedict's Rule]

12:00: Matins (AM), Sext (PM)
3:00: Lauds (AM), None (PM)
6:00: Prime (AM), Vespers (PM)
9:00: Terce (AM), Compline (PM)

\textit{Daily High Mass typically follows Terce or Sext}

\textit{Morrow Mass typically follows Prime or Terce}

Figure 9. Daily Structure of the Divine Office in a Medieval Secular Foundation (in Northern Europe).\textsuperscript{331}

![Diagram of Divine Office in Medieval Secular Foundation]

\textsuperscript{330} Graphic by the author.

\textsuperscript{331} Graphic from Harper, \textit{Forms and Orders}, p. 47.
The daily cycle of prayer began in the middle of the night, typically around midnight, with the Office of Matins, also known as Vigils or Nocturns. In secular uses, the practice over time typically became to combine the Offices of Matins and Lauds together so that the latter would begin without pause at the conclusion of the former, while the norm in monastic communities through the medieval period was to maintain the formal separation between Matins and Lauds. The praying community would, in either case, return to a second period of sleep following the midnight office.

Along with Lauds and Vespers, Matins was one of the Major Hours, distinguished by a more complex structure, and more reading of scripture, than the other Hours. Matins was also, as a rule, subject to more substantial variation, based on the solemnity of the day, than other Offices, and also displayed marked differences between its secular and monastic forms. In its most basic structure, secular Matins followed an outline of three major sections: opening material, Nocturns, and concluding material. The opening material, involving Versicles, an invitatory Psalm, and Hymn, mirrored at least in surface details the opening structure of other Offices. The conclusion, most often involving the singing of *Te Deum laudamus*, paralleled the singing of Canticles in Lauds, Vespers, and Compline. The Nocturns, which distinguished Matins from the other Offices, comprised the bulk of the Matins liturgy. Depending on the solemnity of the day, the Matins Office would contain either one or three complete Nocturns. Each Nocturn consisted of a group of Psalms (with antiphons),

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332 In this discussion of the structure of the Offices, particularly Matins, I am indebted to the disseminations provided by Prof. John Harper in Chapter 6 of *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy*, especially pages 86-108.

333 Monastic Matins could also comprise, on summer ferias, two Nocturns. See Harper, *Forms and Orders*, 92.
Versicles with responses, the Our Father, and readings from scripture with prayers and Responds.

LAUDS

In Secular observance, as mentioned above, Lauds typically followed Matins without pause. Contrastingly, monastic uses would more typically provide a break between the services, as much as an hour or more. Liturgically speaking, Lauds, unlike Matins, exhibited only slight variation between its secular and monastic forms.

Lauds opened with a seasonal Versicle and response, followed by the Versicle that it shared in common with the other Offices: *Deus in adjutorium meum intende/ Domine ad adjuvandum me festina* (“O God make speed to save me/O Lord make haste to help me”). This was followed directly by the first recitation of the *Gloria Patri – Gloria Patri et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto: Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper, et in sæcula sæculorum. Amen* (“Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost: As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen”), and, except during Lent, the *Alleluia*. A series of Psalms, some fixed, some changing, followed, with either a single antiphon framing them or each with its own antiphon. The Psalmody was followed by the Chapter, a brief reading of Scripture, typically only a verse or two, with its attendant response *Deo gratias* (“Thanks be to God”). Next came the Hymn, Versicle, and the Canticle – in the case of Lauds, the *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*, the Song of Zechariah from Luke 1:68. On weekdays, but typically not

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334 When more than one Nocturn featured in Matins, the custom was for the Second and Third Nocturns to contain readings from the Lives of the Saints, or sermons from early Church Fathers, rather than from Biblical passages. See Harper, *Forms and Orders*, 88.

335 Matins alone differed from this pattern, opening with the Versicle *Domine labia mea aperies/ Et os meum anno ntiahit laudem tuam* (“O Lord, open thou my lips/And my mouth shall shew forth thy praise”), followed directly by the *Deus in adjutorium*. This distinction pointed to a liturgical acknowledgment that Matins represented the first speech of the day, communal or individual, following the night’s sleep.
Sundays or feasts, the *Kyrie eleison*, Lord’s Prayer, and Preces followed. Finally, the Collect for the week or day and concluding Versicle – *Benedicamus Domino*/*Deo gratias* (“Let us bless the Lord / Thanks be to God”) – brought the Office of Lauds to a close.

**THE LITTLE HOURS: PRIME, TERCE, SEXT, AND NONE**

Taken as a group, these four daytime Hours were shorter, simpler, and subject to less seasonal or weekly variation than the Major Hours. Prime was the longest of the four Little Hours, but nevertheless followed the same basic structural outline as the other three. Setting the Little Hours apart from the other Offices was the absence of a Canticle, and the placement of the Hymn before, rather than after, the Psalmody.

Prime, typically observed shortly after sunrise, began with the same opening material as Lauds – *Deus in adjutorium*, followed by the *Gloria Patri* and, except during Lent, *Alleluia*. As was typical of the Little Hours, the Hymn came next: at Prime, the Hymn was always *Jam lucis orto sidere* (“Now that the light is risen”), which could vary in its melody according to the season. This was followed by the Psalmody, with a single antiphon, which on ferias included Psalms 53, 118:1-16, and 118:17-32.\(^{336}\) On Sundays and feast days this rota was expanded to also include Psalms 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, and 117; the Athanasian Creed (*Quicumque vult*) was also included here on Sundays and certain feasts. The Chapter followed, then the Respond and Versicle, after which came the *Kyrie eleison*, Our Father, and (unique to Prime and Compline), the Apostles’ Creed – *Credo in Deum*. Two sets of Preces, separated by Confession and Absolution (the same structure found at Compline), were followed by a set unchanging Collect, and finally the *Benedicamus Domino*.

The other three daytime Offices – Terce, Sext, and None – adhered to a common structure, the shortest and simplest of all the Offices. Terce was prayed mid- or late-

\(^{336}\) Psalm numbering in the text follows that of the Latin Vulgate. See Appendix II, Note 1.
morning, often in aggregation with one of the daily Masses. Sext was the midday Office, typically observed around noon. None, prayed in the afternoon, was the final of these “Little Hours.” These Offices opened with the standard Deus in adjutorium and Gloria Patri with Alleluia, followed by the Hymns (as at Prime, the Hymn texts were invariable, but the chant melodies might change with the seasons). The Hymn at Terce was Nunc sancte nobis spiritalus (“Come, Holy Ghost”); at Sext, Rector potens verax Deus (“O God of truth and Lord of might”); and at None, Rerum Deus tenax vigor (“O God, whose power unmoved”). Psalmody at these Hours was invariably from Psalm 118, with antiphons. Following the Psalmody, the Chapter, Respond, Versicle, Collect (of the week or feast day), and Benedicamus Domino completed the services.

**VESPERTINE**

Vespers, the evening Office, was usually prayed in conjunction with sunset. Its form closely resembled that of Lauds, albeit with two major differences. Rather than a fixed Psalmody (as at Lauds), that of Vespers changed from day to day, the community progressing sequentially through the Psalter. Between the Chapter and Hymn, a short Respond was added on particular feast days. The Canticle at Lauds was the Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel; at Vespers it was invariably the Magnificat, the Song of Mary from Luke 1:46. In the Use of Salisbury, during much of the year Vespers was fused with Compline without break (or, with a votive antiphon service bridging the two – see Chapter 6). By the late Middle Ages, Vespers also became a favorite service for polyphonic elaboration by composers, particularly in settings of the Magnificat.

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In keeping with its Jewish inheritance from the earliest centuries, the Church, and monastic communities in particular, recognized sunset as the heralding of the new day. Thus, the Vespers Office served a dual purpose of bringing the current day to a close and looking ahead to the day to come. This “vigil” observance meant that principal feasts, as well as Sundays, would include two associated Vespers – one the evening before, and one on the day itself, which came to be known as First Vespers and Second Vespers, respectively.

**COMPLINE**

In comparison with the other Offices, Compline was of a similar length to Lauds and Vespers, but had very little in the way of seasonal or festal variation in its propers, making it in that respect more akin to the Little Hours, bearing certain parallels particularly with Prime. When not observed directly following Vespers, Compline was typically held around nine o’clock, soon before the community retired to sleep. Secular and monastic treatments of Compline exhibited more differentiation between them than any other Office save Matins. The Office of Compline will be examined in fuller detail in the following chapter.

**CYCLES OF TIME: TEMPORALE AND SANCTORALE**

The daily structure of Offices was both enhanced and complicated by a series of larger cycles superimposed upon it. The first was a variable cycle based on the days of the week (the “Weekly Cycle”). The second was a yearly pattern of liturgical seasons (the Temporale), and third a calendar of liturgically prescribed fixed-date feasts and observances (the Sanctorale).338

In the Weekly Cycle, Sunday received particular treatment and was subject to variations from the standard pattern of office observance on other days. This could take the

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form of lengthening of the Office (as was the case with Matins), a change in ritual or ceremonial action including the use of alternate plainchant melodies, or the recitation of different Psalms. In the Weekly Cycle, Sunday observance began with Saturday Vespers. The other days, from Monday Matins through Saturday None, were considered feria – that is, non-festal weekdays – unless otherwise distinguished by events in the Temporale and Sanctorale.  

The Temporale is the organization of the year into seasons of liturgical observance, in a combination of fixed-date observances and variable cycles. The liturgical year begins with the penitential season of Advent, the four weeks leading up to the feast of the Nativity of Jesus, Christmas, always observed on December 25. The Christmas feast lasts for twelve days, up to the Feast of the Epiphany, on January 6. The season after the Epiphany is variable, depending upon the date of Easter, which moves from year to year based on lunar cycles. Nine weeks before Easter marks the beginning of Septuagesima, a three-week anticipatory period (also known as “pre-Lent”) that begins the second penitential season of the year. Ash Wednesday, forty days before Easter, marks the beginning of Lent, which culminates in Passiontide (two weeks before Easter) and Holy Week (the week leading up to Easter). Holy Week – and indeed, the entire church year – reaches its climax in the Triduum (“Three Days”), the days of Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday. The feast of the Resurrection, Easter Day, unlike Christmas, is not observed on a fixed calendar date,


340 Due to various liturgical reforms over the centuries, the present-day Temporale differs in some details from that in use in England in the late Middle Ages. The outline presented here reflects the kalendar as it would have been observed in the early 16th century, rather than its common contemporary forms. For more information, see Cross and Livingstone, “Year, liturgical,” Oxford Dictionary, 1785; also see Harper, Forms and Orders, 49-51.

341 The feast of Candlemas (February 2), properly an element of the Sanctorale, is also occasionally counted among the Christmas feasts in the Temporale. See Duffy, Altars, 46.
but can occur anywhere between March 23 and April 26.\textsuperscript{342} The festal season of Easter lasts for fifty days, punctuated by the Feast of the Ascension forty days after Easter. Ten days after the Ascension is the feast of Pentecost, which marks the descent of the Holy Spirit (as recounted in the second chapter of the New Testament book of Acts), and is the Church’s self-identified genesis as the manifestation of the body of Christ on earth. From the fourteenth century, the Sunday after Pentecost is observed as the feast of the Trinity, and the Thursday after Trinity Sunday celebrated as the feast of Corpus Christi. Following Corpus Christi, the rest of the year until the following Advent is marked as the season after Trinity, also known as \textit{per annum} or “Ordinary Time” (from the Latin \textit{ordinato}, arranged, ordered, numbered).\textsuperscript{343}

Parallel to and simultaneous with the Temporale is the Sanctorale, the annual cycle of feast days observed on specific, unmovable dates throughout the year. While on the one hand the Sanctorale is straightforward in its designation of specific dates for specific feasts, it is also a source of great differentiation across time and place. Not every locale celebrated the same Saints’ days to the same extent or manner (or even the same Saints), and within even local observance a hierarchical system of principal and lesser feasts developed, each designation having its own attendant regulations for liturgical observance.\textsuperscript{344}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{342} Harper, \textit{Forms and Orders}, 50. Harper points out that due to the fluctuations of lunar cycles over time, since the seventeenth century the outlying dates for Easter observance are now March 22 and April 25.
\item \textsuperscript{343} Ibid., 51.
\item \textsuperscript{344} The division of Sanctorale observances into Simple Feasts, Double Feasts (Major, Minor, or Lesser, and Semi-Double), and Principal Feasts can quickly become highly complex and confusing; for a more detailed treatment see Harper, \textit{Forms and Orders}, 51-57. See also Duffy, \textit{Altars}, 46-52.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
As with the distinction of Sunday from other days in the Weekly Cycle in liturgical observance, so too the variables of Temporale and Sanctorale present much in the way of fluctuation in the liturgical observance of both Mass and Office. A primary function of liturgical books such as Customaries and Ordinals was to document and describe the variations of *ordo*, ceremonial, and Propers in the Offices and Mass throughout the year. The following chapter will examine such variations specifically within the Compline Office, which, when compared to other Offices had relatively little fluctuation through the year.

**Votive Offices**

Finally, the shape and cycle of the week of communal prayer in both monastic and secular environments was enriched by the recitation of the so-called Votive Offices, particularly the Commemorative Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Little Office of the Virgin, and the Office of the Dead. The Little Office of the Virgin and the Office of the Dead were prayed in addition to the normal daily Offices, while the Commemorative Office of the Blessed Virgin was prayed in place of the normal daily Offices.

The Commemorative Office of the Virgin was in most times and places observed on Saturdays. Every Hour except for Compline was altered to include texts (antiphons, hymns, Responds, and collects) that had a distinctly Marian theme. This observance was seasonal, and was typically not held during the Christmas and Lenten seasons.³⁴⁵

By contrast, the “Little Office” of the Blessed Virgin was prayed in addition to the standard Divine Offices. Also, in contrast to the Commemorative Office of the Virgin, which was typically a weekly occurrence, from an early date the Little Office had become a daily practice, either recited communally in choir (or in a chantry or side chapel), or by the

³⁴⁵ Perhaps the best known polyphonic elaboration of this Commemorative Office is that by Claudio Monteverdi, published in 1610.
members of the community, whether secular or monastic, outside of choir.\textsuperscript{346} The Little Office included liturgies for each of the eight standard Hours; by the late Middle Ages it had also become a popular feature for daily devotions amongst the literate laity, appearing as a common element in Books of Hours and Prymers, either in Latin or the vernacular.\textsuperscript{347}

The Office of the Dead, although “frequently recited on a daily basis as a Votive Office, especially in chantries,” had at its main purpose “use…at the time of funerals.”\textsuperscript{348} This Office (specifically, a cycle of three Hours: Vespers, Matins, and Lauds) complemented and expanded the Funeral (Requiem) Mass. These three funereal liturgies, although based upon the structure of the ferial Hours bearing the same names and times of day, contained their own proper antiphons, Psalms, collects, and dismissals, and exhibited little variation across time or between Uses.\textsuperscript{349}

\textsuperscript{346} Harper, \textit{Forms and Orders}, 133.

\textsuperscript{347} Duffy, \textit{Altars}, 210. \textit{Prymers (or primers)} were devotional books for use by the laity. See p. 132.

\textsuperscript{348} Harper, \textit{Forms and Orders}, 105.

\textsuperscript{349} Ibid.
Chapter 5. An In-Depth Survey of the Compline Office

Men may also refreyne venial synne by receyrynge worthily of the precious Body of jhesu crist; by receyrynge eek of boody water; by almesdede; by general Confessioun of confiteor at masse and at complyn; and by blessyng of bisshopes and of Preestes, and by oother goode werker.

- Geoffrey Chaucer, “The Parson’s Tale”

Compline is but one of eight in the daily cycle of Offices; however, it came to receive particular focus, interest, and fascination from both churchmen and laity in England during the medieval period. Compline was one of the shorter Offices, containing less psalmody than in the other primary Offices of Matins, Lauds, and Vespers. Interest in Compline was also due to its particular theological focus, drawing a metaphorical line between the night’s sleep and the end of life. A number of scholars, including Eamon Duffy, have determined that issues surrounding the end of life and the afterlife were of significant concern in late medieval society. Thus, the topical theological concerns addressed in these nighttime prayers carried a particular poignancy for a population to whom the “prospect and reality of death” was “ubiquitous.”

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350 Geoffrey Chaucer, The Canterbury Tales, “The Parson’s Tale,” Part II, 385-387. “Men may also refrain from venial sin by receiving worthily the precious Body of Jesus Christ; by the receiving also of holy water; by works of mercy; by the general confession of Confiteor at Mass and at Compline; and by the blessing of bishops and priests, and by other good works.” [My own translation.]

351 Allinson, 262.

352 See Duffy, Altars, 301-337.

353 Ibid., 302-303. Duffy is insistent, however, that the medieval preoccupation with death and the afterlife should not be equated with a “morbid obsession,” but instead with a “vigorous relish for life.” He writes, “The cult of intercession for the dead can be seen as an incubus dominating the religion of the living, but it makes just as much sense to see it as a means of prolonging the presence of the dead within the community of the living, and therefore as the most eloquent of testimonies to the permanent value of life in the world of time and change.” (Ibid.)
THE ORDER OF THE OFFICE

Compared with the other Offices, Compline in the Use of Salisbury exhibited little variation across the liturgical seasons, maintaining a stability of structure and content throughout the year. Its structure is also among the simplest of the longer Hours. Thus, if the Offices of Matins and Vespers exist at one end of a spectrum of length and complexity, and the Lesser Hours of Terce, Sext, and None at the other end of the spectrum, then Compline would fall squarely in the middle. This intermediate degree of structural complexity within the Office of Compline provided a regularly occurring pattern of anticipated forms, changes, and texts. The texts typically chosen by composers to be set polyphonically were not the “ordinary” texts featured throughout the year, but rather the variable elements such as Hymns, seasonal Antiphons, and Responds, all following the aforementioned pattern of anticipated changes, that were particular to specific seasons and feasts.

The standard structure of the Compline Office in Salisbury Use follows a predictable pattern throughout the year. Before the start of the communal Office, the officiating priest recites privately, as a form of preparatory prayer, the Pater noster (Our Father) and Ave Maria. The Compline Office formally begins with a versicle and response intoned submissa voce354 between the Officiant and the Choir: Converte nos Deus salutaris noster / Et averte iram tuam a nobis.355 This opening versicle leads directly into the standard Office versicle Deus in adjutorium meum intende / Domine ad ajuvandum me festina.356 Compline is the only Office to begin with the

354 “In a low voice.” This indication may infer both lower pitch—implied by the cleffing in the Psalterium—and lower volume than the rest of the chants that follow.

355 “Turn us, O God our salvation / And avert thine anger from us.”

356 “O God make speed to save me / O Lord make haste to help me.”
Converte nos; this versicle corresponds with the opening versicles Domine labia mea aperiē at Matins and Emitte agnum Domine at Lauds; all other Offices begin directly with the Deus in adjutorium. The additional opening sentences at these three Offices (Matins, Lauds, Compline) all reveal a structural-theological logic that corresponds to their associated points during the day. At Matins, the prayer to open the supplicant’s mouth signifies the first words spoken upon rising at the start of a new day. At Lauds, the affirmation of the Lamb of God spreading forth across the earth to claim his dominion corresponds to the rising of the sun and the shining of light across the land. At Compline, the supplication asks God to turn his forgiving focus on his children before they retire for the night.

The opening versicles are followed by Psalmody. Compline, along with the Offices of the Lesser Hours, involves fixed Psalms, unlike the rotating sequence featured in Vespers or Matins. At Compline, four Psalms are chanted: Psalm 4, 30, 90, and 133. These Psalms are chanted sequentially, bookended by an Antiphon and each concluding with the Gloria Patri. The only change in this pattern occurs during the period between Maundy Thursday and the Feast of the Ascension, when only two or three Psalms are recited. Typically, the Psalms are chanted antiphonally by the facing sides of the choir, with the entire choir joining together for the antiphon. By the late medieval period, the custom in Britain had become to

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357 “O Lord, open thou my lips / And my mouth shall proclaim thy praise.”

358 “Send forth thy lamb, O Lord, the ruler of the earth / From the rock of the desert to the mount of the daughter of Zion.”

359 English numbers 4, 31, 91, and 134.

360 On Maundy Thursday and Good Friday, Psalm 90 is not recited; from the Vigil of Easter until the Octave of Easter, only Psalms 30 and 133 are recited; from the Octave of Easter until the Ascension, Psalm 4 is not recited.
intone only the opening word of the antiphon before the Psalmody, the entire antiphon being sung only upon completion of the Psalms.\(^{361}\)

The Psalm Antiphon represents one of the few seasonal variants of the Compline liturgy, and is the variant most likely to occur. Fourteen antiphons are possible through the year, seven of which are used only on individual, specific days: Christmas Eve (December 24, *Estate parate similes*), Maundy Thursday and Good Friday (*Christus factus est pro nobis*, sung “without note”),\(^{362}\) the Feast of the Purification (February 2, *Virgo verbo concepit*), the Feasts of the Visitation and Assumption of Mary (July 2 and August 15, *Sancta Maria virgo*), the Feast of the Nativity of Mary (September 8, *Beata Mater*), the Feast of the Holy Name (August 7, *Miserere michi Domine secundum judicium*) and the Feasts of All Saints and Relics (November 1 and November 5, *Sanctorum precibus*) (See Table 4).

Of the remaining seven antiphons, two occur most frequently during the year. The first of these, *Miserere michi*, is sung from Trinity Sunday until Christmas Eve, from the Octave of the Epiphany until Lent, and from Passion Sunday until Maundy Thursday, excluding feast days, thus representing the bulk of the liturgical year. The other frequently used antiphon is a melismatic *Alleluia*, sung during the fifty days between the Octave of Easter and Trinity Sunday. The remaining five Antiphons are utilized for shorter periods of time: Christmas Day until its Octave (*Natus est nobis bodie*), the Circumcision (Octave of Christmas) to the Vigil of the Epiphany (*Nato Domino angelorum*), the Vigil of the Epiphany

\(^{361}\) Benham, *Latin Church*, 15-16.

\(^{362}\) See Chapter 11.
until the Octave of Epiphany (*Lux de luce*), Quadragesima Sunday\(^{363}\) until Passion Sunday (*Signatum est*), and the Vigil of Easter to the Octave of Easter (*Alleluia*).\(^{364}\)

Table 4. Psalm Antiphons at Compline

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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Triduum</td>
<td><em>Christus factus est pro nobis</em></td>
<td>Said without note</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easter + Octave</td>
<td><em>Alleluia (I)</em></td>
<td>From Easter Vigil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easter Season (Low Sunday to Ascension)</td>
<td><em>Alleluia (II)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ascension</td>
<td><em>Alleluia (II)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pentecost + Octave</td>
<td><em>Alleluia (II)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinity Sunday</td>
<td><em>Miserere michi</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinity Season</td>
<td><em>Miserere michi</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>II. Sanctorale</strong></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feast of The Purification (February 2)</td>
<td><em>Virgo verbo concepit</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feast of The Visitation (July 2)</td>
<td><em>Sancta Maria virgo</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feast of The Holy Name (August 7)</td>
<td><em>Miserere michi Domine secundum judicium</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feast of The Assumption (August 15)</td>
<td><em>Sancta Maria virgo</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nativity of The Blessed Virgin (September 8)</td>
<td><em>Beata Mater</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Saints (November 1)</td>
<td><em>Sanctorum precibus</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feast of Relics (November 5)</td>
<td><em>Sanctorum precibus</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Following the Psalmody is the *Chapter*, a brief reading of Scripture, invariably chanted by the Officiant. In the Compline Office, this Chapter is nearly always a single verse

\(^{363}\) The first Sunday in Lent.

\(^{364}\) This is a different *Alleluia* antiphon melody from the one sung beginning at the Octave of Easter.
taken from Jeremiah 14:9: *Tu in nobis es Domine et nomen sanctum tuum invocatum est super nos: ne derelinguas nos Domine Deus noster.*\(^{365}\) The only variation from this pattern occurs from Maundy Thursday to the Octave of Easter: during the *Triduum*, there is no Chapter, and beginning on the evening of Easter Day a melismatic Gradual, *Hec dies quam fecit Dominum*\(^{366}\), is sung in place of the Chapter.

For most of the year, the Chapter is followed by the Office Hymn.\(^{367}\) The hymn is sung by the entire choir, typically *alternatim* from stanza to stanza, in the same manner as the Psalmody. As with the Psalm Antiphon, the Hymn is subject to seasonal variation, although with fewer variations than is the case with the Psalm Antiphon. Six hymns are sung through the year (See Table 5). The first, and most frequently used, *Te lucis ante terminum*, is sung from the day after Trinity Sunday until Christmas Eve, and again from the Octave of the Epiphany until Quadragesima Sunday, unless otherwise specified. Unique among the Compline hymns, *Te lucis* possesses two different melodies: the first is used on Sundays, simple feasts, and Octaves of those feasts; the second is sung on ferias and on feasts of three lessons when the choir is not ruled.\(^{368}\)

The second most commonly used hymn is *Salvator mundi Domine*, which is sung from Christmas Eve until the Octave of the Epiphany, on double feasts from the Octave of the Epiphany until Quadragesima Sunday, on Trinity Sunday and the Octave of Corpus Christi, on the Feasts of the Purification, Assumption, and Nativity of the Blessed Virgin and their Octaves, on the Feast of Relics, and on all double feasts from the Vigil of Pentecost until

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\(^{365}\) “Thou, O Lord, art in the midst of us, and we are called by thy holy Name: leave us not, O Lord our God.”

\(^{366}\) “This is the day which the Lord hath made: we will rejoice and be glad in it.”

\(^{367}\) During Lent a Respond came between; see Chapter 6.

\(^{368}\) See Chapter 8 for the ruling of choirs.
Christmas Eve. This hymn contains three additional doxological stanzas for use only on specific feasts or seasons: one for Christmastide and Marian feasts, one for Epiphany, and one for the Vigil of Pentecost and the Thursday, Friday, and Saturday after Pentecost.

Table 5. Hymns at Compline

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Season or Feast</th>
<th>Antiphon</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>I. Temporale</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advent</td>
<td><em>Te lucis ante terminum</em></td>
<td>Two melodies: for Sundays and feria days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christmas Eve</td>
<td><em>Salvator mundi Domine</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christmas Day</td>
<td><em>Salvator mundi Domine</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christmastide (12 Days)</td>
<td><em>Salvator mundi Domine</em></td>
<td>Until the Octave of Epiphany (January 12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epiphany</td>
<td><em>Salvator mundi Domine</em></td>
<td>From January 12. Two melodies: for Sundays and feria days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epiphany Season</td>
<td><em>Te lucis ante terminum</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Septuagesima</td>
<td><em>Te lucis ante terminum</em></td>
<td>Two melodies: for Sundays and feria days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lent (Quinquagesima)</td>
<td><em>Christe qui lux es et dies</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passiontide</td>
<td><em>Cultor Dei memento</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Triduum</td>
<td><em>No hymn</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easter + Octave</td>
<td><em>No hymn</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easter Season (Low Sunday to Ascension)</td>
<td><em>Jesu salvator seculi</em></td>
<td>Sung from the Vigil of the Ascension</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ascension</td>
<td><em>Jesu nostra redemptio</em></td>
<td>Sung through to its Octave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pentecost + Octave</td>
<td>[Alma chorus Domini]</td>
<td>Sequence instead of hymn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinity Sunday</td>
<td><em>Salvator mundi Domine</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinity Season</td>
<td><em>Te lucis ante terminum</em></td>
<td>Two melodies: for Sundays and feria days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>II. Sanctorale</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feast of the Purification (February 2)</td>
<td><em>Salvator mundi Domine</em></td>
<td>Sung through to its Octave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feast of the Assumption (August 15)</td>
<td><em>Salvator mundi Domine</em></td>
<td>Sung through to its Octave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nativity of the Blessed Virgin (September 8)</td>
<td><em>Salvator mundi Domine</em></td>
<td>Sung through to its Octave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Saints (November 1)</td>
<td><em>Salvator mundi Domine</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feast of Relics (November 5)</td>
<td><em>Salvator mundi Domine</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All other Double Feasts</td>
<td><em>Salvator mundi Domine</em></td>
<td>Feasts during Epiphany and Septuagesima; Feasts in the season after Trinity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All other Simple Feasts</td>
<td><em>Te lucis ante terminum</em></td>
<td>Sunday melody sung on Simple feasts and octaves</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Lenten season utilizes two hymns, *Christe qui lux es et dies* and *Cultor Dei memento*, which are discussed at greater length in the following chapter. Beginning on Maundy Thursday, no hymn is sung at Compline until Low Sunday (the Second Sunday of Easter).

The hymn *Jesu salvator seculi* is sung from Low Sunday until the Vigil of the Ascension, with
an additional stanza added for any Marian observances that occur during this time. The final hymn sung at Compline, *Jesu nostra redemptio*, is sung from the Vigil of the Ascension until the Vigil of Pentecost. On the Feast of Pentecost, and continuing until Trinity Sunday, a sequence, *Alma chorus Domini*, is sung in place of the hymn.

Following the hymn, a short versicle is chanted, in responsorial form between a soloist (not necessarily the Officiant) and the choir: *Custodi nos Domine: ut pupillam oculi, sub umbra alarum tuarum protege nos.* The versicle remains a constant feature of the Compline Office through the year, disappearing only during the truncated observances of the Triduum and Easter Day.

The *Custodi nos* versicle leads into the recitation of the Gospel Canticle, invariably the *Nunc dimittis*, taken from St. Luke 2:29-32. The *Nunc dimittis* is framed by an antiphon, which, like the Psalm antiphon, rotates seasonally. Thirteen different antiphons are possible through the year (See Table 6). For most of the year, *Salva nos vigilantes* is sung, including the long season after Trinity Sunday, between the Octave of Epiphany and Quadragesima Sunday, and on the Feast of Corpus Christi. *Salva nos* is also sung on the Octaves—but not the feasts—of the Marian feasts of the Visitation, Assumption, and Nativity. On those feast days proper, the antiphon *Glorificamus te Mater Dei* is sung instead. During the season of Advent, the Gospel antiphon is *Veni Domine*, followed by *Vigilate omnes* on Christmas Eve.

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369 “Keep us, O Lord: as the apple of an eye, hide us under the shadow of thy wings.” The text is from Psalm 17:8 (Vulgate Psalm 16).

370 See Appendix II for the full text and translation.
Table 6. Gospel Antiphons at Compline

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Season or Feast</th>
<th>Antiphon</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Temporale</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advent</td>
<td>Veni Domine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christmas Eve</td>
<td>Vigilate omnes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christmas Day</td>
<td>Alleluia, Verbum caro</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christmas (12 Days)</td>
<td>Alleluia, Verbum caro</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epiphany</td>
<td>Alleluia, Omnes de Saba</td>
<td>From January 5 (Vigil of Epiphany)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epiphany Season</td>
<td>Alleluia, Omnes de Saba</td>
<td>January 5 – January 12 (Octave)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Salva nos</td>
<td>From January 13 (Monday after the Octave)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Septuagesima</td>
<td>Salva nos</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lent (Quinquagesima)</td>
<td>Cum videtis nudum</td>
<td>Lent 1 until Lent 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Media vita morte sumus</td>
<td>Lent 3 until Passion Sunday (Lent 5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passiontide</td>
<td>O Rex gloriose</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Triduum</td>
<td>No antiphon</td>
<td>Nunc dimittis not said from Good Friday until Low Sunday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easter + Octave</td>
<td>No antiphon</td>
<td>Nunc dimittis not said</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easter Season</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Low Sunday to Ascension)</td>
<td>Alleluia, Resurrexit Dominus</td>
<td>From the Vigil of the Ascension</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ascension</td>
<td>Alleluia, Ascendens Christus</td>
<td>From the Vigil of Pentecost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pentecost + Octave</td>
<td>Alleluia, Spiritus Paraclitus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinity Sunday</td>
<td>Lucem tuam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinity Season</td>
<td>Salva nos</td>
<td>From the day after Trinity Sunday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Sanctorale</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feast of the Purification (February 2)</td>
<td>Glorificamus te Mater Dei</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feast of the Visitation (July 2)</td>
<td>Glorificamus te Mater Dei</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feast of the Holy Name (August 7)</td>
<td>O Rex gloriose</td>
<td>Without verses; also sung on Octave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feast of the Assumption (August 15)</td>
<td>Glorificamus te Mater Dei</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nativity of the Blessed Virgin (September 8)</td>
<td>Glorificamus te Mater Dei</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Saints (November 1)</td>
<td>Lucem tuam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feast of Relics (November 5)</td>
<td>Lucem tuam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corpus Christi</td>
<td>Salva nos</td>
<td>(Moveable; Thursday after Trinity)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Octaves of Marian feasts</td>
<td>Salva nos</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dedication of the Church</td>
<td>Salva nos</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Five different Gospel antiphons begin with Alleluia. The first, Alleluia, Verbum caro is sung from Christmas Day through the Twelve Days of Christmastide. The second, Alleluia, Omnes de Saba is sung from the Vigil of the Epiphany until the Octave of the Epiphany. The other three Alleluia antiphons follow the Easter season: Alleluia, Resurrexit Dominus from Low
Sunday until the Vigil of the Ascension; *Alleluia, Ascendens Christus* from the Vigil of the Ascension to the Vigil of Pentecost; and *Alleluia, Spiritus Paraclitus* from the Vigil of Pentecost until Trinity Sunday.

The Lenten season includes three Gospel antiphons, each sung for two weeks or less: *Cum videris nudum, Media vita morte sumus,* and *O Rex gloriose.* This last antiphon also appears on the feast of the Holy Name (August 7). The final Gospel antiphon to be found is *Lucem tuam,* which is sung on Trinity Sunday, and the feasts of All Saints and Relics. As is the case with the Hymn, no Gospel antiphon is sung during the Triduum or the Octave of Easter.

The Canticle antiphon represents the final portion of the Compline Office that is subject to seasonal variation. The remainder of the Office is prayed without change during the year—save for the period of the Triduum at the end of Holy Week, when the entire Office is significantly truncated. This portion of the Office is collectively known as the *Preces,* although it contains a number of constituent parts.

The first segment of the *Preces* begins with the petition *Kyrie eleison—Christe eleison—Kyrie eleison,* sung in a ninefold repetition *in alternatim* between the facing sides of the choir. Following the *Kyries,* the *Pater noster* (Our Father) and *Ave Maria* are recited by the community *in secreto*—privately—until the final phrase, which is chanted responsorially between Officiant and choir: *Et ne nos inducas in tentationem: sed libera nos a malo.*

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371 “Lord have mercy—Christ have mercy—Lord have mercy.” This prayer, which also features in the Mass, is the only portion of the Western Latin Rite to remain in the Greek language.

372 “And lead us not into temptation: but deliver us from evil.”
Salisbury sources would seem to infer at this point that the text of the Ave Maria is recited before the final line of the Pater noster, which is chanted aloud.

A Versicle and Response, called the First Preces, follows the Pater noster, once again between Officiant and Choir: In pace in idipsum: Dormiam et requiescam. Following this Versicle is the Apostles’ Creed (Credo in Deum), once again recited in secreto until the final phrase, begun by the Officiant and completed by the Choir. This first Preces is brought to a close with a short series of Versicles between Officiant and Choir, each beginning with a blessing: Benedictam Patrem et Filium…Benedictus es Domine…Benedicat et custodiat nos.

Following these Versicles comes the confession of sin, the Confiteor. First, the Officiant recites a confessional formula to the Choir, who offer a response (Misereatur), praying for God’s mercy. The Choir then recite the same confessional formula, with the Officiant saying the Misereatur; he then follows with an absolution. All of this is done “privately, so that it is only just heard by the Choir.”

Following the Misereatur comes the Second Preces, which begins with another series of Versicles and Responses. The content of the Second Preces varies not according to season, but rather according to the day of the week: on Sundays a shorter form is utilized, while on weekdays a longer form is employed, which includes an alternatim recitation, sine nota, of Psalm 51 (Vulgate 50), the Miserere mei Deus. Following the Second Preces, the Officiant

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373 The 1519 AS and the 1531 BS both designate Ave Maria in such a way as to suggest this is the intention. See Renwick, Ad completorium, xxiii, n. 61.

374 “In peace, in the selfsame: I will sleep and take my rest.”

375 “Let us bless the Father and the Son…Blessed be God…May the Lord bless us and keep us.”

376 privatim ut vic audiat a choro. AS (1519), 149v.
chants a single collect, *Illumina quesimus Domine.*\(^{377}\) This collect is utilized throughout the year except for the period between Maundy Thursday and Low Sunday, and on All Souls’ Day.\(^{378}\) Finally, the Compline Office concludes with the closing Versicle, *Benedicamus Domino: Deo gratias.*\(^{379}\)

During much of the year, and primarily during the season after Trinity Sunday – but not during Lent – a brief liturgy is appended to the end of the Compline Office, involving the recitation of Psalm 122 (123), a series of Versicles, and a prayer for the peace of the Church. All of this is specified to be recited *sine nota.*\(^{380}\) Although a Votive Antiphon service nearly always followed the Compline Office, in contrast to many Continental and monastic practices, the Salisbury Use did not append a Marian antiphon to the end of Compline itself. The singing of a Votive Antiphon, with its associated versicle and collect, remained a separate liturgy, which will be discussed in Chapter 7.

**Differences from Monastic and Tridentine Forms**

As previously noted, the Use of Salisbury is a Secular, rather than Monastic, form, and so its constituent Offices likewise bear the stamp of the Secular formats. By contrast, the structure of the Compline liturgy in use in Monastic houses and cathedrals in England during the late medieval period had their own distinctive structural forms. Those Monastic forms of Compline more closely resembled Continental practices that were influential in the structuring of the Office during the reforms of the Council of Trent in the mid-sixteenth

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\(^{377}\) “Lighten our darkness, we beseech thee, O Lord.”

\(^{378}\) AS (1519), 151r.

\(^{379}\) “Let us bless the Lord: Thanks be to God.”

\(^{380}\) AS (1519), 152r. See Chapter 11 for performance practice implications and theories of the *sine nota* rubric.
century. These Monastic forms, independent of Salisbury Use, are largely beyond the scope of the current study, but do have direct bearing on the later history of Compline observance in the Anglican world.

When the churches of the Anglican Communion began to re-introduce forms for the Compline liturgy into their Prayer Books and trial liturgies during the twentieth century, they almost invariably took as their starting point the Monastic-Tridentine forms of the Office then in use by the Roman Catholic Church, rather than the older, pre-Reformation format from the Use of Salisbury. These Anglican forms did incorporate certain features of the medieval (Secular) Sarum Use, such as the inclusion of the Gospel Canticle, Psalm 31, and the recitation of the Chapter immediately following the Psalmody. These twentieth-century Anglican forms also included such Monastic elements as the reading from I Peter 5 and the opening Collatio.

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381 The most obvious differences are the texts of the opening sentences, the number of Psalms, and the lack of Canticle in the monastic form. For a side-by-side comparison of the sequencing of Secular and Monastic forms of Compline, see Harper, *Forms and Orders*, 102-103.

382 The first Anglican body to do so was the Church of Ireland in its 1926 Prayer Book, followed by the Church of England in the (proposed) Prayer Book of 1928, the Scottish Episcopal Church in 1929, the Church of Canada in 1962, and the Episcopal Church (USA) in 1979.

383 The *Collatio* (“Collation”) is “a short Office centred on a reading…normally conducted in chapter house or cloister.” Harper, *Forms and Orders*, 102.
Chapter 6. The Form and Order of Compline During the Season of Lent

Loue, þat is my lemman, such lettres he me sente
That Mercy, my sustur, and y mankynde shal saue,
And þat god hath forguye and granted to alle mankynde,
Mercy, my suster, and me to maynprisen hem alle;
And þat Crist hath converted the kynde of rihtwisnesse
Into pees and pyte, of his puyr grace.

Loo, here þe patente, quod Pees, in pace in idipsum
And þat þis dede shal dure – dormiam et requiescam.

- William Langland, Piers Plowman

Although part of the family of the Western Latin Rite, the Use of Salisbury, as with other diocesan and regional Uses throughout Western Europe, carried its own distinctive features in relation to both ritual practice and chant repertoire. One such feature was the treatment of the night prayer Office of Compline during Lent. While maintaining its overall structural constancy, the Compline Office during the Lenten season exhibited a number of unique features. Most drastically, during the Triduum, the culminating days of Holy Week and the most solemn period of the entire church year, Compline was pared down to a much shorter form, and recited sine nota.

During most of the year, in the Use of Salisbury, Compline followed immediately after Vespers, either without pause or separated only by a Votive Antiphon liturgy. However, beginning at Quadragesima Sunday and continuing through Holy Week, Compline was held later in the evening as a separate, distinct Office. This appears to have been the case dating

384 William Langland, Piers Plowman, C-Text, Passus XX ll.185-190, ed. Derek Pearsall (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999), 327. “Love, [says Peace] that is my lover, such letters he sent to me / That Mercy, my sister, and I mankind shall save, / And that God hath forgiven and granted to all mankind / Mercy, my sister, and me to free them all from prison; / And that Christ hath converted the nature of righteousness / Into peace and pity, of his pure grace. / Look, here is the covenant!” quoth Peace, “in pace in idipsum – / And that this deed shall endure – dormiam et requiescam.” [Translation my own.]

to at least the early thirteenth century, as suggested by a rubric in the Old Customary:

“However, during Lent, they [the clerks and Chapter] may come in [to Choir] at Compline in the same way as at vespers at other times [of year.]”

The church bell was rung for Compline during Lent, whereas during the rest of the year the bell was to be rung only for Vespers, with the community staying in place to sing Compline directly after Vespers.

The observance of Compline as a separate, discrete Office during these weeks of the year serves to underscore its importance, both ritualistically and theologically. As the primary penitential season of the Church year, Lent highlights themes already inherent in the Compline Office. From its opening sentences (“Turn thou to us, O God our Savior, and let thine anger cease from us”) to its inclusion of the confession of sins and ferial recitation of the Miserere, Compline takes a particularly penitent tone throughout the year. The distinctive seasonal elements recited during Lent serve to still further emphasize the penitential theme.

As previously mentioned, the antiphons at the Psalms and Canticle are distinctive during the Lenten season, as is the Hymn. Two different antiphons are sung at the Psalmody during Lent, and two different hymns feature as well, while the Canticle antiphon changes twice during the Lenten season. The two Psalm antiphons are Signatum est, sung for the first four weeks of the season, and Miserere mihi, sung for the week and a half before Maundy Thursday, beginning at Passion Sunday (the Fifth Sunday in Lent). Signatum est is sung only

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388 Ibid. Beyond the Office of Compline, Lent seems to have been a season of increased solemnity and ritual opulence in medieval England. At Eton College, the singing of Salve Regina in chapel during the Lenten season was specifically required by college ordinance; the fifteen surviving polyphonic settings of that text in the Eton Choirbook attest to the levels of grandeur such singing could reach. Williamson, Eton, 320.
during these four weeks; the _Miserere michi_, as noted in the previous chapter, is the most commonly sung Psalm antiphon during the year. However, its penitential text (“Have mercy upon me, O Lord, and hearken unto my prayers”) is in keeping with the ethos of the days approaching Holy Week. The _Miserere michi_ was subject to numerous polyphonic treatments during the late medieval period, both for voices and organ.389

The two hymns sung at Compline during Lent also serve to highlight the penitential nature of the Office and the season. _Christe qui lux es et dies_, sung from Quadragesima Sunday until Passion Sunday, prays God to keep the petitioner from both harm and sinfulness during the sleeping hours.390 The second, _Cultor Dei memento_, is sung from Passion Sunday through the middle of Holy Week, and similarly deals with a desire for God’s protection and forgiveness during the night. Beginning on Maundy Thursday, no hymn is sung at Compline until Low Sunday (the Second Sunday of Easter). _Christe qui lux es et dies_ exists in four polyphonic settings for choir, all from the hand of Robert White; a late setting by William Byrd, of probable Elizabethan provenance, also survives.391

The antiphon at the _Nunc dimittis_ changes twice during the Lenten season. The themes of all three of these antiphons carry a certain theological gravitas. The first, _Cum videris nudum_, whose text comes from Isaiah 58:7-8 (“when thou seest the naked, cover thou him, and hide not thyself from thine own flesh: then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and the glory of the Lord shall be thy reward”), speaks of the universality of

389 See Chapter 10.

390 For complete texts and translations of the Lenten Compline Office, see Appendix II.

391 See Chapter 10.
human frailty and vulnerability, and the Divine mandate to acts of mercy. This antiphon is sung for the first two weeks of Lent. The second Gospel Antiphon, begun at the Third Sunday in Lent is Media vita in morte sumus. This much longer text, which features additional verses sung on Saturdays, Sundays, and Feasts of Nine Lessons, is a petition to God for mercy and forgiveness of sin, particularly in old age and at the hour of death. It includes a form of the Trisagion, the ancient trifold Greek prayer of penitence (“O Holy God, O Holy and Mighty, O Holy and merciful Saviour: deliver us not unto bitter death”). The third Gospel Antiphon, sung from Passion Sunday until the eve of Maundy Thursday, is O Rex gloriose. Like the Media vita, this antiphon contains verses that are only sung on Saturdays, Sundays, and Feasts of Nine Lessons. The subject of this antiphon is also a petition to God to not abandon the suppliant on the day of judgment. Two polyphonic settings of Gospel Antiphons exist from the late medieval period: the first, Media vita, in a remarkable (but incomplete) six-voice setting by John Sheppard, and the second, O Rex gloriose (also surviving incomplete) by John Mason.

The most notable change to the order of the Office during Lent, however, is the addition of a Respond, which occurs between the Chapter and the Hymn. There are two such Responds in the Salisbury Use: the first, In pace in idipsum, being sung from Quadragesima Sunday until Passion Sunday, and the second, In manus tuas, being sung from Passion Sunday until Maundy Thursday. These two Responds were particularly favored for

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392 The three traditional marks of Lenten observance are fasting, prayer, and works of mercy or almsgiving. See The Catechism of the Catholic Church, II.2.2.4.V.1438.

393 For a complete text and translation of this antiphon, see Appendix II.

394 For a complete text and translation of this antiphon, see Appendix II.

395 See Chapter 10.
polyphonic treatment by Tudor composers. *In pace in idipsum* contains the first half of the *Gloria Patri* doxology, but *In manus tuas* does not. These Responds are sung responsoria ity between a soloist (not the Officiant) and the Choir, with a specific pattern of repetition. In the case of *In pace*, the pattern is aBCdCeABC, where lower case letters represent sections sung by the soloist and upper case letters represent those sung by the choir. *In manus tuas*, lacking the doxology, has a shorter but similar pattern: aBCdCaBC (See Table 7). The identity of the soloist who intones the Respond varies according to the day and its solemnity: on Saturdays, Sundays, and Feasts of Nine Lessons, the rubrics designate the solo to be sung by an adult clerk, from the “return-stall” facing the altar; on weekdays (*in profestis diebus*) the solo is to be sung by a boy at the choir-step. The form stipulated for *In pace*, in which the opening lines (ABC) are repeated by the full choir following the Doxology, provides an important consequence for the performance of the five polyphonic settings of this Respond. In each case, the music set to polyphony by the composer corresponds to that sung by the soloist rather than the full choir; thus according to a strict reading of the rubrics the final phrase of the Respond, *In pace in idipsum dormiam et requiescam*, should be sung by the entire choir, in plainsong, rather than with a repetition of the opening bars of polyphony. The performance edition of the setting by John Taverner included in Part II reflects this consideration.

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396 The “return stall” is one of the choir stalls at the end of the quire, with its back against the pulpitum screen, facing east (towards the high altar), where senior members of the community typically sat. For a diagram, see Harper, *Forms and Orders*, 37.


398 Those by Taverner, Sheppard, Tallis, Blitheman, and Tye. See Appendix III.

399 See Part II, No. 5.
The composers of the early Tudor period set elements of a number of the Offices – Matins and Vespers, as well as Compline – to polyphony. What is notable is that of the liturgical texts from the Compline Office set to vocal polyphony, most are taken from the specifically Lenten items: of the twenty-two extant works of Tudor vocal polyphony for the Compline Office, fifteen involve Lenten texts (69%).\(^{400}\) The ratios for the extant organ repertoire are nearly identical: of the twenty-three extant liturgical organ works for Compline, sixteen are Lenten (70%).

The polyphonic setting of liturgical items for the Office, normally sung to plainchant or improvised in *faburden*,\(^{401}\) was of a particular interest to composers with regards to the Compline liturgy. John Sheppard, who composed more surviving ritual music for the Latin

\(^{400}\) This number includes the setting of *Miserere mihi* by John Norman, which might also have been used outside Lent. This number does not include the setting of *In manus tuas* by Thomas Tallis, which is commonly thought to be Elizabethan, but may in fact date to the Marian period. Its inclusion in the percentage figuring maintains the same overall ratio: sixteen out of twenty-three pieces, or 69%.

\(^{401}\) See Chapter 9 and Chapter 11.
Office than any other known composer, set no fewer than seven items for Compline, more
than for any other single Office apart from the Mass. The only other non-Mass liturgical
observances to receive such dedicated treatment by composers were the Office of Vespers,
particularly the Magnificat canticle with its attendant antiphons, and most especially the extra-
Office observance of the Votive Antiphon service, which will be addressed in the following
chapter.
In many centers of worship in late-medieval England, the round of daily prayers throughout the year ended not at the conclusion of the Compline Office, but after a further communal devotion, the recitation of one or more Votive Antiphons. The custom of singing Votive Antiphons following Compline began on the Continent, probably during the thirteenth century in Franciscan communities. This Franciscan tradition, which emphasized antiphons with Marian texts, spread quickly throughout the Western Church, first to Benedictine communities and then to secular church communities. Unlike the tradition in Continental Western Latin practice (both pre- and post-Tridentine), in Salisbury Use the singing of a Votive Antiphon was not appended to the end of Compline as an extension of the Compline Office, but rather sung as part of a separate devotional service. This extra-liturgical devotion, which included its own attendant Versicle and Collect, was held immediately following the preceding Office.

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402 Paul Van Nevel, Introduction to the liner notes of The Eton Choirbook: A musical treasure from the Tudor Age (Deutsche harmonia mundi/Sony Classical, 2012), 2.

403 Noël Bisson, English Polyphony for the Virgin Mary: the votive antiphon, 1430-1500 (Diss., Harvard University, 1998), 45.

404 Ibid.

During the bulk of the year, when Compline immediately followed Vespers, a Votive Antiphon service would have been held either after Vespers, after Compline, or at both times, dependent upon the season of the year and the statues of the specific church. In Salisbury Cathedral, from Eastertide until All Saints, an Antiphon of the Holy Cross was sung by the canons, vicars choral, and choristers on Saturdays following Vespers. The tradition in most places was for the singing of the antiphon to take place in a space other than the quire, typically in the nave near the pulpitum. The singing community would depart the quire at the conclusion of Vespers, process through the screen into the east end of the nave, and sing an antiphon, versicle, and collect facing the Rood (crucifix) on the top of the screen. They would then process back into the quire and sing the Compline Office. Both at Salisbury Cathedral and elsewhere, a second, further Votive Antiphon devotion would follow after Compline, also typically sung in a location other than the quire: the community would process to a shrine, side altar, image, or statue to sing an antiphon associated with the dedication of the respective altar or image. The text of this post-Compline antiphon might be tied to a local saint, the Trinity, Jesus, or, especially, the Virgin

406 See Chapter 5.

407 The Statutes of Tattershall College chapel designate that Votive Antiphons were to be sung in the Lady Chapel – to the east of the sanctuary and high altar – and in the choir stalls. Based on the documentation from a number of collegiate churches, cathedrals, and parish churches, Tattershall seems to be the exception, however. See Williamson, *Eton*, 117-121.


Mary. In both instances, the singing of the antiphon might be in plainchant, or in polyphony.\(^{410}\)

A number of choral foundations’ statutes go to significant length to outline the structure of the Votive Antiphon service. At Cardinal College, Oxford, where John Taverner served as the inaugural chorus master from 1526 to 1530,\(^{411}\) the Statutes stipulate that following Compline throughout the year, the choir “shall sing three antiphons in polyphony (\textit{intorto cantu}), namely one of the Trinity, a second of St. Mary, a third of St. William.”\(^{412}\)

Although no Trinity Antiphon by Taverner survives, he composed multiple Marian Antiphons, and at least one in honor of St. William, \textit{O Wilhelme pastor bonus}.\(^{413}\) These same Statutes from Cardinal College further stipulate a second, additional Votive Antiphon service some time later in the evening, which would have been combined with the post-Compline antiphon service during Lent, when Compline did not immediately follow Vespers:

The master of the choristers with all the choristers, as well as some priests or clerk-conducts assigned by the precentor, shall come again in the our aforesaid chapel each day, and there shall sing in polyphony an antiphon of St. Mary, with the versicle ‘\textit{Ave Maria},’ and the prayer ‘\textit{Meritis et precibus}’ sung by one of the choristers. When this is finished, we desire that the master with the aforesaid choristers, having knelt before the image of the Crucifix in the nave of the church [i.e. standing in the nave at the

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\(^{411}\) See Chapter 10.

\(^{412}\) Quoted in Benham, \textit{John Taverner II}, ix. The “St. William” here named was St. William of York, a twelfth-century Archbishop of York and subject of local veneration in York, who was of particular import to Cardinal Wolsey, the founder of Cardinal College and himself Archbishop of York.

\(^{413}\) See the entry on Taverner in Chapter 10 for more information.
crossing, looking towards the Rood atop the choir screen], shall sing in polyphony the antiphon ‘Sancte Deus...’

The Cardinal College Statutes were revised in 1527, reversing the order of the post-Compline antiphons (placing that for St. William ahead of that for the Blessed Virgin), and dictating the later-evening antiphon to be Salve Regina. A further, more extensive revision came in 1532 (two years after Cardinal Wolsey’s fall from the King’s grace and Taverner’s departure from the College), at which point Cardinal College was refounded as King Henry VIII’s College. Under the Statutes of this new foundation, the singing of three post-Compline antiphons (Holy Trinity, St. William, and the Blessed Virgin) was reduced to the singing of a single Marian Antiphon. Also, rather than during a separate, later devotion, the singing of Sancte Deus followed immediately after the Marian Antiphon, with the singing of Ave Maria and the ringing of bells following without pause.

During Lent, when Compline was separated from Vespers and prayed as its own discrete liturgy, the Votive Antiphon devotion continued to be observed at the conclusion of the Office, and continued to be sung with polyphonic embellishment in those churches and chapels with choral foundations. For example, at Eton College, the Statutes of the College stipulated that Salve Regina was to be sung every evening during Lent following Compline; the statues also mandated that, in addition to the informator choristarum and the choristers, the College’s Scholars (students) were required to attend this nightly devotion during the Lenten

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415 In 1546, King Henry VIII’s College was renamed Christ Church College, and the College Chapel simultaneously elevated to the status of Cathedral for the newly-formed Diocese of Oxford, which name and status it carries to the present day.

416 Benham, John Taverner II, x.
The vicars choral\textsuperscript{417} at Eton also seem to have regularly attended (and sung at) this antiphon service at least from the end of the fifteenth century.\textsuperscript{419} The Eton Statutes stipulated that the \textit{Salve} was to be sung before an image of the Virgin Mary; as the chapel of Eton College was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, no fewer than four such images were present in various locations throughout the chapel. However, Williamson suggests that the antiphon would have been sung in the middle of the nave, surrounding a statue of the Blessed Virgin much revered by the parishioners.\textsuperscript{420} The presence of no fewer than fifteen expansive settings of \textit{Salve Regina} in the Eton Choirbook attests to the importance that this antiphon held for the devotional life of the College chapel.\textsuperscript{421}

Another difference from Continental practice was the pattern and usage of texts for the Votive Antiphon devotions. Unlike the norm in monastic and Continental practice, the four major Marian Antiphons – \textit{Salve Regina}, \textit{Ave Regina Calorum}, \textit{Regina Caeli}, and \textit{Alma Redemptoris Mater} – were not subject to strict seasonal allotment in England, but instead were freely selected and sung throughout the year.\textsuperscript{422} \textit{Salve Regina} in particular was a favorite, as has been evidenced in the description of the Eton Statutes, and was sung during all seasons of the church year, particularly during Lent—not only during the weeks between Trinity and Advent, as was the custom elsewhere in Christendom.

\textsuperscript{417} Davison, \textit{Tye}, xiv; Williamson, \textit{Eton}, 117.

\textsuperscript{418} For more information on vicars choral, see Chapter 8.

\textsuperscript{419} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{420} Williamson, \textit{Eton}, 120.

\textsuperscript{421} Davison, \textit{Tye}, xiv.

\textsuperscript{422} Harper, \textit{Forms and Orders}, 133.
The centrality of *Salve Regina* specifically, and the Marian Antiphon more generally, points to the particular importance that the Virgin Mary held in the English religious landscape before the Reformation. The cult of Mary was a feature of English Christianity well before the Norman Conquest – at least from the tenth century – most likely having its origins in the Benedictine reforms of the ninth century, and demonstrating that “the roots of late medieval liturgical practices” were already established and in place “by the time of the Norman Conquest in 1066.”423 The figure of the Virgin Mary loomed large in the religious imagination: the Blessed Virgin, who was fully human and yet had given birth to the Divine, was in a unique place to intercede at the throne of God for the faithful on earth.

Beginning in the late fourteenth century, the perception and status of Mary in the English religious mind began to shift and expand.424 The Blessed Virgin began to be described in terms of her role as intercessor and protector “not only of the individual but also of England as a whole.”425 Legends about the origins of Christianity in Britain, particularly surrounding the ancient monastic site of Glastonbury Abbey, equated the advent of the faith in the island with the person of the Virgin Mary herself. The increasing importance of pilgrimage sites such as the shrine of Walsingham, where she was to have appeared to an English woman in 1061, underscored her importance as a “symbol of stability and protection for England as a nation.”426 Written documents in the latter fourteenth century describe England as *Dow Mariae* – the “Dowry of Mary” – insinuating that

423 Bisson, 8.

424 Ibid., 23.

425 Ibid.

426 Ibid., 24-28.
England was her specific and most valuable possession, and was in need of and subject to her express protection.\textsuperscript{427}

The reason for this surge in Marian devotion and fervor is connected in part to the rise of Lollardy in the late fourteenth century. The Lollards, followers of the teachings of ecclesiastical reformer John Wycliffe, possessed radical ideas about church structure, teaching, and worship, and were regarded by the political and ecclesiastical hierarchy as a threat to public order, and were declared to be heretical. The Lollards strongly objected to ornately appointed church buildings and intricate liturgical worship, particularly the singing of complex polyphony. They also objected to the established practices of chantry chapel foundations and Requiem memorials, and opposed such central Latin doctrines as Transubstantiation and individual confession: “humble study of scripture was the only road to salvation, and any time spent on elaborate forms of liturgy, popular forms of devotion, and on music was a distraction.”\textsuperscript{428} The response from the established Church to these criticisms was to redouble its traditional modes of expression and heighten its commitment to orthodox doctrine and elaborate liturgy, and the invocation of the Virgin Mary became an important tool in the response to and reaction against the Lollard heresy. The Virgin Mary, particular protector of England, was “described as being more powerful than all heresies,” and was “shown to fight on the side of the king [and the orthodox Church] for the preservation of” her special dowry, the soul of England.\textsuperscript{429} In this light, as Bisson states,

\begin{quote}
the strong reaction on the part of the established church and…on the part of the government in embracing Marian devotion and even developing new uses for the devotion…must be understood within the context of this…time. With the gradual
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{427} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{428} Ibid., 32.

\textsuperscript{429} Ibid., 29.
blending of religious and secular authority under Henry V in response to the Lollard threat, public ritual in the form of processions and music and the proliferation of personal affective piety in the form of prayers and poems increased dramatically. The Marian texts and the musical settings [of late medieval England], although not directly connected to the backlash against heresy, clearly were written in a climate of a heightened sense of need to perpetuate those aspects of the liturgy and of personal devotion that were coming under attack. The tradition of elaborate choral music that developed in the cathedrals, collegiate churches, and royal foundations (as well as some parish churches) in the early fifteenth century was probably in part a reaction to Lollard complaints about music in the church.⁴³⁰

As Bisson describes, these socio-religious and political events of the decades on either side of the year 1400 directly correspond with the period of time that saw the first flowering of musical settings of Marian Antiphons, including the Salve Regina, which compositional practice actually had its European beginnings in England in the late fourteenth century before spreading to the Continent some decades later. The Votive Antiphon settings by such composers as Leonel Power and John Dunstaple were much admired by Continental composers and proved influential models on the composers of the Burgundian School.⁴³¹ Salve Regina appears in numerous manuscripts of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries – both as text alone, in prymers, and also with plainchant notation in all surviving English Processionals from the period.⁴³² In the prymers, one or more votive prayers to the Blessed Virgin (such as Salve Regina) almost always followed the Compline devotions without any sort of title or division on the page. Bisson suggests that this near-ubiquitous style in the prymers reflects the universality of a post-Compline Votive Antiphon

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⁴³⁰ Ibid., 32-33.

⁴³¹ Allinson, 58.

⁴³² Bisson, 44. The prymer (or primer) was a book of prayers and devotions, either in Latin or the vernacular, for use by the laity, typically including Gradual Psalms, Penitential Psalms, the Litany of the Saints, and the “Little” Office of the Virgin and prayers for the departed. See Harper, Forms and Orders, 311.
Office in English churches. Although intended for personal use outside the church, prymers nevertheless were indicative of patterns present in ecclesiastical usage.\footnote{Bisson, 49. Bisson notes that the standard format and arrangement of prymers corresponded with the structure of the Divine Offices, even as “the prayers [they] contained were meant for personal devotion and pious reflection” (Ibid., 37); She also writes that “although the primer was meant for private devotion, it duplicated some of the elements which would have been performed in choir at a cathedral or collegiate church. For instance, at Salisbury, prior to the Reformation, the evening and morning offices…would have been sung in choir, and these offices included…the votive accretions duplicated in the primer.” (Ibid., 40).}

If early Continental settings of \textit{Salve Regina} typically took the form of four polyphonic voices in \textit{alternatim} with sections of plainchant, by the end of the fifteenth century and the advent of the Tudor dynasty in 1485 the tradition in England had become to treat this text as lavishly as possible.\footnote{Davison, \textit{Tye}, xiv. See, for example, the settings of \textit{Salve Regina} by Morales, Guerrero, and the anonymous (ca. 1515) setting in Annaberg MS Mus 506, S.388, for \textit{alternatim} treatments of the antiphon. Early through-composed Continental settings exist by Ockeghem and Josquin.} The typical five-voice polyphonic structure was utilized in most English settings of the antiphon, but the Eton Choirbook contains settings for six (John Fawkyner, missing), seven (John Sutton), and nine (Robert Wylkynson) voices; Walter Lambe’s five-voice setting in the Eton Choirbook, through the use of double \textit{gymel}, also necessitates the use of seven voices.\footnote{Ibid., xiv. \textit{Gymel} (or \textit{gimell}) refers to the common Tudor compositional technique of dividing a “solo” section, most commonly treble, of polyphony into two equal, often overlapping, parts. (See Harrison, 154). This practice implies the singing of a “solo” part by at least two voices. The final verse of Sheppard’s \textit{Media vita} employs this technique. Additionally, in many occasions in the Tudor repertoire a voice part will divide into two for just one note, often at cadential points (See Metcalfe, “Performance Practice,” 14).} The English treatment of \textit{Salve Regina} was expansive in another way as well. From at least the time of John Dunstaple in the early fifteenth century, a number of verses were typically added in English settings to the text of the antiphon, taken from the hymn \textit{Virgo Mater ecclesie}. These extra verses were “added as
troped segments between the final lines of the poem,” either as three or more typically four troped additions. These tropes “expand upon the images of the original text, in some ways intensify its sentiments, and provide an opportunity for further meditation.”

_Salve Regina_ was by no means the only Votive Antiphon to be set by late medieval composers, nor was it the only text to be set lavishly and expansively. A great many other Votive Antiphon texts, sung either to plainchant or polyphony, survive. In addition to the other “standard” Marian Antiphons named above, beginning in the fourteenth century the English devotional landscape blossomed with countless newly written Marian texts intended for use as Votive Antiphons after Compline. These texts appear in both verse and prose style, verse being more commonly found before 1500 and prose texts thereafter. The vast majority of these texts, in fact, are known only from their surviving musical settings, with often only one musical setting existing as an exemplar of a text. The settings of _Ave Dei patris filia_ by Fayrfax, Taverner, Johnson, Merbecke, and Tallis; _Gaude flore virginali_ by Lambe, Kellyk, and Turges; and _Gaude virgo mater Christi_ by Aston, Alyn, Cornysh, and Sturton are all

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436 Bisson, 49.

437 Davison, _Tye_, xiv. For the text and translation of these tropes, as well as their location within the larger antiphon, see Appendix II.


439 p. 129.

440 Bisson, 45.

441 Benham, _John Taverner II_, ix.

442 Ibid.; see also Nick Sandon, “Music from the Peterhouse Partbooks,” in Blue Heron, _Music from the Peterhouse Partbooks, Vol.1_ (Boston: Blue Heron, 2009), 10-11.
exemplary.\textsuperscript{443} Examples of uniquely-surviving settings of otherwise unknown texts include John Mason’s \textit{Ave Maria ave fuit} and \textit{Quales sumus O miseri}, and John Sheppard’s \textit{Gaude virgo Christiphera}.

After the 1530s, as the reforming party in the Church in England gained strength and influence, the texts of the Votive Antiphons began to shift their subject matter away from Marian devotion. As one example of this trend, a change is noted in the archival records of Salisbury Cathedral for the year 1540. Prior to that year, the bequest of the deceased Bishop John Waltham had made provision for the daily singing by the choristers of a Marian Antiphon in his memory. Beginning in 1540, however, the bequest was modified to a payment made by the King for the daily singing of \textit{Sancte Deus} – a Trinitarian text – “before the Great Cross in the Nave of the Cathedral.”\textsuperscript{444} As antiphons in honor of the Trinity, or the person of Jesus, became more common, some composers responded to the shift in creative ways: John Taverner’s Jesus Antiphon, \textit{Christe Jesu pastor bone} is in fact a re-working of his earlier \textit{O Wilhelme pastor bone}, composed for the specific statutory requirements of Wolsey’s Cardinal College – through a slight textual reworking, this antiphon was repurposed for much wider use beyond the devotions of a minor saint with limited commemoration.\textsuperscript{445} Settings of \textit{Salve Regina} occur with decreasing frequency: no settings of this text survive from John Taverner, Thomas Tallis, or John Sheppard, all of whom composed lavishly in the genre of Votive Antiphons; only a short fragment of a \textit{Salve Regina}.

\textsuperscript{443} Hofman and Morehen, \textit{passim}.

\textsuperscript{444} Quoted in Doc, \textit{Tallis}, 15. This “Great Cross” was the Rood, the large wooden crucifix affixed to the top of the choir screen at the entrance to the quire. The pulpitum screen in Salisbury Cathedral was modified in the 1790s and again in 1860, before finally being completely removed in 1960 (Information from the History page of the website of Salisbury Cathedral, at http://www.salisburycathedral.org.uk/history. Accessed January 16, 2015).

\textsuperscript{445} Benham, \textit{John Taverner II}, ix, xii.
survives from Christopher Tye. However, older settings of this antiphon did apparently continue to be sung, at least in some places. When the Benedictine Canterbury Cathedral was re-founded in 1541 as a secular foundation, the Oxford scribe and musician Thomas Bull carried an extensive partbook collection with him for use by the choir in that new establishment. This collection, the now sadly incomplete Peterhouse Partbooks, contains no fewer than twenty-one Marian-themed Votive Antiphons (nearly half the total contents of the manuscript collection), including two settings of Salve Regina, by Richard Pygott and Nicholas Ludford. Pygott’s setting is one of the longest Votive Antiphons (of any text) to survive from the Tudor period, running to nearly twenty-five minutes in performance.

The Votive Antiphon, no matter its text, would have been sung in the context of a brief devotion that included not only the antiphon itself, but also, following the singing of the antiphon, a brief Versicle and Collect. Thus, it formed nearly a miniature Office unto itself. As mentioned above, the ritual of this devotion was carried out in varying ways, but the norm in most secular institutions under the umbrella of Salisbury Use was for it to be sung outside of the quire, either in the Lady Chapel or the nave. The liturgical books of the period most likely to include the Salve Regina and its associated versicle and collect are the

446 See the section on Tye in Chapter 10.

447 See Chapter 2, pp. 34-36.


449 Metcalfe, 11.

450 Harper, Forms and Orders, 132-133.

451 Ibid.
Processionals, further underscoring the fact that the norm was for the choir to process out of their stalls to some other location for the observance of this devotion.\footnote{Ps 1519, 173v.}
Chapter 8. Musical Provision at Choral Foundations in England

*Though in France or in Scotland you may meet with some musicians of such absolute accomplishment as in England, yet 'tis not in such numbers.*

- John Major (Haddingtonus Scotus), 1521

The researcher of late medieval English liturgical music seeking to place it in specific contexts of genesis and performance is met with a conundrum. Numerous statutes, accounts, roster rolls, and other such documents exist to delineate a particular institution’s personnel size and forms and times of liturgical rituals. Other accounts and biographical documents point to the names and careers of notable composers and professional musicians. However, rarely if ever do those accounts line up with each other to present anything approaching a comprehensive, specific picture showing what music was sung in which places by what types of forces on which occasions. The best that can be attempted is a gleaning and compiling of general trends, across the spectrum of types of choral foundations active in the early sixteenth century, stitched together with educated guesswork. Lurking frustratingly in the background is that rarest of artifacts from the period – the narrow slice of surviving polyphonic repertoire.

The idea that untold volumes of Tudor polyphony have been lost to history is in itself an unprovable hypothesis, but not unreasonable. The only collections of sacred music that survive in even near-completeness from the first half of the sixteenth century are four

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454 Hugh Baillie, *London Churches, their music and musicians, 1485-1560* (Diss., Cambridge University, 1957), 229. Writing about the parish church specifically, Baillie’s assessment is as true today as it was sixty years ago: “So little polyphony of the period has survived, and the music that has come down to us is representative of so few facets of church music that it can tell us only a little about the music performed in London parish churches.”
sets of partbooks, three choirbooks, and one or two organ manuscripts. The music from these sources amounts to about four hundred unique items. A further three or four sets of partbooks and one or two manuscripts of organ music compiled by Elizabethan antiquarians can be added to that list, but when one considers that an inventory from Magdalen College in 1524 lists sixteen choirbooks in the possession of that college’s chapel – and similar numbers for countless other chapels, cathedrals, and churches throughout the kingdom – one begins to grasp the extent to which music has been lost. In such a light, it is perhaps all the more remarkable that any of this repertoire survives at all.

SINGERS AND THEIR DUTIES

In the medieval period, clergy, whether Monastic or Secular, typically lived and worked together in communities – abbeys, colleges, or cathedrals – with a common purpose of worship. That worship took the form, predominately, of singing. It has been previously remarked, and cannot be stressed too often, that the primary and fundamental form this singing took was that of plainchant. Plainchant was ubiquitous, sung and heard on a daily basis across the kingdom – “[i]t was, in fact, the primary musical experience of most literate people” – while polyphony was a much more uncommon phenomenon. “[P]olyphony was relatively rare, confined for the most part to festal occasions in a few of the wealthiest


Nevertheless, polyphonic singing flourished in England from the beginning of the eleventh century, and evidence of its cultivation in the early Tudor period is to be found in every major type of ecclesiastical structure of the day: cathedrals, monastic houses, collegiate churches and university chapels, household chapels, and even parish churches.

The earliest liturgical singers in the Christian Church were the clergy: from at least the seventh century, priests and deacons in the Papal Chapel in Rome, members of the Schola Cantorum, had specific assigned tasks for the singing of elements of liturgical ritual. Medieval liturgies were, by and large, sung rituals. As one of the primary functions of a cleric’s role was the leadership of and participation in liturgical ritual, priests, deacons, and other ordained clergy were expected to sing Offices and Masses on a daily basis.

Near the end of the fourteenth century, and becoming much more common in the fifteenth century, a new liturgical officer appeared: the lay vicar. The lay vicar, or “vicar choral,” was a professionally trained singer, who, as his title suggests, was not ordained, but a member of the laity. The vicar element of the title speaks to the origin of this office in the prebendary system of English collegiate foundations.

The canons who comprised the body of clergy in both in cathedrals and collegiate churches needed incomes to provide their livelihoods. These were funded in large part by prebends – churches, typically the numerous parish churches of the diocese in which the

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461 Harper, Forms and Orders, 41-42.
canon’s cathedral was located. The canon was the titular priest for the prebendary parish, and thus had dual liturgical and administrative obligations – both in the cathedral or collegiate church, and in the prebendary church. Not being able to be in two places at once – and often, due to the holding of multiple benefices and government offices, absent from both – the canons developed the system of vicars. The tradition arose for each prebendary canon to employ two vicars: a parish vicar, who carried out the sacramental and pastoral duties for the canon at his parish church, and a vicar choral, who carried out the liturgical duties of the canon at the cathedral or collegiate church, which was primarily one of singing in Choir at the Offices and Masses each day. Vicars choral had no sacramental obligations, and therefore were not of necessity ordained to Holy Orders. Over time, this system gave rise to the class of professional singers, known as lay vicars, and the development of the modern “choir” of (lay) men and boys in English cathedral churches.

This development coincided with the increase in the number of boy choristers resident in the cathedrals and collegiate churches, and the advent of utilizing the boys in the singing of polyphony. The final decades of the fifteenth century witnessed one significant development in the performance of sacred polyphony that was to have lasting significance on this repertoire: the introduction of boy trebles into the singing of polyphonic music. The Church had, in the Use of Salisbury, maintained a liturgical presence of boys in choir in both Office and Mass since at least the twelfth century, but their role appears to have been

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463 Ibid., 42. This is the origin of the modern usage of the term vicar in the Church of England.


limited to the performance of the plainchant and other ritual duties. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, many choral foundations increased the number of boys serving in Choir.

Initially, the increase in the number of boys in Choir was not a strictly musical endeavor, instead being a factor of the Church’s reaction to the threat of the heretical Lollard movement (as described in Chapter 7), and an interest in grounding young impressionable minds in the orthodoxy of the established Church.  

Beginning approximately in the 1460s or 1470s, however, the treble voices of the boys began to be added to the polyphonic embellishment of the ritual, serving — along with the exploitation and addition of the low bass voice — as the catalyst for the expansion of polyphonic music from three to five voices as “standard.” This new five-voice texture, comprised of four men’s voice parts and one boy treble part, was adopted wholesale across the realm and became the standard configuration for liturgical Latin polyphony by the time of Henry VII’s accession in 1485. The “most challenging music from the end of the century could not have been written had there not been a tradition of large treble forces (usually sixteen boys) for services at the most prominent choral establishments.”

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466 Bisson, 119. See Chapter 7.

467 Bowers, “Vocal Scoring,” III:47. Bowers notes that this expansion of vocal forces most likely began on a small scale at a small handful of the largest choral establishments, but in short order spread across the kingdom to scores of foundations and locales, becoming fairly ubiquitous by around 1480-1490.

468 A small number of choral foundations, particularly some of the newer University College chapels and certain household chapels, possessed a particular ratio of boys’ to men’s voices that led to the division of the trebles into two vocal timbres, the *Triplex* and the *Medius*, whereas the more common norm was for adult men to sing the *Medius* part. For more on this, see Bowers, “Vocal Scoring,” III:54-55; see also Chapter 8 and Chapter 11.

469 Bisson, 119.
CHANTRIES AND ENDOWMENTS

By the late Middle Ages, an important source of income for cathedrals, collegiate churches, and parish churches was the system of chantries, funded by perpetual endowments. Wealthy benefactors, in their wills, would make provision for priests to say or sing liturgies – Requiem Masses and memorial Offices known as obits – for the effectual and quick passage of their souls through Purgatory to Heaven. “The endowment of a chantry became the objective of England’s wealthiest parishioners. Indeed, examination…reveals that…in 1548, one hundred or so London parish churches supported in excess of 240 perpetual chantry foundations.”470 These chantry priests, funded for a specific purpose at a specific time during the day, would also be in residence at the church where the chantry altar or chapel was located, and often would join the other clergy for the singing of Hours and Masses. Over time, this led to an increase in the number of clergy – often with significant musical acumen – resident at a church: “Wealthy men or associations provided a memorial for themselves and endowed their chantries with money to pay the salaries of men to sing Mass [or Office] in their memory; in so doing they provided churches with the means to enrich their services with fine music.”471

Lloyd notes that many of these chantry bequests made specific provision for the obits and memorial Masses “to be performed 'by note,' i.e. sung, and it is in the provision of these services that we find the rationale underlying the massive growth of parish polyphony” during the early Tudor period.472 Chantry priests, according to both canon law and the statutes of many individual churches, were under obligation to participate in the communal

470 Lloyd, 62.

471 Baillie, 86-87.

472 Lloyd, 63.
liturgies of the host church: canon law stipulated their presence in the choir “at Matins, Evensong [Vespers], and other Divine service…also obliged to assist at…Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Evensong, and Compline…by singing invitatories, hymns, anthems, responds…and also singing psalms.” This arrangement was a boon for the churches that housed the chantries, since the presence of the chantry priests provided both spiritual and musical benefit, without requiring any monetary expenditure on the part of the churches, since the priests were funded by private bequests.

**Organs: Their Nature, Provision, and Use**

Church musicians were trained to play the organ as part of their liturgical duties. The pipe organ played an important role in the liturgical ritual of the Offices, Compline among them. However, the organ in Tudor England was never used to accompany singing or augment the vocal forces in the Latin Rite: it seems to have been exclusively used, in sacred contexts at least, as an alternative to the human voice. The organ represented a choir unto itself, and was used primarily in *alternatim* with plainchant – or vocal polyphony – much in the same way that ritual polyphony alternated with plainchant. Particularly during the years of restoration of the Latin Rite under Queen Mary, when many churches could no longer afford accomplished choirs capable of singing complex polyphony, the pipe organ could stand in the place of these choirs and perform the same ritual functions as the former, requiring the services of only one player.

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473 Ibid., 81.

474 Ibid.


476 Lloyd, 51.
The organ was largely an improvisatory instrument, adorning the corpus of plainchant much in the same way that the techniques of faburden and descant did in vocal performance: numerous written descriptions of organ improvisation of plainsong melodies exist from the fifteenth century. The earliest account of *alternatim* organ performance with a choir is of the singing of *Te Deum* at St. Alban’s in 1396, but it is not known whether this represents improvisation or pre-composed music.

The written, composed polyphony for the organ that survives from before the Reformation, amounting to around one hundred sixty works, would all seem to date “within a window of twenty or so years, from Redford in the 1530s, to Tallis in the 1550s.” From this surviving written repertoire, John Harper has identified four primary liturgical-ritual categories of sacred English organ music: music for the Lady Mass, music for Offices – Matins, Lauds, Vespers, and Compline – on feast days and Sundays, music for High Mass on feast days, and settings of *Te Deum*, “most probably for use during the most solemn feasts, and perhaps at the arrival of distinguished visitors.” With the exception of the items for Masses, which are mostly Offertories, most of this music is in the format of *alternatim* settings, with verses alternately played by the organ and sung by vocalists. The surviving works for use at Divine Office are predominately settings of the Office Hymns.


478 Ibid.

479 Lloyd, 51.

480 Ibid., 51-52.

The Tudor organ, when compared with contemporary Continental instruments, as well as more modern conventions of design, displayed a number of organological idiosyncrasies. However, one compounding problem in the study and analysis of these instruments is the almost complete lack of surviving exemplars: although the Edwardian Reformation of the 1550s saw the demise of the liturgical function of church organs, they were not physically dismantled or destroyed until the ravages of the Civil Wars in the 1640s.\textsuperscript{482} What physical evidence remains from the Tudor period amounts to two soundboards, three individual pipes, and an organ case.\textsuperscript{483}

The soundboards, from Wetheringsett and Wingfield in Suffolk, date from the second quarter of the sixteenth century. They are useful in providing much information about both the mechanism and aural characteristics of these instruments.\textsuperscript{484} The earliest surviving pipes come from the former organ of Magdalen College Chapel, Oxford, built by Thomas Dallam around 1630.


\textsuperscript{484} Dominic Gwynn, “Reconstructions of Two Pre-Reformation Tudor Organs,” \textit{Early Music Performer} (August 2002), 32. One of these soundboards owes its survival to its having been re-purposed as a barn door, identified only in the 1970s by its telltale pattern of pipe-toe holes.
These three pipes were later used as “dummy,” non-speaking façade pipes at the church of St. Nicholas, Stanford-on-Avon.[485] The earliest surviving organ case in Britain is that of the instrument at St. Stephen’s Church in Old Radnor, a small village in Powys in eastern Wales. [486] Although the mechanism and pipe work are modern, the case itself dates to the first or second quarter of the sixteenth century, and is in a remarkable state of preservation (See Figure 9.)

Further information about the disposition of these instruments comes from surviving documentation and builders’ contracts.[487] Taken together, the evidence suggests a style of organ building significantly closer to that practiced in sixteenth-century Spain and Italy than that of France or Germany.[488] The organ builder Dominic Gwynn, of the firm Goetze and Gwynn, has synthesized the surviving physical and documentary evidence and, in 2002 and 2010, built three organs in the early Tudor style.

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[485] Johnstone, 508. As the pipes were preserved from an early date for decorative rather than performative purposes, they were not subject to re-voicing or re-scaling as were many other seventeenth-century pipes. This fact, along with the “robust stability” provided by their high tin content, means that they preserve the pitch that they were built to provide, and represent the most significant evidence for an early English pitch standard of a’ = 475 Hz. Johnstone and Gwynn both emphasize that, although the Dallam pipes are a full century younger than the period in question, English organ building in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was a conservative enterprise that exhibited very little change or development until the final decades of the seventeenth century (Ibid.; Gwynn, “Lost Worlds,” passim, Personal correspondence with John Harper, January 5, 2015).


Two of these instruments utilize the dimensions of the surviving Wetheringsett soundboard, while the third is built around the dimensions of the smaller Wingfield soundboard.490

The most distinctive trait of the Tudor organ is its disposition as a transposing instrument. While modern organs play at conventional 8’ pitch, in which the note c on the

489 Personal photograph, taken January 6, 2015.

490 Dominic Gwynn, “Re-Creating the Middle Ages: A New Organ from a Lost World,” Organ Building: Journal of the Institute of British Organ Building 11 (2011), 52ff. Detailed information on these instruments is available at the organ firm’s website: http://www.goetzegwynn.co.uk/
keyboard plays the normative sounding pitch of \( c \), early English organs were constructed around a tradition of 5’ pitch – the note \( c \) on the keyboard would play the normative sounding pitch of \( f' \), a perfect fourth higher. Organists playing in *alternatim* with vocalists would be responsible for transposing the music to bring it into synchronicity with the performing pitch of the singers. In acknowledgment of the differential between 8’ and 5’ sounding pitch, the two organ works included in Part II of this thesis are presented in two versions: the first, at the original manuscript pitch, and the second, transposed up a perfect fifth.

Organs enjoyed wide dissemination in the churches of late medieval England. Surviving documentation reveals that they were not the exclusive domain of cathedrals and wealthy endowments, but were also a common feature of many parish churches throughout the kingdom. Although organs are attested in English churches from at least the fourteenth century, a wave of new organ installations in London churches occurred in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, “many of which appear to have been bought following donations from parishioners.” A surviving contract from 1519 documents a large instrument purchased for the parish of All Hallows by the Tower in London. The earliest mention of an organ at the church of St. Mary-at-Hill is from the 1480s; that particular parish maintained two instruments during the first half of the sixteenth century.

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491 Johnstone, 510.

492 Lloyd, 52.


494 See below, p. 148ff.

ENACTMENT OF LITURGICAL RITUAL AT SALISBURY CATHEDRAL

Evidence for the enactment of liturgical ritual at Salisbury Cathedral comes not only from the instructions included within the Customaries, but also from rubrics and other indications included in such liturgical books as the Processionale, Breviarium, and Ordinale. However, documentation of choir size and distribution at specific points in the cathedral’s history is a much less detailed account. A further complicating factor in determining the size of performing forces for the singing of the liturgy is the inability to discern from roster lists and other accounts which members of the “choir” actually sang polyphony (or plainchant), as opposed to serving in ritual, non-singing roles.496

At the beginning of the fifteenth century, Salisbury Cathedral boasted a liturgical retinue “with endowments for over fifty canons…thirty-six or more vicars (priests, deacons, subdeacons), as well as [an unspecified number of] clerks and up to fourteen choristers.”497 Over the course of the fifteenth century the offices of these vicars were increasingly filled by lay singers: an account from 1497 lists payments to a Lady chapel organist and seven vicars choral for singing at Lady Mass.498 The maintenance of a contingency of around fourteen boy choristers seems to have been constant through the early sixteenth century.499

In the absence of explicit documentation of the singing forces at Salisbury Cathedral, a great deal of information does survive regarding how this ensemble sang and enacted the liturgy. The norm, dictated by the architecture of the space itself, was for the choir to divide itself into two contingencies, the Cantoris and Decani, who sat on opposite sides of the quire.

496 Harrison, Medieval, 177-185.
497 Harper, Forms and Orders, 203.
498 Harrison, Medieval, 178.
499 Ibid.
These two sides of the ensemble “alternated in being the ‘duty’ or leading side for the purposes of carrying out certain singing or reading tasks, so that one week was Decani week, the next Cantoris week.” The Customaries of the cathedral also stipulate that during certain seasons of the year, this rotation of leadership occurred on a daily, rather than weekly, basis. The obligations of this “duty” leadership involved the singing of incipits, the intonation of antiphons and psalm verses, and other elements of the liturgy that required solo singers. It also determined which side of the choir would sing the initial verses of the psalmody and hymns – in the case of hymnody, thus determining which segment of the choir might sing polyphony in *alternatim* performance.

Certain senior members of the choir were chosen by the Precentor to serve as *rectores chori* – rulers of the choir. These singers were responsible for providing the starting pitch of chants or polyphony, intoning chant incipits, or appointing other specific singers to sing the incipits, based on the rubrics of the Customaries and other liturgical guidelines. The *rectores chori* were also responsible for the rehearsal and planning of music in preparation for the liturgy. The *rectores chori* thus performed many of the duties associated with the modern conductor, but assumed these roles as part of the rotation of weekly duties: the Salisbury sources refer to the *Hebdomadarius*, the weekly duty-clerk who served as primary *rector chori* for the period of time in question.

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502 Ibid.


504 Ibid.
The Customaries also ordered the specific seating arrangement in the stalls, along with regulations governing the choir’s deportment. The members of the choir sat in specific seats based on a system of hierarchy, precedence, and tenure. The quire at Salisbury Cathedral contained three rows of stalls on each side, referred to as the superior grade (gradus superior), the second form (secunda forma), and the first form (prima forma). In addition, there were a number of return stalls in the superior grade, located at the western end of the quire, facing East toward the High Altar with their backs against the pulpitum. These return stalls were the seats of the principal cathedral dignitaries: on the South side the Dean and Sub-dean, and on the North side the Precentor and Succentor (assistant Cantor). This seating arrangement is the source of the designation Decani (Dean’s side) and Cantoris (Precentor’s side) for the two sides of the divided choir. The remaining two cathedral dignitaries, the Treasurer and Chancellor, sat in the corner stalls at the East end of the superior grade. The other seats in the superior grade belonged to the Archdeacons, cathedral Canons, and priest-vicars. The stalls of the second form were the locations of the deacons and lay clerks, while the first form, comprised of benches rather than stalls with hinged seats, was the domain of the choristers, who sat in order of age and rank. By the early sixteenth century, when the tradition of vicars choral had been well established, and a significant body of polyphonic repertoire adorned liturgical celebrations, those members of the choir responsible for the singing of this music were situated in the lower two forms, and in the centermost stalls of the quire (See Figure 10). From this central location taken by the singers,


Ibid.


the term *medio chori* arose to designate the portion of the choir that contained the most accomplished musicians.\(^509\)

Figure 11. The Medieval Quire and Presbytery, Such as at Salisbury Cathedral. Singers *In medio chori* were located in the center group of stalls, where the diagram marks “Cantoris” and “Decani.”\(^510\)

From time to time, singers also left the stalls to recite special elements of the liturgy at one of three additional locations: at a lectern atop the pulpitum screen at the West end of the quire (for the proclamation of the Alleluia, Gradual, Epistle and Gospel at High Mass), at a lectern between the *cantoris* and *decani* sides in the center of the quire, *in medio chori* (where the *rectores chori* stood to sing, intone, and direct much of the Office liturgy), and at a lectern at the East end of the quire, on the step between the quire and presbytery (used by readers and other soloists).\(^511\)

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\(^{510}\) Image from Harper, *Forms and Orders*, 37.

ENACTMENT OF LITURGICAL RITUAL AT OXFORD COLLEGES

The University of Oxford, founded in the eleventh century and chartered in 1248, is composed of thirty-eight constituent colleges, fifteen of which date to before Elizabeth I’s accession in 1558. Chapel worship was an important element of daily life for these college foundations, many of the chapels developing chapters and choirs on the model and scale of the kingdom’s collegiate churches. Two of the University’s colleges, Madgalen and Cardinal, are particularly noteworthy in this regard.

MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD

Magdalen College was founded in 1458 by William Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester, and quickly became the largest of the Oxford colleges. Magdalen College’s foundational Statute of 1458 called for a chapel choir comprising twenty-eight vocalists: sixteen choristers (boys), eight lay clerks, and four chaplains.\footnote{512} This number was further expanded and enlarged by the forty fellows and thirty scholars of the college, who according to the statutes joined the choir on Sundays and principal feasts.\footnote{513}

The composer John Sheppard was employed as \textit{informator choristarum} – master of the choristers – at Magdalen College during the academic term 1541-42, and again between 1544 and 1548.\footnote{514} In holding this prestigious post, Sheppard inherited a rich tradition of polyphonic singing at a well-funded and well-supplied institution.\footnote{515} The post had previously been held by Richard Davy, many of whose works appear in the Eton Choirbook. Surviving

\footnote{512} Williamson, \textit{Taverner III}, xxiii.

\footnote{513} Ibid.

\footnote{514} See section on Sheppard in Chapter 10.

\footnote{515} Harrison, \textit{Medieval}, 165-166.
accounts attest to the division of singing duties at various liturgies between the adult clerks and boy choristers, who came together for principal services.\textsuperscript{516}

Polyphonic books in the possession of the College Chapel are mentioned as early as 1484; Sheppard was paid by the College in 1547 and 1548 for providing music books for use in chapel.\textsuperscript{517} An atypically thorough description of the polyphonic library holdings of the College comes from an inventory of 1522. It documents no fewer than twenty-one choirbooks (and one Bass partbook) consisting of four-, five-, six-, and seven-part polyphonic settings of Masses, troped Kyries, Alleluias, Antiphons, and Canticles, including nine “most beautiful books of part-songs, of which two are pre- eminent.”\textsuperscript{518} Sheppard’s surviving repertory of six- and seven-part polyphony, then, would seem to be stemming from a tradition of six- and seven-part singing at Magdalen Chapel.\textsuperscript{519}

\textbf{CARDINAL COLLEGE, OXFORD}

In 1525, Cardinal Thomas Wolsey, Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor of England, dissolved the Augustinian Priory of St. Frideswide, Oxford, and converted it to a new educational college, Cardinal College. The existing Priory church became the new college’s Chapel. Wolsey’s charter for Cardinal College included a number of provisions for

\textsuperscript{516} Harrison, \textit{Medieval}, 166.

\textsuperscript{517} Ibid., 166. Harrison speculates that the 1547 was for partbooks – twelve books are named in the inventory, suggesting two copies each of a six-voice collection of partbooks.

\textsuperscript{518} \textit{Novem libri pulcherrimi cantuum fractorum, quorum duo sunt majores}. The inventory is reprinted in Harrison, \textit{Medieval}, 431.

\textsuperscript{519} Williamson, \textit{Sheppard}, xi.
the conduct of its chapel worship, calling for twenty-eight singers, the same number as at Magdalen College: sixteen trebles and twelve clerks.\textsuperscript{520}

As outlined in Chapter 7, the Cardinal College statutes stipulated that following Compline throughout the year, the choir “shall sing three antiphons in polyphony (\textit{intorto canto}), namely one of the Trinity, a second of St. Mary, a third of St. William.”\textsuperscript{521} These same Statutes from Cardinal College further stipulated a second, additional Votive Antiphon service some time later in the evening, which would have been combined with the post-Compline antiphon service during Lent, when Compline did not immediately follow Vespers:

The master of the choristers with all the choristers, as well as some priests or clerk-conducts assigned by the precentor, shall come again in the our aforesaid chapel each day, and there shall sing in polyphony an antiphon of St. Mary, with the versicle ‘\textit{Ave Maria},’ and the prayer ‘\textit{Meritis et precibus}’ sung by one of the choristers. When this is finished, we desire that the master with the aforesaid choristers, having knelt before the image of the Crucifix in the nave of the church [i.e. standing in the nave at the crossing, looking towards the Rood atop the choir screen], shall sing in polyphony the antiphon ‘\textit{Sancte Deus}…’\textsuperscript{522}

The Cardinal College Statutes were revised in 1527, reversing the order of the post-Compline antiphons (placing that for St. William ahead of that for the Blessed Virgin), and dictating the later-evening antiphon to be \textit{Salve Regina}. A further, more extensive revision came in 1532 (two years after Cardinal Wolsey’s fall from the King’s grace and Taverner’s departure from the College), at which point the College was refounded as King Henry VIII’s

\textsuperscript{520} Benham, \textit{Taverner III}, xx.

\textsuperscript{521} Quoted in Benham, \textit{John Taverner II}, ix. The “St. William” here named was St. William of York, a twelfth-century Archbishop of York and subject of local veneration in York, who was of particular import to Cardinal Wolsey, the founder of Cardinal College and himself Archbishop of York.

College. Under the Statutes of this new foundation, the singing of three post-Compline antiphons (Holy Trinity, St. William, and the Blessed Virgin) was reduced to the singing of a single Marian Antiphon. Also, rather than during a separate, later devotion, the singing of Sancte Deus followed immediately after the Marian Antiphon, with the singing of Ave Maria and the ringing of bells following without pause.

**Enactment of Liturgical Ritual at the Chapel Royal**

The “chapel,” when used in the context of the household of a royal personage or other nobleman, was less a building than an institution. In such a context, “chapel” referred to the retinue, the personnel and staff, involved in the operations of the devotional life of the patron: clergy, singers, and sometimes children. These chapels typically travelled along with the household on their journeys of state. The household chapel became an important source of employment for many professional singers, particularly those who were not in holy orders, and in England, the largest and most prestigious of these chapels was the Chapel Royal of the monarch.

The English Chapel Royal was a peripatetic establishment: the royal household counted a number of worship spaces as being under its purveyance, including those of Hampton Court Palace (after 1528), St. George’s Windsor, St. Peter ad Vincula in the Tower of London, and St. Stephen’s Chapel in Westminster Palace. Thus, the Chapel Royal would

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523 In 1546, King Henry VIII’s College was renamed Christ Church College, and the College Chapel simultaneously elevated to the status of Cathedral for the newly-formed Diocese of Oxford, which name and status it carries to the present day.

524 Benham, *John Taverner II*, x.

“set up shop” wherever the monarch was in residence. During the reign of Henry VIII, the king possessed a total of twenty-three royal residences, with seven primary palaces.\footnote{Fiona Kisby, The Royal Household Chapel in Early Tudor London, 1485-1547 (Diss., University of London, 1996), 308, 317.}

The Chapel Royal consisted of a number of ordained clergy, known as “Chaplains,” including a Dean, Sub-dean, and a number of priests, an increasing number of lay singers, known as “Gentlemen of the Chapel,” a body of boys (“the Children”) to serve as singers and servers, and a number of other “Men in Vestry” who served in non-singing roles.\footnote{Kisby, 72.}

While the ordained clergy initially formed part of the singing choir, over the years they assumed a diminishing responsibility for singing, which fact was also reflected in the overall ratio of Chaplains to Gentlemen, which during the time of Henry VI was roughly equal, but by the 1520s was approximately one to three.\footnote{Ibid., 86.}

Surviving documentary evidence of the size of the Chapel Royal indicates a great deal of variation over the years, particularly during the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII. A source from the late fourteenth century suggests that the Chapel Royal numbered about twenty-three members, containing eighteen men and five choristers. By the Tudor era, this number had increased to a membership of nearly fifty.\footnote{In her assessment of these sources, Kisby warns that these rosters must be approached with care and not automatically assumed to indicate normative figures: “These lists are concerned solely with a specific occasion, and therefore provide no indication of the probable size of the chapel at other times…although there does seem to have been a growth in chapel numbers, it was more fragmented in character…the result of fluctuations in household size, financial constraints, or short-term expansion for special events.” Kisby, Household Chapel, 71-72.}

Table 8 outlines the numbers of the Chapel membership at various dates during the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII.
Table 8. Membership Numbers of the English Chapel Royal, 1500-1553.\textsuperscript{530}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Chapel Membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1500</td>
<td>Funeral of Prince Edmund (youngest son of Henry VII)</td>
<td>40 (10 ordained Chaplains, 15 Gentlemen, 10 Children, 5 Vestrymen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1503</td>
<td>Funeral of Queen Elizabeth of York (queen consort of Henry VII)</td>
<td>44 (9 ordained Chaplains, 17 Gentlemen, 12 Children, 6 Vestrymen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1509</td>
<td>Funeral of Henry VII</td>
<td>42 (8 ordained Chaplains, 18 Gentlemen, 11 Children, 5 Vestrymen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1509</td>
<td>Coronation of Henry VIII</td>
<td>38 (8 ordained Chaplains, 15 Gentlemen, 10 Children, 5 Vestrymen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1511</td>
<td>Funeral of Prince Henry, Duke of Cornwall</td>
<td>46 (10 ordained Chaplains, 21 Gentlemen, 10 Children, 5 Vestrymen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1547</td>
<td>Funeral of Henry VIII</td>
<td>49 (11 ordained Chaplains, 20 Gentlemen, 12 Children, 6 Vestrymen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1553</td>
<td>Inventory in the first year of Queen Mary I</td>
<td>51 (9 ordained Chaplains and Vestrymen, 30 Gentlemen, 12 Children)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Chapel Royal celebrated in the chapel space of whichever palace or house the court was resident at the time, but in every case arranged itself in the same pattern utilized at Salisbury Cathedral and other cathedrals and collegiate churches: three rows of stalls, with the Chaplains, also known as “clerks of the upper form,” seated in the superior grade of stalls, the lay Gentlemen in the second form, and the children in the lowest, first form.\textsuperscript{531}

The choir also divided itself into facing sides of \textit{Cantoris} and \textit{Decani}. Organs featured in the chapels – and the liturgies – of the Chapel Royal, although there is no record of a formal appointment of Organist of the Chapel Royal as such until the reign of Queen Elizabeth, in the 1570s, when Thomas Tallis held the title.\textsuperscript{532} Before that time, organ-playing duties were assumed by any of the Gentlemen capable of fulfilling them.

\textsuperscript{530} Information taken from Kisby, \textit{passim}.

\textsuperscript{531} Kisby, 86.

\textsuperscript{532} Ibid., 89-90.
The Dean of the Chapel Royal held one of the highest and most prestigious offices in the entire kingdom. First mentioned in a document from 1368, the Dean held both liturgical and administrative responsibilities in the Chapel Royal. He was the principal celebrant for all major double feasts through the year, and also held responsibility for appointing preachers and overseeing the deportment of the Chapel’s constituent members. The office of Gentleman of the Chapel Royal was also an extremely prestigious – and well-paying – position. From 1318 until the Elizabethan era, the standard salary of a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal was 7½d per day – nearly £12 per annum – plus gifts of “lands, leases, and grants, from which additional income could be earned.” By comparison, singers employed at many of the collegiate churches in the kingdom earned a minimum of £2 per year, and those in the employ of household chapels of the nobility between £2 and £6 per year. The highest honor to which any professional musician in late medieval England could aspire was to be named a Gentleman of the Chapel, and once named, “there was a high degree of continuity of office-holding.” There is no account of any Gentleman in the Tudor period ever relinquishing his post, and even during the frequent upheavals of political, dynastic, and religious contention between 1460 and 1560, the Chapel Royal provided a context of stable employment.

The Children also occupied an important role in the Chapel Royal, serving as treble choristers and liturgical servers in a tradition dating back to the beginning of the fourteenth

533 Ibid., 75-78.
534 Ibid., 96.
535 Ibid., 94.
536 Ibid., 93.
537 Ibid.
The Chapel Royal provided an excellent context for musical training and general education, and the boys’ early instruction in Latin ensured proper execution of the Roman Rite liturgy. Upon their reaching adulthood, Children of the Chapel Royal were placed in the kingdom’s best universities and frequently pursued careers in law, government, theology, or music. Many also continued to be associated with the Chapel Royal throughout their lives.

The Chapel Royal adhered to the conventions of Sarum Use for its liturgical ritual. However, due to the nature and function of the Chapel Royal within the context of the monarch’s household, “not all of the Opus Dei was performed in the chapels of the royal houses. Only High Mass, a daily votive Mass of the Virgin Mary and the principal Office hours – Matins, Lauds, Prime, Vespers, and Compline, followed by a…votive antiphon occurred.” One feature of the cycle of Temporale as it manifested itself in the Chapel Royal is that sermons were only a feature of chapel liturgies during the season of Lent.

The Chapel Royal throughout the early Tudor period and beyond represented the most prestigious center for sacred music making in England. Even as the secular musical life of the Tudor court was dominated by Continental musicians – Italian, French, and Flemish – recruited for their virtuosity and pre-eminence, so the Chapel Royal became famous in its own day for the unparalleled singing of its native English musicians.

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538 Ibid., 103.
539 Ibid., 108.
540 Ibid.
541 Ibid., 143-144.
542 Ibid., 79.
543 Ibid., 89.
Venetian ambassador to the English court in 1515, left an account of his impression of the Chapel Royal musicians: “so they went to church, and after a grand procession had been made, High Mass was sing by the King’s choristers, whose voices are more divine than human; and as to the counter bass voices, they probably have not their equals in the world.”

**Enactment of Liturgical Ritual at the Parish of St. Mary-at-Hill, London**

One might assume that sophisticated, professional music making involving polyphonic singing was the domain of cathedrals, large collegiate foundations, and elite private chapels. However, research has shown that parish churches, particularly in urban centers such as London, were not excluded from the practice of liturgical adornment by trained, professional musicians. Two scholars, Hugh Baillie in the 1950s and Richard Lloyd in the 1990s, have written in great detail about the musical life of parish churches in the City of London, both giving express attention to one particular parish, that of St. Mary-at-Hill.

Late medieval London, roughly corresponding to the area of central London now known as the City, was a compact, densely-populated mélange of houses, shops, markets, workplaces, and churches – research suggests roughly one hundred church buildings within the area of one square mile. St. Mary-at-Hill dates to at least the eleventh century, as in 1177 it was already described as an “ancient church.” The parish exists to this day, but the

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building that now stands on Lovat Lane, near the Great Fire Monument, is largely a product of the late seventeenth century, designed by Christopher Wren after the Great Fire of 1666 gutted the medieval structure. The parish, situated in the Ward of Billingsgate just north of the Thames near the old London Bridge, became one of the wealthier parishes in London by the end of the fifteenth century, due in large part to the funding of a number of chantries—ten existed within the church building by 1540.

Hugh Baillie’s assessment of the parish was that, so far as the documentary evidence attests, it “was the most musical parish church in the City.” At the center of this musical life was the parish clerk. The term clerk in its earliest manifestations referred to any man (other than bishop) in holy orders: a priest, deacon, or subdeacon. By the end of the fifteenth century, however, a clerk was a literate, educated man who worked in a church, but might be in minor orders or even laity. The parish clerk assumed many duties in the life of the church, a number of which were not musical in nature, but an important aspect of his work was the organization of liturgical and musical life, including the upkeep of organs, the organization of music books, and the recruitment of other musicians. Larger parishes, such as St. Mary-at-Hill, often employed more than one clerk, many of whom held specifically musical responsibilities. These assistant clerks, who over time increasingly were lay professional singers, also came to be known as conducts. The conducts were responsible for singing, teaching children, playing the organ, and even composing music for use in the liturgy. The earliest conducts were probably chantry priests, or their assistants, but over

547 Hugh Baillie, *London Churches, their music and musicians, 1485-1560* (Diss., Cambridge University, 1957), 199.

548 Ibid., 82-85.

549 Ibid., 83.
time came to be funded by the parish church itself and took on more general responsibilities apart from the chantry altars.

The presence of multiple clerks and conducts, in addition to both parish and chantry priests, meant that the church of St. Mary-at-Hill had at its disposal a sizeable body of adult singers capable of performing daily liturgies in both plainchant and polyphony. Evidence for polyphony at the parish dates to 1483, when churchwardens’ accounts mention payment for “a prickid song Booke for the church.” Further inventories and accounts of pricksong volumes, for four and five voices, exist from 1501, 1521, 1529, 1530, 1531, 1539, 1547, and 1553. Unfortunately, the contents of these books are completely unknown, beyond the general categories of “Masses and Antiphons,” although in particular one volume was recorded as consisting of “Kyries, Alleluias, and Sequences” for four voices, which as Hugh Baillie notes sounds very much like the contents of the Gyffard Partbooks.

Children were also present in the musical life of the parish of St. Mary’s. In 1523, the conduct John Northfolke was tasked – and funded – with organizing the instruction and training of children, in which capacity he still worked in 1530. The number of children involved with the liturgy at St. Mary’s is unknown, but a payment was made in 1490 for “[two] childern ffor theyr wages of a quarter from Midsomer to Mighelmas,” in 1510/1511

550 Ibid., 82.

551 Ibid., 200-203.

552 See Chapter 2. The Gyffard Partbooks are thought to possibly have a connection to St. Paul’s Cathedral in London, which as the present study argues was well within mutual spheres of influence as St. Mary-at-Hill.

553 Lloyd, 50.
four boys’ surplices were purchased, and in 1524 the church purchased an additional twelve children’s surplices – most likely two each for a total of six boys.  

St. Mary-at-Hill also preserves records attesting to the presence and use of the pipe organ in its worship. The organ is first mentioned in a parish account in 1477, the first year for which parish records survive. Again in 1526, the “old portatyffis in the quere” were sold to the organ builder John Howe for 26s. 8d. A new organ was installed sometime after, as another account from 1549 notes “a payment of 5s. ‘for mending of the new organs’ though the actual purchase is not recorded.” As seems to have been standard throughout England in the early sixteenth century, St. Mary-at-Hill did not employ musicians specifically as organists, but hired singers who also had the ability to play the organ as needed.

St. Mary-at-Hill owed its wealth and status in part to its large number of mercantile parishioners, but also to its endowment with multiple chantries – of the nearly two hundred fifty chantries at one hundred churches in the city of London, no fewer than ten were founded at St. Mary’s. A number of these chantry bequests involved detailed specifics provided by their founders. In the 1530s, John Bedham, a parishioner of St. Mary’s, left the following instructions:

I woll that the said preest so to be ordeyned & for me to syng, be personally every day in the said Chirche of seynt Mary atte hill at all houres canon, & at all services in the same Chirche to be seyd & song, & that he be helpyng in the same all thynges as

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554 Ibid.
555 Ibid., 57, 82.
556 Quoted in Baillie, 117.
557 Ibid.
558 Lloyd, 57.
559 Ibid., 63.
he best can, And namely, that the said Preest say every werkday in the said Chirche of seynt Mary atte hill, his matens, pryme & hours, evensong & complene, placebo & dirige, & all his other prayers & services by hym self or with his ffelawes preestes of the same Chirch.”

Similarly, parishioner John Causton specified in his will of 1529:

And I woll that the same Preest be every day at hours canon, and at all dyvyne service in the same Chirch of Saynt Mary atte hill, after the laudable custumes of the said Citee, and namely, that he be every Day in the same Chirch after evensong at the time of syngyng of Salve Regina and that he syng the same or elles help the syngers after his cunnyng in the honour of our blessed lady the virgyn withoute he be lette for a resonable cause.”

These two bequests indicate that regular communal singing of the Offices, including Compline, was normative at St. Mary-at-Hill, along with the night-time Votive Antiphon (indicated by John Causton’s mention of Salve Regina), the specification to “help the syngers after his cunnyng” suggests polyphonic elaboration by a skilled singer, either improvised or from the available books of pricksong. As Lloyd summarizes,

At St Mary at Hill [sic] the chantry priests, along with the clerks and junior choristers, provided the church with an impressive body of singers. By the late 1470s, by which time…seven chantries were established, a choir capable of performing from the books of polyphony demonstrably owned by the church shortly after this time may well have been in place for those occasions when all the singers were drawn together, which it would seem was frequently the case with obits. Such services may thus provide important indications about the origins of polyphony at St Mary’s and, therefore, a number of churches in London at this time.”

Thus, when the chantries were suppressed at the Chantries Act of 1547 (one of King Edward VI’s very first legislations), the system that had provided parishes such as St. Mary-at-Hill with recourse to rich polyphonic singing were stripped away: “The suppression of the

560 Quoted in Ibid., 79.

561 Quoted in Ibid., 80.

562 Ibid., 82.
chantries may have ended a good deal of undesirable superstition, but it also put an end to
the careers of a great many fine musicians. 563

One notable feature of the musical history of St. Mary-at-Hill is what would seem to
be a long-lasting and special relationship the parish maintained with members of the Chapel
Royal. Between 1510 and 1528, a number of the Gentlemen from that august body of
musicians sang at the parish church from time to time on major feasts: William Cornysh,
Harry Prentice, John Tyll, William Colman, and even the Chapel’s sub-dean, John Kyte, are
recorded as having sung at St. Mary’s. 564 Furthermore, at least two musicians, Thomas Tallis
and Robert Okeland, were staff singers and conducts at St. Mary’s before later being
appointed Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal. 565 The role of these visiting singers would seem
to be one of augmentation of an already accomplished choir on the occasion of principal
feasts, most likely during times when their presence was not required at Court. As Lloyd
notes, singers from such an accomplished ensemble as the Chapel Royal would most likely
not join in singing with members of a London parish choir “unless that choir was already of
a high capacity.” 566 The resulting effect was surely one of adding strength to strength.

The names of many – but by no means all – of the musicians employed by the
church of St. Mary-at-Hill survive in a number of account rolls and other documents from
the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. One notable aspect of these rosters (See Table
9) is the short length of tenure for most of these singers. As Lloyd has indicated, fewer than
ten percent of all the known singers to have been associated with St. Mary’s between 1480

563 Ibid., 86.
564 Kisby, 256.
565 Ibid.
566 Lloyd, 240.
and 1560 were employed there for more than four years. The suggestion implicit in this information, particularly when applied to personages associated with the parish with known biographies (Thomas Tallis and Richard Wynslate), is that St. Mary-at-Hill was a church that employed promising musicians at the beginning of their careers, before sending them forth to distinguished musical careers elsewhere.\textsuperscript{567}

The important studies by Baillie and Lloyd, along with the work of Fiona Kisby, have shed rich light onto the performance of polyphonic music in the parish churches of London. Much mystery remains, and many gaps are yet to be filled. In light of the documentation summarized here, the best that can be said regarding the singing of Compline in a parish church such as St. Mary-at-Hill is that, thanks to the surviving bequests by John Causton and John Bedham, we know that the Office of Compline was sung daily in the church. The evidence also shows that it was followed by a votive antiphon such as \textit{Salve Regina}. It was probably sung communally by an ensemble of conducts, clerks, and priests, and there is no good reason to doubt that it could have, from time to time, been augmented and enriched by the singing of certain items in polyphony, given the large inventory of polyphonic books in the church’s possession. As will be discussed in the following two chapters, a repertoire of polyphony for the Compline Office, much of it directly tied to the Lenten season, was in circulation in the opening decades of the sixteenth century, much of it from the hands of composers with at least indirect ties to London. Furthermore, the singers who came and went from the musical life at St. Mary’s, including Thomas Tallis, were often those who travelled in elite circles, including those of the Chapel Royal. As Lloyd remarks, “The musicians of the London Parish Church did not…exist in professional isolation.”\textsuperscript{568}

\textsuperscript{567} Ibid., 161-162.

\textsuperscript{568} Ibid., 259.
Table 9. Chronological Overview of known musicians at St. Mary-at-Hill, London, 1490-1558\(^{569}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Title/Position, if known</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1490-91</td>
<td>Alexander Wursley</td>
<td>clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>William Edmondes</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>No surviving documentation between 1491 and 1495</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1495-96</td>
<td>William Bowes/Bowyer</td>
<td>choirmaster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1496-97</td>
<td>William Bowes/Bowyer</td>
<td>choirmaster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lenard Patrik</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John Nott</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1497-98</td>
<td>William Bowes/Bowyer</td>
<td>choirmaster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1498-99</td>
<td>William Raynesford</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1499-1500</td>
<td>John Nott</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1500-1501</td>
<td>John Nott</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1501-1502</td>
<td>John Lawe(^{570})</td>
<td>parish clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1502-1503</td>
<td>John Lawe</td>
<td>parish clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1503-1504</td>
<td>John Lawe</td>
<td>parish clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1504-1505</td>
<td>John Lawe</td>
<td>parish clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1505-1506</td>
<td>John Lawe</td>
<td>parish clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1506-1507</td>
<td>John Lawe</td>
<td>parish clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1507-1508</td>
<td>John Lawe</td>
<td>parish clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1508-1509</td>
<td>John Lawe</td>
<td>parish clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1509-1510</td>
<td>Sir William Brise</td>
<td>priest; “kept the organs”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lawrence Swayne</td>
<td>organist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1510-1511</td>
<td>Lawrence Swayne</td>
<td>organist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>William Cornysh(^{572})</td>
<td>visiting musician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John Kyte(^{573})</td>
<td>visiting musician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1511-1512</td>
<td>Lawrence Swayne</td>
<td>organist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Richard Lee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1512-1513</td>
<td>Robert Claver</td>
<td>clerk &amp; organist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John Davy</td>
<td>clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1513-1514</td>
<td>John Snow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{569}\) Information collated from Baillie, 255-293 and Lloyd, 183.

\(^{570}\) Master of the (London) Fraternity of St. Nicholas in 1508, d.1514.

\(^{571}\) During the early years of the sixteenth century, the singing was also augmented from time to time by John Sidborough, a gentleman of the Chapel Royal from 1503 to 1520, who had strong connections with St. Mary and probably resided in the parish. See Baillie, 288.

\(^{572}\) Master of the Children and Gentleman of the Chapel Royal (bef. 1504-1523).

\(^{573}\) Gentleman and Sub-Dean of the Chapel Royal, 1509-1513.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Title/Position, if known</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1514-1515</td>
<td>John Snow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nicholas Gladwyne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John Sprever</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1515-1516</td>
<td>John Snow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1516-1517</td>
<td>John Snow</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1517-1518</td>
<td>John Snow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1518-1519</td>
<td>John Snow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Robert Redknap</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1519-1520</td>
<td>John Snow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1520-1521</td>
<td>John Snow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1521-1522</td>
<td>John Darlington</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Roger Mason</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1522-1523</td>
<td>Roger Mason</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Richard Griffith</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1523-1524</td>
<td>Roger Mason</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>William Smythe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John Northfolke (Norfolk)</td>
<td>organist &amp; choirmaster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John Giles</td>
<td>visiting singer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John Tyll 574</td>
<td>visiting singer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1524-1525</td>
<td>John Northfolke (Norfolk)</td>
<td>organist &amp; choirmaster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Morres</td>
<td>conduct, “the base” 576</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1525-1526</td>
<td>John Northfolke (Norfolk)</td>
<td>organist &amp; choirmaster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1526-1527</td>
<td>John Northfolke (Norfolk)</td>
<td>organist &amp; choirmaster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John Wright 577</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1527-1528</td>
<td>John Northfolke (Norfolk)</td>
<td>organist &amp; choirmaster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Andrew Alen</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1528-1529</td>
<td>John Northfolke (Norfolk)</td>
<td>organist &amp; choirmaster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1529-1530</td>
<td>John Northfolke (Norfolk)</td>
<td>organist &amp; choirmaster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dunstan Chechelly</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Edmund Matryvers</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Michael Grene</td>
<td>clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>William Patten</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1530-1531</td>
<td>Edmund Matryvers</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Michael Grene</td>
<td>clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>William Patten</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

574 Gentleman of the Chapel Royal (1511, 1520, 1524).

575 Gentleman of the Chapel Royal (1520-1538).

576 Quoted in Lloyd, 183.

577 Possibly the composer of the *Nesciens mater* in the Gyffard Part-books (Baillie, 293).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Title/Position, if known</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1530-1531</td>
<td>Baltasar</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1531-1532</td>
<td>Edmund Matryvers</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Michael Grene</td>
<td>clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>William Patten</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1532-1533</td>
<td>Michael Grene</td>
<td>clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>William Patten</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nicholas Crase</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1533-1534</td>
<td>Michael Grene</td>
<td>clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>William Patten</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Robert Okeland (Oclande)</td>
<td>organist &amp; choirmaster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thomas Axe</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1534-1535</td>
<td>Michael Grene</td>
<td>clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>William Patten</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Robert Okeland (Oclande)</td>
<td>organist &amp; choirmaster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thomas Axe</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Richard Newgate</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>James Sharpulles</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1535-1536</td>
<td>William Patten</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thomas Axe</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>James Sharpulles</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1535-1536)</td>
<td>John Day</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thomas Hogeson</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1536-1537</td>
<td>William Patten</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thomas Axe</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>James Sharpulles</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John Day</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Roger Centon (Kenton)</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John Shaxton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thomas Tallis</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1537-1538</td>
<td>William Patten</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>James Sharpulles</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John Day</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thomas Tallis</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

578 Gentleman of Cardinal Wolsey’s Chapel (1521).

579 Gentleman of the Chapel Royal from 1547.

580 Possibly to be identified with the prominent mid-century printer (Baillie, 265).

581 Gentleman of the Chapel Royal from 1548, d.1569.

582 Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, d.1585. “Some of his earlier works, particularly those in [Gyffard]…may well have been written while he was at St. Mary’s.” (Baillie, 290)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Title/Position, if known</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1537-1538</td>
<td>John Skynner</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thomas Yole</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Robert Ffox</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thomas Rowe/Roo</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Richard Wynslate</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1538-1539</td>
<td>William Patten</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John Day</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Robert Ffox</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thomas Rowe</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Richard Wynslate</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1539-1540</td>
<td>John Day</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Robert Ffox</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Thomas Rowe</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Richard Wynslate</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thomas Walden</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John Hacket ⁵⁸⁴</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John Thorne</td>
<td>conduct</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thomas Walden</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Richard Wynslate</td>
<td>conduct</td>
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No surviving documentation between 1540 and 1547

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1547-1548</td>
<td>Thomas Martin ⁵⁸⁵</td>
<td>parish clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>William Mundy ⁵⁸⁶</td>
<td>parish clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Robert Tanner</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thomas Hamond</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1548-1549</td>
<td>Nicholas Man</td>
<td>conduct, “ye basse” ⁵⁸⁷</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>William Mundy</td>
<td>parish clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1549-1550</td>
<td>Thomas Bettes</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>William Davy</td>
<td>clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>William Man</td>
<td>clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thomas Wharlton</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thomas May</td>
<td>conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>William Mundy</td>
<td>parish clerk</td>
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<tr>
<td>1550-1551</td>
<td>Harry Kerzen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>William Mundy</td>
<td>parish clerk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⁵⁸³ Organist of Winchester Cathedral, 1540-1572, d.1572. Surviving compositions in Lbl MS Add.29996.

⁵⁸⁴ Possibly to be identified with the composer of a Kyrie in the Gyffard part-books (Baillie, 271).

⁵⁸⁵ Replaced by William Mundy mid-year.

⁵⁸⁶ Replaced Thomas Martin mid-year.

⁵⁸⁷ Quoted in Baillie, 277.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Title/Position, if known</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1551-1552</td>
<td>William Dawe</td>
<td>singer, “our base”⁵⁸⁸</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>William Mundy</td>
<td>parish clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>No surviving documentation between 1552 and 1556</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1556-1557</td>
<td>Sir John Parkyns</td>
<td>priest; a “‘base’ who helped the choir…when their conduct died.”⁵⁸⁹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>William Mundy</td>
<td>parish clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1557-1558</td>
<td>William Mundy</td>
<td>parish clerk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⁵⁸⁸ Quoted in Baillie, 265.

⁵⁸⁹ Baillie, 283.
Chapter 9. Tudor Compositional Style

Now the English, granted that they are commonly said to jubilate, while the French sing, do not stand comparison with them. For the latter create novel melodies in the latest times, while the former continue to use one and the same composition, which is a sign of the most wretched invention.

- Tinctoris, Proportionale musices (ca. 1476)\textsuperscript{590}

One of the first difficulties in approaching the music of the Tudor composers is its striking stylistic divergence from contemporaneous Continental polyphonic styles. English composers whose work spans the period 1485 to 1558 – Walter Lambe and John Browne through to John Sheppard and Thomas Tallis – are roughly contemporary with composers such as Josquin des Prez and Jacob Obrecht through to Morales, Clemens non Papa, and Gombert,\textsuperscript{591} yet even a cursory comparison between the insular and the continental reveals a substantially different musical language. Noël Bisson describes the situation thus:

Twentieth-century scholarship on late fifteenth-century English music has taken two approaches to this problem. The first is that English music can only be understood in comparison to Continental.\ldots The second view is that English music is best understood in isolation from Continental traditions because it shares so little with the Franco-Flemish music of the period.\textsuperscript{592}

The problem with the first approach is that, being “rare to find a discussion of [this] repertory that does not use analytical terms that were developed for Continental music of the late fifteenth century… the English pieces are often perceived as stylistically inferior when compared to the development of a Continental polyphonic style from Dufay, through

\textsuperscript{590} Haec eis Anglici nunc, licet vulgariter jubilate, Gallici vero cantare dicantur, veniunt conferendi, illi etenim in dies novos cantus novissimae inveniunt, ac isti, quod miserrimi signum est ingenii, una semper et eadem compositione utuntur. Quoted in Bisson, 121-122. It may be worth noting that the word \textit{iubilare/jubilare}, here translated as “jubilate,” was a term often used in sixteenth century sources to specify part-singing, or polyphony, as opposed to unison plainchant. See Harrison, \textit{Medieval}, 109, n.4.

\textsuperscript{591} Josquin (d. 1521), Obrecht (1457-1505), Morales (d. 1553), Clemens (d. ca. 1555), Gombert (d. ca. 1560).

\textsuperscript{592} Bisson, 116-117.
Ockeghem and culminating with Josquin.” The problem inherent in the second, independent approach is that a cohesive, thoroughgoing, and agreed-upon vocabulary and system for a different analytical technique appropriate to the English repertoire has not as of yet been codified: “to say that this music is different from Franco-Flemish music of the same period is easy; to say with any specificity how this music differs is difficult.”

In his book *Latin Church Music in England*, Hugh Benham identifies a number of helpful analytical markers and methods, focusing on the contrasts of texture between full choir and solo sections, of patterns and schemes of mensural construction, and sectional divisions. Benham also identifies the rising importance of the “low bass voice…judging from the more frequent occurrence of the bass cadence.” Benham also successfully avoids the temptation to offer comparisons with Continental music, allowing the English repertoire to stand on its own.

Although the delineating chronological markers for this thesis, the years 1485 and 1558, represent a useful and recognizable socio-political boundary – the foundation of the Tudor monarchical dynasty under Henry VII at the former date, and the death of Queen Mary at the latter – it is not possible to make a similar statement regarding any sort of stylistic

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593 Ibid., 120. This is especially interesting, given the fact that one hundred years prior in the early fifteenth century, Continental composers looked to England for innovation and inspiration.

594 Ibid., 132.

595 Benham, *Latin Church Music*, 58ff; also see Bisson, 129, for an assessment of this approach.

596 Bisson, 129. See Benham, *Latin Church Music*, 176. For more on the special place of the Bass voice, particularly in its lower registers, in the Tudor repertoire, see Chapter 8 and Chapter 11; see also Bowers, *English Church Polyphony*, III:50.

597 Bisson, 129.
homogeneity with regards to polyphonic Latin music during these decades. The seven decades of the pre-Elizabethan Tudor period represent a time of significant, continuous stylistic change in the composition of polyphonic Latin music. We might understand these decades as encompassing three or four distinct stylistic periods whose chronological boundaries overlapped and were subject to constant evolution. Thus, to speak of “Tudor Compositional Style,” even within the parameter of sacred vocal polyphony, is to speak of compositional styles, in their plurality.

The first of these periods under consideration is that which reached its zenith in, and is represented by, the repertoire of the Eton Choirbook, which contains music dating from the 1470s forward, compiled around the years 1500-1510. The Eton repertoire proves something of a stylistic enigma, however, as it stands in stark contrast to the body of English sacred music from the earlier decades of the fifteenth century, with little in the way of a stylistic bridge between the music of John Dunstaple and that of the earliest Eton composers. The early twentieth century musicologist Dom Anselm Hughes “viewed the Eton manuscript as representing the earliest example of an English ‘school’ of composers –

598 The use of the word evolution here in no way intends to suggest a linear meta-narrative of refinement or improvement, but simply change over time with no subjective or qualitative judgment.

599 See Chapter 3 and the discussion of John Browne, below, pp. 227-231.

600 Bisson, 120. Dunstaple himself is named in the table of contents of the Eton Choirbook, where a five-voice setting of Gaude flore virginali, spanning twenty-one notes, is listed with “Dunstable” as its composer; the work is among those now missing from the incomplete manuscript and may correspond to an anonymous work included in GB-Lbl Add. MS 54324. However, if the work is indeed by the early 15th-century master, it would be his only composition for five voices, and quite stylistically distinct from any of his other surviving attributable works. See Margaret Bent. “Dunstable, John.” Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press, accessed October 21, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/08331. See also Magnus Williamson, ed. “John Dunstable.” The Eton Choirbook Project of Newcastle University, accessed October 21, 2014, http://research.ncl.ac.uk/etonchoirbook/composers/johndunstable/.
men who were writing in an established musical form rather than experimenting with a new style.\textsuperscript{601} The problem lies in identifying just how and when such an established form came to be. In her dissertation on the Eton repertoire, Noël Bisson identifies one possible bridge in the music of the enigmatic mid-fifteenth century composer Walter Frye. Bisson explains, “One of [the] most characteristic aspects of Frye’s writing was his use of short phrases broken up by minim rests that occur on the beat. These short phrases are staggered among all the voice parts so that there is constant interplay among the parts,”\textsuperscript{602} in which “every effort is made to conceal the structural framework” of the music.\textsuperscript{603} This “interplay” of short, syncopated, quasi-hocket-like phrases is expanded and enlarged by the Eton composers into a complex system of meter-obscuring, overlapping phrases that seem to intentionally avoid simultaneous cadencing,\textsuperscript{604} and are ultimately concerned with the forward motion of the phrases. There is a sense…that the composer is aiming to prolong the melodic line for as long as possible. Through rhythmic variation and by shifting the melody from one voice part to another, the composers…were able to build to a climax in a piece by means of the avoidance of a full cadence. Melodic and rhythmic symmetry, and, indeed, imitation, are also generally avoided in these pieces. Imitation, when it occurs, is used as a subtle means of articulation rather than being integral to the structure of the piece.\textsuperscript{605}

The second period under consideration, representative of the period ca. 1510 to ca. 1540, roughly corresponds to the reign of Henry VIII. This stylistic period flows directly from the Eton style through the works of Robert Fayrfax, some of whose music is in fact


\textsuperscript{602} Bisson, 138-39.


\textsuperscript{604} Bisson, 139.

\textsuperscript{605} Ibid.
included in the Eton collection, and whose music is considered by some to be “transitional” between the earlier, more complex Eton style and that of his immediate successors such as Hugh Aston, Nicholas Ludford, Robert Johnson, and John Taverner. The music of Richard Pygott and Thomas Ashewell, and early works by Thomas Tallis, Christopher Tye, and John Sheppard also come under this stylistic umbrella. A stylistic shift in composition did begin in the first decade of the sixteenth century, but scholarly reassessment of the music in question is now less likely to view the Eton repertoire as “an historical dead-end.” Research by Nick Sandon of the repertoire contained in the Peterhouse Partbooks has shown a continuation of many of the stylistic concerns of the Eton generation of composers, albeit with a heightened concern for restraint, increased utilization of imitation between the voices, and shorter overall phrase lengths. This period also saw the beginning of a division of the Tenor vocal timbre, represented by the Contratenor and Tenor polyphonic voices in the five-part compositional texture, into more distinctive, not quite equal, categories. The first is a voice with a compass of a twelfth and focusing on its upper tessitura, sung by the Contratenor voice; the second, a voice with a narrower compass of a tenth, focusing on its lower tessitura, sung by the Tenor voice.

During the 1540s, new stylistic traits begin to emerge in the composition of Latin polyphony, represented in the three Westron Wynde Masses of Taverner, Tye, and Sheppard.

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606 Ibid., 120.

607 See Chapter 2.

608 Sandon, Mason, i.

609 Bowers, “Vocal Scoring,” III:42. In Note 10 on this page, Bowers cites a surviving document from the Chapter Archives of Salisbury Cathedral, dating to 1551, that would seem to represent the earliest use of the term countertenor to “designate a particular vocal timbre” rather than simply the name of a polyphonic part.
This repertoire, still grounded in the standard five-voice structure of its antecedents, features greater parity and much more homorhythmic writing between the voices, contributing to an increased clarity in the textual declamation of the lines.\textsuperscript{610} The composition of Latin polyphony, at least for official, public liturgical expression, came to a halt in 1549 with the proclamation of English-language liturgies and the publication of the \textit{Book of Common Prayer}. Church composers responded to these changes by adopting a drastically new style for setting the liturgy in English, represented by the English anthems of John Sheppard, Thomas Tallis, and Christopher Tye.\textsuperscript{611}

When the Latin liturgy was restored under Queen Mary in 1553, composers responded in a number of ways. On the one hand, there was an interest in recapturing the grand, expansive compositional language of the early sixteenth century, exemplified in the votive antiphons, responds, and Mass settings of John Sheppard and William Mundy.\textsuperscript{612} This is best interpreted as a deliberate encouragement on the part of Queen Mary to consciously hearken back to the “golden age” of the reign of her father during his most powerful years before the tensions with Rome began.\textsuperscript{613} On the other hand, the 1550s saw a continuation of the major compositional stylistic shifts begun in the 1540s. Composers became increasingly aware of Continental trends, and began incorporating such traits as frequent imitative counterpoint, and departure from strict \textit{cantis firmus} structure and plainchant foundation,

\textsuperscript{610} For a more in depth examination of this style, see Benham, \textit{Latin Church Music}, 134-161.

\textsuperscript{611} The story of the development of English-texted liturgical music in the late 1540s is a complex one, and beyond the scope of the present study. For an overview of this topic, see the Introductions to James Wrightson, ed. \textit{The Wanley Manuscripts}; and also Judith Blezzard, ed. \textit{The Tudor Church Music of the Lamley Books}. Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance, Vol. 65 (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 1985).

\textsuperscript{612} Williamson, \textit{John Sheppard}, xvii-xix. See also Benham, \textit{Latin Church Music}, 162-176.

\textsuperscript{613} Williamson, \textit{John Sheppard}, xvii-xix.
into their native compositional language. This marked a shift towards “a more concise expression which would suggest or require the more pointed tonal definition of sharpened leading-tones.” The genre most closely associated with this stylistic shift at the midpoint of the century is the Psalm-motet, a genre which would survive into the Elizabethan era and serve as an important model for the young William Byrd. Together, these two simultaneous strands of compositional style constitute the final “period” under consideration for the present study.

**PRICKSONG**

Taken in the broadest of possible brush-strokes, and despite the undeniable evolutions of form and style, certain features exemplify the music composed for the Church between the late fifteenth century and the reign of Queen Mary. The term most commonly used in fifteenth and sixteenth century sources to describe formal, composed polyphony is *pricksong*. The etymology of this word is suggestive of the pricking out of music in notation on paper or parchment. Use of this term in period sources serves to delineate and distinguish this music from the two other prevalent forms of vocal music encountered in the liturgy: plainchant and improvised polyphony. Above all, it is plainchant that defines the

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614 It is important to note, however, that Continental polyphonic music was not unknown in England during the early sixteenth century. For example, an important manuscript from the Chapel Royal of Henry VIII, GB-Lbl Royal 8.G.vii, is a lavish choirbook from ca. 1516-1520 of Belgian provenance, given as a gift to the king, and containing motets by Févin, Agricola, Mouton, Morales, Isaac, Josquin, de la Rue, and other Franco-Flemish composers. See Digital Archive of Medieval Music (DIAMM) entry at http://www.diamm.ac.uk/jsp/Descriptions?op=SOURCE&sourceKey=2032#contents. Accessed November 9, 2014.


617 Harrison, *Medieval*, 162.
sacred music of the pre-Reformation era: “it is essential to remember that plainsong formed
the bulk of pre-Reformation church music, even simple polyphony being only an occasional
alternative to it or embellishment of it.”

Plainchant continued to be the dominant form of music making in the Western
Church long after the advent of polyphony. The student of music history is often presented
with a linear thread of musical development, beginning with unison “Gregorian” chant in a
quasi-mythic, pre-eighth century milieu, superseded in turn by Organum, Notre Dame
polyphony, and the structures of the Ars Nova and Ars Antiqua in its onward march
towards the Renaissance and Baroque styles. In fact, plainchant remained the primary mode
of musical expression in the Roman Church through the eighteenth century, analogous to
the position that monophonic chant holds in the Eastern and Oriental Orthodox Churches
to this day. Thomas Forrest Kelley reminds us that “plainsong, though its repertory may
have become essentially fixed, did not cease to be heard when polyphony began: it continued
to be the only music heard everywhere and by everyone.”

Thus, it is from within the structures of monophonic plainchant that the Tudor
polyphonic style had its genesis and foundation. Polyphonic church composition in England
can be traced to the Anglo-Saxon period, to the two-voice organum repertoire of the
Winchester Troper of ca.1000. This Winchester repertoire laid the foundation for polyphonic
elaboration of pre-existent plainchant melodies, developing into the tradition of cantus firmus
composition. Until the fifteenth century, cantus firmus treatment was exclusively that of a

618 Benham, Latin Church Music, 1-2.

619 Thomas Forrest Kelly, “Introduction,” Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony, 1. This summation
does not mean, of course, that the manner in which the plainchant was performed did not
significantly change over the centuries.

620 Harrison, Medieval, 220.
monorhythmic, un- (or scarcely) elaborated inclusion of a plainchant melody in long note values, placed in the midst of the polyphonic texture in the Tenor voice. Beginning in the early years of the fifteenth century, in the work of such composers as Leonel Power, John Dunstaple, and other contributors to the *Old Hall Manuscript*, cantus firmus Tenors began to feature variable, mixed rhythmic treatment. This period also saw the advent of the cantus fractus, in which the plainchant melody is “broken” (fractus) by non-melodic notes, creating an embellished variation on the underlying chant tune. However, the long, even-note value cantus firmus style continued its existence alongside its younger stylistic sibling through the opening decades of the sixteenth century – the psalm antiphon Miserere mihi by John Norman, respond In pace by John Taverner, and antiphon Media vita by John Sheppard (included in the Critical and Performing Edition of this project) all adhere to this structure.

A parallel style of cantus firmus treatment, utilizing monorhythmic chant quotation, but in shorter note values, “less distinct from the surrounding voices,” became a common stylistic template for hymns, Magnificats, and other items sung in alternatim at the Office. This style of treatment is represented in the hymn settings of Robert White, such as that of Christe qui lux es II (included in the Critical and Performing Edition of this project).

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623 Ibid., 231.

624 See Part II, Nos. 5, 7, 8 for the transcriptions.


626 See Part II, No. 6 for the transcription.
The polyphonic voices that surrounded and interacted with the *cantus firmus* tenor adhered to a number of conventions that had developed over the course of the fifteenth century. During the first two thirds of the fifteenth century, polyphonic composition most commonly featured three voices, but by the time of the Eton repertoire’s creation in the last quarter of that century, as noted in Chapter 2, through the introduction of both treble and low bass vocal timbres, the “standard” configuration had increased to five voices, a structure that would remain in place in the Latin repertoire for the next hundred years. This five-voice structure utilized four vocal timbres, each with the overall range of approximately an eleventh, and each placed at the overlapping distance of a fifth away from its nearest neighbor. The treble range of the boy choristers, roughly equivalent to the notes $d’–g”$; the (adult male) alto range, roughly equivalent to the notes $g–c”$; the tenor range, roughly equivalent to $c–f’$; and the bass range, roughly equivalent to $F–b$. Virtually every piece in the Tudor repertoire adheres to the strictures of this structural compass. However, not every piece utilizes these full ranges, while some combine multiple voices of the same timbre, such as works written for alto, two tenors, and two basses. Furthermore, when

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627 See pp. 30-32.

628 Roger Bowers, “Vocal Scoring,” III:40-41; 49. For a more thorough discussion, see Chapter 8 and Chapter 11.

629 John Sheppard occasionally stretches his bass voices down to an $E$; the only sixteenth century British work known by this author to extend the treble tessitura upwards beyond $g”$ is the nineteen-voice *O bone Jesu* by Scottish composer Robert Carvor [or Carver], which repeatedly asks the top voice to sing $a”$—but, being the work of a Scottish composer with Continental training, falls, strictly speaking, outside the domain of the Tudor repertoire. At the time of this research no study was found that compares normative performing pitches in sixteenth century Scotland with those in England.

composers created polyphonic works with more than five voices, one or more of these four standard vocal timbres was doubled to create the additional voice or voices.\(^631\)

Another convention of church polyphony through the Tudor period was the use of free, non-imitative counterpoint as the primary form of polyphonic compositional structure. Even after passages of imitative counterpoint began to appear in the work of some composers in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, the non-imitative style continued to hold a place of prominence through the Latin works composed during Mary’s reign in the 1550s. Polyphony in strict imitation between all the voices became a feature of the vernacular music composed for the English liturgy under Edward VI, as well as returning again to prominence during Elizabeth’s reign. Strict imitative counterpoint did not become a standard feature of Latin polyphony until the Elizabethan period, in the mature works of Thomas Tallis and most especially those of William Byrd. Although non-imitative polyphony, often in thick, dense textures, is a hallmark of the Tudor sacred style, it is yet another feature that has caused this repertoire to resist formal analysis heretofore: as Noël Bisson states, scholars “simply do not yet have the vocabulary to analyze dense passages of non-imitative polyphony,”\(^632\) further commenting that it “is easy to pick out points of imitation and to trace them throughout a polyphonic piece; it is quite different to do close analysis of non-imitative polyphony….This lack of a differentiated approach to the non-imitative textures of the…music has proved to be a major stumbling-block in our understanding” of how it is constructed.\(^633\)

\(^631\) Ibid.

\(^632\) Bisson, 125-26.

\(^633\) Ibid., 128-29.
Improvisatory Faburden and Music Composed in Its Style

A hybrid form of music making, a stylistic meeting ground between plainchant singing and composed polyphony, and apparently by all accounts widespread to the point of being ubiquitous, was that of improvised polyphony. Although not the only type of improvised polyphony, the one most commonly found in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century was that of faburden. As Hugh Benham states, “Various kinds of improvised polyphony (notably descant and faburden) were part of every musician’s training; but naturally, because they were forms of improvisation, we have few written examples of them.” However, a multitude of accounts from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries describe its prevalence and utilization. Erasmus describes “faburdom” as a nearly ubiquitous phenomenon among both monastic and secular choirs. Statutes and ordinances of cathedrals (Lincoln in 1477 and 1536, Salisbury in 1538, York in 1507) attest to its widespread use and the assumption that it was among the most basic of skills accessible to a trained singer. As such, it was also most likely encountered at establishments with more modest musical forces, such as parish churches, monasteries, and smaller collegiate foundations.

636 Benham, Latin Church Music, 1.
638 Harrison, Medieval, 177-181.
The practice of faburden differs from the Franco-Flemish fauxbourdon of Dufay and Binchois in that the latter is a device of formal composition with primacy of place given to the uppermost voice; faburden is, in its strictest sense, a purely improvisatory practice of adorning a pre-existent plainchant cantus firmus which resides in the middle voice. The etymology of the term itself is the source of ongoing debate among scholars. Earlier hypotheses, taking as their starting point the French term fauxbourdon, include the idea of a “false shawm” (bordon being a term for the double-reed shawm), suggesting the practice was a vocal mimicry of an instrumental technique, and that the English word is a transliteration of the French. Brian Trowell has argued that the French term fauxbourdon was in fact an intentional transliterated pun on the (older) English word faburden, perhaps originating with Guillaume Dufay himself. Regarding the ultimate origin of the word faburden, Trowell maintains that it most likely is “a composite of the English word burden, meaning bass-part, and the solmisation syllable Fa: burden with B-Fa.”

In practice, the method of creating faburden involved three lines. The original plainchant melody was harmonized extemporaneously by singers moving in parallel and oblique motion below the plainchant – thus contrasting with the related practice of discant.

643 Trowell, “New Sources,” 49.
644 Ibid., 30. This understanding comes from the method that the faburdener used to improvise his part below the cantus firmus melody: “in order to be able to visualise these intervals from his book of chant, and within the four lines of the plainsong staff, the faburdener is told to imagine the notes a fifth higher than he sings them…the result is that the faburdener can never sing a B natural, but always sings B-flats, as the imagined note for a B will always be the F-fa a fifth above.”
which involved an improvised harmonization above the plainchant. A third voice was added to the texture, singing the plainchant melody in perfect fourths above the original. Each of the three harmonizing voices was given an identifying name: the *medius*, who sang the original plainchant melody, the *faburden*, singing below the medius in fifths and thirds, and the *triplex*, who sang in parallel motion with the medius, a perfect fourth higher. This homophonic motion results in chains of what a modern theorist would term 6/3 chords, with the occasional 8/5 chord at the ends of words or phrases. The use of the term *faburden* for both the lowest voice and the technique as a whole underscores the importance and centrality of the bass singer in the creation of this improvised polyphony.

Although the practice of faburden was guided by strict structural rules, by all accounts it was also subject to embellishment, particularly at cadential points. Melodic leaps in the medius could also be filled in by the outer two voices. Contemporary accounts attest to the at times outlandish extremes that certain singers would reach in their improvisations. Records from the vicars of Southwell Minster from 1481, 1484, and 1490 all document complaints levied against a certain Thomas Cartwright, who “sang faburden in so strange a way that the other singers could not make concord with him, and...he upbraided his fellows for their singing, exalting his knowledge above theirs...his boasts led to brawling.”

Faburden improvisation survived in liturgical practice up until the mid-century Reformation, but also had entered into the toolbox of devices utilized by composers of pricksong as well. In this guise, it extended into the period of English church polyphony for

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645 Trowell, “Faburden,” n.p. As the case with all polyphonic music of the period, the terms *triplex* (treble) and *medius* (mean) do not refer to specific voice types or timbres, but simply to their order and role in the polyphonic construction.

Anglican worship. Faburden style served as the foundational structural model for settings of the *Te Deum* preserved in the *Lumley* manuscript.\(^{647}\)

Even more substantially, the legacy of faburden in the English sacred soundscape is found in the frequent utilization of a *faburden* – here, referring specifically to the lowest voice of the three-part improvisatory structure – as a *cantus firmus* for polyphonic composition, in the place of the original plainchant melody. The original improvised “Bass” line of the vocal faburden becomes the “Tenor” *cantus firmus* in the new composed piece.\(^{648}\) This practice became a common compositional device during the 1520s, and was particularly employed by the composers of *alternatim* organ works. The faburden (“Bass”) line was often subject to transposition, typically up a fifth, from its hypothetical original, in order to place its starting and final pitches on the same note as the source plainchant melody (See Figure 11, below). Its presence can often be discerned by a telltale ascending fourth at the beginning of the melodic phrase, as a majority of plainchant melodies begin with an ascending stepwise motion: the lower voice in faburden harmonizes with the plainchant from a beginning point of a fifth below moving to a third below the plainchant melody, resulting in the melodic ascent of a fourth. The second most common melodic movement encountered in faburden basses repurposed as *cantus firmus* is that of an ascending third, indicative of the source plainchant melody repeating its opening pitch.

\(^{647}\) Trowell, “Faburden,” n.p.

\(^{648}\) This structural foundation can occur in a number of different voices in a polyphonic composition; the setting by John Sheppard of the psalm *Laudate pueri* in the Gyffard partbooks uses the faburden of the plainchant melody as the foundation for the bass line his counterpoint. See Harrison, *Medieval*, 356.
Figure 12. Examples of Faburden
A: Plainchant (round notes) with hypothetical faburden harmonization (square notes).
B: Faburden part, transposed up a perfect fifth.
Transcribed Mark Ardrey-Graves. Faburden *cantus firmus* in the middle voice.
Chapter 10. Composers of Compline Polyphony and Votive Antiphons

But if they thinke maister Taverner partiall, let them looke in the workes of our English doctors of musicke, as D. Farfax, D. Newton, D. Cooper, D. Kirby, D. Tie, and divers other excellent men, as Redford, Cornish, Piggot, White, and Mr. Tallis.

- Thomas Morley (1597)⁶⁴⁹

The biographies included in this study are limited to those, from among the vast constellation of Tudor-era composers, who have surviving polyphonic works directly tied to the Office of Compline. The production of large-scale Votive Antiphons such as were commonly sung immediately following the Compline Office in many churches and chapels⁶⁵⁰ was, along with settings of the Mass and Magnificat, the major concern of composers in the early Tudor era, with nearly two hundred surviving examples composed during the seventy-five-year period ca. 1485-1558.⁶⁵¹ A number of Tudor-era composers are known to us only as composers of Votive Antiphons; as such the present biographical survey will limit itself only to those composers whose Antiphons, as representative and archetypal case studies, are included in the Musical Edition (Philip Alcock) and associated Recital (John Browne) of this research project. Additionally, a small number of anonymous works, particularly from the Pepys and Ritson manuscripts, with no known authorial attribution, save one to William Corbrand, exist for use in the Compline Office (see Chapter 2).

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⁶⁵⁰ See Chapter 5 and Chapter 7.

JOHN NORMAN (FL. 1502-1522; D. CA. 1545)

With the exception of the mid-fifteenth century composer William Corbrand, from whose hand exists a two-part setting of the Lenten Respond *In manus tuas,* John Norman is the earliest named composer from whom we have existing polyphony composed for the Compline liturgy. Although biographical information is scant (his birth and death dates remain unknown), a handful of sources name a John Norman active during the period ca. 1509-1545, placing him in the generation immediately prior to and overlapping with that of John Taverner. A document from the eighteenth century names John Norman as organist and *informat chorus* at St. David’s Cathedral (Pembroke, Wales) from 1509 to 1522. In 1521, a John Norman joined the Fraternity of St. Nicholas, the guild association for parish clerks in London. There was a John Norman who served as clerk of St. Thomas’ Chapel, London Bridge from 1528 to 1534, then at Eton College from 1534 to 1545, at which point the name vanishes from the record.

The three existing polyphonic compositions ascribed to Norman – a Mass, a votive Marian Antiphon, and a Psalm Antiphon – all possess a melismatic style that suggests a transitional, post-Eton Choirbook musical language that anticipates the writing of John Taverner. All three of Norman’s surviving works appear in sources from the first half of the sixteenth century. A Mass for five voices, built around the *cantus firmus* of the Easter

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653 Corbrand’s *In manus tuas* is contained in the “Pepys” Manuscript (#1236) of the Magdalen College Library at Cambridge; see Chapter 2. See also Baillie, *London Churches,* 230 and 263, for a biographical sketch of Corbrand as well as a transcription of the Respond. Corbrand vanishes from the record by 1515.

antiphon *Resurrexit Dominus* survives complete in the Forrest-Heyther Partbooks in Oxford’s Bodleian Library (Gb-Ob ms Mus. Sch. E.376-380). These partbooks contain a collection of Mass settings compiled and used at Cardinal College, Oxford from approximately 1528, also being the earliest source for John Taverner’s music.\(^{655}\) Norman’s second surviving composition is the Marian Antiphon *Euge dicta sanctis oraculis* for five voices, contained in the “Henrician” set of the Peterhouse Partbooks, although the Tenor part is missing. Norman’s is the only known setting of this text.\(^{656}\) Norman’s final known composition is a brief three-voice setting of *Miserere michi Domine*, the Psalm Antiphon at Compline for seasons outside of Christmas, Septuagesima, (early) Lent, Easter, and feast days, including the period between Passion Sunday and Maundy Thursday. The brief Antiphon, running a mere fourteen bars in transcription, is found in the British Library’s Ritson Manuscript, and is scored for two tenors and bass (the first tenor indicated as *Triplex* in the manuscript), with clefs (ascending) F4, C4, and C4, and a total range of exactly two octaves. The middle (*Tenor*) voice contains the antiphon plainchant melody as a *cantus firmus* in even breves, written in black filled notation in the manuscript. The polyphonic voices are highly melismatic but travel predominately in stepwise motion, often in long unbroken chains of scales. The result, as Hugh Benham suggests, is something approaching, but less successful than, the style used by John Taverner in his four-part *Audivi vocem de caelo*.\(^{657}\)

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\(^{657}\) Benham, np.
Nick Sandon and Eleanor Lane raise the question of the specific purpose of this setting. If it was indeed composed to be sung liturgically as the Psalm Antiphon at Compline, there is no division in the setting between beginner and choir (as stipulated by the rubrics of the Customary), instead being set polyphonically throughout. Nevertheless, given the later history of polyphonic settings of Gospel Antiphons by composers such as Sheppard and Mason, clearly intended for liturgical performance, the rubricial concerns raised by Sandon and Lane cannot be seen as definitive for suggesting extra-liturgical performance.

JOHN MASON (CA. 1485 – CA. 1548)

John Mason, from whose hand survive a mere four surviving polyphonic works, was a near-exact contemporary of Henry VIII. Biographical information for Mason is sparse,

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658 See Chapter 5.

659 Sandon & Lane, xii.

660 See below, pp. 193-195; 212-220.

further compounded by the fact that there may have been two unrelated church musicians of the same name active in the early sixteenth century, as well as a third John Mason who served as a clerk in Henry VIII's privy council. Mason the composer apparently began his career in the employ of Lady Margaret Beaufort, Henry VIII's paternal grandmother, singing in her household chapel, and under whose patronage he studied for the priesthood. Following his ordination, Mason served as informator choristarum at Magdalen College, Oxford from 1508 to 1510. In 1509 Mason earned the B.Mus. from the university. He disappears from the record until 1521, at which time he was in the employ of Cardinal Wolsey, again as a musician in a prominent household chapel. After this period Mason came into the possession of multiple profitable ecclesiastical benefices, among them chaplaincies at Chichester, Salisbury, and Hereford Cathedrals, and a Rectory at Pewsey. Upon Wolsey’s fall from royal favor, a “Dominus Mason” briefly filled the vacuum created by John Taverner’s departure from the choir of Cardinal College, Oxford in 1530. Mason became a canon (1525) and later treasurer (1545) of Hereford Cathedral, where he presumably had settled sometime prior. In February 1548 [OS 1547] the cathedral at Hereford appointed a new treasurer, and in May of that year Pewsey a new rector, from which facts it is presumed that Mason had recently died, most likely in December or January.

662 Hofman and Morehen, 45-46.

663 Sandon, Mason, iii.

664 Sandon, Peterhouse, 11.

665 Sandon, Mason, iii.

666 Bowers, np.

667 Sandon, Peterhouse, 11.

668 Sandon, Mason, iii.
All four of Mason’s existing polyphonic works survive in the Peterhouse Partbooks. Each of these four compositions (all missing at least one voice part) is scored for the usual Tudor five voices, but it is notable that each of these compositions is also scored for five men’s (changed) voices, without parts for trebles. This stylistic trait points to Mason’s employ at a liturgical establishment, whether a private household chapel or a Cathedral, without recourse to boy singers.

Mason’s *O rex gloriosae* is the sole surviving polyphonic setting of the *Nunc dimittis* antiphon for use at Compline from Passion Sunday to Maundy Thursday, and one of only two polyphonic *Nunc dimittis* antiphon settings for Compline that survive from any composer or source. In the Peterhouse Partbooks, where it stands as the opening work, it survives complete within the Medius, Contratenor, and Bassus books, but with the Tenor book missing and the Triplex book lacking its first few pages. Nick Sandon has prepared an editorial completion of the work, published by Antico Edition, in which he has shown that the Tenor part comprised a *cantus firmus* of the plainchant antiphon melody in even note-values, and has reconstructed a freely-composed Triplex voice.

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669 See Chapter 2.

670 Bowers, np.

671 The other being Sheppard’s *Media vita*, discussed below.

672 Sandon, *Mason*, vi.
JOHN TAVERNER (CA. 1490 – 1545)

Not much is known of Taverner’s life; however, there are enough facts about him to sketch a more complete biographical outline than can be done for the two preceding composers. Taverner was born around the year 1490, in the region of Boston, Lincolnshire, in the east of England. Although there are speculations that he sang as a boy chorister in Lincoln, and was also known to the Chapel Royal of the young Henry VIII, the first definitive account of him dates to 1524, when he was employed as a lay clerk in the choir of the Tattershall collegiate church in Lincolnshire. In 1526, he moved to Oxford to become the director of the choir at Cardinal Thomas Wolsey’s new Cardinal College, which was a very large choir for its day, comprising sixteen boy choristers, twelve lay clerks, and twelve singing chaplains.

In 1528, Taverner was, along with a few members of the college and the choir, accused of participation in heretical activities. However, charges against the composer were dismissed (famously on account of his being “but a musician”) and he remained in his post until 1530, when he resigned amidst turmoil at the College and returned to Boston – Wolsey had lost the King’s favor and was dismissed as Lord Chancellor the previous year, with his College suffering neglect as a result. In Boston, Taverner worked as lay clerk, and most likely informator choristarum, at the parish church of St. Botolph’s, which for a number of years maintained a large choir of around thirty singers (up to ten choristers, twelve lay clerks, and ten chaplains) thanks to the generous endowment of the Guild of Saint Mary.

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674 That is to say, Lutheran.

675 Benham, Latin Church Music, 134.
Taverner appears to have retired from the post at St. Botolph’s around 1537, spending his final eight years as a wealthy and respected landowner and townsman, serving as an Alderman for Boston in the last year of his life. A letter survives from 1538, in correspondence between Taverner and Thomas Cromwell, the King’s Chancellor, regarding Taverner’s being entrusted with oversight of the removal and destruction of the parish church’s rood screen. However, the existence of this letter notwithstanding, there is no grounding for the previously common notion that Taverner in his later years became a fanatical iconoclastic religious reformer. In 1537, the same year as his retirement from active musical work, he joined the parish’s Guild of Corpus Christi, a lay confraternity established “to honor the transubstantiation of the Body of Christ,” and served two terms as the Guild’s treasurer.\(^{676}\) Taverner died on October 18, 1545 and was buried in St. Botolph’s, under the bell-tower. Parish records give us the name of his wife, Rose (née Parrowe), who had two daughters from a previous marriage, and next to whom Taverner is buried.\(^{677}\)

Taverner’s surviving attributable output consists of the following (all in Latin unless otherwise indicated): twelve votive antiphons; ten antiphons for Mass propers; eight complete Mass Ordinary cycles (three à 6, three à 5, two à 4); seven Office antiphons (for Matins, Lauds, and Compline); four Mass Ordinary fragments or individual movements (two Kyries, Agnus Dei, and Osanna); four secular part-songs in English (In Women, The Bella, Love Wyll I, and Mi Hart My Mynde); three Magnificat settings (for four, five, and six voices); a Te Deum (à 5); a number of antiphon fragments (mostly for three voices) and other single-voice fragments; and two untexted, presumably instrumental works (Quaemadmodum à 6 and the earliest extant instrumental In Nomine). Taverner’s compositions are very difficult to date,

\(^{676}\) Ibid., 134.

\(^{677}\) Ibid., 135.
but on stylistic grounds appear to stem predominantly from the period ca. 1520 – 1530. The exceptions are on the one hand two lengthy, expansive Antiphons in the older style that might date to the 15-teens, and on the other hand three Mass settings – the Westron Wynde, the Mean Mass, and the Plainsong Mass – that reveal a more progressive and modern compositional language and probably date to the final ten years of Taverner’s life in Boston.

Taverner remained a respected composer whose works continued to be sung after his death, as evidenced by the existence of English-language contrafacta – the fitting of a pre-existent polyphonic work with a new text – of a number of his works. Three such pieces are to be found in the Wanley Partbooks of ca. 1548-1550 (GB-Ob Mus. Sch.e.420-22), and two others in a manuscript in the Rowe collection of King’s College, Cambridge, ca. 1565 (GB-Cke ms Rowe 316). Furthermore, two contrafacta of Taverner’s instrumental In nomine for four viols, itself a reworking of the Benedictus qui venit movement of Taverner’s own Missa Gloria Tibi Trinitas, survive from the later sixteenth century: “In trouble and adversity” (attributed to Thomas Caustun in Thomas Day’s Mornyng and Evenying Prayer of 1565) and “O give thanks” (British Library, the so-called “Hamond” partbooks of mid-Elizabethan provenance, ms Lbl Add. 30480-83). Taverner’s corpus of liturgical alternatim compositions (polyphony sung in alternation with plainchant) is notable for being the earliest surviving exemplar of that style among works by English composers, and is exceeded in number only by his successors John Sheppard and Thomas Tallis.

Based on the surviving body of music from the period, Taverner seems to be the first Tudor-era composer to have begun the practice of setting polyphonically the Ordinary

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texts of the Office. Between the 1460s and ca. 1525, for the most part only the *Magnificat* was treated to polyphonic elaboration. It is uncertain whether Taverner initiated a new trend in composing polyphony for the Office, or simply is the earliest composer from whom this repertoire survives. As it stands, Taverner is the only composer between the largely anonymous works of the Pepys MS 1236 of ca. 1460 and those of Tallis, Tye, and Sheppard of the 1540s and 1550s, from whose hand there exists vocal polyphonic settings of any music for the Office other than the *Magnificat*.

This new medium for composition was picked up by Taverner’s stylistic heirs: Christopher Tye, Thomas Tallis, and John Sheppard, who all followed the practice Taverner established of alternating polyphony with plainchant to reflect the dialogue pattern set forth in the rubrics of the liturgical sources. These alternating forces, in line with the rubrics of such sources as the Salisbury Antiphoner, can be represented either by the two antiphonal sides – *Decani* and *Cantoris* – of the choir, or the contrast of full choir and soloist(s). The former is typical of *Magnificat* settings, while the latter is typical of Responds. In the split-choir form of alternation, one side of the choir would sing the odd-numbered verses of the *Magnificat* in plainchant, and the other would sing the even-numbered verses in polyphony. In the soloist-choir form of alternation, soloists would sing the texts designated to the cantor (the Versicles) in polyphony, with the choir singing the *tutti* Responses in plainchant. Notably, however, Taverner occasionally reversed these designations, giving polyphonic

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680 Doe, *Thomas Tallis*, 29. See, for example, the numerous expansive and florid settings of the Canticle in the Eton Choirbook and the Carver Choirbook (GB-En MS Adv. 15.5.1) as well as those by Fairfax and Ludford.

681 See Chapter 2.

682 Benham, “Introduction,” xii.

683 Ibid., ix.
music in a Respond to the choir rather than to soloists – as in his settings of *Dum transisset sabbatum*. “This can be explained as a recognition of the accomplished fact that the choir of a secular foundation such as Cardinal College was now a polyphonic choir, and therefore ritual polyphony, which had been for centuries the preserve of soloists, was now given to the choir.”

Taverner thus lived and worked in a liturgical and creative context in which the word *choir* had begun to firmly take on its newer, more specialized meaning, the understanding of the word that it carries to this day.

For the Compline Office specifically, Taverner composed a setting of the Lenten Respond *In pace in idipsum*, sung from Quadragesima Sunday until the Third Sunday of the season. Thus, his only contribution to Compline polyphony was specifically for its Lenten observance, a preference that would also be reflected in the polyphonic music of his compositional successors. As described in Chapter 5, the secular Compline Office contained only two Responds, both occurring during Lent (the other being *In manus tuas*, sung during the final three weeks of the season), instead passing directly from the Chapter to the Hymn during the other seasons of the year. Taverner’s setting of the Respond, preserved in the Gyffard partbooks, is set for four voices (*Medius, Contratenor, Tenor, Bassus*), with the clef arrangements (ascending) F4, C4, C4, C2. In the Gyffard Partbooks, a scribal note designates the work as being for “iij [three] men and a Childe,” specifically indicating that a Treble (unchanged) voice sing the top (*Medius*) part, and adult voices the lower three parts. The *Medius* part consists entirely of the plainchant *cantus firmus* in even breve note values. As Hugh Benham points out, this compositional arrangement provides us with a detailed clue as to the nature of this work’s intended liturgical usage. The rubrics of the Salisbury

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685 See Glossary entry for “Choir,” Appendix I.
Antiphoner stipulate that on Saturdays, Sundays, and feasts of nine lessons, the solo (V.) passages are to be sung by one man, a Clerk of the Second Form, whereas on all other (ferial) days they are to be sung by a boy, the first Chorister of the First Form. In Taverner’s setting, the presence of the plainsong cantus firmus in the top voice (i.e. sung by a solo boy) “probably indicates that his setting was intended for non-feast days.” While current scholarship holds that polyphonic elaboration of liturgical music was reserved for occasions of exceptional solemnity and importance, the structure of Taverner’s composition here suggests that, at least at an institution such as Cardinal College in the late 1520s – or St. Botolph’s, Boston, in the 1530s – the ferial, weekday observance of Compline was an equally suitable candidate for the singing of polyphony.

In addition to his works for the Office, Taverner also composed a number of Votive Antiphons for use in extra-liturgical devotions commonly held in churches and chapels immediately following Vespers and/or Compline. Based on their varied lengths, intricacy, texts, and other compositional features, these antiphons would seem to be products of his entire creative period, both his earlier tenure at Cardinal College as well as his later years at St. Botolph’s. Taverner’s antiphons are easily divided into two groups: the first comprising expansive, large-scale works, and the second containing shorter, smaller-scale pieces. In the former group are such remarkable works as Ave Dei Patris filia for five voices, a Marian

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687 See Chapters 8 and 11.

688 See Chapter 7.


690 Ibid., ix.
antiphon with a Trinitarian-related text that, unlike the majority of works in this genre, was a favorite of Tudor composers. Also in this larger-scale group of antiphons are his settings of the Marian *Gaude plurimum* for five voices and the Jesus Antiphon *O splendor glorie* for five voices. To the set of shorter antiphons belong the three-voice *Ave Maria* and *Sancte Deus*, the five-voice *Mater Christi*, and the five-voice *Christe Jesu pastor bone*, a Jesus antiphon re-worked from an earlier antiphon in honor of St. William of York, *O Wilhelme pastor bone*. The text of this earlier version would have been in keeping with the Statutes of Cardinal College in the 1520s, which called for the singing of three Antiphons after the observance of Compline: one for the Virgin Mary, one for the Trinity, and one for St. William. Thus, all of Taverner’s Votive Antiphons fit neatly into the prescribed devotional usages expected by the institutions for which he worked as a musician and which were typical of the period.

**Christopher Tye (ca. 1505 – 1572)**

The date and place of Tye’s birth is unknown, but documentary evidence suggests sometime around the year 1505, a hypothesis that makes him an exact contemporary of Thomas Tallis. Documentation of Tye’s activity throughout his life centers around the eastern counties of England. This fact, as well as demographic occurrences of his surname,

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691 Settings by Robert Johnson, Thomas Tallis, and John Merbeeke survive, as well as at least two anonymous treatments.

692 Originally for five voices; the Triplex and Tenor parts are lost (Benham, *John Taverner II*. pp. 177, 182).

693 Ibid., 181.

694 See Chapter 7.
suggest East Anglia as the probable site of his origins. Christopher Tye was at Cambridge in the 1520s and 1530s, taking the Bachelor of Music degree in 1536 and serving as a lay clerk at King’s College chapel soon after. The surviving Grace for the conferral of Tye’s degree makes mention of a decade of study of the musical art, including composition and the teaching of boys, suggesting a date of ca. 1526 as the beginning of his adult musical life. In 1541 or 1542 Tye assumed the post of Magister choristarum at Ely Cathedral, some sixteen miles north of Cambridge, a post he continued to hold for the next nineteen years.

In 1545 Tye received the D.Mus. degree from Cambridge, which he incorporated at Oxford in 1548. During the 1540s Tye came under the influence, and possibly tutelage, of Richard Cox, an influential Protestant reformer who became Archdeacon of Ely in 1541 and Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University in 1547. It was most likely through Cox that Tye was introduced to the royal circles of King Edward’s court in the late 1540s; Cox served as the young prince (and later king’s) tutor from 1544 to 1550. Although no specific documentation survives, it is possible that Tye served as a music teacher to the boy, but

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696 Doe & Mateer, Ibid. The Grace is an element of the degree conferral at Cambridge, during which the University Proctors present specific information regarding the graduands. See information regarding the Graduation Ceremonies of Cambridge University at http://www.admin.cam.ac.uk/students/studentregistry/current/newstud/graduation/ceremony.html. Accessed July 28, 2014.

697 Incorporation is the “placing of members of other universities into the body of the University in the same rank, status or degree as they had held in their own university.” Information taken from the University of Oxford Archives, accessed online at http://www.oua.ox.ac.uk/enquiries/incorporation.html. Accessed July 28, 2014.
most certainly became a friendly acquaintance. At the coronation of Queen Mary in 1553, the written proviso for his livery allowance named him as “gentylman of our Chapell.”

Soon after Elizabeth’s accession to the throne in December 1558, Tye’s friend and mentor Richard Cox was elevated to the office of Bishop of Ely. Tye himself was ordained a priest in November 1560, and the following spring resigned his post at Ely Cathedral, to be succeeded by his son-in-law Robert White. Tye was appointed as parish priest of Doddington-cum-March in the Isle of Ely, a comfortable and rich living. During his first year at this post a report was made to Archbishop Parker referring to Tye as “A Doctor of Music, but not very adept at preaching.” Manuscript evidence points to Tye’s continued involvement with the musical life of the court, as does the existence of his instrumental consort music. A famous anecdote recorded by the seventeenth-century Stewart-era chronicler Anthony Wood recounts an apocryphal exchange between Tye and Queen Elizabeth:

Dr. Tye was a peevish and humoursome man, especially in his latter dayes, and sometimes playing on ye organ in ye chap[el]. of qu. Elizab. wh[ich]. contained much musick but little delight to the ear, she would send ye verger to tell him yt he play’d out of tune: whereupon he sent word yt her eares were out of Tune.

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699 Doe & Mateer, np.

700 Davison, *Tye*, ix.

701 *Doctor Musicae non tamen habilis ad predicandum*. Quoted in Doe & Mateer, np. [My translation.]

702 Quoted in Doe & Mateer, np.
Tye’s last appearance in documentation comes in August 1571, at which time he was still parish priest of Doddington. Although no will survives, nor is his death recorded in the parish register at Doddington, a replacement priest was appointed in March 1573 [1572 OS], suggesting his death sometime around the preceding December or January. Records indicate his being married to Katherine (maiden name unknown) and being the father of at least three but possibly as many as six children. A daughter, Ellen, married composer Robert White around 1559.703

Tye was highly regarded by his contemporaries – evidenced both by the preponderance of manuscript sources for his music, and the insistence of the scribes in these sources on referring to him as Doctor Tye.704 Tye’s career as a composer and church musician also spanned the entirety of the multiple politico-religious upheavals under a progression of four monarchs in the middle three decades of the century, as did that of his contemporary Tallis. Tye’s early polyphonic works (assuming a birthdate of 1505, up until his early forties) were grounded in the traditional Latin Rite of the Salisbury Use under Henry VIII, followed by four years of experimentation with polyphony in the vernacular for Edward VI’s reformed liturgy, then a return to the Latin of the restored Use of Salisbury under Queen Mary in the 1550s. During the early years of Elizabeth’s reign, 1558 onwards, most of Tye’s compositional activity would seem to be in the domain of instrumental works for viol consort rather than vocal music for the liturgy – stylistic and source evidence points to an Edwardian origin for all of his surviving sacred music in the vernacular.705


704 Davison, Tye, ix.

705 Doe & Mateer, np.
Tye’s Latin liturgical music dates either to the period pre-1549, or the years of Mary’s reign, 1553-1558. Twenty-two Latin works are known, but of these only eleven survive as complete pieces, the rest existing either as fragments of larger-scale works or lacking one or more voice parts (with often only a single vocal line surviving). The Latin-texted works include four Psalm-motets, three Mass settings (for four, five, and six voices, respectively), two settings of Latin prayers (Peccavimus cum patribus nostris and Quaesumus omnipotens), a Kyrie for four voices quoting the Orbis factor plainchant melody, hymns and antiphons for Palm Sunday and the Nativity of the Virgin, a short Jesus votive antiphon (Sub tuam protectionem), and single-voice fragments of seven works, including two Magnificats and a Te Deum. Polyphonic remnants of three large-scale votive antiphons exist: Ave caput Christi, Domine Deus caelestis, and the discrete section Ad te clamamus, extracted from a now lost Salve Regina setting.

Tye composed one polyphonic work for the Compline liturgy, a four-voice setting of the Lenten Respond In pace in idipsum preserved in the Gyffard Partbooks, where it is

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706 Davison, Tye, ix.

707 During the final years of Henry VIII’s reign, the Psalm motet began to supplant the votive antiphon as an outlet for extra-liturgical sacred composition in Latin; this genre remained in vogue through the early years of Elizabeth’s reign (although repurposed either for non-liturgical devotional singing or express performance in those venues allowed Latin worship; i.e. University chapels or the Queen’s own Chapel Royal); Tye’s four settings would all seem to date to the 1550s (Davison, Tye, xiv-xv).

708 This is lamentable, as it would stand beside the settings of Richard Pygott, Nicholas Ludford, and Philip Alcock (see Chapter 7) as one of the very few exemplars of sixteenth-century, post-Eton Choirbook English settings of that text, and certainly the only by a composer from a generation younger than the aforementioned composers (Davison, Tye, xiv.).

709 See Chapter 2.
ascribed to “docter tye.” In the tradition established by Taverner, the Respond alternates between the choir (singing the plainchant in unison) and polyphonic solo voices (singing the versicles). Unlike Taverner’s setting, however, the plainchant does not appear as a strict monorhythmic *cantus firmus* in the polyphony, but is instead paraphrased and elaborated in both the *Contratenor* and *Bassus* voices (see Figure 13).

Figure 14a. Christopher Tye, *In pace*, mm. 30-45, *Contratenor* and *Bassus* voices. Transcribed Mark Ardrey-Graves

Figure 14b. *In pace in idipsum*, plainchant melody, “et palpebris meis.” Transcribed Mark Ardrey-Graves

As is the case with the bulk of the Gyffard repertoire, the polyphony is in four voices, in this case *Triplex*, *Medius*, *Contratenor*, and *Bassus*, ostensibly for a quartet of adult (male) singers, with a total range compass of two and a half octaves. Un-transposed from its written pitch, the piece lies comfortably within the range of a male alto, two tenors, and bass, and the requisite plainchant sections, set in a corresponding pitch center with the polyphony, also best lie within the range of baritone/bass singers, suggesting an intended performance ensemble of singing clerks alone with no choristers.

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710 Davison, *Tye*, 196.
**Thomas Tallis (ca. 1505 – 1585)**

Thomas Tallis, as did his contemporary Christopher Tye, lived his professional adult life through all of the politico-religious upheavals of sixteenth-century England, successfully navigating the significant stylistic changes demanded of musicians working in the sacred domain. Most likely a native of Kent in the southeast of England, Tallis first appears in documentation in 1530, where as a young man “Thomas Tales” worked as the *joculator organorum* (player of the organ) for the Benedictine Priory at Dover, where he was paid £2 annually for the task. He is the only musician listed among the priory staff at Dover. The Priory closed in 1538 amidst the Dissolution of Monasteries, by which date Tallis already had become established in London. From 1537 to the end of 1538 he was in the employ of the parish church of St. Mary-at-Hill, but the exact nature of his musical responsibilities is not known. During his tenure at this parish, he would most certainly have associated with singers from the Chapel Royal: as described previously in Chapter 8, St. Mary-at-Hill was the only known London parish church at which singers from that Royal establishment also sang. Also during this time Tallis might well have come into contact with the Abbot of the Augustinian abbey of Holy Cross, Waltham, who had a house in London nearby the church:

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713 Haines, 315ff. The article in *New Grove* dates the Dover house’s suppression to 1535, but the first Monastic closures under Henry VIII and Lord Cromwell did not commence until the following year.

714 See Chapter 8, pp. 162-173.

715 Ibid.
following Tallis’s departure from the parish of St. Mary’s at the end of 1538, he was appointed as a senior singing clerk at the abbey, which boasted a large musical foundation. However, Tallis’s tenure at this new post was to last scarcely over a year: Holy Cross Abbey, the final monastic house in the kingdom to close, was dissolved in March 1540, and Tallis was paid off without a pension owing to his lack of significant time as a member of the foundation.

That same year Tallis entered the employ of Canterbury Cathedral. Although previously a Benedictine establishment – by which relationship Tallis may have had previous connections to the cathedral from his time at the Priory in Dover – it had been re-founded as a Secular cathedral, with provision for a musical establishment of twelve singing-men and ten boy choristers. Tallis’s name appears at the head of lists of the choir personnel that survive from 1540, 1541, and 1542, but by 1543 Tallis had once again moved on to new employ: this time, as a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal at the court of Henry VIII. Tallis would remain a full-time member of this august musical body for the rest of his life, serving as a lay singer, and later organist, in the chapels of Henry, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, and continuing to compose – and publish – music through the 1570s. In the year 1552, he married a woman named Joan; evidence from both his and her wills suggests that they had no children, at least none to survive to adulthood. Further evidence from their wills, along with Tallis’s activity as a composer and close associate with the younger William Byrd, also points to the possibility that Tallis remained a private religious recusant throughout his life, holding fast to the received Roman orthodoxy of his youth even after public expression of

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716 Doe & Allinson, np.
that allegiance became outlawed during the reign of Elizabeth, all the while continuing in faithful service as a singer and composer in her Anglican chapel.\footnote{Ibid., np. Joan Tallis in her will left an expensive gilt bowl to one Anthony Roper in recognition of his “good favors shewed to my late husband and mee;” this man was a member of the notable and influential recusant Roper family in Kent, and also the grandson of the deposed Sir Thomas More. Tallis also stood godfather to (the more firmly recognized Roman Catholic) William Byrd’s son.}

Even taking into account his eight-decade lifespan, Tallis has a remarkably large and varied surviving compositional output, which can be divided into five major categories: sacred Latin works of the Henrician and Marian Church, sacred Latin works composed during Elizabeth’s reign, sacred works in English, secular vocal music, and instrumental music.\footnote{Doe, 66-70.} The first category consists of twenty-eight surviving Latin works from the period before 1558: nine Responds (for four, five, or six voices); a Magnificat à 4; four long-form votive Antiphons (for either five or six voices); one shorter-form Antiphon (Sancte Deus à 4); eight Office Hymns (all for five voices); three Masses (for four, five, and seven voices) and two items for use at Lady Mass – an Alleluia verse and a setting of Enge celi porta, both for four voices. The second category consists of an additional eighteen Latin works composed after 1559, including Psalm motets, the two Lamentations, the 40-voice Respond Spem in alium, and a setting of the Magnificat & Nunc dimittis for the Latin-language Book of Common Prayer services. Among Tallis’s English-texted sacred works (not counting contrafacta), are Anthems, Services, Psalms, and other items for Prayer Book liturgies. Four four-part secular partsongs survive from his hand, and his instrumental output comprises seventeen keyboard works (both liturgical and non-liturgical) and three pieces for viol consort. Seven single-voice fragments of otherwise lost vocal works, and numerous spurious or doubtful misattributions
of the work of other composers, point to many more compositions by Tallis that have not survived.

For the Compline liturgy specifically, Tallis composed a four-voice setting of the Lenten Respond *In pace in idipsum*, and five-voice *alternatim* settings (even verses only) of three Compline hymns: *Salvator mundi Domine*, the hymn for the Vigil of the Nativity, and two settings (one of the ferial melody, one of the festal melody) of *Te lucis ante terminum*, the hymn for the season after Trinity Sunday. There also survives a setting for organ of the psalm antiphon for Compline on Christmas Day, *Natus est nobis bodie*. In his *Cantiones sacrae* publication of 1575, Tallis included a five-voice setting of the Passioantide Respond *In manus tuas*, but this work, of assumed Elizabethan provenance, is through-composed as a short motet and does not follow the liturgical format of the Respond, and thus does merit consideration within the parameters of this study. The setting of *In pace in idipsum* follows the pattern established by Taverner: a quartet of solo voices sings the solo versicles in polyphony, with the full choir singing the responses in plainchant. However, unlike Taverner's setting of the Respond, in the polyphonic sections Tallis does not utilize a *cantus firmus* in even note-values, but instead uses a highly decorated embellishment of the plainchant melody in all four of the polyphonic voices, similar to the method employed by

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719 A recent, unpublished study by Magnus Williamson (“Praying for a safe delivery: Mary Tudor, Thomas Tallis and the chronology of Tudor Music,” read at the University of York, February 15, 2015) has called into question much of the assumed chronology of Tallis’s published Latin vocal music: works appearing in the 1575 *Cantiones Sacrae* long assumed to be of Elizabethan provenance may in fact date to the Marian period, if not earlier. Williamson specifically cites the example of Tallis’s *O sacrum convivium*, now dated to sometime before 1554 on the discovery of its appearance in a manuscript at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. On blank pages at the back of a printed copy of the Sarum Processionale, the bass part of Tallis’s *O sacrum convivium* is entered in a scribal hand; in the same hand (and ink) immediately following the music is a prayer for the safety of Queen Mary’s pregnancy, definitively pointing to the year 1554, when Mary Tudor was assumed to be pregnant with an heir. Given the nature of this evidence and its casting into doubt the assumed chronology of Tallis’s Latin polyphony, it is just possible that *In manus tuas* may also be an earlier work, even as it does not follow the ritual pattern of the Respond.
Tye (see above) but with the additional sophistication of strict melodic imitation between the parts. Tallis's setting of the Respond is also the longest by any composer of the period, at ninety-six bars of polyphony in transcription.

Figure 15. Thomas Tallis, *In paece*, mm. 1-13. Transcribed Mark Ardrey-Graves
Plainchant melody indicated by arrows.

**JOHN SHEPPARD (CA. 1510/1518 – 1558)**

The date of Sheppard’s birth is unknown, but the range of years between 1510 and 1518, with a common ascription of “ca. 1515,” is based upon information contained in his supplication for the degree of D.Mus. at Oxford University in the spring of 1554. In this supplication, Sheppard stated that he had studied music, as a professional singer and

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composer of polyphony, for a period of twenty years (studiosus Musices, quatenus viginti annos ei facultati operam continuo navaret multasque cantiones composuerit ut ei sufficiat ad incipiendum in eadem facultate). Given the average age of matriculation of undergraduate university students in Tudor times (between the ages of fifteen and eighteen), and the known ages of other D.Mus. candidates at universities (such as Robert Fayrfax, at the age of forty, or Robert Cowper, at the age of forty-three), if Sheppard began his formal, professional and academic study of music between the ages of fifteen and twenty, and supplicated for the D.Mus. twenty years later (between the ages of thirty-five and forty), an approximate birth year of 1515 or so is a reasonable deduction. Further evidence suggests that Sheppard the composer may be identified with the “John Shepard” listed as a junior member (boy chorister) of Cardinal Wolsey’s household chapel in 1524, suggesting an estimated birth date between ca. 1510 and 1515. Not until 1541 does Sheppard definitively appear in the archival record; for the academic term 1541-1542 the roughly thirty-year-old musician served in the capacity of informator choristarum at the chapel of Magdalen College, Oxford, a position he held again between 1544 and 1548. College records indicate his involvement in a number of

721 Chadd, Sheppard, ix. “A student of Music, in the pursuit of this endeavor continuously these past twenty years, and composing as many songs [cantiones] as his ability would allow him to begin.” (Translation my own.)

722 Williamson, Sheppard, xi.


724 Watkins Shaw, The Succession of Organists of the Chapel Royal and the Cathedrals (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 379. It is possible that Sheppard resumed this office the previous year, at the Michaelmas term of 1543, but documentation is missing for that year. See Chadd, Sheppard, ix.
responsibilities, from copying polyphony to repairing the organ to supplying vestments – all
duties that would have been undertaken by a high-ranking member of the chapel.\textsuperscript{725} No
documentation exists for any music degrees awarded at Oxford from 1531 to 1549, but it is
probable that Sheppard applied for the B.Mus. degree during his time at Magdalen.

Early in 1548, Sheppard departed Oxford, possibly motivated in part by the
disruption and open hostilities played out by the differing ecclesiastical factions – reformers
and conservatives – in the months following Henry VIII’s death in 1547.\textsuperscript{726} Sheppard’s
destination seems to have been London: the appearance of a number of sacred polyphonic
works in the English language by Sheppard, composed for the nascent vernacular liturgies
and appearing in the “Wanley” partbooks of ca. 1548,\textsuperscript{727} suggests that Sheppard had arrived
and made his mark in London at this time. The contents of Wanley (excluding \textit{contrafacta} of
works by Taverner) attributable to known composers are all products of musicians working
in and around London in the late 1540s: William Whytbrooke (St. Paul’s), Robert Johnson (St.
George’s), and Robert Okeland, Thomas Tallis, and Thomas Caustun (all of the Chapel
Royal).\textsuperscript{728} For multiple works by Sheppard to appear in the manuscript side by side with
those of these established London musicians, a strong case may be made that he had gained
the coveted post of Gentleman of the Chapel Royal by 1548.\textsuperscript{729} Sheppard was definitively

\textsuperscript{725} Williamson, \textit{Sheppard}, xii.

\textsuperscript{726} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{727} GB-Ob Mus. Sch. e. 420-422.

\textsuperscript{728} London was also the hub of experimentation and trial usage of the new English-language
forms that would eventually solidify in the \textit{Book of Common Prayer} in 1549. See Williamson,
\textit{Sheppard}, xii, n.25.

\textsuperscript{729} Williamson, \textit{Sheppard}, xiii.
established in that post by 1552, when his name first appears in documentary lists, the
hierarchical placement of which suggests he had been a member for some time.\footnote{Chadd, \textit{Sheppard}, ix; Williamson, \textit{Sheppard}, xiii. Chadd notes that complete rosters for the Chapel Royal are lacking for the period 1547-1552.}

Sheppard would remain a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal for the rest of his life, serving both King Edward (to 1553) and Queen Mary (to 1558) for equal periods of five years each. The aforementioned petition for the D.Mus. degree at Oxford in 1554 seems to have been unsuccessful; records both within and beyond Oxford in the mid-late 1550s and after consistently refer to him as “Mr,” never “Doctor” (as was common with Christopher Tye and Robert Fayrfax).\footnote{Williamson, \textit{Sheppard}, xv.} Archival records of the period suggest that the D.Mus. was often awarded following a second supplication some years after the first.\footnote{See Williamson, \textit{Sheppard}, xv. n.57.} Sheppard, however, seems not to have lived long enough to have completed this process; a number of personal episodes in his life perhaps also thwarted these plans.

In early April 1555, Sheppard’s wife Jane died and was buried at St. Margaret’s Church, Westminster. Sheppard next appears in written record on the second of June of that year, where the following entry from the Vice-President’s Register of Magdalen College paints a highly unflattering picture of the composer:

\begin{quotation}
Mr Sheparde punished: on 2 June Mr Sheparde, accused of having detained a certain boy, restrained him, and...admitted him into the college contrary to the article...prohibiting outsiders from staying overnight and, convicted...was punished with a week’s loss of commons for this first offence.\footnote{Quoted in Ibid., xiv.}
\end{quotation}

It appears that Sheppard, having left London for a period of time following his wife’s death (perhaps to undertake a period of residency at Madgalen in preparation for a second degree...
supplication), had travelled through Malmesbury in Wiltshire and forcibly impressed into service a young singer for the Queen’s Chapel Royal, bringing the boy along with him to Oxford before an eventual return to London – the boy, bound for service in London and not at Madgalen College, was thus *persona non grata* according to College Statute.\(^{734}\)

Unfortunately for Sheppard, his cavalier actions did not stop there – two weeks later, he was brought before the College authorities again, for further disciplinary action against activities he committed at the same time as the former: “stopping en route at Faringdon [on his way to Oxford], he boasted that he is the foremost official of Magdalen College after the President....For which impudence...he is sharply rebuked.”\(^{735}\) Not content to kidnap young singers for the queen’s Chapel, on the way to Oxford Sheppard imprudently boasted of an official authority that he did not possess, “presumably...when he was challenged by the inhabitants.”\(^{736}\) Sheppard was let off fairly lightly, with only a reprimand by the College President. This suggests that his impressment and binding of the young singer, scandalous though it was to the sensibilities of the College authorities – the record of the second hearing uses such phrases as “wretchedly bound” and “cruel deed” – was beyond the purveyance of any formal, severe punishment by the University and understood to be within the rights of a servant of the royal court.

Sheppard died on or around December 21, 1558, falling victim to an influenza epidemic in London, only a month after the death of Queen Mary and the accession of her

\(^{734}\) See also Bowers, “The Cultivation and Promotion of Music in the Household and Orbit of Thomas Wolsey,” in Bowers, *English Church Polyphony*, 189-91. The forcible impressment of singers into the service of royal foundations such as the Chapel Royal had precedent and “...as a servant of the queen, [Sheppard] was exercising the royal prerogative of purveyance....Sheppard’s use of physical restraint seems morally discreditable but is historically credible.” (Williamson, *Sheppard*, xv).

\(^{735}\) Williamson, *Sheppard*, xiv.

\(^{736}\) Ibid.
sister Elizabeth, but before Elizabeth’s coronation in January. Sheppard left a will, dated December 1, and presented for probate at the end of January, naming his second wife, Elizabeth, son, Nathan, and step-daughter, Elizabeth, as heirs. The document also named the recusant Edmund Danyell as guardian of the children, which suggests that Sheppard, like his contemporary and fellow Chapel Royal singer Thomas Tallis, most likely maintained traditionalist Roman sensibilities throughout an age of public religious turmoil.

Like Tallis, however, Sheppard’s musical output for the Edwardian reformed Church was of the finest quality and includes a number of masterpieces, such as his two Services, the five-voice Our Father, and the short anthems Christ rising again and I give you a new commandment. A lone surviving voice part of the originally six-voice Lord how are they increased points to his cultivation of longer, more complex musical forms at the Edwardian Chapel Royal.

Nevertheless, it is as a composer for the Latin liturgies of the traditional, pre-Reformation rites in the Use of Salisbury that Sheppard displays his finest craft, and, judging from the surviving music, was much more prolific in this domain as well. The dating of these Latin works is, however, for the most part impossible: there is no discernible stylistic difference between works thought to date to Madgalen College in 1540s on the one hand, and those of Queen Mary’s Chapel Royal in the 1550s on the other. Sheppard could feasibly have been composing in the 1550s in a deliberately archaic style, perhaps to curry favor with the queen, whose liturgical and theological interests hearkened back to the earlier years of her father’s

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739 Williamson, Sheppard, xvi.

740 Dunkley, 9.
reign, before even his modest steps toward ecclesiastical and ritual reform. A complicating factor is that the bulk of Sheppard’s surviving œuvre is preserved in manuscripts (such as the Baldwin and Gyffard partbooks) that significantly post-date his activity as a composer and indeed his life. Five settings of the Mass, including a Mass on *Westron Wynde* in the tradition of Taverner and Tye, and the remarkable six-voice *Missa Cantate*, survive, along with two *alternatim* settings of the *Magnificat* (for four and six voices, respectively), six Psalm motets, and a small number of Votive Antiphons: *Gaudete calicoe omnes* (four voices), *Singularis privilegii* (three voices), and the large-form, six-voice *Gaudete Virgo Christi pera*. Most particularly and significantly, Sheppard has left a corpus of polyphonic music for both Mass Propers and the Office that is unrivalled by any other Tudor composer: hymns, responds, antiphons, Graduals, and Alleluias for various seasons and occasions all point to a composer concerned with providing polyphony for liturgical observances throughout the year.

For the Office of Compline, Sheppard’s surviving output consists of four responds, two hymns, and a Gospel antiphon. Of these seven compositions, five are prescribed for the Lenten season. A setting of *In pace in idipsum* for four voices bears resemblance to the settings by Tallis and Blitheman: hints of imitative counterpoint pervade the texture, built around a highly decorated and nearly hidden quotation of the plainchant melody. Three separate settings of the early-Lent Respond *In manus tuas* – two for four voices, and one for three – show Sheppard at his finest in his treatment of the responsorial form. The first, his longest of the three, is constructed in the traditional *alternatim* pattern, along the same lines as

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743 The other two being *Salvator mundi Domine*, the hymn sung on certain feast days, and *Jesu salvator seculi*, the hymn for Low Sunday (the Sunday following Easter Day). See Appendix III.
his *In pace*. The other two settings of this Respond, however, reveal the influence of John Taverner’s *Dum transisset Sabbatum* settings, which reverse the standard designations of soloist polyphony and choral plainchant. Here, the soloist intones the Versicle in chant, and the full choir (either in three or four parts) sings the Response in polyphony. Given the structure of the Respond, the choral polyphony amounts to only eighteen bars of music, repeated once in part and once in full.\(^\text{744}\)

Sheppard’s masterpiece of Office polyphony is his expansive setting of the Gospel Canticle sung in mid-Lent, *Media vita in morte sumus*. The work reveals Sheppard’s mastery of both the responsorial form and of large-scale, rich textures. The work involves a full, six-part choir\(^\text{745}\) singing the main text of the antiphon prior to the intonation of the *Nunc dimitiss* canticle in plainchant. Following the *Nunc dimitiss*, either the previous one hundred forty-six bars of the antiphon are sung again (thus on ferias and lesser feast days), or three verses of new polyphony are sung, alternating with the full choir (thus on Saturdays, Sundays, and feasts of nine lessons).\(^\text{746}\) As it exists in its sole surviving source, the Baldwin Partbooks of the late sixteenth century,\(^\text{747}\) the work is incomplete: the Baldwin collection lacks the Tenor volume. Fortunately, Sheppard’s conservative compositional technique reveals that the entirety of the full choir portion (bars 1-146 in transcription) is built around a Tenor *cantus firmus* in even, monorhythmic *breve* note values, which means a reconstruction is readily

\(^{744}\) See edition, Part II, No. 9.

\(^{745}\) Scored and cleffed as follows: Triplex, G2; Medius, C3; Contratenor I & II, C4; Tenor, lost; Bassus, F5.

\(^{746}\) See edition, Part II, No. 8. For a discussion of the structure of this antiphon, see Chapter 6. See also Part II, No. 2, for the plainchant setting of this antiphon.

\(^{747}\) See Chapter 2.
made.\textsuperscript{748} The three verses, however, are more problematic, as they are free-composed and do not support the same \textit{cantus firmus} structure. They are, however, largely (if loosely) imitative in their counterpoint (see Figure 15), and the musical context suggests Tenor participation in the first and second verses (thus \textit{Contratenor I, Contratenor II, Tenor, and Bassus}) but not in the third (scored for \textit{Triplex and Medius, both in gimell, alongside with the Bassus}). In these supposed configurations, reconstructions have been undertaken by Magnus Williamson and others.\textsuperscript{749} In the musical edition of the present study, no reconstruction of the Tenor verse music has been attempted, and the music is presented in its existing form for those sections.

Figure 16. John Sheppard, \textit{Media vita}, mm. 183-187. Transcribed Mark Ardrey-Graves

\textbf{JOHN (WILLIAM) BLITHEMAN (CA. 1525 – 1591)}\textsuperscript{750}

A composer of vocal and keyboard music, and Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, with the surname of Blitheman appears in the written record from the 1550s through the 1590s.

\textsuperscript{748} Williamson, \textit{Sheppard}, xxiii.

\textsuperscript{749} For Williamson’s editorial reconstruction of the Tenor voice, see Williamson, \textit{Sheppard}, no. 20, 146-158.

His first name was most likely John, although the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* (dating from the early years of the seventeenth century), the only musical source to refer to him beyond “Blitheman” or “Master Blitheman,” names him as William.\(^1\) Other, non-musical sources from the Chapel Royal and Christ Church, Oxford invariably refer to John; the overall documentary picture, however, points to a single personage rather than two different men.\(^2\)

Based on the surviving materials and what little is known of his biography, Blitheman’s careers as a composer of liturgical polyphony on the one hand, and as a singing-man and teacher on the other, would seem to be separate from each other. His recorded professional activity falls primarily during the reign of Elizabeth, being appointed a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal around the year 1558 and listed as a singing-man and chief lay clerk at Christ Church, Oxford from 1560 to 1578. However, most if not all of his surviving compositions suggest an earlier provenance, being works composed for the Latin Rite of the 1550s. In 1555–1556 Blitheman served as a chaplain at Christ Church, Oxford, so it is possible that his Latin music was composed for liturgical use there. His surviving output is small: three works of four-voice vocal polyphony, all contained in the Gyffard collection, and seven works for organ (with an additional anonymous piece, *Christe redemptor* attributed to him on stylistic grounds), all found in the Mulliner Book.\(^3\) Of his keyboard works, only one, a set of six variations on the plainchant Antiphon *Gloria tibi Trinitas*, is not liturgical in its design or function.

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\(^1\) In the Gyffard Partbooks his setting of the *In pace* is attributed to “Master Blytheman;” items in the Mulliner Book similarly refer only to his surname. There is no contextual or documentary evidence to suggest two different composers with the same surname.


\(^3\) Ibid.
Blitheman is unique in having composed surviving works for the Compline liturgy, Lenten or otherwise, in both vocal and keyboard media. A four-voice setting of the Respond *In pace in idipsum* appears in the Gyffard Partbooks in close proximity to that of Thomas Tallis; it is similar in scope, style (imitative counterpoint, decorated plainchant melody within the polyphonic voices), and overall vocal tessitura (total range of two and a half octaves) to that of his elder contemporary, although its shorter length (forty-six bars in transcription) more closely resembles that of John Sheppard.° A number of *alternatim* liturgical organ works survive from his hand as well; included among them is a setting of the Lenten hymn *Christe qui lux es et dies* preserved in the Mulliner Book.

**Robert White (ca. 1538 – 1574)**

Robert White is yet another Tudor-era composer for whom biographical details are scant. Although the particulars of his birth and origin are not known, from White’s surviving will (November 7, 1574) it is known that his father was also named Robert White. Other documentation from the 1530s through the 1570s suggests that Robert White the Elder was an organ builder and technician, and that his son initially followed in his footsteps: accounts from Magdalen College, Oxford, records “Magister Whyte” repairing its organs in the 1530s and 1540s; a record from the parish church of St. Andrew’s, Holborn notes payment to

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“yong Whyte...for yᵉ gret orgayns wᵉ his father gave to yᵉ church,” dating to 1553. In 1554 White (the Younger) entered Trinity College, Cambridge as a boy chorister; his name no longer appears on the list of singing boys in 1557, which suggests that his voice had changed by that time and he had transitioned to being one of the adult singers. If White’s voice changed around the year 1556, and he was between the ages of sixteen and eighteen at the time, a birthdate of ca. 1538-1540 is a reasonable conjecture.

White married Ellen Tye, almost certainly the younger daughter of Christopher Tye, some time around 1559. White received the degree of B.Mus. from Cambridge in December 1560, and two years later succeeded his father-in-law as Magister Choristarum at Ely Cathedral. In 1566, White moved to Chester, where he served at the Cathedral as Magister Choristarum and took a substantial increase in salary over his former position at Ely. White stayed at this post around three years, moving to London to assume the post of Magister Choristarum at Westminster Abbey in 1569, probably December. He held this post for the rest of his short life, which ended in tragic circumstances. In 1574, a severe outbreak of plague struck London, claiming White’s youngest child Prudence, who was buried on November 7. White himself succumbed to the plague and died on the eleventh of that month, followed by his wife Ellen a few short weeks after.

White’s Latin-texted polyphonic output includes a Magnificat à 6 in the traditional choral alternatim style of the pre-Reformation church, two sets of Lamentations (à 5 and à 6), a

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757 Ibid., x.

758 Ibid.

759 Spector and Mateer, np. If White did, in fact, grow up in Holborn as is speculated, this would have been something of a near homecoming for him, in addition to his promotion to one of the most prestigious musical posts in the kingdom.
Respond for the Office of the Dead (Libera me Domine), a votive antiphon (Regina cæli à 5), and twelve Psalm motets. His Latin music can be divided with some confidence between that composed for the liturgy in the Marian period of the mid-1550s (Magnificat, Hymns, and Antiphon) and that composed for extra-liturgical devotional singing after Elizabeth’s accession in 1558 (Lamentations, Psalm motets). Only the Libera me remains somewhat ambiguous as to its provenance and original purpose.\textsuperscript{760} White also composed music for the English liturgy, although apart from two Psalm-texted anthems and a number of contrafacta from his Latin works, most has not survived.\textsuperscript{761} A number of instrumental pieces from White’s hand also survive: thirteen works for viol consort and a single piece for organ.\textsuperscript{762}

White’s contribution to the Compline repertoire consists of four settings of the Lenten hymn Christe qui lux es et dies, all for five voices and all setting the even-numbered hymn verses only. This \textit{alternatim} structure (the odd-numbered verses were to be sung in plainchant), along with strict use of an undecorated, homorhythmic \textit{cantus firmus}, points to the hymns being intended for liturgical use in the Latin Rite and thus dating to the period before 1558, placing them among his earliest compositions. The harmonic and part-writing language of the hymn settings also differs from that of his mature Lamentations and Psalm motets, further pointing to their being the work of the composer as a young man.\textsuperscript{763} White’s treatment of the \textit{cantus firmus} differs, however, from those by his elder contemporaries Tallis and Sheppard: while Tallis unvaryingly gave the plainsong \textit{cantus firmus} to the top (Triplex)

\textsuperscript{760} Mateer, \textit{White}, ix.

\textsuperscript{761} Part of the requirements for White’s B.Mus. degree at Cambridge was the composition of a Communion Service setting to be sung at the church of Great St. Mary’s in 1561. This music has not survived (See Mateer, \textit{White}, x).

\textsuperscript{762} Spector and Mateer, np.

\textsuperscript{763} Mateer, \textit{White}, xiv.
voice, and Sheppard to either the Triplex, Medius, Tenor, or Bassus, in every case of these two composers’ work the melody did not move between voices. White, however, in his first setting of the hymn migrates the *cantus firmus* between the Triplex and Contratenor voices from verse to verse, a technique unprecedented in Tudor Office polyphony but later taken up by William Byrd in his own five-voice setting of *Christe qui lux*.\(^{764}\)

These four hymn settings also differ from each other in terms of their contrapuntal complexity. The first setting, notated entirely in square black noteheads with stems (so-called *strene* notation) in the earliest source manuscripts, is exclusively homophonic in texture.\(^{765}\) In sharp contrast, the fourth setting is thoroughly contrapuntal with numerous points of imitation and rhythmic variation between the voices. The second and third settings are also contrapuntal throughout, but with frequent duet pairings between voices, often rhythmically doubling the *cantus firmus* in a quasi-faburden manner. These four hymn settings stand as the only extant polyphonic settings of Lenten hymnody for Compline before the (Elizabethan) Reformation, even as their conservative style hearkens back to the period before 1549. It is possible that these four hymn settings, with the gradual increase polyphonic complexity in each successive setting, were composed as a set, one for each of the four weeks during the Lenten season during which *Christe qui lux* was the designated Office Hymn at Compline.\(^{766}\)

\(^{764}\) Ibid., xiii.


\(^{766}\) John Harper, notes from private correspondence, January 5, 2015. If this hypothesis were true, it hints at possible connections between the complexity of the music and the increasing solemnity of the season as it approaches Passionside and Holy Week.
COMPOSERS OF VOTIVE ANTIPHONS

The single largest genre of Tudor-era sacred polyphonic music is that of the Votive Antiphon.\textsuperscript{767} More than one hundred seventy existing Antiphons or Antiphon fragments date from between the 1480s and 1558, with the vast majority of these being Marian Antiphons.\textsuperscript{768} Among the Marian antiphons specifically, the single most commonly set text is the \textit{Salve Regina}, discussed above.\textsuperscript{769}

The most magnificent of these antiphons date from the earlier years of the Tudor era. The repertoire of the Eton Choirbook, by such composers as Walter Lambe (ca. 1450-1504), Robert Wylkynson (ca. 1450-ca. 1515), John Browne (born ca. 1453; \textit{fl.} ca. 1490), Richard Davy (ca. 1465-1507), William Cornysh (1465-1523), and particularly Robert Fayrfax (1464-1521) provides a masterful musical opening to the period. Twenty years later, Hugh Aston (ca. 1485-1558), Richard Pygott (ca. 1485-1549), Nicholas Ludford (ca. 1490-1557), John Taverner, Robert Johnson (ca. 1500-1560), John Merbecke (ca. 1505-1585), and the young Thomas Tallis each contributed masterpieces to the genre.\textsuperscript{770}

During the restoration of the Latin Rite in the 1550s, John Sheppard composed two surviving Marian Antiphons (\textit{Gaude virgo Christiperera} and \textit{Gaudete celicole}); William Mundy (\textit{Maria virgo sanctissima}) and Robert Parsons (\textit{O bone Jesu}), each contributed one.\textsuperscript{771} Tallis’s \textit{Gaude

\textsuperscript{767} See Chapter 7.

\textsuperscript{768} Inventory of Hofman and Morehen, in \textit{Latin Church Music in British Sources c.1485-c.1610}.

\textsuperscript{769} See Chapter 7.

\textsuperscript{770} Hofman and Morehen, \textit{passim}.

\textsuperscript{771} Parsons’ remarkable six-voice setting of the \textit{Ave Maria} was also possibly conceived as a votive antiphon, although it, along with his \textit{O bone Jesu}, most likely dates from the 1560s. If these two works are indeed products of the early years of Elizabeth’s reign, they represent instead non-liturgical compositions for private devotion or courtly music making, as was popular among the Queen’s circle. (Philippe Oboussier, “Parsons, Robert (i).” \textit{Grove Music}}
gloriosa may also date from this time.\textsuperscript{772} A fragment of a five-voice \textit{Salve Regina} survives from Christopher Tye, the section “\textit{Ad te clamamus… lacrimarum valle}.”\textsuperscript{773}

\textbf{JOHN BROWNE (B. CA. 1453; FL. CA. 1490)}

John Browne bears the distinction of having more compositions to his name in the Eton Choirbook – fifteen – than any other single author.\textsuperscript{774} This designation alone has propelled him to prominence as “among the greatest composers of his age” and “perhaps the greatest English composer between Dunstable and Taverner.”\textsuperscript{775}

Music bearing his name – with one fragmentary exception – is to be found \textit{only} in the Eton Choirbook, which leads some scholars to a more cautious qualification of his prominence.\textsuperscript{776} Magnus Williamson rightly points out that “[b]ecause MS 178 [the Eton Choirbook] is the only major source of late fifteenth-century English sacred polyphony, and

\begin{quote}
\textit{Online. Oxford Music Online.} Oxford University Press, accessed July 15, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/20960.) It of course remains a moot point as to the extent of the music by these composers that has not survived to the present day.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{772} Doe, \textit{Tallis}, 16.

\textsuperscript{773} Davison, \textit{Tye}, xiv.

\textsuperscript{774} Benham, \textit{Latin Church Music}, 3.

\textsuperscript{775} Both quotations from Frank Llewelyn Harrison’s introduction in the \textit{Musica Britannica} volume of the Eton repertoire (Volume X, pp.xvi-xvii), quoted in Benham, \textit{Latin Church Music}, 82.

\textsuperscript{776} The exception is the \textit{Bassus} line of his \textit{Stabat mater dolorosa}, preserved in the fragmentary folio GB-Cu Buxton MSS box 96, ascribed to “Johannes Browne Oxoniensis.” The manuscript fragment dates to c.1500, and is not, judging from its dimensions and content, part of either a partbook or choirbook; most likely it was used as a personal copy (study score?) of a bass singer. (Archive data and document image available at DIAMM, <http://www.diamm.ac.uk/jsp/Descriptions?op =SOURCE&sourceKey=332> Accessed August 13, 2014). The four voice, English-texted devotional partsong \textit{Jesu mercy, how may this be?} attributed in the Fayrfax Manuscript (Lbl Add MS 5465, c.1501) to “Browne” may also be from his hand.
because Browne’s works are so prominent in MS 178, the composer has been regarded as a key figure; whether or not his contemporaries accorded him the same position cannot be ascertained.”

Solid biographical information – about either his life or his work – is meagre, even for late fifteenth century standards. Williamson also reminds us that both of his names – *John* and *Browne* – were “very common in late-medieval England;” any sort of institutional or household archival record definitively linking a person of this name with a career as singer, clerk, or composer has thus far eluded identification.

The registers of Eton College name a John Browne, age fourteen, elected as a King’s Scholar in 1467 – the same year as Eton Choirbook composer Walter Lambe – placing a birth year around 1453, if indeed this boy is to be identified as the composer. The ascription in *Buxton 96* identifies Brown as *Oxoniensis* – “of Oxford” – suggesting a connection with either the University, or the Earl, of Oxford by the last decade of the fifteenth century. An elusive entry in the account books for the Earl of Oxford in 1490 names a John Browne as chaplain, but the entry has been struck through; elsewhere in the document a John Browne is named as receiving payment for the grinding of malt, hardly the duty of a household chaplain or singing-man. Context clues from one of his compositions point to the fact that he was living in 1502. The votive antiphon *Stabat justa Christi crucem*, recounting the sorrows of the Virgin Mary at the foot of the cross, makes use of the Tenor from Edmund Turges’s partsong *From Stormy...*

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778 Ibid.


Winds as a cantus firmus. Turges’s composition was a devotional song, imploring God to watch over Arthur, Henry VII’s eldest son and heir, most likely dating from late 1501 during the prince’s wedding celebrations. Young Arthur died only a few months later (April 1502); Browne’s use of a fairly recent composition with direct ties to the deceased prince can be seen as having eulogistic overtones, with the sorrowful Virgin Mother seen as a type for Elizabeth, Arthur’s own mother, and thus must date to sometime before the following February, when she died.\textsuperscript{782}

Browne’s compositional style points to the period ca. 1485-1505, which supports the fragmentary biographical sketch outlined above. Of his fifteen works included in the Eton Choirbook, each has a unique vocal scoring, for between four and eight voices of varying part distributions.\textsuperscript{783} Nine of the fifteen works that bear his name are Marian votive antiphons; four Magnificat settings (all lost or incomplete) and two sequences for Holy Week, \textit{Stabat mater dolorosa} and \textit{Stabat juxta Christi}, round out his known corpus of works.\textsuperscript{784} Of his two settings of the \textit{Salve Regina}, both for five voices, the first makes use of a cantus firmus taken from \textit{Maria ergo unxit pedes}, the antiphon at the liturgy of the \textit{Mandatum} (Maundy Thursday) in the Use of Salisbury.\textsuperscript{785} As in Browne’s other compositions, this piece has a metrical structure of triple-to-duple, shifting from \textit{tempus perfectum}, $\Phi (3/1)$, to \textit{tempus imperfectum}, $\Phi (4/1)$, near the halfway point of the work. Browne makes limited, informal use of imitation in his counterpoint, and also favors a more modern approach to cadential

\textsuperscript{782} Magnus Williamson, “The Early Tudor Court, the Provinces and the Eton Choirbook,” \textit{Early Music} 25:2 (May 1997), 201.

\textsuperscript{783} Benham, \textit{Latin Church Music}, 83.

\textsuperscript{784} Hofman and Morehen, 12.

\textsuperscript{785} Williamson, ed. \textit{The Eton Choirbook Project of Newcastle University}. Stable URL: http://research.ncl.ac.uk/etonchoirbook/pieces/e20/ Accessed August 13, 2014.
writing when compared to his contemporaries in the choirbook. At significant points of arrival he prefers the device of the plagal cadence in place of the older “Landini” or “under-third” cadence frequently employed by Walter Lambe, Wylkynson, and other older-generation composers in the collection. In her dissertation on the Votive Antiphon, Noël Bisson identifies and describes nine significant cadential types in the Eton repertoire, all of which are utilized by Browne. Bisson’s cataloguing of cadential types is but one relatively recent entry point into the creation of a system of formal analysis for a body of work that has heretofore largely resisted formal theoretical analysis.

Table 10. The Nine Classes of Cadence in the Eton Repertoire, as Codified by Noël Bisson

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Quasi Cadence</td>
<td>“Cadential voices resolve to the unison or octave, but neither voice stops its motion.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Partial Cadence</td>
<td>“Cadential voices resolve to the unison or octave, but one [voice] does not stop its motion.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Avoided Cadence</td>
<td>“Cadential voices resolve to the unison or octave (with or without stopping following the resolution), but another voice in the structure, rather than resolving...moves to the third below the unison.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Full Cadence</td>
<td>“Cadential voices resolve to the unison or octave and then come to a complete stop.” Other voices may not stop.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Complete Full Cadence</td>
<td>“Only when more than two cadential voices are involved, a full cadence in which all the voices involved in the contrapuntal texture come to a complete full stop.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Final Cadence</td>
<td>“A complete full cadence that completes a section or an entire piece.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Half Cadence</td>
<td>“Cadential voices stop at the point of a major sixth or minor third, but do not finish the cadence with resolution to octave or unison.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Disjunct Cadence</td>
<td>“A cadence which completes a section and seems to bear no connection to what follows.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Obscured Cadence</td>
<td>“A full cadence for the cadential voices, but the texture around these voices is so busy that the cadence itself is obscured.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


787 Bisson, 147-152.
A late setting of the *Salve Regina* text is that of Philip Alcock (Alcoke, Alcocke), preserved in the Gyffard Partbooks.\(^{788}\) All that is known of Philip Alcock is that he served as a canon at Lichfield Cathedral until 1527, and later at the collegiate church of Crediton in Devonshire, where he received a crown pension after that establishment was dissolved in 1545.\(^{789}\) Alcock’s surviving compositional output is limited to this single antiphon, set for four voices.\(^{790}\) The work is of comparatively modest proportions, avoiding the florid melismatic writing of Alcock’s older contemporaries in favor of a more syllabic setting that bears commonalities with the writing of Robert Fayfax and anticipates the restrained style of John Taverner’s later works.\(^{791}\) As is the case with the *Salve Regina* exemplars in the Eton Choirbook and spanning back to settings by Dunstaple and Power,\(^{792}\) Alcock’s setting makes use of the nearly ubiquitous traditional English troped text: additional verses (in this case, three of the possible five) are added at the end of the standard antiphon text, inserted before the final line of the antiphon.\(^{793}\) In line with nearly all the repertoire contained in the Gyffard collection, the work is scored for four voices (Triplex, Medius, Contratenor, Bassus) instead

\(^{788}\) See Chapter 2.  


\(^{790}\) It is conjectured that he may also be the composer of a setting of the English-language Burial Service dating to the 1550s, which has been variously attributed to Robert Parsons, William Parsons, John Alcock, and John Parsons (Ibid.).  


\(^{792}\) Harrison, *Medieval*, 301.  

\(^{793}\) See Appendix III for the full text and translation of the antiphon.
of the more standard five: in this instance, the use of C4, C4, C2, and C2 clefs, with a resultant overall range of exactly two octaves, suggests performance by a group of adult singers only, perhaps for use at an institution with no boys (or no boys trained in the singing of polyphony).  

This lone Alcock work does not use a *cantus firmus*, but does paraphrase the opening gestural motif of the plainchant melody in the *Contratenor* voice. Alcock also makes use of limited imitation, particularly in the troped verses (*viz.* mm. 48-64, mm. 68-86, and mm. 92-105 in the Performance Edition), which was a relatively progressive stylistic technique for English composers of the time. Another notable gestural feature related to the use of imitation suggests a composer of some technical prowess with a possible familiarity with the new Continental styles of Josquin and his followers. This writing is displayed in the shape of the Cantus and Bassus lines in the third troped verse (mm. 92-105), at the text *Funde preces tuo nato*/*Crucifixo, vulnerato*/*Et pro nobis flagellato*/*Spinis puncto felle potato.* These two voices, in canonic imitation, take a basic rhythmic motif (dotted semibreve – minim – two semibreves) and expand it, methodically and melodically, on the third note of the phrase. They first move

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794 See Part II of this Thesis (Performance Edition). The positioning and cleffing of the music, however, does not unequivocally point to an intended ensemble of four adult male singers. Untransposed, the top (Triplex) voice ascends to a d’ numerous times, and the lowest (Bassus) voice is required to navigate up to f, with a hypothetical period pitch standard of between a’ = 466 and 480 Hz [see Chapter 11] such extremes of register would be prohibitive to all but the most versatile of adult male singers; this ensemble tessitura, if chorister treble voices are intended for the top line, suggests a four-part work with three Tenors and no Basses, an extremely uncommon voicing combination for the period. If the work is transposed down a perfect fourth from written pitch, it is brought into line with more “standard” ranges of the *Contratenor/Tenor* and *Bassus* voices of the period. (See Bowers, “The Vocal Scoring, Choral Balance and Performing Pitch of Latin Church Polyphony in England, c. 1500-58,” *Journal of the Royal Music Association* 112:1 (1987), 38-76).


796 “Deliver these prayers unto thy begotten one/Crucified, wounded/And whipped for us/Pierced by thorns, given gall to drink.” [My translation.]
by a semitone, next by a minor third, then by a perfect fourth, and finally by the leap of a
minor sixth, providing a musical accentuation of the textual reflection on Christ’s Passion
through melodic augmentation (see Figure 16).

Figure 17. Philip Alcock, *Salve Regina*, Contratenor and Bassus, mm. 92-105.
Transcribed Mark Ardrey-Graves
COMPOSERS OF LITURGICAL ORGAN WORKS

JOHN REDFORD (D. 1547)\textsuperscript{797}

John Redford first appears in the written record in June 1534, as a Vicar Choral of St. Paul’s Cathedral, London, signing the King’s Act of Supremacy. At the time of his death, (his will was written October 7, 1547, and proved November 29 that same year) he was still associated with St. Paul’s Cathedral, having risen to the rank of Master of Choristers and Almoner. Until Redford’s time, and indeed through the sixteenth century and beyond, organ playing in England was a largely improvisatory enterprise.\textsuperscript{798} Redford, then, is notable as the earliest English composer of any stature from whose hand works for organ exist in written form, certainly the first with a significant corpus of works to his name.

All of Redford’s works are liturgical in form and function, adhering to the \textit{alternatim} scheme of trading verses of hymns or canticles with choral plainchant (or, in the case of offertories, taking over the music after a short vocal intonation by a cantor or choir). The organ works are all built around the plainchant \textit{cantus firmus} or, in a few examples, a faburden of the plainchant melody, in both cases typically placed in either the middle or lowest voice of a two- or three-voice polyphonic texture.\textsuperscript{799} Redford, however, usually did not leave the


\textsuperscript{798} This is true not only of England, but much of the rest of Europe besides, notably France, which had a similar tradition of improvising works in the liturgy built around plainchant melodies – one that lasted into the eighteenth century. See Marcel Pérès, notes to \textit{Ad Vesperas Sancti Ludovici Regis Franciae: Antiphonaire des Invalides 1682} (Paris: Ambroisie, 2005. compact disc), 14. See also Chapter 8, above.

\textsuperscript{799} Caldwell, “Redford,” n.p. A handful of four-part pieces exist, but this fuller texture was primarily taken up by the succeeding generation of liturgical organ composers, John Blitheman and Thomas Preston notable among them. Preston left no works for the Compline Office, and so is not included in the present survey.
foundational *cantus firmus* unadorned, but instead treated it to ornamentation, embellishment, and division in the technique that Thomas Morley later termed “breaking the plainsong.”

In addition to working as a professional sacred musician, Redford was also a dramatist and poet – surviving literary works include *Wyt and Science*, a morality play which would have included significant musical participation in its performance. This work is found in the manuscript GB-Lbl Add. MS 15233, which is one of three principal sources for Redford’s organ works. Another major manuscript source of his music is the *Mulliner Book* (GB-Lbl Add. MS 30513 – see Chapter 2), which manuscript has close connections with John Heywood, an associate of Redford’s at St. Paul’s and later court virginalist to Queen Mary.

The third and most important source of Redford’s music is the manuscript GB-Lbl Add. MS 29996 (see Chapter 2), most likely compiled between 1547 and 1549 – soon after Redford’s death, but before the Act of Conformity and introduction of the Prayer Book in 1549.

In addition to over forty liturgical works for the organ – hymns, antiphons, Canticles (*Te Deum* particularly), and Mass offertories – two polyphonic vocal works also survive with Redford’s name attached, a four-voice *Christus resurgens* (Vespers Antiphon for Easter) and an incomplete six-voice *Sint lumbi vestri præcincti* (Matins Respond for All Saints), both found in a manuscript in Oxford’s Bodleian Library dating to the end of the sixteenth century. For the Compline liturgy, Redford has left two settings of the hymn *Salvator mundi*, a setting of the hymn *Te lucis ante terminum*, and a setting of *Lucem tuam*, the *Nunc dimittis* antiphon for

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800 See Chapter 8.


802 Hofman and Morehen, 53.
Trinity Sunday. In the season of Lent specifically, four settings by Redford\(^{803}\) of the psalm antiphon *Miserere michi* exist, as well as two settings the hymn *Christe qui lux es et dies* – one with four verses, the other with one verse. The four-verse setting of the hymn, which places the odd-numbered hymn verses in the organ, and gives the even-numbered verses to the choir, is crafted in two (first verse) and three (subsequent verses) polyphonic parts.\(^{804}\) The *cantus firmus* is a decorated (“broken,” to employ Morley’s term) treatment of the plainchant melody, placed in the lowest voice in the first verse and the middle (“tenor”) voice in the subsequent verses. As a rule, the uppermost voice in the three-part texture – the right hand – is placed some distance away from the two lower voices, both played by the left hand (See Figure 17).\(^{805}\)

Figure 18. John Redford, *Christe qui lux*, Verse 3, mm. 27-30. *Cantus firmus* indicated by arrows. Transcribed Mark Ardrey-Graves

JOHN BLITHEMAN

As mentioned above (see pages 219-221), Blitheman composed both organ and vocal polyphony for use with the Compline liturgy. His writing for organ is in the stylistic tradition of Redford, making use of two-, three-, and four-part polyphonic textures built around a usually (but not always) decorated *cantus firmus*. Unlike Redford, however,


\(^{804}\) See edition in Part II, No. 10, for a transcription.

\(^{805}\) English organs at this time did not contain pedalboards.
Blitheman occasionally also places the *cantus firmus* in the top voice of the right hand. Blitheman’s setting of the Lenten Compline hymn *Christe qui lux es* is preserved in the Mulliner Book; other hymn settings are for Lauds and Vespers. Blitheman’s organ works undoubtedly date to the reign of Queen Mary in the 1550s and the restoration of the Salisbury Use of the Latin Rite – *alternatim* settings of Latin hymnody would have no place in the Elizabethan church, and it is unlikely that, in contrast to vocal works, they would have been a part of non-liturgical music making in a domestic setting. The sole exception is Blitheman’s set of six variations on *Gloria tibi trinitas*, which are not liturgical in structure and point to the virtuosic keyboard literature of the latter sixteenth century.

**Philip ap Rhys (fl. 1545-1560)**

Little is known of the life of Philip ap Rhys. Judging by his name alone, he was undoubtedly a Welshman by birth, or at least lineage. Philip ap Rhys served as organist and singing-man at the parish of St. Mary-at-Hill, London for an unknown number of years (after 1540) until 1547, at which date, possibly the end of the year, he resigned his post. His successor, William Ryse – “Ryse” perhaps being synonymous with “ap Rhys,” and thus a possible relative of Philip’s – began at St. Mary’s in 1548. John Redford of St. Paul’s Cathedral had died in 1547, leaving his post vacant. The manuscript source for Philip ap Rhys’s organ music (Lbl Add. ms 29996) describes him as “Off Saynt poulls in london,”

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807 See Chapter 8.


suggesting that the latter succeeded Redford upon his death (November 1547) in late 1547
or early 1548. However, Philip ap Rhys seems to have maintained connections with his
former place of employ. He is last heard from, again at St. Mary-at-Hill, on July 17, 1559,
being paid 1s. 4d. for playing Evensong there.810 Three accounts from St. Martin Outwich
name a man called Philip ap Rhys: the first, from 1508-09, names him as owing a debt
toward a clerk’s wages; the second, from the following year, as said debt having been paid;
the third, from 1522-23, lists a Philip ap Rhys as a warden of “our lady bretherhed.”811 Hugh
Baillie suspects that this is the same Philip ap Rhys as the composer, and also perhaps related
to or descended from a man of the same name who served as Canon of St. Mary’s Chapel,
York, in the 1450s.812 John Harper, however, casts doubts that this would be the same man,
moving from an established and relatively prominent place in the 1510s and 20s in one
parish, to being the organist of another parish in the 1540s, “a church [St. Mary-at-Hill]
which generally employed men at the beginning of their careers.”813 Furthermore, if Philip ap
Rhys was still active as an organist at St. Paul’s in 1559, he would of necessity have needed to
be of a quite advanced age to also have been an established adult parishioner at Outwich
fifty years prior.

All of Philip ap Rhys’s surviving compositional output is found in a single

810 Caldwell, *Early Tudor Organ Music*, xii. He is described in the parish record for this
payment as “Mr. Phillip of Poles [Paul’s],” confirming that he was still associated with the
Cathedral at this date. Harper cautions that there is no firm evidence to unequivocally
connect the Philip ap Rhys of St. Mary at Hill with the “Phillip of Poles” from this later date.
See John Harper, “Philip ap Rhys and his liturgical organ music revisited,” *Hanes cerddoriaeth


complete alternatim Organ Mass to exist from a British composer or an English source.\textsuperscript{814} This Organ Mass, notably, includes a troped Kyrie, and the Offertory Proper for Trinity Sunday. In addition to the Organ Mass cycle,\textsuperscript{815} a setting of the Felix namque with alleluia (the Offertory for a Lady Mass) and a setting of the Compline psalm antiphon, Miserere mihi Domine,\textsuperscript{816} are ascribed to Philip ap Rhys, for a total of seven extant pieces.\textsuperscript{817} Like Redford, his near contemporary and predecessor at St. Paul’s, Philip ap Rhys’s music is characterized by predominately three-part writing, with a cantus firmus in the middle or bottom voice.

**Thomas Tallis**

As described earlier in this chapter, Tallis composed a handful of surviving alternatim liturgical works for the organ, probably dating, on stylistic grounds, to the 1550s. A very brief setting of the Compline Psalm antiphon for Christmas Day (Natus est Nobis Domine) is preserved in the Mulliner Book. The work is succinct – a mere nine measures in length in transcription.


\textsuperscript{815} Harper demonstrates that the collection of Mass movements under Philip ap Rhys’s name is most likely not, strictly speaking, a unified cycle, but rather a compilation of Mass movements assembled by the scribe-copyist of Add.29996: the Sanctus and Agnus Dei movements utilize a plainchant melody for a different class of feasts than those used for the Kyrie and Gloria; the allotted space but lack of music for the Credo also lends weight to this hypothesis. See Harper, “Philip ap Rhys,” 138.

\textsuperscript{816} See edition in Part II, No.11, for a transcription of the antiphon.

\textsuperscript{817} The extant movements of the Mass as the aforementioned troped Kyrie, Gloria (utilizing the chant melody for a Greater Double feast), Offertory (Benedictus sit Deus Pater), Sanctus, and Agnus Dei. The manuscript has a title and blank leaves for the Credo, but no music has been entered. See John Harper, “Philip ap Rhys”, 127.
Other Composers: Kyrton, Strowger, Shelbye, Heathe

A number of other composers of alternatim organ works for use at Divine Office are known to us by name only: Heathe, Kyrton, William Shelbye, and E. Strowger.\footnote{The composers named here are listed as they are named in the sources; first names are not known.} The favorite elements for polyphonic elaboration are the psalm antiphon Miserere michi Domine (performed not only in the final two weeks of Lent, but also during the long season following Trinity Sunday), and the Lenten hymn Christe qui lux es.\footnote{See Caldwell, Early Tudor Organ Music, vii-xiii.} No fewer than seventeen settings of the Miserere survive in manuscript all together: eight are anonymous works, and the remaining nine are attributed to Redford (five), Philip ap Rhys, E. Strowger, Shelbye, and Woodson. Similarly, six settings of the hymn Christe qui lux are extant; in addition to the aforementioned settings by Redford and Blitheman, a second setting by Redford is found in the Mulliner Book, along with one by Heathe; a further two anonymous settings survive, one in MS 29996, and the other in Och MS 371.\footnote{See Chapter 2.}
Chapter 11. Performance Practice and Contextual Concerns

As for singing upon a plain-song, it hath been in times past in England (as every man knoweth) and is at this day in other places the greatest part of the usual music which in any churches is sung, which indeed causeth me to marvel how men acquainted with music can delight to hear such confusion as of force must be amongst so many singing extempore.

- Thomas Morley (1597)

In preparing and presenting the music of the Tudor church, particularly taking into account contexts of the rituals of Sarum Use, a number of decisions must necessarily be made for its performance. Much of the context and tradition of musical performance from the late Middle Ages has been lost, and the notated scores of the time provide frustratingly little information about many of our most fundamental questions. These questions of performance practice cover a range of topics, from the size and constitution of the performing ensemble, to the pitch and tuning standards of the performed music, to questions of ornamentation, tempo, textual pronunciation, and application of musica ficta.

Furthermore, the placement of this music within the ritual context of a defined liturgy brings to the fore a number of other questions surrounding its performance. These topics include interactions with the pipe organ, the physical placement, arrangement, movement, and even posture of the singers, the interpretation of liturgical rubrics, and the use of shared copies of written music, either printed or hand-written.

PERFORMING FORCES

Perhaps the most fundamental question underlying the performance of the late medieval English sacred repertoire is the question of who performed it. This question can be further divided into two constituent parts: first, what were the types of performers –
vocalists, instrumentalists, or both; and second, how many performers were involved? A further question, stemming from the first, concerns the identity of the vocalists themselves.

Although the earliest serious modern forays into the performance of medieval polyphony—the concerts and recordings made in the 1960s and 1970s by such ensembles as the Studio der frühen Musik, The Early Music Consort of London, and The New York Pro Musica—all, as a rule, involved the equal participation of voices and instruments of various sorts, scholarship since the late 1970s has generally gravitated toward the conclusion that polyphonic music, particularly in the sacred sphere, “involved instruments other than the organ very little or not at all.”\textsuperscript{822} The bulk of current scholarship points to the idea that the norm for liturgical music before the year 1600, whether that of twelfth century organum, the Masses of Josquin des Prez, or the antiphons of John Sheppard, was that it was performed by voices alone. Instruments did, from time to time, appear in churches, but as Christopher Page cautions, “only on the most rare and solemn occasions, and even then it is not certain that they doubled or supplied lines in polyphonic compositions; they may simply have accompanied certain ritual actions.”\textsuperscript{823} Particularly with regards to the musical-liturgical situation in England, the fact remains that there is no solid evidence that voices and instruments ever performed together, simultaneously, in the repertoire of the Roman Rite: “There is no evidence that music of the type [discussed in this document] was performed other than by an unaccompanied choir.”\textsuperscript{824}

The identification of an unaccompanied choir of voices leads directly to the next question: how large were these choirs? As explored in Chapter 8, extant archives of choral

\textsuperscript{822} Christopher Page, “The English a cappella heresy,” in Knighton and Fallows, 27.

\textsuperscript{823} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{824} David Chadd, “Notes on Performance,” \textit{Sheppard II} (EECM vol.17), xiv.
foundations show a variety of ensemble sizes from location to location during the period. A
great deal of variation in size was to be found between the different types of choral
foundations. The household chapel of a nobleman might count fewer than eight singers in
its retinue – even the influential Cardinal Wolsey, Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor
of England, possessed a chapel of ten singing lay clerks in 1520, and at its height seven years
later that number had expanded only to sixteen.\footnote{825} On the other hand, Magdalen College’s
foundational Statute called for a chapel choir nearly twice that size, comprising twenty-eight
vocalists: sixteen choristers (boys), eight lay clerks, and four chaplains. This suggests that
during his tenure at Magdalen, John Sheppard oversaw a choral ensemble of roughly eight
(boy) trebles, eight (boy) means, eight tenors (singing both the \textit{Contratenor} and \textit{Tenor} parts),
and four basses.\footnote{826} This number was further expanded and enlarged by the fellows and
scholars of the college, who joined on Sundays and principal feasts.\footnote{827} Although David
Chadd points out that the “disposition” at Magdalen “is untypical,” with “some evidence to
suggest that in most polyphonic choirs of the first half of the sixteenth century, the working
ratio was the reverse of this, with a majority of broken voices,”\footnote{828} The charter for Cardinal
College, Oxford, where John Taverner was employed in the late 1520s, also called for
twenty-eight singers, with more boys than men: sixteen trebles and twelve lay clerks.\footnote{829} The
largest choral establishment of the period, based on surviving documentation, would seem to
be that of the Chapel Royal under Queen Mary in the mid-1550s, comprising forty-two


\footnote{826} Williamson, \textit{Sheppard III}, xxiii.

\footnote{827} Ibid.

\footnote{828} Chadd, \textit{Sheppard II}, xiv.

\footnote{829} Benham, \textit{Taverner III}, xx.
singers: “half a dozen chaplains, twenty-three or twenty-four gentlemen and twelve children.”\textsuperscript{830} Other cathedrals, collegiate foundations, and notable large parish churches possessed, on average, choirs ranging from twelve to twenty singers: before his move to Cardinal College, John Taverner was in the employ of the Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity, Tattershall, whose choir was composed of six boys and six men.\textsuperscript{831} Many parish churches, and even some smaller cathedrals, employed no more than five to eight singers.

However, in a situation not unlike that explored by Andrew Parrott with choral establishments in eighteenth-century Saxony, it cannot be assumed that simply because a choral foundation counted among its roster twenty-eight singers, all twenty-eight voices were engaged in polyphonic music making at the same time in the same pieces, or were even engaged in polyphonic music making at all.\textsuperscript{832} Queen Mary’s forty-two member choir of the Chapel Royal, for example, most likely rarely appeared in full force for Mass or Office: “The court attendance roster required full attendance only on the higher-ranking feasts.”\textsuperscript{833}

In some instances, singing of ritual polyphony by solo voices seems to have been implied, even in institutions that employed large choirs. The setting in the Gyffard partbooks of \textit{In pace in idipsum} by John Taverner, discussed in Chapter 10, provides an example of an explicit scribal indication of this practice. While such a performance method implies particular ritual considerations, it also suggests carry-over from a much older normative convention: “Polyphonic music in the early Middle Ages, and until the late fourteenth

\textsuperscript{830} Williamson, \textit{Sheppard III}, xxiii.

\textsuperscript{831} Benham, \textit{Taverner III}, xx.

\textsuperscript{832} I am indebted to John Harper for calling this point to my attention. See Andrew Parrott, \textit{The Essential Bach Choir} (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2000).

\textsuperscript{833} Williamson, \textit{Sheppard III}, xxiii.
century, was sung by solo voices. Polyphony, until the closing decades of the fourteenth century, was the explicit domain of virtuosic, highly trained soloists.

The advent of polyphonic singing by larger choirs of multiple voices per part coincides with the introduction of larger numbers of boys into the body of the choir, and the express utilization of them as singing choristers, rather than liturgical servers. Also of note in this regard is the practice, normative for the singing of hymns and canticles such as Magnificat and Nunc dimittis, of alternatim singing across the two sides of the choir. Polyphonic settings of these works typically set every other verse, to the effect that one side of the choir sang the polyphony, and the other sang in plainchant. If a choral establishment, such as Eton College in the 1470s, comprised seventeen singers – seven men and ten boys – and the choir seated itself in the typical fashion, Decani and Cantoris, then a modest force of five boys and three or four men would be available on either side of the choir to sing four- or even five- and six-part polyphony.

Musicological considerations aside, practical reasons for favoring smaller-sized choral forces for the performance of much of this repertoire exist as well. Depending on the specific piece and its relative voicings, floridity, and other compositional features, performance by solo singers or a small group of singers “may be found to increase the linear clarity of the piece.” On the other hand, “multiple voices contribute magnificence as well

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834 Harrison, Medieval, 156.


836 Harrison, Medieval, 156.

837 Benham, Latin Church Music, 31. The boys would typically all sing the Treble part, but as described on p. 243 and p. 246 they occasionally in some places also sang the Mean voice.

as power, both desirable qualities for large-scale music sung in grandiose spaces on occasions of special solemnity.” 839 There is no hard and fast rule to be found for a “correct” size of choir for the singing of Tudor polyphony. Context, desired color and musical affekt, and the presence of such common devices as gymel must be the guiding factors in decision making. 840

Most modern mixed choral ensembles, apart from a small handful of church choirs in the United States and Canada, and the collection of collegiate and cathedral choirs in the United Kingdom and Ireland, comprise adult women singers rather than boy trebles. In general, the trained adult female vocalist possesses a much more powerful vocal apparatus than does a juvenile male treble. The practical result of this fact is that the recreation of a Tudor-era chapel choir, based simply on the number of singers on each voice type, will produce an aural result quite different from the source model: a sixteen-voice choir with two men on each of the four lowest voice parts, and eight women singing the top line, creates a very different balance and blend from the same voice distribution involving children rather than adult women.

In some places, particularly those with a larger ratio of boys to men, the young choristers were expected to sing the mean (Medius) line in polyphony as well as the top line. David Mateer wisely reminds the conductor that the names assigned to each polyphonic voice do not automatically correspond to a given physical voice type: “The ‘partbook names’ (‘Triplex,’ ‘Medius,’ etc.) that precede the first system of each piece…are not necessarily the

839 Scott Metcalfe, “Performance Practice,” in Blue Heron, Music from the Peterhouse Partbooks, 14.

840 See note 435 on p. 133.
same as ‘voice names,’ and conductors should use the ranges given...as a guide to deciding questions of vocal scoring.”

**Pitch and Tempo**

Two determining factors are the linchpins for scholarly assessment of pitch standard in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century England, and thus for the Tudor repertoire: the natural range of the human voice, and surviving organ pipes. Tudor choral repertoire, particularly that composed by John Sheppard, is characterized by wide vocal compasses between the polyphonic voices, leaving “only limited room for transposition up from written pitch.”

The claim is often made, in the words of Scott Metcalfe, that “all vocal ensembles simply chose a pitch out of the air and that the result was a complete lack of vocal pitch standard across Europe.” However, Metcalfe points out that substantiating evidence for this view simply does not exist, but what does exist is the fact that “when demonstrable pitch standards do begin to emerge...whether in Italy, Germany, France, or England, they fall more or less within a semitone or two [of] a’=440.” The information provided from sixteenth-century English sources, based on the evidence of organ pipes, does suggest a

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842 Williamson, *Sheppard III* (EECM Vol.54). xxiii. As previously attested on p. 183, the remarkable nineteen-voice antiphon *O bone Jesu* by the Scottish composer Robert Carvor, dating to the second decade of the sixteenth century, makes frequent use of the high treble a”, which on practical grounds discourages upward transposition of more than a semitone or whole tone. Similarly, all three bass voices regularly descend to F, with florid melismatic passages in the lower tessitura, discouraging downward transposition as well.


844 Ibid.
“normative” pitch standard slightly higher than $a' = 440$ Hz, approximating a semitone and a half above, in the range of $a' = 475$ Hz.\footnote{Dominic Gwynn, “Lost Worlds,” 40; Andrew Johnstone, “‘As it was in the beginning’: Organ and Choir Pitch in Early Anglican Church Music,” \textit{Early Music} 31 (2003), 506-525.}

Roger Bowers corroborates this position in his article, “The Vocal Scoring, Choral Balance and Performing Pitch of Latin Church Polyphony in England, c. 1500-58.”\footnote{Roger Bowers, “The Vocal Scoring, Choral Balance and Performing Pitch of Latin Church Polyphony in England, c. 1500-58,” \textit{Journal of the Royal Musical Association} 112:1 (1986-87), 38-76.} Through a comprehensive examination of surviving documentation, as well as a study of the use and employment of clefs in the music of the period, Bowers indicates that the standard pitch ranges of the sixteenth-century human voice show no signs of being appreciably different from those of voices today.\footnote{Ibid., 48-49.} Bowers’ study also demonstrates a remarkable homogeneity of overall pitch ranges in composed vocal polyphony, relative to the specific clefs employed, throughout the Tudor era, and in Continental repertoire as well.\footnote{Ibid., 52.} Although these conclusions do not suggest an absolute mathematical standard of normative pitch in any comprehensive way, they do nevertheless point to general trends and normative conventions quite different from a posture of (to use Metcalfe’s phrase again) “simply choosing a pitch out of the air.”\footnote{Ibid.} As Bowers writes, “Pitch would inevitably have varied slightly from place to place and from occasion to occasion. However, it seems inescapable that any variation of more than about a semitone either way must...have risked...
imposing...stresses too intolerable to have been within the composer’s original range of intentions.”

The foregoing discussion provides the rationale for the retention of the original notated pitches in the transcriptions of the current project’s performance editions. No artificially imposed “rule of transposition” has been applied, and it must be stressed, as Scott Metcalfe has eloquently articulated, that pitch standard and transposition are two separate topics:

Establishing a pitch standard means deciding what absolute frequency we will call A. If we set a’ at 415 [Hz], this does not mean transposing a’ = 440 to g♯’; it means that the pitch of 415 Hz is what we call a’. (Pitch is a human choice, not an eternal verity, despite the modern tendency to regard a’ as somehow naturally and permanently fixed at 440.) Transposition, on the other hand, means looking at an A and singing or playing, for example, an E. Pitch and transposition are independent variables, although, since both lead eventually to the production of sound at certain frequencies, they are easily confused.

Even less can be said with any definitiveness on the topic of tempo. As the music takes its place in the context of a larger religious ritual, it must maintain the ethos and affekt of its surrounding ritual. The question of the appropriate tempo for plainchant is every bit as unanswerable as that for polyphony, but in all cases the communication of the text must surely take pride of place. Decisions regarding tempo, in the words of Hugh Benham, must “depend to some extent on conditions of performance, and should be the subject of experiment.” An important consideration in the establishment of an appropriate tempo is the size and skill level of the performing ensemble – in general, larger choirs, and more

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850 Ibid.


852 Benham, Taverner III. xx.
skilled choirs, are capable of sustaining slower tempos than are smaller or less skilled groups. Also important to consider in the choice of tempo is “the resonance of the performance space, and the rhythmic and contrapuntal density” of the repertoire.\textsuperscript{853} Tudor-era time signatures in choirbooks and partbooks would have conveyed information about performance tempo to their original performers, particularly in those instances when the mensuration symbol changes in the middle of a work.\textsuperscript{854} However, the encoded performance traditions originally carried by those symbols have long since been lost, and can only be speculated and treated with experimentation.\textsuperscript{855}

\textbf{Pronunciation and Diction}

One of the relatively recent explorations under the umbrella of historical performance practice is that of pronunciation. The foundational basis for such exploration is the recognition that the year 1904 marked the first time that an official ecclesiastical body – the Papal Curia – made any sort of official proclamation regarding the “correct” pronunciation of Latin for liturgical purposes.\textsuperscript{856} Prior to that time, the pronunciation of liturgical Latin would have followed the rules and patterns of the vernacular tongue of the local region. As late as 1779, the English essayist Samuel Johnson remarked that “he who travels, if he speaks Latin, may soon learn the sounds which every nation gives to it…and if strangers visit us, it is their business to practise such conformity to our modes as they expect

\textsuperscript{853} Williamson, \textit{Sheppard III}. xxiv.

\textsuperscript{854} Benham, \textit{Latin Church Music}, 29.

\textsuperscript{855} Ibid. Benham discusses theories of mensural relationships in the Tudor repertoire, but no primary source delineating these relationships survives.

from us in their own countries.”

During the Tudor era, Desiderius Erasmus made similar remarks concerning the pronunciation of Latin in England.

Therefore, an exploration and reconstruction of how Latin would have been spoken – and sung – in England around the year 1500 hinges entirely on the question of how the English language would have been pronounced at that time. The past quarter century has seen a surge in the research and application of this very question, and at least two scholarly research guides, specifically focused on the issue of singing, have appeared: Harold Copeman’s *Singing in Latin, or Pronunciation Explor’d*, and *Singing Early Music*, edited by Timothy McGee. Although this research involves a certain amount of speculation and uncertainty, an examination of patterns in orthography, rhyme schemes, and contemporary accounts all point to certain patterns and conventions.

The choice of pronunciation for the Tudor Latin repertoire has as much bearing on the overall color and tone of the resulting musical performance as does the choice of pitch center and voicing. The use of a recreated Tudor-era pronunciation system, with its frequent juxtaposition of forward and back vowels, provides a rich, contrasting palette of color for the modern listener accustomed to “standard” Italianate Latin pronunciation. An increasing number of available commercial recordings of Tudor sacred repertoire are making use of elements of period Latin pronunciation to a greater or lesser extent, often focusing on distinctive consonantal sounds: soft [s] instead of [ʃ] for the letter c preceding e or i; [dʒ] instead of [tʃ] for the letter c preceding e or i.

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instead of [j] for the letter j. However, differences in vowel sounds between Italianate Latin and reconstructed Tudor English are perhaps more severe and radical, and have been approached by professional ensembles in recordings much less frequently. One notable exception is the recording of the Missa Cantate by John Sheppard by the Gabrieli Consort, issued by Deutsche Grammophon in 2000.\textsuperscript{860} This performance bears witness to Nick Sandon’s reflection that the application of period pronunciation brings “greater incisiveness and clarity” to early Tudor church music.\textsuperscript{861}

\section*{The Application of \textit{Musica Ficta}}

Writing nearly forty years ago, Hugh Benham stated, “…no question of performance practice is so vexed as the handling of accidentals.”\textsuperscript{862} This vexation is still very much present in performance practice scholarship today: while trends in the performance of this repertoire shift over the years, the underlying uncertainty remains. The problem of \textit{musica ficta} application largely hinges on questions of its application at cadential points, particularly “minor and Mixolydian cadences,” and internal, hidden, or non-final cadences.\textsuperscript{863} In earlier generations, the normative performance solution was for singers to always avoid melodic or harmonic tritones, and always raise cadential leading tones.\textsuperscript{864} Benham notes that the issue is, thanks to the writings of contemporary theorists, clearer in both earlier practice – the late

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Gabrieli Consort, \textit{John Sheppard: Missa Cantate} (Hamburg: Deutsche Grammophon, 2000), compact disc.
\item Sandon, \textit{Mason}, v.
\item Benham, \textit{Latin Church Music}, 35.
\item Ibid.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
fourteenth century – and later practice – after 1570 – than it is during the early Tudor period.\footnote{Benham, \textit{Latin Church Music}, 36.} The question of the propriety of ubiquitous application of (non-notated) raised leading-tones remains thorny.\footnote{Ibid.}

Whether performing from choirbooks or partbooks, Tudor-era singers did not have access to full scores of the music, and thus did not have immediate visual access to the vertical, harmonic nature of the music they were performing. Thus, questions of ensemble rehearsal aside,\footnote{Ibid.} the singers’ natural inclinations would have been to sing their parts horizontally – melodically – using the standard conventions of hexachordal solmization, which constituted the basic building blocks of their musical education.\footnote{Rob Wegman, “Musica ficta,” Tess Knighton and David Fallows, eds., \textit{Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music} (New York: Schirmer, 1992), 265-174.} The scribal copyists responsible for the surviving manuscript editions of this repertoire provide cautionary accidentals in many places that might seem “simple” to modern singers, making their “silence on leading-notes worthy of respect.”\footnote{Benham, \textit{Latin Church Music}, 36.}

A conservative approach to singing editorial, non-notated accidentals often leads to anything but conservative aural results, such as direct or even simultaneous cross-relations between voices. These devices, along with the “flat English cadence”\footnote{Ibid., 35, 37. Most simply, the “flat English cadence” involves the use of two forms of the seventh scale degree: sharp and natural, or natural and flat, either simultaneously or in close proximity, at cadential points, creating a false relation by means of split thirds in the Dominant.} came to be favored
in the music of William Byrd and his contemporaries; what remains unknown is the extent to which it was equally a part of the language of the previous generation.

**RITUAL EVIDENCE FROM SARUM USE AND ITS IMPACT ON PERFORMANCE**

In addition to the elements of performance practice addressed above, a further layer of inquiry enters the picture when the researcher considers the elements of sacred ritual surrounding the contexts of the Tudor Office repertoire. The polyphonic music highlighted in the present study was not composed primarily either as academic exercise or concert-hall art music, but as an instrument of prayer and ritual: ceremonial exclamation points, serving to highlight major religious observance and special devotion on solemn occasions. Therefore, consideration of the contexts and ritual elements germane to the genesis of this repertoire can shed light on the music itself. Consideration of ritual practices, gestures, and traditions associated with the medieval Compline Office in Sarum Use, as set forth in the Customaries and other liturgical documents, presents a number of enactment-related questions. Likewise, consideration of other conventions, such as practices of improvised polyphony and the use of partbooks or choirbooks, raises further contextual questions.

*A PROSTRACIONE: KNEELING OR LYING DOWN?*

The Sarum Customaries – Old and New – make repeated mention of portions of the Office liturgies, including Compline, sung from a posture *a prostracione* – in prostration:

On weekdays when the ferial preces are said…then all clerics should prostrate themselves at all the hours and at compline while the preces are said, from the start of the first Kyrieleison until *Per dominum nostrum* is said after the prayer: at that point the priest alone raises himself from the prostrate position when *Exsurge domine adiuvans* is said. At compline, the choir does not rise from the prostrate position until the prayer…is finished…For neither the Lord’s Prayer nor any other prayer is ever said whilst sitting…but always either standing or prostrate, and this goes for the priest
and for the whole choir throughout the year, according to the use of the Cathedral church of Salisbury.\textsuperscript{871}

No medieval English source exists that defines or delineates just how a \textit{prostration} in choir was effected, but the obvious semantic connotation must be considered: the Latin \textit{prostratus}, “thrown down,” ultimately from \textit{sternere}, “to lay flat,” implying a position on or near the floor, with the face down. This posture is required by the rubrics during portions of the service in which a modern worshipper would expect to kneel.

The portion of the Compline Office to be observed in this posture specified by the instructions of the Customary – from the \textit{Kyrie eleison} through to the concluding \textit{Collect} – represents a substantial period of liturgical time and a significant amount of plainchant recitation. It should be noted that no elements of this portion of the liturgy were ever set or sung to polyphonic music. However, the question of just how this prostration was enacted is an important one. The upper two forms of the choir stalls at Salisbury Cathedral exist in their original, medieval configurations and dimensions.\textsuperscript{872} In the third form – the highest row of stalls – there are twenty-three inches from the edge of the stall to the desk rail, and twenty-seven and a half inches between the two arm rests. With the hinged seats in their raised position, taking into consideration an assembly of multiple canons or vicars in choir, there is not room for a full face-down, stretched-out lying posture. However, there is more

\textsuperscript{871} \textit{In ferialibus diebus quando…preces feriales dicuntur tunc prosternant se omnes clerici ad omnes horas et ad completorium dum preces dicuntur ex quo inchoatur primum Kyrieleyson quoque dicitur Per dominum nostrum post oracionem; tunc solus sacerdos se erigat a prostracione cum dicitur Ecce domine aperi nos. Ad completorium vero non erigit se chorus a prostracione antequam finiat oratio…Nunquam enim dicitur Pater noster vel aliqua alia oratio sedenda…sed semper stando vel prosternendo tam a sacerdote quam a todo choro per totum annum secundum usum Sarum ecclesie. GB Oec MS 44 (New Sarum Customary), 13.1. URL: http://www.sarumcustomary.org.uk/exploring/downloads.php. Accessed August 1, 2014.}

\textsuperscript{872} Private correspondence with John Harper, University of Birmingham, January 5, 2015. Dimensions and measurements here indicated are my own, taken on January 4, 2015.
than ample space for an eastward-facing crouched position, with the face towards the floor, akin to the posture known as *sajda* assumed in Muslim prayer. Similarly, the dimensions in the second form – twenty-two inches depth, and twenty-five and a half inches width, also provide sufficient space for this posture. The first form, with significantly less available space, provides a much more cramped area in which to assume this form of prostration – until one considers that boy choristers, the occupants of these seats, would be somewhat smaller in size than the adult men seated behind them.873

The issue of prostration raises two further points of consideration. The first is the existence and purpose of the *misericord*. Misericords are bracketed wooden ledges on the underside of the hinged quire-stall seats, often ornately carved.874 The assumed purpose of the misericord – the Latin word for *mercy* – is that it provided a ledge for semi-seated leaning against during the long recitation of psalmody in the Hours of Matins and Vespers.875 However, given the extent to which the members of the choir were required to assume the posture of *prostracione*, while also facing the High Altar, another hypothetical purpose of the misericord presents itself. The misericord is in the perfect location to be used as an arm-rest for the East-facing member of the choir, and would be of practical assistance when it came time to once again stand upright during the final collect. Furthermore, when at eye-level, rather than tucked away behind the legs, the ornate – and often grotesque or allegorical –

873 Further measurements taken in January 2015 at Winchester Cathedral and the parish church of St. Laurence, Ludlow, both locations that also contain surviving medieval stalls, reveal similar spaces and dimensions to the stalls at Salisbury. It is perhaps noteworthy that the narrow choir stalls in the chapel of Magdalen College, Oxford, not medieval but the product of nineteenth-century remodeling, do not easily accommodate the kneeling-prostration posture.


875 Ibid.
carvings that support the misericord ledges assume new significance as well: the Sarum Customary repeatedly reminds the members of the choir to face East, towards the High Altar (See Figure 18). If a distracted canon or vicar were to turn away from the stipulated eastward gaze, he would be confronted with an image not at all heavenly, an image perhaps carved to serve as a warning against wayward thoughts.  

Figure 19. Fifteenth-century Misericord at the Church of St. Laurence, Ludlow, Shropshire. The hinged seat is folded up in order to reveal both the Misericord ledge and the ornate carving below it.

Finally, the singing of responses, psalmody, and other elements of the Compline Preces during face-down prostration assumes full memorized knowledge of the text and music of these chants, as the service-books would be inaccessible from such a posture.

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877 Personal photograph, taken January 5, 2015.
Given the quotidian nature of the liturgy, and the fact that the texts and chants of the Preces were unchanging through the year, the recitation of these texts from memory is not difficult to envision.  

**Directionality: Facing Across, Facing East**

The singing of the liturgy while facing the High Altar was not only a feature of prostrations, but was also a frequent component of both Office and Mass throughout their observance. A significant portion of the Lenten Compline liturgy – Psalmody, Respond, and Canticle – was sung across the quire, with *Cantorí* and *Decani* sides facing each other. However, much more of the Office – Opening Versicles, Chapter, Versicle, Preces, and each occurrence of the *Gloria Patri*, as well as the final verse of the Hymn – was sung by the choir in an eastward direction, facing the High Altar. The Compline Office both began and ended with this eastward posture. Much as in the case in the consideration of prostrations, it is worth noting that the elements of the Office set to polyphony by Tudor composers – Psalm Antiphons, Responds, Hymns, and Canticle Antiphons – were all elements that occurred while the choir faced across the chancel, not towards the High Altar. Each of the Hymn settings of Robert White set the even-numbered verses to polyphony, meaning that the final verse, sung whilst facing East, was performed in plainchant rather than polyphony. The setting of elements of the ritual all sung while facing across the quire suggests much easier recourse to shared music books on lecterns or music desks, which would not be practical during times when singers faced East.

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878 See Chapter 5.

879 See Chapter 10.
SINE NOTA: SPOKEN OR SOTTO VOCE MONOTONE CHANT?

Twice during the Compline liturgy – during the Confiteor, and during the ferial recitation of Psalm 50 – the rubrics stipulate that the texts are to be recited sine nota, “without note.” No plainchant tones are provided for these moments; similar passages occur in other Offices and liturgies. Much as with the issue of prostrations, no source documentation exists that explicitly defines what is meant by sine nota – are these moments to be spoken, or recited in some other manner, such as a monotone pitch in low tessitura? The exploratory experiments conducted under the auspices of *The Experience of Worship* projects present compelling arguments for the recitation of these passages in a low-tessitura, soft, pitched monotone: such recitation serves to underscore the sacred ritual aspect of these liturgical elements.

ALTERNATIM USE OF THE ORGAN

As discussed in Chapter 8, the pipe organ played an important part of liturgical ritual in late medieval England, even as it was used in a manner very different from its standard role today. The introduction of the organ into the discussion of ritual performance practice raises a number of questions, first among them that of performing pitch: the specific organ to be employed will of necessity be the determining factor in the establishment of a pitch standard. Furthermore, the question of precisely how the organ will be employed in the ritual must be addressed.

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880 The *Confiteor* is stipulated to be recited *privatim, ut vix audiatur a choro* – “in a low voice, so that it is just heard by the choir.”

881 See the discussion of the Seven Penitential Psalms during the Reconciliation of Penitents on Maundy Thursday at the Experience of Worship website: http://www.experienceofworship.org.uk/enactments/other-services/

882 Ibid.
As delineated in Chapter 8, the primary use of the organ in the liturgy was as a substitute for the human voice: organ settings of Psalm Antiphons and *alternatim* settings of Hymns and Canticles constitute the bulk of the surviving repertoire. Magnus Williamson has raised the possibility of combining *alternatim* settings of vocal polyphony with those of organ polyphony, instead of or in addition to plainchant. In multiple instances, the surviving *alternatim* organ settings of Office Hymns – including the setting of the Compline Hymn *Christe qui lux* by Philip ap Rhys – provide polyphony for the odd-numbered verses, while vocal settings of these Hymns typically provide polyphony for the even-numbered verses. Such synchronicity of compositional practices lends weight to the proposition that there existed a tradition in Tudor England for just this practice of combined choral and organ polyphony.

THE INCORPORATION OF IMPROVISED FABURDEN

Faburden, discussed in Chapter 9, seems to have been particularly employed at smaller church foundations, those with choirs less capable of tackling the complex polyphony of the Tudor composers. Hugh Baillie notes evidence for the singing of faburden at York Minster in 1507, where “all vicars choral were required to be competent in” its execution; and at the collegiate church of Faversham in 1506, where the clerk is

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884 See Chapter 10.

885 This is equally typical of the settings for Hymns beyond the season of Lent, such as those of *Salvator mundi Domine* by John Sheppard and John Redford. This is also true of settings of *Magnificat* and *Te Deum*. See Williamson, *John Sheppard III*, xxiv.

886 Ibid.

advised to “stop ‘faburdening’ if the rest of the choir goes astray in its plainsong singing.”888

What remains unknown is whether this translates into faburden not featuring in those places, such as the Chapel Royal, the great cathedrals, or the Oxford colleges, which did employ accomplished professional singers. Existing archival evidence on this matter is silent: is the silence indicative of lack of the practice, or commonplace ubiquity of the practice?889

Magnus Williamson provides a possible way forward in the absence of any other evidence of performance practice: that of compositional practice. In both vocal and organ polyphony, composers often based their settings of liturgical texts not on the plainchant melody of the hymn or antiphon, but on its derived faburden: “[John] Sheppard’s [and many other composers’] use of a faburden melody as cantus firmus…is a reminder both of the practice of singing hymn verses in faburden and of the conceptual overlap between improvised faburden and composed polyphony (or pricksong).”890 For a composer of Chapel Royal stature such as Sheppard to base a number of his cantus firmi on derived faburdens rather than the originating standard plainchant melodies suggests that the tradition of faburden singing was a living one in his professional circles. This recognition also gives rise to the possibility of the alternation of choral polyphony (such as the alternatim Hymns of Robert White) with improvised faburden, instead of plainchant.

888 Baillie, 197.


890 Williamson, John Sheppard III, xxiv.
**MUSIC: MEMORIZED, SHARED, OR INDIVIDUAL?**

The Tudor repertoire that we possess exists in two formats: choirbooks and partbooks.\(^{891}\) Both of these book formats are, at their core, performance formats: each system sets the music for each individual voice part apart from the others, for ease of use by the singer. In this way, the choral vocalist of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries made use of a self-sufficient written part system not unlike that used by the orchestral instrumentalist of the present day.

The choirbook places multiple voice parts together across the two open pages of the book, each voice part in its own quadrant on the page. Depending on the overall length of the composition in question, one composition in choirbook format could spread over multiple pages, but each voice part always remains in the same quadrant of each page. Many extant choirbooks – but not the Eton Choirbook – place the top (*Triplex*) voice near the bottom of the page, in the recognition that this part was sung by boys, usually shorter in stature than the adult men singing the other voice parts.\(^{892}\) Choirbooks were often of prodigious size, in order to be placed on a lectern stand and seen by multiple singers all reading together from the same book.

The partbook, by contrast, contains multiple compositions, gathered together in one binding for an individual voice part. Multiple partbooks, one for each voice part, comprise a set, typically referred to as a collective group (Dow Partbooks, Gyffard Partbooks, Peterhouse Partbooks, etc.).\(^{893}\) The complete music of a polyphonic composition in

\(^{891}\) See Chapter 2 and Chapter 9.


\(^{893}\) See Chapter 2.
partbook format is thus spread across several bound books, the loss of individual volumes of
some collections thus leading to the incomplete status of many otherwise surviving Tudor-
era compositions. Partbooks as a rule are much smaller in size than choirbooks, suitable
for use by individual singers and not practical for shared use beyond at most two people. In
both formats, the singer is not presented with the ready examination of the other voice parts
of the composition, as is the case with modern score format, so the vertical, harmonic
construction of the music is obscured.

THE ROLE OF THE CONDUCTOR: THEN AND NOW

The governing documents of Salisbury and other medieval English cathedrals
stipulate the presence of the Precentor, one of the four dignitaries, as chief liturgical
officer for the establishment. The Precentor often had an assistant, known as Succentor – “sub
cantor” – to carry out a number of practical duties, often including the musical education
and rehearsing of the boy choristers. In various locales, the office of Succentor went by a
number of titles: Magister chori, Magister puerorum, Informator choristarum. Each of these titles
points to the primary duty held by this assistant Cantor: the training, supervision, and
direction of the choristers. This role corresponds with that of the choir trainer, as described
by Muriel Gibala-Maharidge in Chapter II of her dissertation, *The Evolution of the Choral*

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894 See the discussion of Sheppard’s *Media Vita* in Chapter 10.

895 See pp. 54-55.

896 Susan Boynton and Eric Rice, “Introduction: Performance and Premodern Childhood,”
in Susan Boynton and Eric Rice, eds., *Young Choristers, 650-1700* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press,
2008), 8-9. See also p. 127 in the present document.
Conducting Profession in the Twentieth century: Conducting Methods as Written Testimonies.\(^{897}\) The foremost responsibility of the choir trainer is the preparation of music for performance, rather than the direction of the performance itself.\(^{898}\) Focus is given by the choir trainer to voice production, intonation and ensemble blend, and sight-reading.

As described in Chapter 8, senior clerks and singing Canons were chosen by the Precentor to serve as rectores chori – rulers of the choir. These singers were responsible for providing the starting pitch of chants or polyphony, intoning chant incipits, or appointing other specific singers to sing the incipits.\(^{899}\) The rectores chori, along with or in place of a Succentor or Informator choristarum, were also responsible for the rehearsal and planning of music in preparation for the liturgy. The rectores chori thus performed many of the duties associated with the modern conductor, but assumed these roles as part of the rotation of weekly duties: the Salisbury sources refer to the Hebdomadarius, the weekly duty-clerk who served as primary rector chori for the period of time in question.\(^{900}\) Thus, the notion of “conductor” in terms of preparation and performance was a shared duty undertaken by the performers themselves.

The action of a visible, physical gesture for the purpose of keeping time in performance was not unknown to the cathedral musicians of the late Middle Ages. From the final two decades of the fifteenth century, theorists describe the convention of the keeping


\(^{898}\) Ibid., 35.

\(^{899}\) See p. 151.

\(^{900}\) See p. 151.
of a visible tactus – a vertical motion of the arm – among singers. The maintenance of the tactus was carried out by one of the rotating rectores chori or another member of the singing ensemble; this time-keeping during performance was considered a completely different task from the musical training carried out by the Succentor.

One of the primary roles and obligations of the modern conductor is the responsibility of stylistic interpretation, and communication of that interpretation to the ensemble. However, when musicians perform only one style or genre of music, issues of interpretation assume a different character involving a smaller interpretative and stylistic palette. For the cathedral singer of early sixteenth-century England, polyphonic choral music essentially meant one thing: the need to navigate between stylistic variables of the music of different epochs and places simply did not exist. The boy choristers at English cathedrals and collegiate churches rehearsed and sang the body of liturgical repertoire every day of the week. As described in Chapter 8, the training received at the hands of a Succentor or Informator choristarum at a choir school such as that of the Chapel Royal or Salisbury Cathedral provided boys with opportunities for them to go on to become clergy or professional singers themselves. In this way, “one generation was always linked to the previous, which allowed both repertoire and training to be maintained…the…repertoire was performed with very little conducting.”

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901 Gibala-Maharidge, 12.
902 Ibid.
903 Ibid., 14.
904 See p. 161.
905 Gibala-Maharidge, 25.
By contrast, the modern conductor and choral ensemble approach the sacred Tudor repertoire as but one musical language among many in the repertoire, and at that one with any number of unfamiliar peculiarities. The singing of this music by modern choirs is not a daily ritual occurrence grounded in a shared language of encoded symbols and tropes. Thus, the conductor, whether in church or concert hall, is obliged to assume an additional responsibility: that of interpreter. The size and musical ability of the choral ensemble will determine the extent to which the conductor assumes an active gestural or directorial role during performance. In recent years, small-sized professional choirs such as Stile Antico and the Hilliard Ensemble have successfully performed this repertoire without a conductor, but most other professional groups of a similar size – ensembles such as Blue Heron, Tenebrae, The Sixteen, and The Tallis Scholars – continue to rely on and benefit from the presence of a conductor in performance. Similarly, church and cathedral choirs that have incorporated Latin Tudor repertoire into their liturgical offerings typically sing under the direction of a conductor during performance. In the cathedrals and collegiate churches of England, this conductor typically stands at and directs from the lectern located in medio chori – the precise location stipulated by the medieval Salisbury customaries for the rectores chori to stand during their intoning and leading of the chants.\footnote{Harper, \textit{Forms and Orders}, 38. See p. 153 and Figure 10 on p. 153.}

\textbf{SUMMARY}

The performance practice and ritual concerns addressed above provide the opportunity for significant detective work on the part of the conductor, and experimentation on the part of the performing ensemble. These topics and concerns, though, must never be seen as ends to themselves – they are means for successful communication of the music. A thorough understanding of the generative, ritual, and performative contexts of the early
Tudor repertoire serves to underscore those very elements – no longer part of modern musical life – that make this music distinctive.

As mentioned in Chapter 5, the Office of Compline remains to this day a living ritual for both Roman Catholic and Anglican communities.\(^{907}\) Although the specific forms taken by these modern liturgies vary in their particulars from that of the late medieval Compline in Sarum Use, the overarching scope of the Office structure is recognizably similar.\(^{908}\) Thus, the polyphony Tudor-era Compline observances can readily find a place in the ritual of a present-day Compline liturgy. The settings of the Responds *In manus tuas* and *In pace in idipsum* by Taverner, Sheppard, Tye, Tallis, and Blitheman, for example, readily fit in the order of Compline from the 1979 *Book of Common Prayer* without the need for any adjustment of rubrics, as do the Hymn settings of Robert White.

The Monastic, post-Tridentine forms of the Compline Office that provided the primary models for the modern forms of the liturgy do not include the seasonal rotation of Hymns and Antiphons that define the Office in Sarum Use. The recovery of these seasonal variations – using particular Hymns and Psalm or Canticle Antiphons during particular seasons of the church calendar – is a further way that the late-medieval Salisbury Use form of Compline can enrich and expand contemporary observances of the nighttime Office, during Lent and throughout the year.

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\(^{907}\) See Chapter 5, p. 117.

\(^{908}\) See, for example, the orders in the 1979 *Book of Common Prayer* of The Episcopal Church (USA), the 2000 *Common Worship* of the Church of England, and the 1974 Liturgy of the Hours Breviary of the Roman Catholic Church.
Chapter 12. Summary and Conclusions

…so they went to church, and after a grand procession had been made, high mass was sung by the King’s choristers, whose voices are more divine than human; and as to the counter bass voices, they probably have not their equals in the world.

- Nicolo Sagudino, Venetian ambassador to the English court (1515)\(^\text{909}\)

It has been the goal of the present thesis to provide an in-depth exploration of the Office of Compline during the season of Lent, particularly as it was celebrated in choral establishments during the early Tudor era (1485-1558). The study has focused on five guiding questions: (1) Based on rubricial indications from both the printed Salisbury Use sources of the period ca. 1500 (Antiphoner, Breviary, Processionale), and the older Customary of Salisbury Cathedral, how was the chanted Office of Compline enacted liturgically, musically, ritualistically, and spatially, during the period from Ash Wednesday through the Wednesday of Holy Week? (2) What items of composed polyphony exist specifically for use in the Sarum Use Compline Office during this phase of the liturgical calendar? (3) How did the use of this Salisbury-influenced composed polyphony inform the ritual and liturgical ceremonial discussed above? (4) What do the ritual rubrics of the Use of Salisbury have to say to us about the performance practices of the polyphony? (5) What do the local contexts of the parish church, cathedral church, university/collegiate chapel, and household chapel have to bear on the performance and performance practices of this ritual music?

**SUMMARY**

Both the music and liturgy of the pre-Reformation English church have received generous scholarly attention for many years, beginning with the antiquarians of the Elizabethan era and continuing in an unbroken thread since the time of the medievalists of

the late nineteenth century. Recent scholarship has emphasized interdisciplinary study and exploratory enactment of ritual. Study of late medieval English liturgy benefits from the survival and ready availability, through online facsimile images, of a multiplicity of primary source manuscripts: breviaries, antiphoners, ordinals, missals, and hymnals. The surviving Tudor partbook and choirbook collections are also available online for study in facsimile image scans. Other important sources for the ordering of ritual of the medieval Salisbury Cathedral, particularly the Cathedral Customaries, are available in modern transcription and annotated scholarly editions, and are essential for the study of Sarum Use liturgy and music.910

When study of the Customaries is considered alongside consideration of the architectural spaces of the two cathedral churches of Salisbury, it becomes clear that the ritual is tied to the spatial layout of the church buildings. The Old Customary relates to ritual practice at the twelfth-century cathedral, no longer extant, formerly located on the hill of Old Sarum. By contrast, the later New Customary relates to ritual practice at the thirteenth-century Gothic cathedral, which still stands today. Changes made from the Old Customary to the New Customary relate specifically to the differences in layout and orientation between the two structures.

As Sarum Use gained momentum, adoption, and adaptation beyond the bounds of the cathedral and diocese of Salisbury, it became the de facto liturgical template for most liturgical musicians working in secular foundations in England. It was during the Use’s final flowering under King Henry VIII, and its brief restoration under Queen Mary I, that much of the remarkable polyphony associated with Compline was composed.911 Unique to the

910 See Chapter 2.
911 See Chapter 3.
years of the latter fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries is the flowering of polyphonic embellishment of specific elements of the Compline liturgy. Plainchant remained the primary vehicle for the recitation of Compline - and every other Office - throughout the early Tudor era. Nevertheless, the record of surviving music manuscripts suggests that beginning in the final decades of the fifteenth century, choirs introduced moments of pre-composed, non-improvised polyphonic expression into their worship with a frequency and at a level not theretofore experienced or attained.

The specific reasons for this flowering of polyphonic expression remain elusive, but the particular combination of a number of phenomena is suggestive. The training of boy trebles in choral establishments, begun in earnest in the mid-fifteenth century, reached its zenith in the final years of that century and continued into the next: composers took full advantage of this new timbre, and the virtuosity, of these highly-trained choristers in their compositions. Likewise, the gradual but thoroughgoing replacement of ordained clergy with lay professional singers in all major secular choral foundations - cathedrals, collegiate churches, University chapels, household chapels, and parish churches - meant that the adult members of these choirs possessed a similar virtuosity and ability in singing complex music. Composers took full advantage of the abilities of these trained singers, who spread to churches throughout the kingdom, in setting ritual music that went far beyond the *bicinia* and three-part works of the earlier fifteenth century in both expansiveness and technical brilliance. Furthermore, the unlikely survival of a small number of sacred music manuscripts from early sixteenth-century England - and the archival preservation work of the aforementioned Elizabethan antiquarians - provides a precious glimpse of what was certainly an even larger body of ritual polyphony.
CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND CLOSING REMARKS

As many of the contexts and traditions of musical performance from the late Middle Ages have been lost, the notated scores of the time provide frustratingly little information about many of our most fundamental questions. These questions of performance practice cover a range of topics, from the size and constitution of the performing ensemble, to the pitch and tuning standards of the performed music, to questions of tempo, textual pronunciation, and application of *musica ficta*. Furthermore, an additional layer of inquiry enters the picture when the researcher considers the elements of sacred ritual surrounding the contexts of the Tudor Office repertoire. The polyphonic music highlighted in the present study was not composed primarily either as academic exercise or concert-hall art music, but as an instrument of prayer and ritual: ceremonial exclamation points, serving to highlight major religious observance and special devotion on solemn occasions. Therefore, consideration of the contexts and ritual elements germane to the genesis of this repertoire can shed light on the music itself.

In his dissertation *The Rhetoric of Devotion*, David Allinson confronts the severe but conventional criticism that the early Tudor composers were not concerned with the texts that they set, but approached the texts with a cold, impersonal, mathematical disengagement. Allinson refutes this claim, addressing the cultural context of medieval liturgy and philosophy, and reminding the reader of the communal nature and shared “religious and aesthetic outlooks” of medieval “clerics, composers, musicians, and audiences.” Allinson also references an insight offered by the musicologist Rob Wegman:

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912 Allinson, 12.

913 Ibid., 27.
[Medieval] music was perceived in essence not as an object, but as a physical motion in air, produced by action upon objects. Since motion always has a cause and an effect, the question was not what music means (as if it were a sign), but rather what it does, what its effects are. This explains, for instance, why a theorist like Johannes Tinctoris remained completely silent on the meaning of music, yet devoted a whole treatise to its effects.\footnote{Rob Wegman, “For Whom the Bell Tolls: Reading and Hearing Busnoys’s ‘Anthoni usque limina,’” in Dolores Pesce, ed., Hearing the Motet (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 123.}

This insight offers a helpful summation for the present study. The Tudor-era composers who crafted ornate polyphony for the ritual of the Lenten Compline Office did so as an act of prayer: they were less creating signifying objects, such as altars or images, as they were adding ornament and fervor to the words and petitions that contextualized those objects. Allinson alludes to the fact that the musical language of the late medieval English composer is ornate, melismatic, long, and avoidant of cadence for essentially theological reasons: this is not music for a human audience, but rather a divine one. God is the intended listener, and the purpose of the message is penitence and petition. To participate in the liturgy of the Office for the medieval Christian was to stand \textit{ad porta Caeli} – at the gate of heaven\footnote{Allan Doig, “Liturgy, Theology, and Architecture in the Sarum Revival,” Lecture given at Christ Church, Bronxville, NY, January 15, 2011.} – and in heaven, earthly notions of time have no currency. The Tudor composer attempted to set forth musical expressions of prayer that related not to \textit{chronos} – the temporal, sequential time of earth, but instead to \textit{kairos} – the divine, indeterminate, salvific time of heavenly eternity.\footnote{See Allinson, 32, 37.}

In terms of continued and parallel research lines that have been identified through this study, several topics specific to Sarum Use Compline include an examination of the ritual and music for Sarum Use Compline through the remainder of the church year, beyond Lent, and surveys and studies of polyphony associated with the other Offices during the
Lenten season. In the realm of performance practice, the technique and application of faburden, and other forms of improvised polyphony, is an important element of historical performance practice that is rarely approached by musicians.

The ritual polyphony associated with the Tudor period has its essential grounding in and inspiration from plainchant. Not only is *cantus firmus* technique widely used, but the independent, freely composed constituent voice-part lines also have their genesis in the melodic structures of liturgical chant. A familiarity of and facility with the cadences of traditional Western plainsong is an important element of the successful approach to this repertoire by choirs today. The music eludes conventional structures of harmonic phrasing or cadence, and its delicate weaving of long melismatic lines requires an agility of tone production and careful listening ear, suggesting a normative performing dynamic of *piano* for much of this repertoire. Furthermore, the non-imitative melismatic nature of the individual vocal lines of much of the Tudor repertoire, sometimes in six, seven, or more parts, demands a particular independence, virtuosity, and skill from its singers. Although choir rosters from the period suggest Tudor-era performing forces, at least in some locations, of upwards of twenty or more singers, the virtuosic nature of the music lends itself to performances by smaller-sized modern choirs in order to successfully navigate its demands.\(^{917}\)

The particular formats of written music utilized by Tudor-era choir singers – choirbooks and partbooks – can also be instructive for the modern performer. In both formats, the singer is not presented with the ready examination of the other voice parts of the composition, as is the case with modern score format, so the vertical, harmonic construction of the music – already complex – is obscured. While this presents an initial

\(^{917}\) See pp. 154-156, 157.
challenge to the modern singer, experimentation with singing in these formats in the context of the present research has yielded fruitful results. Singers reading from a large-size choirbook format commented on the simultaneous freedom of expression through linear, melodic thinking, and, paradoxically, increased awareness of ensemble through standing in close proximity with each other in order to read off the same page, also taking advantage of a normative *piano* dynamic to increase their sensitivity to listening to the other parts.

Although exploration of the delimitations set forth in Chapter 1 of this document remains beyond the scope of the current study, investigation of these delimitations will also serve in adding to Sarum Use scholarship, both within and beyond the topic of Compline. Study and analysis of the earlier history and development of the Use of Salisbury would only serve to deepen understandings of how its liturgies took shape in the late Middle Ages. Detailed investigation of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century stylistic antecedents of the polyphonic Tudor repertoire would likewise shed light on the evolution of its compositional language, and study of the work of other Tudor-era composers, beyond those specifically considered in this document, would also help create a more complete stylistic picture. Tracing the exportation of the Sarum Use beyond England – to Ireland, Scotland, and the Continent – would offer insight into the diversity of liturgical practices in the decades prior to the Tridentine reforms. Likewise, research into the sister English Uses of Hereford, Bangor, and York would further serve to clarify just what made English liturgical and ritual practice distinctive within the umbrella of the Western Latin Rite.

Additionally, the applicability of the present study to current liturgical expressions remains to be expanded, experienced, and considered. Exploratory engagement with, and performance of, the historic liturgy of a Sarum Use Compline Office, as presented in this paper, has the potential to engender discussion about liturgical practices in our own time,
and prompt consideration of contextually informed performance of this polyphonic repertoire. It is with this performative goal in mind that the editions in Part II of this document have been prepared and included. The carefully researched and executed explorations of liturgical enactment carried out by The Experience of Worship project have served as a primary model in my approach to the preparation of these resources. The scores – both plainchant and polyphony – aim to represent careful scholarly study and preparation, while at the same time serve as practical performance editions for musicians interested in exploring this repertoire within the context of liturgical framework.

Although this paper has dealt with particulars, examining a specific Office (that of Compline) in a specific time (a few decades on either side of the year 1500) and a particular place (England), it has been a goal of this project to enrich the understanding of how Christian communities across time and place have seen best fit to lift their voices in “psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody to the Lord with all [their] heart.”918 Above all, during a time when – with the aid of experiential research projects that outline possible liturgies presenting past possibilities as well as integrating them within modern Office observances – church communities, Roman Catholic and Anglican alike, are rediscovering the beauty and riches of the night-time Office of Compline. It is my hope that this research will in some small way serve in the furtherance of those communities seeking fresh liturgical expression by means of grounding in their own inherited traditions and repertoires.

918 Ephesians 5:19 (RSV).
Appendix I. Glossary

Definitions are compiled from the following sources:


6. Other sources cited individually

A

**Abbey**: A community of monks and nuns, under the authority of an abbot or abbess; or, the building or campus in which such a community lives, works, and worships. See also **Convent, Monastery**. [FOL]

**Advent**: The period of four weeks in the liturgical calendar leading up to the festival season of Christmas. [FOL]

**Aisle**: In church architecture, a widening of the nave on one or both sides, separated from the nave proper by an arcade or pillars. By definition, the aisle is on the north or south sides of the nave, never in the center. [ODC, FOL]


**Ambo**: In church architecture, a raised platform typically located between the nave and choir, from which the scripture (particularly the Gospel) was read or chanted during the liturgy. The word is commonly used now to signify a lectern. In many large churches and cathedrals, the ambo was often superseded by the pulpitum during the later Middle Ages. [ODC, FOL]
Anglican: Of or related to the Church of England as a distinct ecclesiastical body, or the Church bodies in communion with it. [ODC, FOL]

Antiphon: A single verse or sentence, or collection of verses, recited or sung before, after, and/or in the middle of canticles and psalms in the Office or Mass. Antiphons are typically proper to the season or day; some are also self-standing without an associated canticle or psalm. [ODC]

Antiphoner/Antiphonal: A liturgical book originally containing (notated) antiphons for use in the liturgy; by the late Middle Ages antiphoners often included all (or nearly all) the plainchant required for recitation of the Office. [ODM]

Apostles’ Creed (Symbolum Apostolorum): A statement of belief used in the Western Church in baptismal liturgies and at the Office (and distinguished from the longer Nicene Creed, recited at the Mass). Developed from older creedal formulas of the early Church, achieving its present form by the 8th century. [ODC]

Apse: In church architecture, the area behind the high altar at the east end of the church, typically of a rounded or polygonal construction. [ODC]

Archbishop: A bishop who has ecclesiastical authority or presidency over a number of dioceses (collectively called a province); also known as a primate or metropolitan. [ODC]

Ash Wednesday: The Wednesday six and a half weeks before Easter Day, symbolizing the beginning of Lent. [ODC]

Ave Maria: A prayer commonly used in devotions to the Blessed Virgin Mary and as an antiphon; the text is drawn from the Archangel Gabriel’s salutation to Mary in Luke 1:28, and Elizabeth’s greeting to Mary in Luke 1:42. The longer form current today was not standardized until the later 16th century; prior to this time the prayer was most commonly limited to its first sentence: “Ave Maria gratia plena, Dominus vobiscum: benedicta tu in mulieribus et benedictus fructus ventris tuis Jesus. (Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus).” [ODC, FOL]

B

Bassus: The term used for the lowest of the five basic voice-part designations in pre-Reformation English polyphony, roughly congruent with the modern Bass. [VS]

Benedicamus Domino: (Latin, “Let us bless the Lord”) A liturgical formula (versicle and response) in the Latin Rite signalling the conclusion of the Office (and, occasionally, the Mass), standard from the 11th century. The accompanying communal response is Deo gratias (“Thanks be to God”). [ODC, FOL]

Bishop: The highest of the Holy Orders and one of the chief pastors in the Church,
possessing the responsibility for ordination and confirmation. From the Greek *episkopos*, “overseer,” bishops normally have administrative and pastoral oversight of a *diocese*. [ODC, FOL]

**Book of Common Prayer:** Introduced in 1549 (and revised in 1552, 1559, and 1662) as the liturgical book of the Church of England (and thence of the other Anglican churches) after the Reformation. [FOL]

**Breve.** Also known as a *double whole-note*, it is twice the note value of the whole note or semibreve. In 14th and 15th century mensural notation systems, the breve (Latin for “short”) represented a short metrical value; over time shorter note values were added to the notational systems, pushing the longer ones out of use. It is exclusively written as a rectangular shape through the 16th century; only later was it conventionally drawn as a semibreve within straight brackets. [ODM]

**Breviary.** A *liturgical* book for use at the *Office*, developed during the Middle Ages as a composite volume containing Psalms, prayers, and hymns, eventually (by the 14th century) containing the complete texts necessary for recitation of the Office. “Noted Breviaries” also included musical notation for the chants. [FOL]

**C**

**Canon:** (From the Greek *kanon*, a straight bar used for measurement and ruling) [1] A law, order, form, or regulation, particularly those of Ecclesiastical edict. [2] A musical form involving strict contrapuntal imitation, so-called because of the “rule” set forth by the initiating musical line. [3] An ecclesiastical officer (typically in *Holy Orders*, but sometimes also *lay*) bound by a regulatory statute under Ecclesiastical authority and typically a senior member of a *collegiate church* foundation. In the Middle Ages, *Regular Canons* lived, under a Rule, communally, similar to monastics. [ODM, ODC, FOL]

**Canticle:** A Biblical (non-*Psalm*) text sung or recited at the *Office*. The most important Canticles are the *Magnificat* (Song of Mary, Luke 1:46-55), sung at Vespers; the *Benedictus Dominus Deus* (Song of Zechariah, Luke 1:68-79), sung at Lauds; and the *Nunc dimittis* (Song of Simeon, Luke 2:29-32), sung at Compline. [FOL]

**Cantor:** A solo singer in *liturgical* settings. See also *Precentor*. [FOL]

**Cantoris:** In a divided *Quire*, the side to the (liturgical) *North*, where the *Precentor* sits. [FOL]

**Cantus firmus:** Latin for “set song,” describes a pre-composed melody (often liturgical plainchant) used by composers as the skeletal foundation for a polyphonic composition. Typically although not exclusively set in equal note-values in one polyphonic voice (such as the *Tenor* or *Triplex*). [ODM]

**Cassock:** A long ankle-length garment, most often black; the basic attire of *secular* clergies
from the late Roman period (6th century) down to the present day. The cassock is traditionally worn underneath any other vestments (alb, surplice, almuce, etc.). [ODC, FOL]

**Cathedral, Secular and Monastic:** The Cathedral (from Latin *cathedra*, “seat” or “throne”) is the ecclesiastical center of a *diocese*, from which the bishop officially presides. The governing *chapter* of a *secular* cathedral, as the name suggests, consisted of non-monastic clergy; that of a *monastic* cathedral comprised the members of a *religious* order. [ODC]

**Ceremonial:** As a noun, refers either generally to the collection of customs, vestments, gestures, and ritual actions that characterize a *liturgy*; or more specifically to a book that sets forth these items. [FOL]

**Chancel (Presbytery):** In church architecture, the section at the east end of the building allotted for the clergy; comprises the *sanctuary* proper as well as the area to the immediate west of the sanctuary adjoining the quire. [ODC]

**Chantry:** A chapel or altar, either self-standing or housed within a larger church, founded and maintained by a private donor for the purpose of memorial prayers (Mass and/or Office) offered on his or her behalf after death. The Chantry was staffed by one or more priests. [FOL]

**Chapel:** [1] An architectural structure (or specific area within a larger space, such as a cathedral) set aside for Christian worship, typically a chancel with a sanctuary but no nave or quire. [2] The personnel – clergy, singers, etc. – who comprised the liturgical staff of a royal, aristocratic, or other notable household, or were otherwise attached to a specific chapel [1]. [FOL]

**Chapel Royal:** A chapel in the sense of [2] (*q.v.*), specifically attached to a royal household or court. In England, a number of buildings and locations have served as the liturgical sites for the Chapel Royal over the centuries. [ODC]

**Chapter:** [1] In the *Office*, a short reading of scripture. [2] The governing body of an ecclesiastical foundation such as a cathedral or monastery; also the daily assembly of that body for the purpose of both hearing a chapter [1] read and tending to the business of the institution. [ODC, FOL]

**Choir:** [1] An assembled community, whether collegiate, secular, or monastic, gathered in liturgical celebration. This is the original meaning of the term. [2] In church architecture, the portion of a church building set aside for this communal celebration of the liturgy; also spelled quire (as in this paper, to differentiate from definitions [1] and [3]). [3] A group of singers, specially trained, whose chief duty is to sing certain parts of the liturgy (whether Office or Mass) on behalf of the entire assembly (such terminology and practice arising in the later Middle Ages). [ODC, FOL]

**Choirbook:** Term used to describe large musical manuscripts primarily of the 15th and 16th

Choir Step: In church architecture, a step (usually single) at the east end of the quire, marking the boundary between quire and chancel/presbytery. A lectern was commonly placed here from which soloists sang or lessons were read. [FOL]

Chorister: In the medieval period, the term used for a boy who served as a junior member in a collegiate establishment, from the 15th century primarily but not exclusively involved in musical activities, particularly in the singing of plainchant and performing the triplex part in polyphony. [FOL]

Church of England (See Anglican)

Clerk: [1] Alternate term for a cleric, a person in Holy Orders. [2] Primarily used to specifically refer to those in Minor Orders – Porter, Lector, Exorcist, and Acolyte, distinguished from persons in the Major Orders – Bishop, Priest, Deacon, and Subdeacon. [3] Any junior member, ordained or lay, of a collegiate establishment, particularly (from the 15th century) a professional singer. See also Lay Clerk. [ODC, FOL]

Collect: A liturgical prayer, typically made up of an invocation, petition, and brief doxology, which by the medieval period pertained to a proper day, feast, or season, with specific placement in the Mass and Office. [ODC]

Collegiate Church: An ecclesiastical institution organized by a set of statutes and under the governance of a “college” (community) of canons under the authority of a dean; distinguished from a cathedral by the absence of episcopal connection, from a monastic community by its constituency of secular clergy, and from a parish church as not being geographically bound and being a self-sustaining center of daily prayer. [ODC, FOL]

Coloration: A scribal technique and device used in late medieval (mensural) notation in which red ink was applied to certain notes, either to designate a rhythmic shift (such as triplets in the place of duplets) or, as in the Eton Choirbook, to signify execution by solo singers. [Apel, Willi, ed. The Harvard Dictionary of Music: Second Edition. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969.]

Commemoration: In the observance of the Sanctorale, one of the lowest-ranking feasts, such as for local or minor saints, a Memorial. When two feasts occurred on the same day, the lesser-ranking feast was displaced at the Office by the greater feast, but marked by an antiphon, versicle, and collect: this short rite was also specifically called a commemoration. [FOL]

Common: A proper text for use in the Office or Mass that serves for multiple occasions
or feasts, such as Martyrs, Apostles, or Marian feasts. [FOL]

**Conduct:** A lay singer or assistant clerk, typically in a parish church, whose duties included singing, teaching, playing the organ, and composing. [FOL]

**Confiteor:** (Latin, “I confess) The opening words, and thus title, of the form of confession used at the Offices such as Compline, as well as at the Mass. [ODC, FOL]

**Contratenor:** The term used for one of the five basic voice-part designations in pre-Reformation English polyphony. Although it is the etymological source for the modern English term Countertenor, during the sixteenth century Contratenor did not designate a distinctive male alto voice type; rather, it was used to designate a vocal line in polyphony (“Second Tenor”) having the same voice type as the Tenor. [VS]

**Convent:** A monastic house where a community of men or women live under the authority of a Rule; also used to describe the community itself. In English usage, the term most often refers to communities of women alone. [ODC] See also Abbey, Monastery.

**Cope:** A garment, first attested in liturgical use in the 6th century. It was an ornate, ceremonial cloak, open at the front (often clasped at the top), worn by the officiant at the Office. [ODC, FOL]

**Curate:** A priest (or deacon) in charge of a cure, i.e. the care of a parish and its members. [ODC]

**Customary:** A book that sets forth the ceremonial of an ecclesiastical institution, as well as the rules of discipline and duties of the various participants and members of the community. [ODC, FOL]

**D**

**Deacon:** One of the Major Holy Orders in the Church; has ecclesiastical authority to baptize, also important liturgical duties such as assisting at the altar at Mass. [FOL]

**Dean:** In a collegiate church or foundation, or a cathedral, the senior canon [3] with governing authority. [FOL]

**Decani:** In a divided Quire, the side to the (liturgical) South, where the Dean sits. [FOL]

**Diocese:** The basic geographic unit of church governance and organization. Each diocese comprises a number of parishes and is under the authority of a bishop, whose seat is at the diocesan cathedral. [ODC]

**Double (Duplex):** A classification of ecclesiastical feast; a major feast of particular importance or solemnity. See also Single. [FOL]

**Doxology:** (from Greek doxa, “glory” or “praise”) A song or expression of praise to God,
particularly the *Greater Doxology* (the *Gloria in excelsis*) sung at the *Mass* and the *Lesser Doxology* (the *Gloria Patri*) recited frequently in the *Office*. [ODC, ODM]

**Duty (Duty Side):** In a split-choir formation, the side of the choir (either *Cantoris* or *Decani*) responsible in a rotation (typically weekly, but occasionally daily) for the starting of chants (psalms, antiphons, prayers, versicles, etc.) in the *Office*. [FOL]

**E**

**East (Liturgical):** In church architecture, the side of the church building that contains the *quire*, *chancel*, and *high altar*. When standing in the *nave* or crossing facing the altar, one is said to be facing “liturgical east.” In the earliest Christian churches, the altars were constructed so that the clergy and congregation would be facing towards Jerusalem (hence, for churches in Greece and Italy, east). This is also the origin of the term *orientation* (Latin, *orientis*, “east”). [ODC]

**Easter:** The principal feast of the Christian year, celebrating the Resurrection of Jesus, and observed on a moveable date (always a Sunday) in the spring, between March 21 and April 25, depending on the lunar cycle. [ODC]

**Edward VI:** (1537-1553) King of England, r.1547-1553. Son of *Henry VIII* and Queen Jane Seymour; during his reign the first (1549) and second (1552) *Books of Common Prayer* were issued and promulgated, superseding and supplanting the medieval Latin *Rite* throughout the kingdom. [ODC]

**Elizabeth I:** (1533-1603). Queen of England, r.1558-1603. Daughter of *Henry VIII* and Queen Anne Boleyn; during her reign the third (1559) *Book of Common Prayer* was issued and promulgated, superseding and supplanting the medieval Latin *Rite* which had been restored under *Mary I* and definitively establishing Protestant (*Anglican*) worship in England. [ODC]

**Episcopal:** Of or pertaining to a *bishop*. [ODC]

**Epistle:** A scriptural reading from the New Testament, usually one of the letters of Paul (also including the non-Pauline letters, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Apocalypse). In the medieval *Mass*, the Epistle was intoned (chanted) by the *Subdeacon* from the *ambō* or atop the *pulpitum*. [FOL]

**Eton Choirbook:** A manuscript, compiled ca. 1490-1504, originally collected for and now housed at Eton College in southern England. It contains sacred polyphonic repertoire, most notably *votive antiphons* and *canticles*, and is one of the most important sources of music from the early Tudor period. [ODM]

**Faburden:** A method of sight-improvised three-voice polyphonic singing practiced in Britain from the period ca.1400-1550. An existing plainsong melody, sung in the middle voice, was decorated by a second voice singing a perfect fifth above, and a third voice (the faburden voice) singing in either thirds or perfect fifths below, creating chains of “6-3 chords” punctuated by open fifths at cadential points or the ends of words. *Faburden* is not to be confused with *fauxbourdon* or *falsobordone.* [Trowell, Brian. “Faburden.” Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press, accessed July 14, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/09199.]

**Feast:** A liturgical celebration or observance of a holy day, such as a Saint day or festival. [FOL]

**Feast of Three Lessons:** A designation of a feast of lesser solemnity marked by the reading of three scriptural lessons (one *Nocturn* at Matins. [FOL]

**Feast of Nine Lessons:** A designation of a feast of greater solemnity marked by the reading of nine scriptural lessons (three *Nocturns*) at Matins. [FOL]

**Feria:** In the Kalendar, a weekday without any associated feasts. [FOL]

**Geneva:** Geneva, Switzerland, was the center of operations for the Reformer John Calvin and his followers, who advocated a much more radical point of departure from existing Western Catholicism than did Martin Luther and his adherents. *Genevan* (adjective) refers to the theological and liturgical philosophies espoused by Calvin’s followers, particularly influential in the Church of England in the mid-sixteenth century. [ODC]

**Genuflect:** A liturgical act of brief kneeling (bending one knee) as a sign of reverence or humility, particularly in the presence of the Sacrament. [ODC, FOL]

**Gimel [also Gymel, Gimell]:** The marking of a (usually two-part) *divisi* within a single voice part of composed vocal music, temporarily creating an additional line of polyphony. Particularly used in the *Triplex*, or occasionally *Medius*, voices. [ODM]

**Gospel:** A scriptural reading from the New Testament; one of the four written accounts (attested to St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. John) of the life of Christ and (in excerpt) the principal scriptural text read at the Mass. [FOL]
H

Hebdomadarius: (Latin, “of the week”) A priest responsible, in weekly rotation, for liturgical duties at Mass and Office. [FOL]

Henry VII: (1457-1509). King of England, r.1485-1509. Established the Tudor dynasty in England; father of Henry VIII. During his reign the Eton Choirbook was first compiled. [OHB]

Henry VIII: (1491-1547). King of England, r.1509-1547. Son of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York; initiated an ecclesiastical and political break with the See of Rome in the 1530s that began the 130-year process of the English Reformation. Dissolved the monasteries in England but remained theologically and liturgically conservative, preferring the maintenance of the Latin Rite and authorizing only limited use of the vernacular in the English liturgy. [ODC]

High Altar: In churches or chapels with more than one altar, the most important and prominent altar, typically placed at the East end of the chancel. [FOL]

Holy Orders: The major ranks or grades of the ordained ministry in the Church; specifically bishop, priest, and deacon (and in the Middle Ages, subdeacon); distinct from the minor orders. [ODC]

Holy Week: The most solemn week of the Christian year; recounts the week leading up to the Crucifixion of Jesus. Ends with the Triduum. [FOL]

Hours (see Office)

Hymn: (Greek, hymnos, “song of praise”) A sacred song of praise; in the liturgy, a metrical text with multiple stanzas sung at the Offices. The final stanza is typically a doxology. [FOL, ODM]

I

In medio chori: (Latin, “in the midst/middle of the choir”) The location in the quire, between two sets of facing stalls, where the rector chori’s lectern stood. [FOL]

Incipit: An initial phrase or word of a text (from Latin, “beginning”); in chant books and other liturgical sources commonly used as a shorthand for texts or chants fully written out elsewhere in the source. In liturgical performance, repeated antiphons were often sung the first time as an incipit only, then sung complete the second time. [FOL]
K

**Kalendar**: A variant spelling of the word *calendar*, often used (as in this paper) to specifically designate the *sanctorale* and *temporale* cycles of liturgical feasts and observances. [ODC]

L

**Lady Mass**: A celebration of *Mass* (often daily) with propers and devotions focusing on the Blessed Virgin Mary. [FOL]

**Laity**: (Greek, *laos Theou*, “the people of God”) Those members of the Christian church who are not ordained (either in Major or Minor Orders). The term is often used in conjunction with a specific ecclesiastical office to designate that it is held by a layperson although intended for clergy. See *Lay Clerk; Lay Vicar*. [FOL, ODC]

**Lay (see Laity)**

**Lay Clerk**: Term applied to a trained, professional singer who, beginning in the late fifteenth century, fulfilled the duties in *choir* in place of the ordained clergy (who were often absent or not in residence). [FOL]

**Lay Vicar (see Lay Clerk)**

**Lectern**: A moveable desk or stand for supporting large liturgical books that are used in worship. [ODC]

**Lent**: A penitential season (marked by fasting, prayer, almsgiving, and *liturgical* alteration) of the Christian year lasting forty days, representing approximately 10% (a tithe) of the year and congruous with the forty days that Christ spent in the wilderness fasting and being tempted. Lent begins at *Ash Wednesday* and continues to *Maundy Thursday*. During Lent the utterance of the phrase *Alleluia* is suppressed. [FOL]

**Lesser Litany**: As part of the *preces* in the *Office*, the recitation of *Kyrie eleison* (“Lord, have mercy”). [FOL]

**Ligature**: In both plainchant and earlier mensural notation (through the 16th century), a combination of two or more notes into a single note glyph or sign, typically representative of melismatic textual underlay. [ODM]

**Little Hours**: The four daytime *Office* Hours of Prime, Terce, Sext, and Nones, so called because, unlike the other Hours, no *canticle* is recited. [FOL]

**Liturgy**: (Greek *leitourgia*, “a public work taken at private expense”) Term used [1] for the collective, prescribed, formalized worship events of the Church and their various constituent parts (as opposed to private devotions or prayers); [2] the Mass or Eucharist more specifically. [FOL, ODC]
**Long (Longa):** A note that is twice the note value of the breve or double whole-note (thus the equivalent of four semibreves). It is written as a (rectangular) breve with a stem attached. [ODM]

**Lord’s Prayer (Pater noster):** A prayer, found in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke as the prayer taught by Jesus to his disciples, beginning in Latin with the phrase Pater noster (“Our Father”), and a ubiquitous feature of Offices and the Mass. [FOL]

**M**

**Marian:** [1] Of or pertaining to the Blessed Virgin Mary, the mother of Jesus and dedicatee of many churches and cathedrals during the Middle Ages. [2] Of or pertaining to the reign of Mary I of England (1553-1558). [ODC]

**Marian Restoration/Marian Reaction:** During the reign of Mary I (1553-1558), a counter-reaction to the English Reformation and a return of English worship to the previous (pre-Tridentine) Roman Rite and so-called Sarum Use prevalent in England prior to the first Book of Common Prayer. [FOL]

**Mary I:** (1516-1558). Queen of England, r.1553-1558. Daughter of Henry VIII and Queen Katherine of Aragon; restored English worship to the Roman Rite and Latin liturgy after the reforms of her brother Edward VI. [ODC]

**Mass:** The principal act of liturgy in the Western Church; also called Eucharist or Holy Communion. The Mass commemorates and celebrates the actions and words of Jesus’ consecration of bread and wine at the Last Supper as a sacramental enactment of his crucifixion. [FOL]


**Maundy Thursday:** Feast day that commemorates the institution of the Eucharist; marks the end of Lent and the beginning of the Triduum. [FOL]

**Maxima:** Also called a double-long; a note that is twice the note value of the long (thus the equivalent of four breves). It is written as an elongated long. It began to fall out of use in the late 15th century, occurring in late 15th and early 16th century polyphonic sources only at cadential points. [ODM]

**Medius:** The term used for the second-highest voice part in the standard 5-voice layout of pre-Reformation English polyphony. Typically sung either by male altos or (occasionally) boys. Often translated into English (and used through the first half of the Seventeenth Century) as Mean or Meane. [VS]

**Memorial (see Commemoration)**
Misericord: (Latin misericordia, “mercy”). A feature of medieval choir-stall seats, which were hinged and could be folded up. On the bottom of the hinged seat was a small shelf, often with ornately carved supports. [ODC]

Monastery: A building or, more properly, campus of buildings that houses a monastic community of religious who live under a Rule. (See also Abbey, Convent) [ODC]

Monastic (see Cathedral)

Musica ficta: (Latin for “false” or “feigned” music). The practice of sharpening or flattening individual pitches in the performance of polyphonic music. These “accidentals” are not notated, but are the responsibility of the performer or conductor to identify through the conventions of performance practice. It often serves to accentuate cadential points or to avoid certain intervals such as the tritone; the extent of its application remains a controversial topic amongst scholars. [ODM]

N

Nave: In church architecture, the portion of a church to the west of the quire and chancel (and, in large churches and cathedrals, transepts). In the Middle Ages the nave was separated from the quire by a screen (see Pulpitum); the laity gathered in the nave for liturgical celebrations, and it was also the site for processions. [FOL]

North (liturgical): In church architecture, the side of the church building to the left when looking at the high altar. [ODC]

Nunc dimittis: One of the standard canticles recited (chanted) in the Daily Office; the canticle used at Compline throughout the year. Also known as the Song of Simeon, the text is from the Vulgate St. Luke 2:29-32. [ODC]

O

Octave: The celebration and observance of a major feast for the period of a week following the feast; also more specifically the eighth day after the feast (at the end of that week), celebrated as a feast itself. [FOL]

Office (Divine Office, Daily Office, Opus Dei): The daily cycle of communal prayers of the Church. During the early Middle Ages, the Office in the West [2] developed into two differing strains, the Monastic and Secular. Over the course of time and place the Office was subject to variation.

Matins. One of the principal Hours, typically observed at midnight or a little after; signalling the beginning of the new day. One of the longest and most liturgically complex of the Hours.

Lauds. The early-morning Hour, observed before dawn, around 3am.

Prime. The first of the little hours; celebrated at 6am (the “first” hour).

Terce. The second of the little hours; celebrated at 9am (the “third” hour).

Sext. The third of the little hours; celebrated at noon (the “sixth” hour).

Nones. The fourth of the little hours; celebrated at 3pm (the “ninth” hour).
**Vespers.** The evening Hour, depending on the time of year typically celebrated around 6pm. Along with Matins, also one of the longer and more complex hours.

**Compline.** The nighttime Hour, celebrated before retiring for bed (around 9pm when not appended to Vespers). [FOL, ODC]

**Orders (see Holy Orders)**

**Ordinary:** [1] Those elements of the Mass that are unchanging through the year. [2] A bishop. [FOL, ODC]

**P**

**Palm Sunday:** The Sunday one week prior to Easter; marks the beginning of Holy Week and the final days of Lent; commemorates the entry of Jesus into Jerusalem (as he was hailed by the people waving palm branches). [ODC]

**Parish:** The local church of a village, town, or neighborhood area of a city; also the geographical area served by that church. [ODC]

**Partbook:** A type of manuscript or printed musical collection, popular in the 16th century, in which an individual polyphonic voice part is contained in its own book or binding, apart from the other voice parts. A partbook of the 16th century typically contains multiple compositions. See also Choirbook. [Apel, Willi, ed. *The Harvard Dictionary of Music: Second Edition.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969.]

**Passion Sunday:** The Sunday one week prior to Palm Sunday, marks the final two weeks of Lent and the beginning of Passiontide. [ODC]

**Passiontide:** A “sub-season” of the church year occurring during the final two weeks of Lent (and thus also encompassing Holy Week). [ODC]

**Penitential Season:** Liturgical season of the year marked by increased focus on repentance and fasting; specifically, (1) Advent and (2) from Septuagesima to Easter. [FOL]

**Plainchant:** The extensive corpus of liturgical and ritual melodies, traditionally sung unaccompanied in free rhythm, used in the Church in the West [2] from the early Middle Ages on. Also called plainsong and Gregorian chant. [ODM]

**Prebend:** A parish church or estate that provides supporting income for a cathedral or collegiate Canon. [FOL]

**Precentor:** The chief cantor of a cathedral or collegiate church or other choral foundation; responsible for the training of the singers, the ordering of the chants, and the appointment of other cantors in rotation. [FOL]

**Preces:** (Latin, “prayers”) A set order of prayers occurring in the Offices of Prime and Compline. Include the Lesser Litany, Lord’s Prayer, and a series of Versicles and Responses. [FOL]
Presbytery (see Chancel)

Pricksong: A commonly used term in Tudor England to refer to composed polyphony (as the notes were “pricked out” in writing) in contrast to improvised music or plainchant. [ODM]

Priest: One of the Major Holy Orders in the Western Church; has ecclesiastical authority to celebrate the Mass, to perform the sacramental rites of Matrimony, Absolution, Unction, and Burial, as well as (along with deacons) baptism. [FOL, ODC]

Proper: [1] A liturgical text or group of texts that is specific to a season, feast, or day in the kalendar. [2] More generally, all of the elements of the Office or Mass that are not ferial (Office) or Ordinary (Mass). [FOL]

Province: A collection of dioceses under the authority of an archbishop or metropolitan. In medieval England (as still in the modern Church of England) there were two such Provinces, those of Canterbury and York. [ODC]

Psalm: A song of praise from the Hebrew scriptures (Old Testament), drawn from a collection of 150. The psalms were the earliest songs and hymns of the Christian Church, and daily recitation of them formed the foundation of the Offices in the early centuries of the Church. [FOL]


Pulpitum (Rood Screen; Choir Screen): In church architecture, a partition made of wood or stone that separated the nave from the quire and chancel. A common feature in medieval churches, particularly in England, both in large cathedrals as well as small parish churches. Some were substantial enough to serve as platforms from which the epistle (and Gospel) were read. Some large churches even had separate stone pulpita and wooden rood screens both, often the distance of one bay from each other. A few medieval pulpita remain in English churches (some of which now serve as organ lofts), many of which were transformed in the 19th century by creating windows in the formerly solid walls. [ODC, FOL]

Q

Quadragesima: (Latin, “fortieth”) The name for the Sunday (forty days before Easter) that marks the beginning of Lent; also the Latin name for the Lenten season. (Lent being an Anglo-Saxon word for springtime, related to the word “length” as the days grew longer.) [ODC, FOL]

Quire (see Choir [2])
Rector chori (Ruler): (Latin, “Ruler of the choir”) One of either two or four (depending on the day) clerks appointed in rotation to direct the singing of the chants in the liturgy on specified days and observances. The Rulers performed this task from a lectern situated in medio chori. [FOL]

Reformation (English Reformations): A period of religious upheavals and reactions against the Church of Rome, resulting in a number of Reformed Churches in Europe; initiated in 1517 by Martin Luther but comprising many countries, movements, leaders, ideas, and theologies. In England the Reformations grew out of a political crisis in the 1530s between Henry VIII and the Papacy before growing into a theological struggle as well. The official end-point of the English Reformations has been variously placed at 1559 (the Elizabethan Settlement and restoration of the Book of Common Prayer), 1660 (the restoration of the monarchy and Prayer Book under Charles II after the period of the Puritan Commonwealth), or even 1688 (the “Glorious Revolution” that removed James II from the throne and prohibited Roman Catholics from reigning as monarch). [ODC]

Religious: A member of a Congregation or Order who has taken vows. [FOL]

Respond (Responsory): A type of chant in the Office that directly follows a lesson or chapter [1]. [FOL]

Rite: [1] The order, script, and structure of a specific liturgical observance. [2] More generally, the entire liturgical organization, structure, and pattern followed in an ecclesiastical or geographical region (e.g. Roman Rite, Mozarabic Rite, Ambrosian Rite). See also Use. [FOL]

Roman: Pertaining to the Church of Rome (and, after the Reformation, the Western Catholic Church generally) and its customs, forms, rites, or authority. The medieval Carolingian Roman Rite was the standard rite [1] of the Western Church from the eighth or ninth century. [ODC, FOL]

Rubric: (Latin ruber, “red”) An instruction or explicatory note in a liturgical text, written in red ink to contrast with the primary text (in black). [FOL]

S

Sanctorale: In the kalendar, the sequence of fixed-date feasts such as Saints’ days, in contrast to the cycle of liturgical seasons. See also Temporale. [ODC, FOL]

Sanctuary: In church architecture, the area immediately surrounding the high altar where the Mass is celebrated. [FOL]

Sarum: A term first encountered in the Middle Ages – a scribal abbreviation (read incorrectly) for the Latin Sarisberie (Salisbury) that came to be adopted as a sort of shorthand for the city, its cathedral and its liturgical structures. The use of the
term gained much traction in the later 19\textsuperscript{th} century as a catch-all for those elements of the medieval liturgy in some manner or other distinctive to England. [FOL]

**Secret:** A prayer uttered during the liturgy in a low, soft, barely audible voice by the celebrant or the community; in the Office and Mass typical prayers recited in this way included the Lord’s Prayer, the Apostles’ Creed, and sometimes Ave Maria. [ODC]

**Secular:** In ecclesiastical terms, pertaining to churches or clergy not connected to a monastic rule or vows. [FOL]

**See:** (Latin sedes, “seat”) The official seat (throne) of a bishop, located in his cathedral; by association a reference to the town or city where that cathedral is located. (viz., Rome as the Holy See) [ODC]

**Septuagesima:** (Latin, “seventieth”) The Sunday seventy days before Easter and three weeks before the beginning of Lent, marking the beginning of a pre-Lenten penitential season also known by the name Septuagesima. [ODC]


**Single** (**Simplex**): A classification of ecclesiastical feast; a minor feast of lesser importance or solemnity than a double (**duplex**). [FOL]

**Solemn Bow:** A liturgical action or gesture marked by a bending at the waist until the upper half of the body is perpendicular to the legs, or nearly so; contrasted with a simple bow, which is of the head only. [FOL]

**Soundboard:** An element of pipe organ construction; a flat board that houses and arranges the organ pipes. [ODM]

**South** (**liturgical**): In church architecture, the side of the church building to the right when looking at the high altar. [ODC]

**Stall:** In church architecture, a seat in the quire, typically adjoined to others. Stalls in medieval churches faced each other in rows on opposite sides of the quire, running on an east-west axis. The most senior members sat on the upper, back row (**form**), and the most junior members on the front. [FOL]

Surplice: A loose, thin, white garment similar to a tunic, worn by clerics (and lay singers) over the cassock during the celebration of the Office. [ODC]

Temporale: In the kalendar, the sequence of liturgical seasons through the year (such as Advent, Lent, and Easter), excluding fixed-date Saints’ days and other extra-cyclical annual feasts. See also Sanctorale. [ODC, FOL] [FOL]

Tenor: The term used for one of the five basic voice-part designations in pre-Reformation English polyphony. From the Latin tenere (“hold”), the Tenor frequently carried the cantus firmus melody in the composition, and in the five-part texture was the second part up from the Bassus. [VS]

Thurible: A liturgical implement used for the ritual burning of incense; a censer. The thurible was carried and tended by the thurifer. [FOL]

Transept: In church architecture, a wing (either north or south) towards the east end of the church building, creating an overall cruciform shape to the building’s structure when viewed from above. [ODC]

Tridentine: Of or pertaining to the Council of Trent (1545-1563). [ODC]

Triduum: (Latin, “three days”) The three most solemn days of the Church year: Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday, commemorating the period of Jesus’ betrayal, trial, passion, and death; followed immediately by Easter. [FOL]

Triplex: Treble. The term used for the highest voice part in the standard 5-voice layout of pre-Reformation English polyphony. Typically sung by boys in the treble range, although in music for low (viz. male) voices, the top part is often also designated Triplex. [VS]

Tudor: Of or pertaining to the ruling dynasty of English monarchs from Henry VII to Elizabeth I (1485-1603); also used to refer to the art, music, architecture, literature, and other cultural phenomena of the period. The Tudors were a Welsh family who rose to prominence during the closing years of the Wars of the Roses. [OHB]

Use: A regional (provincial, diocesan) or monastic modification or variant of the standard overarching Rite followed in that region. A Use differs from its parent Rite only in detail and not in essential substance: the Use of Salisbury does not comprise a separate Rite from the Roman. See also Sarum. [FOL, ODC]
Versicle (and Response): A brief liturgical dialogue exchanged between a cantor or officiant and the choir or assembly. [FOL]

Vicar: (Latin vicarius, “substitute”) A clerk [1] in an ecclesiastical foundation who serves as a substitute for an absent or otherwise occupied canon in the conduct of the daily liturgies. Often but not always came to be a lay vicar who was a professional singer. See also Vicar Choral. [ODC, FOL]

Vicar Choral (Minor Canon): A junior cleric in an ecclesiastical foundation (such as a collegiate church) who is responsible for singing the daily round of services in place of the senior canons. See also Canon; Vicar. [FOL]

Vigil: [1] Often Vigils, another name for the Office of Matins, particularly in its earlier forms. [2] [FOL]

Votive Antiphon: An antiphon that is not connected to a psalm or canticle, but instead a self-standing liturgical text. Votive antiphons were often composed and sung in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary, of the Trinity, or of a Saint, and comprised an important short service following the Offices of Vespers and Compline. [FOL]

Vulgate: The standard Latin-language translation of the Bible made by St. Jerome around the year 400; used in the Roman Rite throughout the Middle Ages and given official liturgical status by the Council of Trent in the mid-16th century. [ODC]

West [1] (liturgical): In church architecture, the side of the church building opposite the high altar; the nave is to the west of the quire and chancel. [2] Term used collectively and generally to refer to the area of Catholic Christendom primarily subscribing to the Roman Rite, under the ecclesiastical authority of the Pope (Bishop of Rome), and corresponding to the inheritance of the Western Roman Empire after its division from the East in 285. [ODC]

Without Note: A portion of the Office or Mass that is spoken rather than intoned or chanted. [FOL]
Appendix II. Texts and Translations

LENTEN COMPLINE I: QUADRAGESIMA TO THE THIRD SUNDAY OF LENT

I. OPENING VERSICLES

℣. Converte nos Deus salutaris noster.  Turn thou to us, O God our Saviour.
℟. Et averte iram tuam a nobis.  And let thine anger cease from us.
℟. Deus in adjutorium meum intende.  O God, make speed to save me.
℟. Domine ad adjuvandum me festina.  O Lord, make haste to help me.

Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto:
Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper et in secula seculorum. Amen.

II. PSALM ANTIPHON

Signatum est super nos lumen vultus tui Domine Deus:
dedisti leticiam in corde meo.
Lift thou up, O Lord, the light of thy countenance upon us:
Thou, O Lord, hast put gladness in my heart.

III. PSALMODY

Psalm iv

1. Cum invocarem exaudivit me Deus justicie mee:  Hear me when I call, O God of my righteousness:
in tribulatione dilastisti michi.  thou hast set me at liberty when I was in trouble.

2. Miserere mei:  Have mercy upon me:
et exaudi orationem meam.  hearken unto me and hear my prayer.

3. Filii hominum usquequo gravi corde:  O ye sons of men, how long will ye blaspheme:
ut quid diligitis vanitatem, et queritis mendacium?  and have such pleasure in vanity, and seek after lying?

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919 Texts collated from AS, BS, and HS, and compared against the versions published by William Renwick, ed., in The Sarum Rite (http://hmcwordpress.mcmaster.ca/renwick/). Spellings and punctuations are modernized. English translations of liturgical elements, in order to preserve the ritualistic and solemn nature of the Latin text, are drawn on those by Thomas Cranmer as codified in the 1549 and 1662 Book of Common Prayer. Similarly, the English text of the Psalms is based upon the translation by Myles Coverdale as printed in the 1662 Book of Common Prayer, and other scriptural texts in English are taken from Coverdale’s Great Bible of 1539. Translations of other texts not found in these sources are my own, again informed by the style and cadence of Cranmer’s liturgical idiom. Translations are not intended to be strict word-for-word literal renderings of the Latin text, but a compromise between word equivalency and phrase equivalency.

920 Non-bracketed Psalm numbering reflects that of the Septuagint and (thus) Latin Vulgate; numbers in square brackets reflect that of the Hebrew Bible and the Book of Common Prayer. Likewise, some versification differs between the Vulgate and Coverdale versions. English verse numbers are not included in the translations here, and occasionally the division of Coverdale’s half verse and verse divisions has been modified to match that of the Latin.
4. Et scitote quoniam mirificavit Dominus sanctum suum: Know this also, that the Lord hath chosen to himself
Dominus exaudiet cum clamavero ad eum. the man that is godly:
when I call upon the Lord, he will hear me.

5. Irascimini et nolite peccare que dictis in cordibus vestris: Stand in awe, and sin not, commune with
et in cubilibus vestris compungimini. your own heart:
and in your chamber, and be still.

6. Sacrificate sacrificium justicie et sperate: Offer the sacrifice of righteousness and put your trust
in Domino: in the Lord:
multi dicunt, Quis ostendit nobis bona? There be many that say, who will shew us any good?

7. Signatum est super nos lumen vultus tui Domine: Lord, lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon us:
dedisti leticiam in corde meo. Thou hast put gladness in my heart.

8. A fructu frumenti vini et olei sui: Since the time that their corn, wine and oil
multiplicati sunt: increased.

9. In pace in idipsum: I will lay me down in peace:
dormiam et requiescam. and take my rest.

10. Quoniam tu Domine singulariter in spe: For it is thou, Lord, only:
constituisti me. that makest me dwell in safety.

Gloria Patri et Filio… Glory be to the Father, and to the Son…

Psalm xxx [xxxi]
1. In te Domine speravi non confundar In thee, O Lord, have I put my trust, let me never be
in eternum: put to confusion:
in justicia tua libera me. deliver me in thy righteousness.

2. Inclina ad me aurem tuam: Bow down thine ear to me:
accelera ut eruas me. make haste to deliver me.

3. Esto michi in Deum protectorem: And be thou my strong rock:
et in domum refugii, ut salvum me facias. and house of defence: that thou mayest save me.

4. Quoniam fortitudo mea et refugium meum es tu: For thou art my strong rock, and my castle:
et propter nomen tuum deduces me et enutries me. be thou my guide and lead me for thy Name’s sake.

5. Educes me de laqueo quem absconderunt michi: Draw me out of the net that they have laid for me:
quoniam tu es protector meas. for thou art my strength.

6. In manus tuas commendando spiritum meum: Into thy hands I commend my spirit:
redemisti me Domine Deus veritatis. for thou hast redeemed me O Lord, thou God of truth.

Gloria Patri et Filio… Glory be to the Father, and to the Son…

Psalm xc [xcii]
1. Qui habitat in adjutorio Altissimi: Whoso dwelleth under the defence of the most High:
in protectione Dei celi commorabitur. shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty.

2. Dicet Domino Susceptor meas es tu, I will say unto the Lord, Thou art my hope, and my
et refugium meum Deus meas: strong hold, my God:
sperabo in eum. in him will I trust.
3. Quoniam ipse liberavit me de laqueo venantium: et a verbo aspero.
For he shall deliver thee from the snare of the hunter: and from the noisome pestilence.
He shall defend thee under his wings: and thou shalt be safe under his feathers.
5. Scuto circundabit te veritas ejus: non timebis a timore nocturno.
His truth shall be thy shield and buckler: thou shalt not be afraid for any terror by night.
6. A sagitta volante in die, a negocio perambulante in tenebris: ab incursu et demonio meridiano.
Nor of the arrow that flieth by day, for the pestilence that walketh in darkness: nor for the sickness that destroyeth in the noon-day.
7. Cadent a latere tuo mille, et decem milia a dextris tuis: at te autem non appropinquabit.
A thousand shall fall beside thee, and ten thousand at thy right hand: but it shall not come nigh thee.
Yea, with thine eyes shalt thou behold: and see the reward of the ungodly.
For thou, Lord, art my hope: thou hast set thine house of defence very high.
10. Non accedet ad te malum: et flagellum non appropinquabit tabernaculo tuo.
There shall no evil happen unto thee: neither shall any plague come nigh thy dwelling.
11. Quoniam angelis suis mandavit de te: ut custodiant te in omnibus viis tuis.
For he shall give his angels charge over thee: to keep thee in all thy ways.
12. In manibus portabunt te: ne forte offendas ad lapidem pedem tuum.
They shall bear thee in their hands: that thou hurt not thy foot against a stone.
Thou shalt go upon the lion and adder: the lion and the dragon shalt thou tread under thy feet.
14. Quoniam in me speravit liberabo eum: protegam eum quoniam cognovit nomen meum.
Because he hath set his love upon me I will deliver him. I will set him up, because he hath known my Name.
15. Clamavit ad me et ego exaudiam eum: cum ipso sum in tribulatione, eripam eum et glorificabo eum.
He shall call upon me, and I will hear him: yea, I am with him in trouble; I will deliver him, and bring him to honour.
16. Longitudine dierum replebo eum: et ostendam illi salutare meum.
With long life will I satisfy him: and shew him my salvation.

Gloria Patri et Filio…

Psalm cxxxiii [cxxxiv]
1. Ecce nunc benedicite Dominum: omnes servi Domini.
Behold now, praise the Lord: all ye servants of the Lord;
2. Qui statis in domo Domini: in atriis domus Dei nostri.
Ye that by night stand in the house of the Lord: even in the courts of the house of our God.
3. In noctibus extollite manus vestras in sancta: et benedicite Dominum.
Lift up your hands in the sanctuary: and praise the Lord.
4. Benedicat te Dominus ex Syon:  
qui fecit celum et terram.  

Gloria Patri et Filio…  

IV. CHAPTER

Jeremiah xiv.9  
Tu in nobis es Domine et nomen sanctum  
tuum invocatum est super nos:  
ne derelinquas nos Domine Deus noster:  
R. Deo gratias.

V. RESPOND

V. In pace in idipsum:  
R. Dormiam et requiescam.
V. Si dedero somnum oculis meis:  
et palpebris meis dormitionem.  
R. Dormiam et requiescam.
V. Gloria Patri et Filio:  
et Spiritui Sancto.  
R. In pace in idipsum:  
dormiam et requiescam.

VI. HYMN

Christe qui lux es et dies,  
Noctis tenebras detegis:  
Lucisque lumen crederis,  
Lumen beatum predicans.

Precamur sancte Domine,  
Defende nos in hac nocte:  
Sit nobis in te requies,  
Quietam noctem tribue.

Ne gravis somnum irruat,  
Nec hostis nos surripiat:  
Nec caro illi consentiens,  
Nos tibi reos statuat.

Oculi somnum capiant,  
Cor ad te semper vigile:  
Dextera tua protegat,  
Famulos qui te diligunt.

Defensor noster aspice,  
Insidiantes reprime:  
Gubernas tuos famulos,

O Christ who art the light and day,\textsuperscript{921}  
Thou drivest darksome night away!  
We know thee as the Light of light  
Illuminating mortal sight.

All holy Lord, we pray to thee,  
Keep us tonight from danger free:  
Grant us, dear Lord, in thee to rest,  
So be our sleep in quiet blessed.

Let not dull sleep the soul oppress,  
Nor wily foe the heart possess:  
Nor devil’s crafts the body lure,  
Keep us before thee always pure.

And while the eyes our slumber take,  
Still be the heart to thee awake:  
By thy right hand upheld above  
Thy servants cradled in thy love.

Yea, our Defender, be thou nigh,  
To bid all powers of darkness fly:  
Keep us from sin, and guide for good,

\textsuperscript{921} The text of the metrical translation given here is based upon that by William John Copeland of the mid-19\textsuperscript{th} century, slightly altered by the present author.
Quos sanguine mercatus es. This household purchased by thy blood.

Memento nostri Domine, Remember us, dear Lord, we pray,
In gravi isto corpore: While in this mortal flesh we stay:
Qui es defensor anime, O thou who dost the soul defend,
Adesto nobis Domine. Be present with us to the end.

Deo Patri sit gloria, To God the Father glory be,
Ejusque soli Filio: All praise, eternal Son, to thee:
Cum Spiritu Paracleti, And thou, most Holy Paraclete,
Et nunc et in perpetuum. Amen. All laud to thee, as is most meet. Amen.

VII. VERSICLE

℣. Custodi nos Domine: Keep thou us, O Lord:
℟. Ut pupillam oculi sub umbra alarum tuarum As the apple of an eye. Guard thou us under the
protege nos. shadow of thy wings.

VIII. GOSPEL ANTIPHON

Cum videris nudum operi eum: When thou seest the naked, cover thou him:
Et carnem tuam ne despexeris: And from thine own flesh hide not thyself:
Tunc erumpet quasi mane lumen tuum: Then as the dawn shall thy light shine forth:
Et gloria Domini colliget te. And the glory of the Lord shall gather thee.

IX. NUNC DIMITTIS

St. Luke 2:29-32

St. Luke 2:29-32

Nunc dimittis servum tuum Domine: Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace:
secundum verbum tuum in pace. according to thy word.

Quia viderunt oculi mei: For mine eyes have seen:
salutare tuum. thy salvation.

Quod parasti: Which thou hast prepared:
ante faciem omnium populorum. before the face of all thy people.

Lumen ad revelationem gentium: To be a light for to lighten the Gentiles:
et gloriam plebis tue Israel. and to be the glory of thy people Israel.

Gloria Patri et Filio: Glory be to the Father, and to the Son:
et Spiritui Sancto. and to the Holy Ghost.

Sicut erat in principio et semper: As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be:

X. FIRST PRECES

Kyrie eleison. (x 3) Lord, have mercy upon us.
Christe eleison. (x 3) Christ, have mercy upon us.
Kyrie eleison. (x 3) Lord, have mercy upon us.

Pater noster, qui es in celis, Our Father, which art in heaven,
Sanctificetur nomen tuum.  
Hallowed be thy name.  
Adveniat regnum tuum.  
Thy kingdom come.  
Fiat voluntas tua sicut in celo et in terra.  
Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven.  
Panem nostrum quotidiam da nobis hodie,  
Give us this day our daily bread.  
Et dimitte nobis debita nostra  
And forgive us our trespasses,  
Sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris.  
As we forgive them that trespass against us.  
Ave Maria gratia plena: Dominus vobiscum.  
Hail Mary, full of grace: the Lord is with thee.  
Benedicta tu in mulieribus,  
Blessèd art thou amongst women,  
Et benedictus fructus ventris tui, Jesu.  
And blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesu.  
Et ne nos inducas in tentationem:  
And lead us not into temptation.  
Sed libera nos a malo.  
But deliver us from evil.  
In pace in idipsum:  
I will lay me down in peace:  
Et dimitte nobis debita nostra  
And forgive us our trespasses,  
As we forgive them that trespass against us.  
Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem,  
I believe in God the Father almighty,  
creatorum celi et terre.  
maker of heaven and earth.  
Et in Jesum Christum filium ejus unicum,  
And in Jesus Christ his only son,  
Dominum nostrum  
Our Lord,  
Qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto,  
Which was conceived by the Holy Ghost,  
natus ex Maria Virgine,  
born of the Virgin Mary,  
passus sub Pontio Pilato,  
suffered under Pontius Pilate,  
crucifixus, mortuus, et sepultus.  
was crucified, dead, and buried.  
Descendit ad infernos.  
He descended into hell.  
Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis.  
The third day he rose again from the dead.  
Ascendit ad celos.  
He ascended into heaven.  
Sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis.  
And sitteth on the right hand of God the father almighty.  
Inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos.  
From thence shall he come to judge the quick and the dead.  
Credo in Spiritum Sanctum,  
I believe in the Holy Ghost,  
sanctam Ecclesiam catholicam,  
the holy catholic Church,  
sanctorem communionem,  
the communion of saints,  
remissionem peccatorum,  
the forgiveness of sins,  
Carnis resurrectionem,  
The resurrection of the body,  
Et vitam eternam. Amen.  
The life everlasting. Amen.

Benedicamus Patrem et Filium  
Let us bless the Father, the Son,  
cum Sancto Spiritu:  
and the Holy Ghost:  
Laudemus et superexaltemus eum in secula.  
We shall praise him and highly exalt him for ever.  
Benedictus es Domine in firmamento celi:  
Blessed be the Lord in the firmament of heaven:  
Et laudabilis et gloriosus et superexaltatus in secula.  
And praiseworthy, glorious and highly exalted for ever.  
Benedicat et custodiat nos omnipotens et misericors Dominus:  
Bless thou us and watch thou over us, O almighty and merciful Lord.  
Amen.

XI. CONFITEOR

Officiant:
Confiteor Deo: beate Marie, omnibus sanctis, et vobis peccavi nimi:
I confess unto God: Blessed Mary, all the saints, and unto you, I have sinned greatly:
Cogitatione, locutione, et opere, mea culpa.
In thought, speech, and deed, through my own fault.
Precor sanctam Mariam, omnes sanctos Dei,
et vos, orare pro me.

Choir:
Misereatur tui omnipotens Deus et dimittas tibi omnia peccata tua:
Liberes te ab omni male:
Conserves et confirmes in bono et ad vitam perducas eternam.

Officiant:
Amen.

Choir:
Confiteor Deo: beate Marie, omnibus sanctis,
et vobis peccavi nimis:
Cogitatione, locutione, et opere, mea culpa.
Precor sanctam Mariam, omnes sanctos Dei,
et vos, orare pro me.

Officiant:
Misereatur vestri omnipotens Deus et dimittas vobis omnia peccata vestra:
Liberet vos ab omni male:
Conservet et confirmet in bono et ad vitam perducat eternam.

Choir:
Amen.

XII. SECOND PRECES

V. Deus tu conversus vivificabis nos.
R. Et plebs tua letabitur in te.
V. Ostende nobis Domine misericordiam tuam.
R. Et salutare tuum da nobis.
V. Dignare Domine nocte ista.
R. Sine peccato nos custodire.
V. Miserere nostri Domine.
R. Miserere nostri.
V. Fiat misericordia tua Domine super nos.
R. Quemadmodum speravimus in te.

On Saturdays, Sundays, and Feasts:
V. Domine Deus virtutum converte nos.
R. Et ostende faciem tuam et salvierrimus.
V. Domine exaudi orationem meam.
R. Et clamor meus ad te veniat.
V. Dominus vobiscum.
R. Et cum spiritu tuo.
V. Oremus.
[continue to XIII. Collect, below]

On Weekdays not Feasts:
V. Exaudi Domine vocem meam qua clamavi ad te.
R. Miserere mi et exaudi me.

V. Deus tu conversus vivificabis nos.
R. Et plebs tua letabitur in te.
V. Ostende nobis Domine misericordiam tuam.
R. Et salutare tuum da nobis.
V. Dignare Domine nocte ista.
R. Sine peccato nos custodire.
V. Miserere nostri Domine.
R. Miserere nostri.
V. Fiat misericordia tua Domine super nos.
R. Quemadmodum speravimus in te.

On Saturdays, Sundays, and Feasts:
V. Domine Deus virtutum converte nos.
R. Et ostende faciem tuam et salvierrimus.
V. Domine exaudi orationem meam.
R. Et clamor meus ad te veniat.
V. Dominus vobiscum.
R. Et cum spiritu tuo.
V. Oremus.
[continue to XIII. Collect, below]

On Weekdays not Feasts:
V. Exaudi Domine vocem mea qua clamavi ad te.
R. Miserere mi et exaudi me.
Psalm 1 [li]

Miserere mei Deus: Have mercy upon me, O God: 
secundum magnum misericordiam tuam. after thy great goodness.

Et secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum: 
dele iniquitatem meam. According to the multitude of thy mercies: 
do away mine offences.

Amplius lava me ab iniquitate mea: Wash me throughly from my wickedness: 
et a peccato meo munda me. and cleanse me from my sin.

Quoniam iniquitatem meam ego cognosco: 
fuerunt me contra me semper. For I acknowledge my faults: 
et peccatum meum contra me est semper. and my sin is ever before me.

Tibi soli peccavi et malum coram te feci: Against thee only have I done evil in thy sight. 
Ut justificeris in sermonibus tuis et vincas 
cum judicaris. that thou mightest be justified in thy saying, and clear 
when thou art judged.

Ecce enim iniquitatibus conceptus sum: 
Behold, I was shapen in wickedness: 
et in peccatis concepit me mater mea. and in sin hath my mother conceived me.

Ecce enim veritatem dilixisti: 
But lo, thou requirest truth in the inward parts:
incerta et occulta sapientie tue manifestasti michi. and shalt make me to understand wisdom secretly.

Asperges me ysope et mundabor: 
Thou shalt purge me with hyssop, and I shall be clean: 
lavabis me et super nivem dealbabor. thou shalt wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow.

Auditui meo dabis gaudium et leticiam: 
Thou shalt make me hear of joy and gladness: 
et exultabunt ossa humilitata. that the bones which thou hast broken may rejoice.

Averte faciem tuam a peccatis meis: 
Turn thy face from my sins: 
et omnes iniquitates meas dele. and put out all my misdeeds.

Cor mundum crea in me Deus: 
Make me a clean heart, O God: 
et spiritum rectum innova in viscetibus meis. and renew a right spirit within me.

Ne projicias me a facie tua: 
Cast me not away from thy presence: 
et spiritum sanctum tuum ne auferas a me. and take not thy holy Spirit from me.

Redde michi letitiam salutaris tui: 
O give me the comfort of thy health again: 
et spiritu principali confirma me. and stablish me with thy free Spirit.

Docebo iniquos vias tuas: 
Then shall I teach thy ways unto the wicked: 
et impii ad te convertentur. and sinners shall be converted unto thee.

Libera me de sanguinibus 
Deliver me from blood-guiltiness, O God, thou that art 
Deus Deus salutis mee: the God of my health: 
et exultabit lingua mea justiciam tuam. and my tongue shall sing of thy righteousness.

Domine labia mea aperies: 
Thou shalt open my lips, O Lord: 
et os meum annunciabit laudem tuam. and my mouth shall shew thy praise.

Quoniam si voluisse sacrificial dedissem: 
For thou desirest no sacrifice, else would I give it thee: 
uteque olocaustis non delectabis. but thou delightest not in burnt-offerings.

Sacrificium Deo spiritus contribulatus: 
The sacrifice of God is a troubled spirit: 
cor contritum et humiliatum Deus non despicex.
Benigne fac Domine in bona voluntate tua Sion: O be favourable and gracious unto Sion: ut edificantur muri Jerusalem. build thou the walls of Jerusalem.

Tunc acceptabis sacrificium justitie oblationes et olocausta: Then shalt thou be pleased with the sacrifice of tune imponent super altae vitulos. then shall they offer young bullocks upon thine altar.

Glory be to the Father...

Arise, O Lord, and help us.
And deliver us, according to thy Name.
O Lord God in thy goodness, turn thou us again.
And shew us the light of thy countenance, and we shall be saved.
Hear my prayer, O Lord:
And let my crying come unto thee.
The Lord be with you.
And with thy spirit.
Let us pray.

XIII. COLLECT

Illumina quesimus Domine Deus Lighten, we beseech thee, O Lord tenebras nostras: our darkness: Et totius noctis insidias, And by thy great mercy defend us from all perils and tu a nobis repelle propicius. dangers of this night.

Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Through Jesus Christ, Our Lord, Filium tuum, Thy Son, Qui tecum vivit et regnat in unite Holy Ghost one God, Spiritus Sancti Deus, World without end, Per omnia secula seculum. Amen.

The Lord be with you.
And with thy spirit.
Let us bless the Lord.
Thanks be to God.

VIII. GOSPEL ANTIPHON

On Weekdays not Feasts, the Antiphon is sung as follows:

In the midst of life, we are in death
Of whom may we seek for succour, but from thee, O Lord
Who for our sins art justly displeased.
O Holy God:
O Holy and mighty One:
O Holy and merciful Saviour:
Amare morti ne tradas nos. Deliver us not unto bitter death.

On Saturdays, Sundays, and Feasts of Nine Lessons, the Antiphon continues thus, after the Canticle:

\[ \text{V.} \quad \text{Ne projicias nos in tempore senectuis}
\quad \text{cum defecerit virtus nostra,}
\quad \text{ne derelinquas nos Domine.}
\]
Sancte Deus:
Sancte fortis:
Sancte et misericors Salvator:
Amare morti ne tradas nos.

\[ \text{V.} \quad \text{Cast us not away in the time of our aging,}
\quad \text{when our strength faileth us;}
\quad \text{forsake us not, O Lord.}
\]
O Holy God:
O Holy and mighty One:
O Holy and merciful Saviour:
Deliver us not unto bitter death.

\[ \text{V.} \quad \text{Ne projicias nos in tempore senectuis}
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\quad \text{forsake us not, O Lord.}
\]
O Holy God:
O Holy and mighty One:
O Holy and merciful Saviour:
Deliver us not unto bitter death.

\[ \text{V.} \quad \text{Noli claudere aures tuas ad preces nostras.}
\]
Sancte fortis:
Sancte et misericors Salvator:
Amare morti ne tradas nos.

\[ \text{V.} \quad \text{Close not thine ears unto our prayers.}
\]
O Holy and mighty One:
O Holy and merciful Saviour:
Deliver us not unto bitter death.

\[ \text{V.} \quad \text{Qui cognoscis occulta cordis:}
\quad \text{parce peccatis nostris}
\quad \text{Sancte et misericors Salvator:}
\quad \text{Amare morti ne tradas nos.}
\]

\[ \text{V.} \quad \text{Thou that knowest the secrets of our hearts:}
\quad \text{spare us from our sin.}
\]
O Holy and merciful Saviour:
Deliver us not unto bitter death.

IX. THROUGH XIII.
Same as above.

**LENTEN COMPLINE III: PASSION SUNDAY (THE FIFTH SUNDAY OF LENT) THROUGH HOLY WEDNESDAY**

I.
Same as above.

II. **PSALM ANTIPHON**

Miserere michi Domine: Have mercy upon me, O Lord:
et exaudi orationem meam. and hearken unto my prayers.

III. AND IV.
Same as above.

V. **RESPOND**

\[ \text{V.} \quad \text{In manus tuas}
\]
\[ \text{R.} \quad \text{Domine. Commendo spiritum meum.}
\]
\[ \text{V.} \quad \text{Redemisti me Domine Deus veritatis.}
\]
\[ \text{R.} \quad \text{Commendo spiritum meum.}
\]
\[ \text{V.} \quad \text{In manus tuas}
\]
\[ \text{R.} \quad \text{Domine. Commendo spiritum meum.}
\]
\[ \text{V.} \quad \text{Into thy hands}
\]
\[ \text{R.} \quad \text{O Lord. I commend my spirit.}
\]
\[ \text{V.} \quad \text{For thou hast redeemed me O Lord thou God of truth.}
\]
\[ \text{R.} \quad \text{I commend my spirit.}
\]
\[ \text{V.} \quad \text{Into thy hands}
\]
\[ \text{R.} \quad \text{O Lord. I commend my spirit.} \]
VI. HYMN

Cultor Dei memento, O thou that worship God remember,\textsuperscript{922}
Te fontis et lavachri: The water and the font:
Rorem subisse sanctum, Recall that holy Sacrament,
Te chrismate innovatum. Renewing thee within.

Fac cum vocante somno, When with sweet slumber thou art callèd,
Castum petus cubile: Reclining on thy bed:
Frontem locumque cordis, Trace thou the Cross of our Saviour,
Crucis figura signet. On thy heart and forehead.

Crux pellit omne crimen, The blessèd Cross drives out all malice,
Fugiant crucem tenebre: Before it, shadows flee:
Tali dicitasigno, By such a mighty sign of grace,
Mens fluctuare nescit. The spirit wavers not.

Procul o procul vagantum, Begone, begone, O nighttime terrors,
Portenta somniorum: Dev'lish troubled dreaming:
Procul esto pervicaci, Begone, O cunning Lord of Lies,
Prestigiator astu. And thy stubborn scheming.

O tortuose serpens, O twisting serpent, flee from this place,
Qui mille per meandros: Thou thousand-twisting form:
Fraudesque flexuosas, By countless lies and trickeries
Agitas quieta corda. The quiet heart wilt harm.

Discede Cristus hic est, Depart: Christ now with us is present,
Christus hic est liqueuces: Christ is here, O melt thou:
Signum quod ipse nostri, This sign of grace that is our own,
Damnat tuam catervam. Condemns thine armies now.

Corpus licet fatiscens, The body, weary, lies in slumber,
Jaceat reclive paululum: Reclining in its rest:
Christum tamen sub ipso, Christ himself was three days sleeping,
Meditabitur sopore. Pray on this in thy breast.

Gloria eterno Patri, Glory to the eternal Father,
Et Christo vero Regi: And Christ our true Lord King:
Paracliito que Sancto, To Holy Paraclete, the Spirit,

VII. Same as above.

VIII. GOSPEL ANTIPHON

\textit{On Weekdays not Feasts, the Antiphon is sung as follows:}

O Rex gloriose inter sanctos tuos,
Qui semper es laudabilis et tamen ineffabilis.
Tu in nobis Domine:
Et nomen sanctum tuum invocatum est super nos

\textit{O King, all glorious among thy saints,}
\textit{Who ever shalt be praised, yet exceedest all praising:}
\textit{Thou, O Lord, art in the midst of us:}
\textit{And we are called by thy holy Name}

\textsuperscript{922} Translation inspired by that of William J. Blew first appearing in \textit{The Church Hymn and Tune Book}, 1852.
ne derelinquas nos, Deus noster:  
Ut in die judicii nos collo care digneris.  
Inter sanctos et electos tuos.  
Rex benedicte.

leave us not, O thou our God:  
That in the day of judgment it please thee to place us  
Amidst thy saints and thine elect.  
O blessed King.

**On Saturdays, Sundays, and Feasts of Nine Lessons, the Antiphon continues thus, after the Canticle:**

**V.** Rex benedicte tuos per prospera dirigere servos.  
Inter sanctos et electos tuos.  
Rex benedicte.

**O blessed King, prosper the way of thy servants.**  
**Amidst thy saints and thine elect.**  
**O blessed King.**

**V.** Ut tergant miseris pia per jejunia culpas.  
Rex benedicte.

**That by mercy we may reverse our grievous trespasses.**  
**O blessed King.**

**V.** Atque colant pure sollennia  
mystica pasche.  
Inter sanctos et electos tuos.  
Rex benedicte.

**And so with pure consciences we may keep the Holy**  
**Paschal feast.**  
**Amidst thy saints and thine elect.**  
**O blessed King.**

**IX. THROUGH XIII.**  
*Same as above.*

**THE VOTIVE ANTIPHON SERVICE**

**I. ANTIPHON**

Salve Regina, mater misericordie:  
vita dulcedo et spes nostra, salve.  
Ad te clamamus, exsules filii Eve.  
Ad te suspiramus gementes et flentes  
in hac lacrimarum valle.  
Eia ergo, advocata nostra, illos tuos  
mericordes oculos ad nos converte.  
Et Jesum benedictum fructum ventris tui,  
nobis post hoc exsilium ostende.

**Hail Queen, mother of mercy:**  
**our life, our sweetness, our hope, all hail.**  
**Unto thee do we cry, the banished children of Eve.**  
**Unto thee do we sigh, weeping and wailing**  
in **this vale of lamentation.**  
**Come, therefore, O our patroness. Cast upon us**  
those pitiful eyes of thine.  
**And after this our banishment, shew unto us the**  
blessed fruit of thy womb Jesu.

**V.** Virgo mater ecclesie  
Eterna porta glorie,  
Esto nobis refugium  
Apud Patrem et Filium.

**Virgin mother of the congregation**  
**Gate of glory that never is down**  
**Be for us a reconciliation**  
**Unto the Father and the Son.**

**O Clemens.**

**V.** Virgo clemens, virgo pia,  
Virgo dulcis, O Maria,  
Exaudi preces omnium  
Ad te pie clamantium.

**O merciful.**  
**Virgin merciful, Virgin holy,**  
**O sweet Virgin, O blessed Mary,**  
**Hear their prayers graciously**  
**Which cry and call unto thee.**

**O Pia.**  
**O holy.**

---

Pray for us unto thy son, 
Wounded and crucified for us all 
And sore tormented with flagellation 
Crowned with thorns, and fed with gall.

O meek.

O glorious mother of God on high, 
Whose son is the Father eternal, 
Pray for us all incessantly 
That worship thy blessed memorial.

O beautiful.

From the wretched their faults expel, 
Wipe the spots of sins unclean, 
Give us the life that ever doth excel 
Through thy prayer and special means.

[O merciful, O holy,] O sweet Mary [hail].

II. VERSICLE AND RESPONSE

Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee. 
Blessed art thou among women.

I. Ave Maria gratia plena, Dominus tecum. 
Benedicta tu in mulieribus.

O. Domine, vobiscum. 
R. Et cum spiritu tuo. 
O. Oremus.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui gloriose Virginis et Matris Marie corpus et animam, 
Ut dignum Filii tuorum habitaculum efficeretur, 
Spiritu Sanctorum coeperante, 
mirabiliter preparasti: 
Da, ut cujus commoratione letamur, 
ejus pia intercessione, ab instantibus malis, 
a subitanea morte et improvisa liberemur.

By the same our Lord 
Jesus Christ, thy Son: 
Who liveth and reigneth with thee 
in the unity of the Holy Ghost 
One God, world without end.

Per eundem Dominum nostrum 
Jesum Christum Filium tuum: 
Qui tecum vivam et regnat, 
in unitate Spiritus Sancti Deus 
Per omnia secula seculorum. 
Amen.

Text in square brackets, with slight variation, as set polyphonically by John Browne, Philip Alcock, and others (see Performance Edition, No. 5).
Appendix III. The Tudor Polyphony of Lenten Compline

A. COMPLINE IN CHANT AND POLYPHONY: SEASONAL VARIANTS

Seasonal Divisions:
I. The First Sunday in Lent (Quadragesima Sunday) to the eve of the Third Sunday in Lent.
II. The Third Sunday in Lent to the eve of Passion Sunday (the Fifth Sunday in Lent).
III. Passion Sunday through Wednesday in Holy Week.

Extant Polyphonic Settings (ca. 1490 to 1558) in Bold Red.
Extant Alternatim Organ Settings (ca. 1535 to 1558) underlined.

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<thead>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Responsory: In pace</td>
<td>Responsory: In pace</td>
<td>Responsory: In manus tuas</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hymn: Christe qui lux es</td>
<td>Hymn: Christe qui lux es</td>
<td>Hymn: Cudor Dei memento</td>
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<tr>
<td>Versicle: Casti di nos Domine</td>
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<td>Ave Maria [secreto]</td>
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<td>Collect: Illumina quesumus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Votive Antiphon Service</td>
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</table>

925 During the Triduum (Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, Holy Saturday) Compline was significantly truncated, and recited without note (spoken or monotone chant).

926 Due to the nature of the extant organ settings of this Antiphon, and the practice of singing only the incipit prior to the Psalmody, when played on the organ the Antiphon was only played following the chanting of the Psalms.
B. Three “Pricked” Offices: Compline Plainchant and Polyphony in Combination

*Items in bold red are included in the present Performing Edition.*

- Extant Polyphonic Settings (ca. 1490 to 1558) in *Red*.
- Extant Alternatim Organ Settings (ca. 1535 to 1558) *underlined*.

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<td>Anonymous (5)</td>
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<td>Christopher Tye</td>
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Appendix IV.
Tudor Polyphony for The Office of Compline Beyond the Season of Lent

I. ORGAN POLYPHONY

ANTIPHONS

1. John Redford, *Lucem tuam* (Gospel antiphon for Trinity Sunday)
2. Richard Wynslate, *Lucem tuam* (Gospel antiphon for Trinity Sunday)
3. Anonymous, *Glorificamus te Mater Dei* (Gospel antiphon for Marian feasts)

HYMNS

4. Anonymous (Three Settings), *Salvator mundi* (Christmas Eve)
5. Anonymous, *Te lucis ante terminum* (Advent and Sundays after Trinity)

II. VOCAL POLYPHONY

ANTIPHONS


HYMNS

2. John Sheppard, *Jesu salvator saeculi* (Low Sunday until Pentecost)
3. John Sheppard, *Salvator mundi Domine* (feast days)
4. Thomas Tallis, *Jesu salvator saeculi* (Low Sunday until Pentecost)
5. Thomas Tallis, *Salvator mundi Domine* (feast days)
6. Thomas Tallis (Two Settings), *Te lucis ante terminum* (Advent and Sundays after Trinity)

Numerous polyphonic settings of the *Nunc dimittis* (by Thomas Tallis, Thomas Packe, etc.) are not included here, as they were composed for use at the Procession at Candlemas, not Compline.

*Miserere michi Domine* is also the Psalm Antiphon for the final two weeks in Lent.
7. Anonymous (Pepys Choirbook), *Te lucis ante terminum* (Advent and Sundays after Trinity)

**OTHER**

8. Anonymous (Gyffard Partbooks), *Alma chorus Domini* (Sequence for Pentecost)
Appendix V. Compline Polyphony of Post-Reformation Tudor Composers

Thomas Tallis (1505-1585)

1. *In manus tuas*\(^{929}\)

William Byrd (1540-1623)\(^{930}\)

1. Hymn: *Christe qui lux es et dies*
2. Respond: *In manus tuas Domine*
4. Psalm Antiphon: *Miserere mihi, Domine*
5. Marian antiphons\(^{931}\)

Thomas Morley (1557-1602)

1. *In manus tuas*\(^{932}\)

Peter Philips (1560-1628)

1. Gospel Antiphon: *Media vita morte sumus*
2. Marian antiphons

John Milton the Elder (1563-1641)

1. *Preamur sancte Domine*\(^{933}\)

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\(^{929}\) This is not set in Respond form, but through composed as a motet. See footnote 719 in Chapter 10, p. 211.

\(^{930}\) Byrd’s polyphonic setting of the *Nunc dimittis*, like earlier settings by Tallis and Packe, is intended for ritual use at Candelmas Processions rather than Compline.

\(^{931}\) Byrd’s polyphonic Marian Antiphon settings include the first known complete setting of the *Salve Regina* (without tropes) since the time of Henry VIII’s reign.

\(^{932}\) Only one voice part survives.

\(^{933}\) This is not a liturgical setting of the Hymn, but a piece in motet style for non-liturgical household devotional use.
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PART II. CRITICAL AND PERFORMING EDITION

This word, Complene, is no more to say but an accomplishment or fulfilling. And for so much as of all the services that are daily done in the church, this is the last, therefore it is called Complene, as who should say, that in the same, all the holy service of the day is fully complete and ended.

- The Manual of Prayers, 1539

INTRODUCTION

The music edition that comprises Part Two of this thesis encompasses a comprehensive modern performance edition of the reconstructed liturgy. It is first presented entirely in plainchant, as it would have been observed at a chapel or parish church in the late medieval period. Second, it is presented as it might have been performed at a larger institution or establishment with a choral foundation – such as the contextual locations discussed in Chapter 8 of Part One: the English Chapel Royal, Salisbury Cathedral, Magdalen College Chapel, Oxford, and St. Mary-at-Hill, London – at which polyphonic music would have been included and embedded within the liturgy.

The Plainchant Office is presented in three forms, representing the shifts in text and plainchant mode that occur through the Lenten season: the first, during the first two weeks in Lent; the second, from the Third Sunday in Lent until the eve of Passion Sunday; and the third, from Passion Sunday (the Fifth Sunday in Lent) through Wednesday in Holy Week. Much of this material may be found in other resources, such as the splendid editions prepared by the Gregorian Institute of Canada, available online. However, the present music edition is an attempt to present specific seasonal versions of the Office within the context of a start-to-finish flow that embeds the seasonal variants within a framework of the larger Office structure, obviating the need to flip between multiple pages for antiphons or hymns.

Performance editions of representative polyphonic compositions allow for a contextual performance of a Compline liturgy with as much polyphonic inclusion as the surviving representative music can attest to, allowing for a “complete” polyphonic performance of the liturgy. Ritual rubrics, such as instructions for turning to face the altar, are included in the editions of polyphony, as are indications delineating the specific identity of soloists and cantors (typically labelled as “Beginner”) according to the conventions of a three-row collegiate or cathedral choir. Within each row, seating was traditionally according to rank and seniority of tenure. The indications of “Duty” and “Non-Duty” in the Plainchant Offices, Antiphon Service, and Hymn polyphony refer to the split-choir formation of Decani and Cantoris, and the convention of each of those sides alternating from week to week as the leading – or duty – side at services. Where so indicated, “feria” or “weekday” refers to Mondays through Fridays; “feasts” or “double feasts” indicate those observances designated “Major Doubles” or “Feasts of Nine Lessons” in the liturgical calendar.

The music editions have been prepared and included with a performative goal in mind. The scores – both plainchant and polyphony – aim to represent careful scholarly study and preparation, while at the same time serving as practical performance editions for musicians interested in exploring this repertoire within the context of a liturgical framework. The only work included in this collection that will prove problematic for performance is the long version of John Sheppard’s Media vita, owing to the missing Tenor part in its unique manuscript source; the reduced-voice verses, unlike the six-part sections, do not rely on even-note cantus firmi, and no reconstruction of the missing music in these verses has been attempted. However, for the short version of this work, appropriate for weekday (feria) observances, I have provided an editorial Tenor line, reconstructing the cantus firmus, making
a complete six-voice texture. Further, this serial edition of *Media vita* acknowledges the late medieval convention of singing only the *incipit* of an Antiphon prior to psalms or canticles, reserving the performance of the complete polyphonic Antiphon until after the psalms or canticles have been recited.

**CRITICAL APPARATUS AND NOTES**

**NOTE VALUES AND TRANSPOSITION**

Note values in polyphony have been preserved in their original lengths unless otherwise noted – the exceptions being No. 5 (Taverner, *In pace in idipsum*) and No. 9 (Sheppard, *In manus tuas III*), where the values have been halved, in both cases adjusting the basic unit of the bar to the value of a breve, thus bringing them in concordance with the rest of the polyphonic repertoire in the edition.

The vocal works in the edition are presented un-transposed from the primary sources. The exceptions are first, the *Salve Regina* by Alcock, due to its unique voicing, which is presented in three versions: (1) un-transposed, (2) transposed up one tone, and (3) transposed down a perfect fourth; and second, the *In manus tuas* by Sheppard, presented in two versions: (1) un-transposed, (2) transposed up a perfect fourth in order for the plainchant to match service book pitch. For a discussion of Tudor pitch, see Chapter 11, p. 247, but in summary, the assumed “standard” pitch center in early sixteenth-century England was most likely between a semitone and a whole tone higher than the modern a’ = 440 Hz, at roughly 475 Hz.\(^2\) Thus, choirs may want to shift the tonal center of this music upwards by a semitone or whole tone – and should feel free to do so, based on the specific voice ranges of their constituent members. However, choirs wishing to sing this repertoire at written

\(^2\) See Chapter 8, p. 144ff.
pitch, with the modern convention of $a' = 440$ Hz, should feel equally confident in their decision.

The organ works, also preserving original note values, are presented in two versions each, both at source-manuscript pitch and transposed up a perfect fifth, due to the nature of the Tudor organ as a transposing instrument. The upward transposition of a perfect fifth does not account for the discrepancies between “modern” and “period” pitch standards, so an upwards transposition of an additional semitone or whole tone is advisable for those wishing to explore performance with the hypothesized Tudor pitch.

**ACCIDENTALS AND **Musica ficta**

Accidentals in the performing edition that differ from those found in the primary sources are noted below in the Critical Notes. The noted cancellation of accidentals in primary sources has been suppressed in the performing edition, which adheres to the modern convention of accidental modification lasting for the duration of a measure (indicated by vertical “ticks,” as described below). The exception is where the cancellation in the primary sources is vague or unclear. Editorial ficta suggestions are indicated by the traditional system, with small sharp/flat signs above the note, and apply only to the individual note so indicated. I have adhered to a moderately conservative approach to musica ficta, suggesting its application only in the most obvious instances of melodic voice leading (semitone cadences and avoidance of the tritone). This results in a number of occurrences of false relations between polyphonic voices, either simultaneous or in close proximity, an aesthetic result in keeping with the most recent scholarship on the topic. The music of John

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3 See Chapter 8, pp. 144-149.

Sheppard is particularly problematic in this regard – in many cases (such asMedia vita), the sole surviving manuscripts date to the decades following Sheppard’s death, and the music, when compared with works preserved in older sources, has been “modernized” to adhere to later philosophies of polyphonic harmony at odds with what would appear to be Sheppard’s own, more archaic, harmonic language. It must be emphasized that ficta suggestions are merely that – suggestions – and performers are encouraged to experiment with multiple readings of the phrases in question.

**METER AND BARRING**

When mensuration or metric signs occur in the primary sources, they are included in the performance edition, with a modern equivalency sign provided for mensuration signs (viz., 4/1 for $\Phi$ and 3/1 for $\Phi$). None of the works in the present edition include metric coloration (as found in many works of the Eton Choirbook repertoire, as well as some compositions of Taverner and Sheppard), so that issue is not addressed here. Ligatures in the polyphonic sources are indicated in the transcription by horizontal brackets above the pertinent notes. In the interest of preserving the horizontal, text-centered nature of this repertoire, not subject to regular metric accentuations, as well as in the spirit of the current editorial philosophies of scholarly editions such as Early English Church Music, standard bar lines are avoided in favor of short vertical “ticks” through the top line of the staff in each voice part. This notation also obviates the need for ties in the score, allowing for a cleaner appearance on the page. Works in the edition that feature both plainchant and polyphony, such as the Taverner In manus tuas or the White Christe qui lux, include sequential measure numbering for the polyphony but not for the plainchant.

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5 For more on the issue of chromaticism and musica ficta in the music of John Sheppard, see Williamson, “Introduction,” John Sheppard III, xxii.
Plainchant Transcription and Notation

In the interest of maintaining a readily readable notation for performance by choirs not versed in square-note “Gregorian” notation, yet simultaneously preserving its distinction from mensural, “classical” notation – and also to cope with the present limitations of notation software – I devised a compromise hybrid notation system to transcribe the plainchant elements of the repertoire. This system utilizes the standard five-line staves with modern clefs combined with square, stemless noteheads. Slurs indicate the compound ligatures of *clivis*, *podatus*, and *scandicus*. Liquescent neumes are indicated by small-size noteheads. Notes are typically black (filled); white (hollow) notes indicate a lengthening at the end of phrases marked in the sources by a *mora* or *bipunctum*. White (hollow) notes also indicate the *strene*, a *punctum* (or filled-in breve) with a descending tail on either side: \[ \text{\textsuperscript{7}} \text{\textfrac{1}{2}} \text{\textsuperscript{7}} \], which features in *strene notation*, an English hybrid notation system of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries halfway between plainchant neumatic notation and mensural notation; strenne neumes also feature in English and Continental printed sources of Sarum Use music.\[ \text{\textsuperscript{6}} \]

According to contemporary sources, the strenne is held longer than the *punctum*/semibreve.\[ \text{\textsuperscript{7}} \]

Voice Part Names

Voice parts in the edition carry the names that they have in their original sources when given; when the primary source does not provide a name for the voice part I have editorially supplied the appropriate name, indicated as editorial by square brackets [ ] around

\[ \text{\textsuperscript{6}} \text{See Margaret Bent, “New and Little-Known Fragments of English Medieval Polyphony,” } JAMS\textsuperscript{v} \text{ XXI:2 (1968), 149-150.} \]

\[ \text{\textsuperscript{7}} \text{John Merbecke, in the introduction to his *The booke of Common praier noted* (London, 1550), states, “The first note (\[ \text{\textsuperscript{7}} \text{\textfrac{1}{2}} \text{\textsuperscript{7}} \]) is a strenne note and is a breve. The second (\[ \text{\textsuperscript{7}} \text{\textfrac{1}{2}} \text{\textsuperscript{7}} \]) a square note, and a semybreve.” (Quoted in Bent, “Fragments,” 150, n.20).} \]
the part name. It is important to emphasize that the name of a polyphonic voice part in
score does not necessarily equate with a physical voice type; *Triplex* refers to the standard top
line of a composition, whether sung by a boy (or female) treble, or a male alto or tenor.

**Textual Underlay**

Textual underlay is preserved as much as possible from the primary sources when
the sources provide clear indication; words abbreviated in the sources are spelled out in full
in the transcriptions. Square brackets around text in the edition indicates either a missing
letter, letters, or word in the source. Italicized text signifies the appearance of “*ij*” in the
source, indicating a repetition of the previous phrase. Spelling has been standardized and, for
the most part, been slightly modernized to “standard” Latin orthography. Exceptions are the
vowel combinations *ae* and *oe*, rendered nearly ubiquitously as *e* in the English sources, and
words with initial *I* that are rendered *J*, either in the sources or in their modern English
cognate words (*eg.* standard Latin *Iesus* = “*Jesus*” in this edition), thus serving to emphasize
the period pronunciation of these texts.⁹

**Sources**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AS</td>
<td>Salisbury Antiphoner, printed by Byrchman, London/Paris, 1519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>GB-Och Mus. 979-983, The “Baldwin” Partbooks, ca. 1575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BS</td>
<td>Salisbury Breviary, printed by Regnault, Paris, 1533</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>GB-Och Mus. 984-988, The “Dow” Partbooks, 1580s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>GB-ETc ms 178, The Eton Choirbook, ca. 1500-1515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>GB-Lbl Add. ms 17802-17805, The “Gyffard” Partbooks, c.1550s(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS</td>
<td>Salisbury Hymnal, printed by Ruremond, Antwerp, 1525</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⁹ See Chapter 11, p. 250, for more on pronunciation and diction.
$M$ GB-Lbl Add. ms 30513, The “Mulliner Book,” ca. 1545-1570
$O1$ GB-Lbl Add. ms 29996
$O2$ GB-Lbl Add. ms 15233
$P$ GB-Cp 31 [ct], 32 [b], 40 [tr], 41 [m] The “Peterhouse” Partbooks, “Henrician” set, ca. 1540
$PS$ Salisbury Processional, printed by Morin, Rouen, 1517
$R$ GB-Lbl Add. ms 5665, The “Ritson” Choirbook, ca. 1460-1515

**ABBREVIATIONS**

- note names in capital letters (A-G)
- br breve (double whole-note)
- # sharp (in source)
- cr crotchet (quarter note)
- b flat (in source)
- l longa (double breve)
- ® natural (in source)
- mn minim (half note)
- b bassus
- MS manuscript (source)
- cf cantus firmus
- pc plainchant
- ct contratenor
- q quaver (eighth note)
- m medius
- s semibreve (whole note)
- t tenor
- sq semiquaver (sixteenth note)
- tr triplex
- rh/lh right hand/left hand
CRITICAL NOTES AND VARIANT READINGS

a. Liturgical function
b. Primary Sources consulted
c. Secondary (Published) Sources consulted
d. Summary notes
e. Variant readings & other concerns by Bar Number, entries separated by semicolon (;)

KEY for e.
Example: 14b G2 “mmum”
Explanation: bar 14, Bassus voice, the text “mmum” appears under the second G in the measure in the source.

1 - 3. Compline I, Compline II, Compline III

a. The Compline Office noted (in plainchant), collated from the various sources for use specifically in early Lent (I), mid-Lent (II), and Passiontide (III)

b. AS, BS, HS


d. See note on plainchant notation, above, p. 332.

4. The Antiphon Office

a. Short Marian devotion following Compline: Antiphon, Versicle, and Collect

b. PS, AS, BS


d. See note on plainchant notation, above, p. 332.

5. John Taverner: In pace in idipsum

a. Respond at Compline, Quadragesima Sunday until Passion Sunday

b. sole source for polyphony: G. Plainchant: AS

c. Printed in Hugh Benham, John Taverner III (London: Stainer & Bell: EECM, Vol.30,
d. Heading in G reads “mr. taverner for iij and a Childe,” specifying that the m voice is to be sung by a boy treble rather than an adult male alto. Cantus firmus (in the media) is in longa values in G; all note values have been halved. Regarding the terminal plainchant: Salisbury sources, including the BS, are explicit that the complete text of the Respond is repeated by the full choir following the Gloria Patri; the nature of Taverner’s setting for soloists in the polyphony therefore lends itself to the interpretation offered here, rather than a repetition of mm. 1-5 followed by plainchant.

e. 11b F “nnnn”; 12t G “ij”; 14b G2 “o”; 19b G3 is A in MS (error); 29ct B previous b not cancelled in MS; 47ct s rest missing in MS; 49ct G is A in MS (error); 55-56b D through G written out twice in MS; 70t B previous b not cancelled in MS.

6. Robert White: Christe qui lux es et dies

a. Hymn at Compline, Quadragesima Sunday until Passion Sunday

b. Plainchant: HS. Polyphony: primary source consulted is D; concordances in B (lacking t), Lbl Add. ms 30480-84 (‘Hamond’ partbooks, c.1560-1590), Lbl Add. ms 47844 (ct partbook, 1580s).


d. The second of four settings of the even-numbered verses of this hymn by White; cf in the t voice. Dating uncertain but most likely a youthful work from the 1550s.

e. 5ct G “ij”; 8m F2 “ij”; 10b-13b D – D text underlay for “in te requies” unclear in D; B consulted; 15m A “ij”; 15b D2 “ij”; 17m/ct/t/b final is l (but not for tr); 31b F1 “ij”; 32m C1 “ij”; 32ct F2 “ij”; 33t C “ij”; 38t ligature is 2 br in MS; 48b D2 “ij”; 49m A “ij”.

7. John Sheppard, Media vita morte sumus

a. Gospel (Nunc dimittis) Antiphon at Compline, Lent III until Passion Sunday

b. Unique source for polyphony: B (Tenor part missing). Tenor cf reconstructed from AS. Plainchant: AS.

c. Printed in David Wulstan, John Sheppard, Collected Works I: Office Responds and Varia (Oxford: Oxenford Imprint, 1978); Magnus Williamson, John Sheppard III
d. Two versions in this Edition: the first for fera performance on weekdays, repeating the first 146 bars following the Nunc dimittis chant; the second for (Saturdays,) Sundays and feast days, with three verses following the Nunc dimittis interlaced with refrains from the first half of the piece, in an incomplete state owing to the missing tenor partbook.

e. 7ct2 G ‡ not cancelled in MS; 13ct2 F ‡ not cancelled in MS; 35m C “ij”; 42ct1 G# possibly should be E to avoid diss with tr; 45m C ‡ in MS; 45ct2 G ‡ in MS; 49ct1 G ‡ in MS; 49-50t rhythm adjusted in cf from even br to avoid direct 5ths with ct2; 56ct1 “4” below G; 58ct1 “2” below F; 66m C ij implied by “ris” in 71; 72tr/m/ct1/ct2/b signum congruente; 76tr ‡ over G1 in MS, unclear; 78tr G ‡ not cancelled in MS; 84tr C ‡ in MS (error); 86tr E is G in MS, creating direct octaves with t cf; 89m E is br in MS; 90m/ct1/ct2/b signum congruente; 93tr C ‡ not cancelled in MS; 94b G ‡ not cancelled in MS; 96tr G1 ‡ in MS suppressed; 98ct1 C ‡ in MS (next to E) (error?); 108tr/m/ct1/ct2/b signum congruente; 122b B has ‡ in MS; 135m D “te” instead of “ti”; [FESTAL VERSION] 148-149ct1/ct2 “proijas” instead of “projicias”; 152ct2 G ‡ not cancelled in MS; 163ct1 A2 missing but text underlay present; 166ct1 G “ris” instead of “rif”; 177ct1 G is sb in MS, creating direct 5ths with b; 186ct1 F and G2 ‡ not cancelled in MS; 193ct1 C “re” in MS; 205ct1 G2 ‡ not cancelled in MS; 209ct1/ct2/b finals are not dotted; 210tr clefs are C-1 through bar 243; 219tr2 G ‡ in MS suppressed; 227-229tr1 mD sbC mB m-dotA mG crF mE in MS; 235m1 F2 ‡ not cancelled in MS; 236tr2 A is C in MS; 241tr1 G ‡ in MS suppressed (error).

8. John Norman, Miserere miuci

a. Psalm Antiphon at Compline, Passion Sunday until Maundy Thursday

b. Unique source: R, f.145. Tenor cf corresponds with Antiphon melody in AS.


d. End of Bassus part reads “J Norman.” Three voices, named in MS. Outer voices in white mensuration, Tenor in black punctus neumes and ligatures (modified plainchant notation), implying even breves. Short vertical lines in Tenor staff separate each word.
e. 1b B “re” in MS, here moved to 2b A; 3b E “do” in MS, here moved to G; 4tr E1 “ne” in MS, here moved to F; 6b CDED is cr B in MS; 10tr E3 “o” in MS; 11b B3 “nem” in MS, here moved to 12b A; 14tr E is cr in MS; 14tr for B before D2

9. John Sheppard, *In manus tuas (III)*

a. Respond at Compline, Passion Sunday until Maundy Thursday

b. sole source for polyphony: G. Plainchant: AS


d. The third of three settings of this Respond by Sheppard; heading in G reads “In manus Corus: mr sheperde.” Sheppard here reverses the soloist and choir roles, having the full choir sing in polyphony and the soloist sing the unison plainchant. Note values halved from the original in order to avoid the *maxima*. The music here is preserved in two versions: the first, un-transposed from the MS G; in order to match service book pitch of the plainchant, the second version is transposed up a perfect 4th (downwards transposition by a perfect 5th results in an impossibly low *bassus* part). Such an upwards transposition suggests performance by (modern) ATB voices, with an overall compass of BB♭–c'.

e. 16b B ¹

10. John Redford, *Christe qui lux es et dies*

a. Hymn at Compline, Quadragesima Sunday until Passion Sunday

b. Keyboard: *O1; M* (verse 4 only). Plainchant: HS.


d. attributed to “Mr Redford” at end of piece in *O1*. Odd verses set only. Verse 1 is built around the faburden of the hymn tune; verses 3-7 on the (decorated, or “broken”) cf. The present edition includes two versions: first, untransposed from the original MS cri; second, transposed up a perfect fifth in acknowledgment of the 5’ sounding pitch of Tudor organs.
11. Philip ap Rhys, *Miserere michi*

   a. Psalm Antiphon at Compline, Passion Sunday until Maundy Thursday

   b. Unique source: *O1*, f.6verso, 1


   d. cf is highly decorated in the lh to the point of being hidden. The present edition includes two versions: first, untransposed from the original MS clefs; second, transposed up a perfect fifth in acknowledgment of the 5’ sounding pitch of Tudor organs.

12. Philip Alcock, *Salve Regina*

   a. Votive antiphon, for Marian devotions following Vespers and/or Compline

   b. Sole source: *G*, no.86.


   d. “pilyp alocke” named in the MS at the start of the piece. This setting includes the first three of the five standard troped verses common in English sources. Although the piece is composed freely, without *cantus firmus*, the contratenor quotes the plainchant incipit in bars 1-3. The present edition includes three versions of the Antiphon: first, untransposed from the original clefs; second, transposed up a major second (for high voices); third, transposed down a perfect fourth (for low voices).

   e. 6m C2 “-a” for “-e”; 8m C “-se”; 10m fermata missing in MS; 12tr A1 “ai”; 14all “len” instead of “les”; 14m “ex” for “exc.”; 15b G is A in MS; 23-24ct “salve” instead of “valle”; 50tr A new page before A, b sigs. high and low; 52ct F2-C “cia”; 64b F is E in MS; 68b F is E in MS; 82b F missing stem in MS; 84m E “men”; 108tr B1 # in MS suppressed; 112tr F “rt” moved here from 113 E in MS; 117tr E missing in MS.
1. AD COMPLETORIUM (I)

Dominica j. quadragesima ad Dominica iii. quadragesima
Lent 1 to Lent 3

Edition Mark Ardrey-Graves

OPENING VERSICLES

At the beginning of the Office all face East, genuflect, then remain standing.

Submissa voce
(In a low voice)

Con-verte nos Deus salutaris no-st er.

Et averte iram tuam a no-bis.

Extensa voce
(In a higher voice)

De us in adju-to-rium meum in-ten-de.

Do mine ad adjuvandum me fes-ti-na.

Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto:

PSALMODY WITH ANTIPHON

Turn in, facing across quire

**SUNDAY: Beginner**
(First Duty Clerk of the Second Form)

**WEEKDAYS: Beginner**
(First Duty Clerk of the First Form)

**Beginner**
(Duty Senior of the Upper Step)

PSALM 4.

1. Cum invocarem exaudivit me Deus justicie mece:


3. Filii hominum usquequo gravi corde: ut quid diligitis vanitatem, et quereis men-daci um?

4. Et scito quem mirificavit Dominus sanctum sum um:

5. Irascimini et nolite peccare que dictis in cordibus vestris: et in cubilibus vestris com-puni-mi ni.

6. Sacrificae sacrificium justicie et sperate in Domino: multi dicunt, Quis ostendit nobis bonae?

7. Signatum est super nos lumen vultus tui Domine: dedisti letiam in corde meo.

8. A fructu frumenti vini et olei suici: multi capaciti sunt

10. Quóniam tu, Domine: singulariter in spe consti-tu-i-sti me.

Turn east. Solemn bow

Gloria Patri et Filio: et Spiritu Sanc-ti.

All stand


Turn in, facing across quire

PSALM 30.

1. In te Domine speravi non confundar in e-ter-num:

in justicia tua libera me.

2. Inclina ad me aures tu-am: accélera ut er-ru-as me.

3. Esto michi in Deum pro tec-to-rem: et in domum refugii, ut sal-vum me faci-as.

4. Quóniam fortitúdo mea et refúgium meum es tu: et propter nomen tuum dedúces me, et e-nutri es-me.

5. Edúces me de lácqueo quem abscondérunt mi-chi: quóniam tu es pro-tec-tor me-us.

6. In manus tuas comméndo spiritum me-um: redemisti me Domine Deus veri-tatis.

Turn east & solemn bow

Gloria Patri et Filio: et Spiritu Sancto.

All stand

PSALM 90.

1. Qui habitationem adjutorii...tur.


3. Quoniam ipsa liberavit me de laqueo venantium: et a vero aspero.

4. Scapulis suis obumbravit tibi: et sub pennis ejus sperabis.

5. Scuto circumdabit te veritas ejus: non timebis a timore nocturno.

6. A sagitta volante in die, a negocio perambulante in te nebris:

7. Cadent a latere tuo mille, et decem milia a dextris tuis:

8. Verumtamen oculis tuis considerabis: et retributionem peccatorum vis debis.


10. Non accedet ad te malum: et flagellum non appropinquabit tabernaculo tuo.
11. Quôniam ángelis suis mandávit de te: ut custódiant te in ómnibus viís tuís.

12. In mánisibus porta-bunt me: ne forte offéndas ad lápidem pedem tuum.


15. Clamávit ad me et ego exáudiam e-um:
   cum ipso sum in tribulatióne, eripam eum et glorífi-ca-bo e-um.

16. Longítudine diérum replébo e-um: et osténdam illi salu-ta-re me-um.

*Turn east & solemn bow*

Glória Patri et Fi-lio:o: et Spiri-tui Sanc-to.

*All stand*


*Turn in, facing across quire*

**PSALM 133.**

1. Ec-ce nunc benedicíte Do-minum:
   omnes ser-vi Do-mínii.

2. Qui statis in domo Do-mini: in átriis domus De-i no-stri.


**Turn east & solemn bow**

Glória Patri et Fílio: et Spíritu Sanc-tó.

**All stand**


**Turn in, facing across quire**

**SUNDAY**: Beginner
(First Duty Clerk of the Second Form)

**WEEKDAYS**: Beginner
(First Duty Chorister of the First Form)

Signa-tum est

super nos lumen vul-tus tu-i Do-mi-ne Deus:

de-disti le-tici-am in cor-de me-o.

**CHAPTER**
(Jeremiah xiv: 9)

**Turn east.**

Tu in nobis es Dómine et nomen sanctum tuum invocatúm est super nos: ne derelíquás nos Dómine Deus nos - - ter.

Deo gra-ti-ás.
7

RESPOND

Turn in, facing across quire

WEEKDAYS: Beginner
(First Duty Choirister, First Form)

SATURDAY, SUNDAY, FEASTS: Beginner
(Duty Clerk, Second Form)

Mode VIII.

Dor-mi-am et re-qui-es-cam.

V. Si de-de-ro som-num o-cu-lis me-is: et pal-pe-bris me-is dor-mi-ta-tio-nem.

Dor-mi-am et re-qui-es-cam.

Turn east and Solemn bow.


Stand and turn in.

R. In pa-ce in i-dip-sum. Dor-mi-am et re-qui-es-cam.
HYMN

1. Christe qui lux es et dies, Noc-tis te-ne-bras de-te-gis:
   Lucis que lu-men cre-de-ris, Lu-men be-a-tum pre-di-cans.

2. Pre-camur sancte Do-mi-ne, De-fen-de nos in hac noc-te: Sit no-bis in te re-qui-es, Qui-e tam noc-tem tri-bu-e.


4. Ou-li som-num ca-pi-ant, Cor ad te sem-per vi-gi-let: Dex-te-ra tu-a pro-te-gat, Fa-mu los, qui te di-li-gunt.

5. De-fen sor nos-ter as-pi-ce, In-si-di-an-tes re-pri-me: Gu-ber-na tu-os fa-mu-los, Quos san gui-ne mer-ca-tus es.

6. Me-men to nos-tri Do-mi-ne, In gra-vi is-to cor-po-re: Qui es de-fen-sor a-ni-me, Ad-es-to no-bis Do-mi-ne.

Turn east for final verse.

7. De-o Pa-tri sit glo-ri-a, E-jus-que so-li-Fi-li-o:
   Cum Spi-ri-tu Pa-ra-clito, Et nunc et in per-pe tu-um. A-men

VERSICLE

Stay facing east.

Beginner (Duty Chorister of the First Form)

Full Choir

Choir

Ut pu-pil-lam o-cu-li sub um-bra a-la-rum tu-a-rum pro-te-ge nos.
NUNC DIMITTIS WITH ANTIPHON

Tone IV.ii.

Beginner (Senior of the Upper Step)

Cum vide-sis, nu-dum.

Beginner (Duty Chorister of the First Form)

Nunc di-mittis servum tu-um Do-mi-ne: secundum verbum tu-um in pa-ce.

Non-Duty

Quia viderunt o-cu-li me-i: sa-lu-ta-re tu-um.

Duty

Quod pa-ra-sti: ante faciem omni-um po-pu-lo-rum.

Non-Duty

Lumen ad revelati-o-nem gen-ti-um: et gloriae ple-bis tu-e Is-ra-el.

Duty

Gloria Pa-tri et Fi-li-o: et Spi-ri-tu-i Sanc-to.

Non-Duty


Beginner (Senior of the Upper Step)

Cum vide-sis, nu-dum.

[Staff notation for musical parts]

o-pe-ri-eum: et car-nem tu-am ne des-pe-xe-ris:

tunc e-rum-pet quasi ma-ne-lu-men tu-um:

et glo-ri-a Do-mi-ni col-li-get te.
FIRST PRECES

Turn east.
Remain facing the Altar through the duration of the Office.
On Weekdays (ferias), all prostrate.

Pater noster and Ave María, in secreto (privately) until the final phrase.

Pater noster, qui es in celis, sanctificetur nomen tuum.
Adveniat regnum tuum. Fiat voluntas tua sicut in celo et in terra.
Panem nostrum quotidiam da nobis hodie, et dimitte nobis debita nostra
Sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris.

Ave Maria gratia plena: Dominus vobiscum.
Benedicta tu in mulieribus, et benedictus fructus ventris tui, Jesus.

Et ne nos inducas in tentationem:

Sed libera nos a malo.

In pace in id ipsum:

Dormiam et requiescam.
Credo in Deum, in secreto (privately) until the final phrase.

Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, creatorem celi et terrae.
Et in Jesum Christum, filium ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum.
Qui conceput est de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Maria Virgine,
Passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus, et sepultus.
Descendit ad infernos, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit ad celos.
Sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotens, inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos.
Credo in Spiritum Sanctum, sanctam Ecclesiam catholicam, sanctorem communionem,
Remissionem peccatorum,

\[\text{Officiant}\]
\[\text{F. Car} - \text{n} - \text{i} - \text{s} - \text{r} - \text{e} - \text{s} - \text{u} - \text{r} - \text{e} - \text{c} - \text{t} - \text{i} - \text{o} - \text{n} - \text{em},\]

\[\text{Choir}\]
\[\text{F. Et vi - tam e - tér - nam. A - men.}\]

\[\text{Officiant}\]
\[\text{F. Be - ne - di - cá - mus Pat - rem et Fi - li - um cum Sanc - to Spí - ri - tu:}\]

\[\text{Choir}\]
\[\text{F. Lau - dè - mus et su - per - ex - al - té - mus e - um in se - cu - la.}\]

\[\text{Officiant}\]
\[\text{F. Be - ne - dic - tus es Dó - mi - ne in fir - ma - mén - to ce - li:}\]

\[\text{Choir}\]
\[\text{F. Et lau - dá - bi - lis et glo - ri - ó - sus et su - per - ex - al - tá - tus in se - cu - la.}\]

\[\text{Officiant}\]
\[\text{F. Be - ne - di - cat et cus - tó - di - at nos om - ni - po - tens et mi - sé - ri - cors Dó - mi - nus:}\]

\[\text{Choir}\]
\[\text{F. A - men.}\]
CONFITEOR

The Officiant, or the priest of greatest dignity [quod excellenta persona sacerdosis], says the following, in a low voice [privatim] so that it is only just heard by the choir [ut vix audiatur a choro].

Remain facing east (on weekdays, remain prostrate).

Officiant

Confiteor Deo: beáte Marie, ómnibus sanctis,
et vobis peccávi nímis: cogitatioñe, locutióne, et òpere, mea culpa. Precor sanctam Mariam, omnes sanctos Dei,
et vos oráre pro me.

(Sundays: Turn to face the choir)

Choir

Misericúr tuí omnípotens Deus et dímittas tibi ómnia peccáta tua:
líberes te ab omni malo:
consérves et confírmes in bono et ad vitam perducásc étérnam.

(Sundays: Turn to face the altar)

(Sundays: Turn to face the choir)

Officiant

Amen.

Sundays: Turn to face the choir)

Choir

Confitécor Deo: beáte Marie, ómnibus sanctis, et vobis peccávi nímis:
cogitatioñe, locutióne, et òpere, mea culpa. Precor sanctam Mariam,
ómnibus sanctis Dei, et vos oráre pro me.

(Sundays: Turn to face the choir)

Officiant

Misericúr vestí omnípotens Deus et dímittas vobísc òmnia peccáta vestra:
líberet vos ab omni malo:
consérvet et confírmet in bono et ad vitam perducásc étérnam.

(Sundays: Turn to face the altar)

Choir

Amen.

Officiant

Absoluciónem et remissiónem omníum peccatórum vestrorum [or, nostrórum],
spácium vere pentitentíem, emendationém vitae, grátiam et consolationém
Sanctí Spiritus: tribuat vobís [or, nobis] omnípotens et miséricors Dóminus.

Choir

Amen.

SECOND PRECES

Officiant

P. D-e-us tu con-vér-sus vi-vi-fi cá-bis nos.

Choir

Et plébs tu-a le-tá-bi-tur in te.

Officiant

P. Ös-tén-de no-bis Dó-mi-ne mi-se-ri-co-r-di-ám tu-am.

Choir

Et sa-lu-tá-re tu-um da no-bis.

Officiant

P. Di-g-ná-re Dó-mi-ne noc-te is-ta.

Choir

Si-ne peccá-to nos cus-tó-di-re.
On Weekdays turn to page 14.

On Sundays continue thus:

Turn to Page 15 for the Collect.
On Wednesdays continue thus:

\textit{Officiant}

\textit{Exaudite Dominum} Dómi - ne vo - cem me - am qua clá - má - ví ad te.

\textit{Choir}

\textit{Mi}se - ré - re me - i et ex - àu - di me.

\textit{The Choir recites without note [sine nota]}:

1. Miserere mei Deus: secundum magnam misericiördiam tuam.
2. Et secundum multitudinem miserationis tuæ: dele iniquitatem meam.
3. Amplius lava me ab iniquitate mea: et a peccato meo mundate.
4. Quoniam iniquitatem teum ego cognosco: et peccatum teum contra me est semper.
5. Tibi soli peccavi et malum coram te feci: ut justificeris in sermoneibus tuis et vincas cum judicaris.
7. Ecce enim veritatem dilexi: incerta et occulta sapientie tua manifestasti michi.
8. Aspérge me yspóto et mundábore: lavabis me et super nivem dealbábor.
10. Avérte fáciam tuam a peccátis meis: et omnes iniquitates meas deile.
11. Cor mundum creá in me Deus: et spiritum rectum innova in viscéribus meis.
12. Ne proficias me a fàcie tua: et spiritum sanctum tuum ne áueras a me.
13. Redde michi letitiam salutaris: ut spiritu principáli confirma me.
15. Libera me de sanguinis Deus: Deus salutis meae: et exultabit lingua mea justìciam tuam.
17. Quoniam si voluisses sacrificium dedisset: utique olocaustis non delectáberis.
18. Sacrificium Deo spiritus contribulátus: cor contritum et humiliatám Deus non despicies.
20. Tunc acceptábis sacrificium justitie oblationes et olocausta: tunc impónent super altàre vitulos.
Glória Patri et Filio et Spiritúi Sancto.

The Officiant stands.

\textit{Officiant}

\textit{Exurge Dominum} Dómi - ne ad - ju - va nos.

\textit{Choir}

\textit{Et líbéra nos pro - ter no - men tú - um.}

\textit{Officiant}

\textit{Dómi - ne De - us vir - tú - tum, con - vér - te nos.}

\textit{Choir}

\textit{Et os - té - de fá - ci - em tu - am et sal - vi - é - ri - mus.}

\textit{Officiant}

\textit{Dómi - ne ex - àu - di o - ra - ti - ó - nem me - am.}
On All Days continue thus:

Illúmina quǽsumus Dómine
Deus ténèbras nostras:
et totius noctis insídias,
tu a nobis repélle propí-

Per Dóminum nostrum
qui tecum vivit et regnat in
Jesum Christum Fílium tu-
unitáte Spiritus Sancti Deus,
per ómnia sæcúla sæcúla.

(Weekdays: The Choir stand.)

Fr. Dómi - nus vo - bis - cum.
2. AD COMPLETORIUM (II)

Dominica iii, quadragesima ad Dominica in passione
Lent 3 to Passion Sunday (Lent 5)

Edition Mark Ardrey-Graves

OPENING VERSICLES

At the beginning of the Office all face East, genuflex, then remain standing.

Officiant

Submissa voce
(In a low voice)

Confiteor

Sing, O children of Jerusalem, sing, ye that dwell in to...
PSALMODY WITH ANTIPHON

Turn in, facing across quire

Tone VI.

SUNDAY: Beginner
(First Duty Clerk of the Second Form)

WEEKDAYS: Beginner
(First Duty Choister of the First Form)

PSALM 4.

1. Cum in - vo - cárem exaudīvit me Deus justicie me - e:

in tribulātiōne di - la - tās - ti mi - chi.

2. Miserère me - i: et exāudi orati - o - nem me - am.

3. Filīi hōminum úsquequō gravi cor - de: ut quid dīligītis vanitātem, et que - ri - tis men - dāci - um?

4. Ėt sciōte quōniam mīrifīcāvit Dōminus sanctum su - um:

Dōminus exāudiēt cum clamāvero ad e - um.


6. Sacrificāte sacrificium justicie et sperāte in Do - mino: multi dicunt, Quis ostēndit no - bis bo - na?

7. Signātum est super nos lumen vultus tui Do - mine: dedīnti leticiam in cor - de me - o.


3

10. Quóniam tu, Domine: singulariter in spe consti-tuis me.

Turn east & solemn bow

Duty

Glória Patri et Filio: et Spiritu Sanc
to.

All stand

Non-Duty


Turn in, facing across quire

PSALM 30.

Beginner
(Duty Senior of the Upper Step)

1. In te Domine speravi non confundar in e
ternum:

Choir (Full)

in justicia tua libera me.

Non-Duty

2. Inclina ad me aurem tuam: accélera ut eruas me.

Duty

3. Esto mihi in Deum protecorum: et in domum refugi,

Non-Duty

ut salvum me facias.

4. Quóniam fortitúdo mea et refugium meum es tu: et propter nomen tuum dedúcès me, et e

Duty

nutri; me.

5. Éduces me de lácquio quem abscondérunt mi-

Non-Duty

chi: quóniam tu es protector meus.

6. In manus tuas commendô spiritum meum: redemísti me Domine Deus veritatis.

Turn east & solemn bow

Duty

Glória Patri et Filio: et Spiritu Sancto.

All stand

Non-Duty

PSALM 90.

1. Qui habitat in adjutorio Altissimi:
in protectione Dei celii


3. Quoniam ipse liberavit me de laqueo venantium: et a verbo aspero.

4. Scapulis suis obumbravit tibi: et sub pennis ejus sperabis.

5. Scuto circumdabit te veritas ejus: non timebis a timore nocturno.

6. A sagitta volante in die, a negocio perambulante in te nebris:

7. Cadent a latere tuo mille, et decem milia a dextris tuis:
ad te autem non propinquit.

8. Verumptamen oculis tuis consideabis: et retributionem peccato rum videtis.


10. Non accedet ad te ma-lum: et flagellum non appropinquabit tabernacula tuo.
11. Quóniam ángelis suis mandávit de te: ut custódiat te in ómnibus vi - is tu - is.

12. In mániús por - ta - bunt me: ne forte offéndas ad lápidem pe - dem tu - um.


14. Quóniam in me sperávit liberábo e - um: prótegam quóniam cognóvit no - men me - um.

15. Clamávit ad me et ego exáudiam e - um:
    cum ipso sum in tribulatióne, eripam eum et glorií - ca - bo e - um.

16. Longitúdine diárum replébo e - um: et osténdam illi salú - ta - re me - um.

    **Turn east & solemn bow**

Glória Patri et Filí - o: et Spíri - tu - i Sanc - to.

    **All stand**


    **Turn in, facing across quire**

**PSALM 133.**

1. Ec - ce nunc benedicite Do - minum:
    omnes ser - vi Do - mini.

2. Qui statis in domo Do - mini: in átris domus De - i no - stri.


Glória Patri et Fi - li - o : et Spiri - tu - i Sanc - to.


SUNDAY: Beginner
(First Duty Clerk of the Second Form)

WEEKDAYS: Beginner
(First Duty Choirister of the First Form)

Super nos lu - men_ vul - tus_ tu - i Do - mi - ne_ De - us :

de - dis - ti le - ti - ci - am in cor - de_____ me - o.

CHAPTER
(Jeremiah xiv : 9)

Tu in nobis es Dómine et nomen
sanctum tuum invocáteum est super nos :
ne derelínquas nos Dómine Deus
nos - - ter.

Deo gra - ti - as.
RESPOND

Turn in, facing across quire

Mode VIII.

WEEKDAYS: Beginner
(First Duty Choirister, First Form)

SATURDAY, SUNDAY, FEASTS: Beginner
(Duty Clerk, Second Form)

\[ \text{In pacce} \]

Choir

\[ \text{in idipsum.} \]

Dormiam et requiescam.

Chorister OR Clerk

\[ \text{F. Si de-de-ro som-num o-cu-lis me-is: et pal-pe-bris me-is dor-mi-ta-ti-o-nem.} \]

Choir

Dormiam et requiescam.

Turn east and Solemn bow.

Chorister OR Clerk

\[ \text{Glo-ri-a Pa-tri et Fi-li-o: et Spi-ri-tu-i Sanc-to.} \]

Stand and turn in.

Choir

\[ \text{Be in pacce in idipsum. Dormi-am et requiescam.} \]
HYMN

1. Christe qui lux est et dies, Nocis te nebras degeis:
   Lucisque lumen credeis, Lumen beatum predictans.

2. Preca mun sancte Domine, De-fende nos in hae locate: Sit no-bis in te re-qui-es, Qui et tam noc-te tri-bose.


4. Oc-li som-num ca-piam, Cor ad te sem-per vi-gilet: De-x-te-ra tu-a pro-te-gat, Fa-mi-los qui te di-li-gunt.

5. De-fen sor nos-ter as-pice, In-si-di-ant es re-pri-mem: Gu-ber-na tu-os fa-mi-los, Quos san gu-ne mer-ca-tus es.


Turn east for final verse.

VERSICLE
Stay facing east.

Ut pupilam oculi sus pellam a la-rum tu-a-rum pro-te ge nos.
NUNC DIMITTIS WITH ANTIPHON

Beginner
(Senior of the Upper Step)

Mediavit

Choir

in mortem sumus

On Wednesdays, ship to Nunc dimittis; on Saturdays, Sundays, and feasts continue as written on this page.

Tone IV.iii.

Variations:

Duty

Non-Duty

Duty

Non-Duty

Duty

Non-Duty

Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper: et in secula secundo._ Amen._
On Weekdays, following Nunc dimittis, sing the text of the Antiphon on page 9, then turn to the Preces on page 11.

On Saturdays, Sundays, and Feasts of Nine Lessons, continue below:

SATURDAYS and FEASTS: Clerk
(Non-Duty Senior of the Upper Step)

SUNDAYS: Clerk
(Non-Duty Senior of the Second Form)

Sancte _______ Deus: Sancte _______ fortis:
Sancte _______ et _______ misericors Sallva-tor:
Sancte _______ nos.

SATURDAYS and FEASTS: Clerk
(Duty Senior of the Upper Step)

SUNDAYS: Clerk
(Duty Senior of the Second Form)

Sancte _______ fortis: Sancte _______ et _______ misericors Sallva-tor:
Sancte _______ nos.

SATURDAYS and FEASTS: Clerk
(Non-Duty Senior of the Upper Step)

SUNDAYS: Clerk
(Duty Senior of the Second Form)

Sancte _______ et _______ misericors Sallva-tor:
Sancte _______ fortis: Sancte _______ et _______ misericors Sallva-tor:
Sancte _______ nos.

Sancte _______ et _______ misericors Sallva-tor:
Sancte _______ fortis: Sancte _______ et _______ misericors Sallva-tor:
Sancte _______ nos.
FIRST PRECES

*Turn east.*

*Remain facing the Altar through the duration of the Office.*

*On Weekdays (ferias), all prostrate.*

---

**Pater noster and Ave Maria, in secreto (privately) until the final phrase.**

**Pater noster,** qui es in cels, sanctificetur nomen tuum.
Adveniat regnum tuum. Fiat voluntas tua sicut in celo et in terra.
Panem nostrum quotidians da nobis hodie, et dimittte nobis debita nostra
Sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris.

Ave Maria gratia plena: Dominus vobiscum.
Benedicta tu in mulieribus, et benedictus fructus ventris tui, Jesus.

---

**Et ne nos inducas in tentationem:**

**Sed libera nos a malo.**

---

**In pace in idipsum:**

**Dormiam et requiescam.**
V. Credo in Deum, in secreto (privately) until the final phrase.

Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, creatorem celi et terre.
Et in Jesum Christum, filium ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum.
Qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Maria Virgine,
Passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuos, et sepultus.
Descendit ad infernos, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit ad celos.
Sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis, inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos.
Credo in Spiritum Sanctum, sanctam Ecclesiam catholicam, sanctorem communionem,
Remissionem peccatorum,

Officiant

V. Car - nis re - sur - rec - ti - ó - nem,

Choir


Officiant

V. Be - ne - di - cá - mus Pat - rem et Fi - li - um cum Sanc - to Spi - ri - tu:

Choir

V. Lau-dé - mus et su - per - ex - al - té - mus e - um in se - cu - la.

Officiant

V. Be - ne - dic - tus es Dò - mi - ne in fir - ma - mén - to ce - li:

Choir


Officiant

V. Be - ne - di - cat et cus - tò - di - at nos om - ni - po - tens et mi - sé - ri - cors Dò - mi - nus:

Choir

V. A - men.
CONFITEOR

_The Officant, or the priest of greatest dignity [quod excellenta persona sacerdotis], says the following, in a low voice [privatim] so that it is only just heard by the choir [ut vix audiatur a choro]._

Stay facing east.

**Officant**

Confiteor Deo: béate Marie, ómnibus sanctis, et vobis peccávi nímis: cogitátióne, locutióne, et ópere, mea culpa. _Sundays: Turn to face the choir_

Precor sanctam Mariam, omnes sanctos Dei, et vos oráre pro me.

**Choir**

Misérætæt tuí omnipotens Deus et dímittás tibi ómnia peccáta tua: liberes te ab omni malo; consérvæs et confírmæs in bono et ad vitam perdúcæs etérnam.

**Officant**

Amen.

**Choir**


_**Sundays: Turn to face the choir**_

Misérætæt vestí omnipotens Deus et dímittás vobis ómnia peccáta vestra: liberet vos ab omni malo; consérvæt et confírmæt in bono et ad vitam perdúcæt etérnam.

**Choir**

Amen.

**Officant**

Absolutiōnem et remissiōnem ómnium peccatórum vestrorum [or, nostrorum], spáciūm vere pænitentíe, emendatiōnem vitæ, grátiam et consolatiōnem Sancti Spiritus: tribuat vobis [or, nobis] omnipotens et miséricors Dóminus.

**Choir**

Amen.

SECOND PRECES

**Officant**

F. Deus tu conservus vivifiabis nos.

**Choir**

F. Et plebs tua lebitur in te.

**Officant**

F. Ostende nobis Dómine misericórdiam tuam.

**Choir**

F. Et salutáre tuum da nobis.

**Officant**

F. Dignum Dómine nocte ista.

**Choir**

F. Sine peccáto nos custodiere.
Officiant

V. Misere-re nos tri Dómi-ne.

Choir

R. Misere-re nos tri.

Officiant

V. Fiat misericordia tua Dómi-ne super nos.

Choir

R. Quemadmodum speravimus in te.

On Weekdays turn to page 15.

On Sundays continue thus:

Officiant

V. Dómi-ne Deus virtutum converte nos.

Choir

R. Et ostende faciem tuam et salvierimus.

Officiant

V. Dómi-ne exaudi orationem meam.

Choir

R. Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

Officiant

V. Dóminus vobiscum.

Choir

R. Et cum spiritu tuo.

Officiant

V. Orémus:
On Weekdays continue thus:

Officiant

\begin{music}
\textit{Ex - úr - ge Dó - mi - ne ád - ju - va nos.}
\end{music}

Choir

\begin{music}
\textit{Et li - be - ra nos prop - ter no - men tu - um.}
\end{music}

Officiant

\begin{music}
\textit{Dó - mi - ne De - us vir - tú - tum, con - vér - te nos.}
\end{music}

Choir

\begin{music}
\textit{Et os - tén - de fú - ci - em tu - am et sal - vi - é - ri - mus.}
\end{music}

Officiant

\begin{music}
\textit{Dó - mi - ne ex - áu - di o - ra - ti - ó - nem me - am.}
\end{music}

\begin{music}
\textit{Mi - se - ré - re me - i et ex - áu - di me.}
\end{music}

The Choir recites without note [sine nota]:

1. Miserère mei Deus : secúndum magnam misericórdiam tuam.
2. Et secúndum multíudinem miseratiónum tuárum : dele iniquitátem meam.
3. Amplius lava me ab iniquitáte mea : et a peccáto meo munda me.
4. Quóniam iniquitátem meam ego cognóscó : et peccáta mea contra me est semper.
5. Tíbi soli peccávi et malum coram te feci : ut justificérís in sermonibus tuis et vincas cum judicáris.
7. Ecce enim veritátem dilexit : incépta et occultá sapienté tue manifestásti michi.
8. Asperses meýsopo et mundábóre : lavábis me et super nívem dealbábor.
10. Áverte fácem tuam a peccátis meis : et omnes iniquitátes meas dele.
11. Cor mundum crea in me Deus : et spiritum rectum innova in viscérísbus meis.
12. Ne projácies me a fácie tua : et spiritum sanctum tuum ne áüferas a me.
13. Redde michi letiátem salutáris tui : et spiritu principáli confirma me.
15. Liberá me de sanguínibus Deus Deus salútis mee : et exultábit lingua mea justiciam tuam.
17. Quóniam si voluisses sacrificium dedíssem : utique olocústis non deductáberis.
18. Sacrificium Deo spiritus contribútus : cor contritum et humilitátum Deus non despícies.
20. Tunc acceptábilis sacrificium justitiae oblátiones et olocúastra : tunc impóntem super altáre vítulos.
Glória Patri et Filio : et Spiritui Sancto.
On All Days continue thus:

ILLUMINA QUÆSUMUS DÓMINE
Deus tenebras nostras:
Per Dóminum nostrum
Jesum Christum Filium tuum,
qui tecum vivit et regnat in
unitate Spiritus Sancti Deus,
per omnia sæcula secu-ló rum.

(Weekdays: The Choir stand.)
3. AD COMPLETORIUM (III)

Dominica in passione ad cenam Domini
Passion Sunday (Lent 5) through Holy Wednesday

Edition Mark Ardrey-Graves

OPENING VERSICLES

At the beginning of the Office all face East, genuflect, then remain standing.

Officiant

Endomarius (Officiant)

Submissa voce
(In a low voice)

Con-verte nos Deus salutaris no-ster.

Choir

Et averte iram tuam a no-bis.

Officiant

Exsultavi voce
(in a higher voice)

De-us in adju-to-rium meum in-ten-de.

Choir

Do mine ad adjuvandum me fes-ti-na.

Solemn bow

Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sanc-to:

All stand

PSALMODY WITH ANTIPHON

Tone VIII.i.

PSALM 4.

1. Cum in - vo - cárem exaudivit me Deus justicie me - e:

in tribulatione di - la - tás - ti mi - chi.

2. Miserére me - i: et exáudi orati - o-nem me - am.

3. Filii hóminum úsquequó cor - de: ut quid diligitis vanitátem, et que - ri-tis men dá - ci - um?

4. Et scítete quóniam mirificavit Dóminus sanctum su - um: Dóminus exáudiet cum clamávero ad - e - um.

5. Irascimini et nolite peccáre que dictis in córdibus ves - tris: et in cubílibus vestris com - pun gi - mi - ni.

6. Sacrificáte sacrificium justicie et speráte in Do - mino: multi diceunt, Quis osténdit no - bis bo - na?

7. Signárum est super nos lumen vultus cui Do - mine: dedisti leticiam in cor - de me - o.


10. Quóniam tu, Do - mi - ne: singuláriter in spe consti-tu - i - sti me.
**PSALM 30.**

*Turn in, facing across quire*

1. *In te Dómine sperávi non confundar in e ter num:
   
   in justicia tu a li be ra me.*

2. *Inclina ad me aurem tu am: accélera ut e ru as me.*

3. *Esto michi in Deum protec to rem: et in domum refugii, ut sal vum me fa ci as.*

4. *Quóniam fortítudo mea et refugium meum tu: et propter nomen tuum dedáces me, et enut ri es me.*

5. *Édáces me de láqueo quem abscendéruit mi chi: quóniam tu es pro tec tor me us.*

6. *In manus tuas comméndo spiritum me um: redemisti me Dómine De us ve ri ta tis.*

*Turn east & solemn bow*
1. Qui habitat in adjutorio Altissimi:
in protectione Dei celci com mo ra bi tur.


3. Quoniam ipse liberavit me de laqueo venantium: et a verbo aspero.

4. Scapulis suis obumbravit tibi: et subennis ejus spec ra bis.

5. Scuto circundabit te veritas ejus: non timebis a timore nocturno.

6. A sagitta volante in die, a negcio perambulante in tenbris:
ab incursu et demonio meridiano.

7. Cadent a latere tuo mille, et decem milia a dextris tu is:
ad te autem non appropinquabit.

8. Verumptamen oculis tuis considra bis: et retributionem pecca to rum videt bis.


10. Non accedet ad te ma lum: et flagellum non appropinquabit tabernaculo tuo.
11. Quóniam ángelis suis mandávit de te: ut custódiánt te in ómnibus vi-is tu-is.

12. In má nibus por-ta-bunt me: ne forte offéndas ad lápidem pe-dem tu-um.


14. Quóniam in me sperávit liberábo e-um: pròtegam eum quóniam cognóvit no-men me-um.

15. Clamávit ad me et ego exáudiam e-um:

16. Longitúdiné diérum replébo e-um: et osténdam illi salu-ta-re me-um.

---

**Turn east & solemn bow**

Glória Patri et Filii-o: et Spiri-tui Sanc-to.

---

**All stand**


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**PSALM 133.**

*Turn in, facing across quire*

1. Ec-ce nunc benedicite Do-minum:

omnes ser- vi Do-mi-ni.

2. Qui statis in domo Do-miní: in átris domus De-i nos-tri.


GLORIA PATRI ET FILIO: ET SPIRITU SÆCTRÖ.


CHAPITRÈ
(Jeremia xiv 9)

Te in nobis es Dòmine et nomen sanitum tuum invocatum est super nos: ne derelinquas nos Dòmine Deus nos - - ter.

Deo gra - ti - as.
7

**RESPOND**

*Turn in, facing across quire*

WEEKDAYS: Beginner
(First Duty Choirister, First Form)

SATURDAY, SUNDAY, FEASTS: Beginner
(Decani Clerk, Second Form)

Mode VI.

Choir

Do - mi- ne, Com-men do__ spi- ri - tum, me-um.

Chorister OR Clerk

Re - de - mis - ti me Do - mi - ne De - us ve - ri - ta - tis

Choir

Com-men__ spi - ri - tum, me-um.

Chorister OR Clerk

In ma - nus tu - as

Choir

Do - mi ne, Com-men do__ spi - ri - tum, me-um.
HYMN

Mode VIII.

1. Culetor Dei memento, Te fontis et lavachri:
   Ro rem sibus sanctum, Te christate in novatum.

2. Fac cum canste somno, Csum ongulituis cor dis, Crucis figuraste signet.


4. Procul o procul vagantum, Portentasa somniorem: Procul estopericaci, Presidiatoras tu.

5. O tortuose serpens, Quimille per meandros: Fraudesque fleasas, Agiastae ta corde.


7. Corpus lucet fatis cens, Jacceat redivipeau lum: Christum tamen subipsoso, Medita bitermonde.


VERSICLE

Stay facing east.

Ut pupilam oculi sub umbra a larum tuaram protege nos.
NUNC DIMITTIS WITH ANTIPHON

Tone III.iv.

On Weekdays, skip to Nunc dimittis; on Saturdays, Sundays, and feasts continue as written on this page.

Beginner
(Senior of the Upper Step)

Rex

Choir

glo - ri - o - se in - ter sanc - tos tu - os,
qui sem-per es lau-da - bi - lis et ta - men in - ef - fa - bi - lis, tu in no-bis Do - mi - ne:
et no-men sanc - tum tu - um in - vo - ca - tum est su - per nos ne de-re - lin - quas nos, De - us nos - ter:
ut in di - e ju - di - ci - i nos col - lo ca - re dig - ne - ris.
In - ter sanc - tos et e - lec - tos tu - os. Rex be - ne - dic - te.

Duty

Nunc di-mittis servum tu - um Do - mi ne: secundum verbum tu - um in pa - ce.

Quia viderunt o - cu - li me - i: sa - lu - ta - re tu - um.

Quod pa - ra - sti: ante faciem omni - um po - pu - lo - rum.

Lumen ad revelati-o - nem gen - ti - um: et glóriam ple - bis tu - e Is - ra - el.

Gloria Pa - tri et Fi - li - o: et Spi - ri - tu - i Sanc - to.

Sicut erat in principio et nunc et sem - per: et in secula se - cu - lo - rum A - men.
On Weekdays, following Nunc dimittis, sing the text of the Antiphon on page 9, then turn to the Preces on page 11.

On Saturdays, Sundays, and Feasts of Nine Lessons, continue below:

**SATURDAYS and FEASTS:** Clerk (Non-Duty Senior of the Upper Step)

**SUNDAYS and HOLY WEDNESDAY:**
Clerk (Non-Duty Senior of the Second Form)

\[\text{Rex bene dicite}\]
\[\text{Satis per prospera dirigere servos.}\]

**Choir**
\[\text{In ter sanctos et electos tuos. Rex bene dicite.}\]

\[\text{Rex amen.}\]

\[\text{Ur gentem miseras pia per jejunia culpas.}\]

**Clerk**
\[\text{Rex amen.}\]

\[\text{Atque co lentum purum solennia mystica pasche.}\]

**Choir**
\[\text{Inter sanctos et electos tuos. Rex bene dicite.}\]
FIRST PRECES

Turn east.
Remain facing the Altar through the duration of the Office.
On Weekdays (ferias), all prostrate.

Ye. Pater nostro and Ave Maria, in secreto (privately) until the final phrase.

Pater nostro, qui es in celis, sanctificetur nomen tuum.
Adveniat regnum tuum. Fiat voluntas tua sicut in ccelo et in terra.
Panem nostrum quotidii num da nobis hodiern, et dimitte nobis debita nostra.
Sicut et nos dimittimus debitoriibus nostris.

Ave Maria gratia plena: Dominus vobiscum.
Benedicta tu in mulieribus, et benedictus fructus ventris tui, Jesus.

Officant


Ye. Et ne nos inducas in tentationem:

Choir


Ye. Sed libera nos a malo.

Officant


Ye. In pace in ipsum:

Choir


Ye. Dormi am et requiescam.
\textit{V. Credo in Deum, in secreto (privately) until the final phrase.}

Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, creatorem coeli et terrae.
Et in Jesum Christum, filium ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum.
Qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Maria Virgine,
Passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus, et sepultus.
Descendit ad infernos, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit ad celos.
Sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis, inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos.
Credo in Spiritum Sanctum, sanctam Ecclesiam catholicam, sanctorem communionem,
Remissionem peccatorum,

\textit{Officant}

\textit{V. Car - nis re - sur - rec - ti - ó - nem,}

\textit{Choir}

\textit{V. Et vi - tam e - tér - nam. A - men.}

\textit{Officant}

\textit{V. Be - ne - di - cá - mus Pat - rem et Fi - li - um cum Sanc - to Spi - ri - tu:}

\textit{Choir}

\textit{V. Lau - dé - mus et su - per - ex - al - té - mus e - um in sä - cu - la.}

\textit{Officant}

\textit{V. Be - ne - dic - tus es Dó - mi - ne in fir - ma - mén - to cae - li:}

\textit{Choir}

\textit{V. Et lau - da - bi - lis et glo - ri - ó - sus et su - per - ex - al - tá - tus in sä - cu - la.}

\textit{Officant}

\textit{V. Be - ne - di - cat et cus - tó - di - at nos om - ni - po - tens et mi - sé - ri - cors Dó - mi - rus:}

\textit{Choir}

\textit{V. A - men.
CONFITEOR

The Officiant, or the priest of greatest dignity [quod excellenta persona sacerdotis], says the following, in a low voice [privativum] so that it is only just heard by the choir [ut vix audiatur a choro].

Stay facing east.

Officiant Confiteor Deo: beáte Marie, ómnibus sanctis, (Sundays: Turn to face the choir) et vobis peccári nímis: cogitatio, locutione, et òpere, mea culpa. (Sundays: Turn to face the altar) Precor sanctam Mariam, ómnibus sanctos Dei, (Sundays: Turn to face the choir) et vos oráre pro me.

Choir Misereátor tui omnípotens Deus et dimittas tibi ómnia peccáta tua: liberet vos ab omni malo: consérves et confirmes in bono et ad vitam perdúcás etérnum.

Officiant Amen.

Choir Confiteor Deo: beáte Marie, ómnibus sanctis, et vobis peccári nímis: cogitatio, locutione, et òpere, mea culpa. Precor sanctam Mariam, ómnibus sanctos Dei, et vos oráre pro me.

(Sundays: Turn to face the choir)

Officiant Misereátor vesti omnípotens Deus et dimittas vobis ómnia peccáta vestra: liberet vos ab omni malo: consérvet et confirmet in bono et ad vitam perdúcát etérnum.

Choir Amen.

Officiant Absolutionem et remissiónem ómnium peccatórum vestrórüm [or, nostrórüm], spáciúm vere pentitentíie, emendatiónem vitae, grátiam et consolatiónem Sancti Spiritus: tribuat vobis [or, nobis] omnípotens et miséricors Dóminus.

Choir Amen.

SECOND PRECES

Officiant F. Deus tu convertus vivificabis nos.

Choir F. Et plebs tua leátibur in te.

Officiant F. Ostén de nobis Domine misericórdiam tuam.

Choir F. Et salutáre tuum da nobis.

Officiant F. Dignum Domine nocte ista.

Choir F. Si ne peccáto nos custódire.
Officiant

V. Misere re nos tri Domine.

Choir

R. Misere re nos tri.

Officiant

V. Fiat misericordia tua Domine super nos.

Choir

R. Quae tradit deum spe ri mus in te.

On Weekdays turn to page 15.

-------------------------

On Sundays continue thus:

Officiant

V. Domine Deus virtutum conversate nos.

Choir

R. Et ostende faciem tuam et salviremus.

Officiant

V. Domine exaudi orationem meam.

Choir

R. Et clamor meus ad te veniatur.

Officiant

V. Dominus vobiscum.

Choir

R. Et cum spiritu tuo.

Officiant

V. O remus:

Turn to Page 16 for the Collect.

-------------------------
On Weekdays continue thus:

Officiant

F. Ex - àu - di Dó - mi - ne vo - cem me - am qua cla - má - vi ad te.

Choir

B. Mi - se - ré - re me - i et ex - àu - di me.

The Choir recites without note [sine nota]:

1. Miserère mei Deus : secúndum magnam misericórdiam tuam.
2. Et secúndum multitudinem miseratiónum tuárum : dele iniquitátem meam.
3. Amplius lava me ab iniquitáte mea : et a peccáto meo mundá me.
4. Quóniam iniquitátem meam ego cognóscó : et peccátum meum contra me est semper.
5. Tíbi soli peccávi et malum coram te feci : ut justificerís in sermonibus tuís et vincás cum judicáris.
7. Ecce enim veritátem diéi exísti : incérita et occultá sapiéntie tue manifestásti mihi.
8. Asperses me yspó et mundábor : lavábis me et super nivem dealbábor.
10. Avértite fáciem tuam a peccátis meís : et omnes iniquitátes meás dele.
11. Cor mundum crea in me Deus : et spiritum rectum innova in viscéribus meís.
12. Ne projácias me a fácie tua : et spiritum sanctum tuum ne àueras a me.
13. Redde michi letítiá salutáris tui : et spiritu principáli confírma me.
15. Libera me de sanguinis Deus Deus salútis mee : et exultábit lingua mea justiciam tuam.
17. Quóniam si volúisses sacrificium dedísses : útique olocáustis non delectáberis.
18. Sacrificium Deo spiritús contribuéláus : cor contrítum et humilitátem Deus non despicies.
20. Tunc acceptábis sacrificium justitiae oblataiones et olocáusta : tunc impónent super altáre vitulos.
   Glória Patri et Filio : et Spiritú Sancto.

The Officiant stands.
Officiant

V. Dó-mi-nus vo-bis-cum.

Officiant

V. O-ré-mus:

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On All Days continue thus:

Illúmina quésurnus Dómine et totius noctis insidias, -
Deus tenebras nostras : tu a nobis repelle propi-

A-men.

(Weekdays: The Choir stand.)

V. Dó-mi-nus vo-bis-cum.

V. Be-ne-di-ca-mus Dó-mi-no.

V. Et cum spí-ri-tu tu-o.

V. Et el-amor me-us ad te vén-ni-at.

V. Et cum spí-ri-tu tu-o.
4. POST COMPLETORIUM: SALVE

Antiphon and Devotion for the Blessed Virgin

Edition Mark Ardrey-Graves

The Choir, upon completion of the Compline Office, reverence the Altar in pairs upon exiting the stalls, and process to the image of the Virgin in the Nave, gathering around the Image. Once there, a Cantor begins the Salve.

Salve

re-gi-na mi-se-ri-cor-die: Vi-ta

dul-ce do et spes nos-tra sal - ve. Ad te cla-ma - mus

ex - u-les fi-lii É - ve. Ad te sus-pi-ra - mus

gem-en -tes et flen - tes in hac lach - ry - ma - rum va-le.

Ey a er - go ad-voca ta nos-tra il - los tu - os mi-se-ri - cor - des.

ocu - los ad nos con - ver - te. Et Je - sus be-ne - dic - tus

fruc-tus ven - tris tu - is: no - bis post hoc ex - i-li - um os - ten - de.
Verse (Trope) 1

Virgo Mater ecclesiæ, e-ter-na por-ta glo-ri-e,
esto no-bis re-fu-gium,
ap-pud pa-trem et filium.

Verse (Trope) 2

Virgo clemens, Virgo pi-a, Virgo dul-cis O Ma-ri-a;
Ex-au-di pre-ces om-ni-um ad-te pi-e claman-ti-um.

O pi-a.
Verse (Trope) 3

Fun - de_pre_ces_tu_o_na_to, cru-ci-fix-o_vul-ne-ra-to,

et pro__ no_bis_____ fla__ gel__ la_to,

spi__ nis punc_to____ fel__ le po_ta__ to.

O____ mi_tis.

Verse (Trope) 4

Glo ri_o__ sa__ De_i ma_ter, cu-jus_na_tus__ ex-tat__ Pa__ ter,

o_ra__ pro_no_bis_____ om_ni__ bus,__

qui____ tu_i me_mo__ ri_am a__ gi__ mus.
Verse (Trope) 5

De - le_ cul - pas_ mi - se-ro - rum, ter-ge sor despec-ca - to - rum.

Do - na_ no - bis_ be - a - to - rum,

vi - tam tu - is_ pre - ci - bus._

O_ dul - cis_ Ma - ri - a._

Ave Maria gratia plena, Dóminus te - cum:

V. O - ré - mus:

Omnipotens sempitérne De - us, qui glorióse Virginis et Matris - ti:
Marie corpus et animam, ut
dignum Filii tui habitáculum
effici mererétur, Spíritu Sancto
cóoperánte, mirabiliter preparás
da, ut cujus commemoratio ne letámur, - - mur.
ejus pia intercessióne, ab instántibus malis,
a subitánea morte et improvisa liberé

Per eundem Dóminum nostrum - us. per ómnia sécula seculó - rum.
Jesum Christum Filium tuum:
Qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitáte
Spíritu Sancti De

A - men.
5. IN PACE IN IDIPSUM

COMPLINE RESPOND
Lent I to Passion Sunday

JOHN TAVENER (1490 - 1545)
edition Mark Andrey-Graves

MEDIUS

CONTRATENOR

TENOR

BASSUS

facing across quire

In pa ce,

In pa ce,

In pa ce,

In pa ce,

In idipsum dormiam et requiescam.

Si de ro

Si de ro

Si de ro

Si de ro

Si de ro

Si de ro
Rise & Turn back, facing across Quire

In pace, in id ipsum, dormiam et requiem sacram.
6. CHRISTE QUI LUX ES ET DIES (II)

HYMN for COMPLINE
Quadragesima to Passion Sunday

ROBERT WHITE (ca.1537-1574)
edition Mark Aedrey-Graves

BEGINNER: Duty Senior, Upper Stpt.

1. Christe quæ lux es et dies, Noctis te nebras de tegis,

Lucis que lumen credis, Lumen beatum prae dicans.

CHOIR (Duty Side)

TRIPLEX

2. Premun sancte Domine

MEIDIUS

2. Premun sancte

CONTRATENOR

2. Premun sancte Domine

TENOR

2. Premun sancte

BASSUS

2. Premun sancte Domine

ne, Defende nos in hac nocte, Sit nobis

ne, Defende nos in hac nocte, Defende nos in hac nocte.

ne, Premun sancte Domine, Defende nos in hac

ca mun sancte Domine, Defende nos in hac

ne, Defende nos in hac nocte, Sit nobis in te.
in te requiesces, "Qui est tam"

Sit nobis in te requiesces, Qui est tam noctem tribue,

c, Qui est tam noctem tribue,

qui est tam noctem tribue, tribue.

3. Ne gravis somnus irritat, Nec hostis nos surripiat,
4. Oculi somnium captant, Cor ad te semper vigilat, De - te - ra tu - a pro - te - gat,
Cor ad te semper vigilat, De - te - ra tu - a pro - te - gat, Fa - mu - los qui te di - li - gunt.

4. O - cu - li so - mnun ca - pi - ant, Cor ad te semper vigilat, De - te - ra tu - a pro - te - gat,
Cor ad te semper vigilat, De - te - ra tu - a pro - te - gat, Fa - mu - los qui te di - li - gunt.
5. De fensore nostro aspice, Insidiantes reprimi,

Gubernas tuos famulos, Quos sanguine mercatus es.

6. Memen to nostri Domine, In gravii

6. Memen to nostri Domine, Domine,

6. Memen to nostri Domine, In gravii

6. Memen to nostri Domine, In gravii isto

6. Memen to nostri Domine, Qui es fensor

In gravii isto corpore, Qui es fensor animae, A-
ani me, Ade stó no bis, Dom ine.

dé sto no bis Dom ine, A dé sto no bis Dom ine.

no bis Dom ine, Dom ine, A dé sto no bis Dom ine.

me, A dé sto no bis Dom ine, Dom ine.

A dé sto no bis Dom ine, A dé sto no bis Dom ine.

Full Choir

7. De o Patri sit glor i a, E jus que so li Fil i o:

Cum Spi ri tu Par acl i to, Et nunc et in per pe tu um. A men.
7a. MEDIA VITA IN MORTE SUMUS

NUNC DIMITTIS ANTIPHON
Lent III to Passion Sunday: Ferials

JOHN SHEPPARD (ca. 1515-1558)
edition Mark Ardrey-Graves

Soloist (Canon, Upper Step)

Me - di - a vi - ta

Duty Chorister, First form

Nunc di - mittis servum tu - um Do - mi - ne:

Choir (Duty Side)

secundum verbum tu - um in pa - ce

Non-Duty

Quia viderunt o - cu - li me - i sa - lu - ta - re tu - um

Duty

Quod pa - ra - sti ante faciem omni - um po - pu - lo - rum

Non-Duty

Lumen ad revelati - o - nem gen - ti - um et gloriæm ple - bis tu - ae Is - ra - el

All turn to face east

Duty

Gloria Pa - tri et Fil - i - o: et Spi - ri - tu - i Sanc - to

Non-Duty

Sicut erat in principio et nunc et sem - per: et in secula se - cu - lo - rum Amen
Choir turns in to face across

TRIPLEX

MEDIUS

CONTRATENOR I

CONTRATENOR II

TENOR (Editorial)

BASSUS

Me - di - a vi - 

ta

Me - di - a vi - 

ta

Me - di - a vi - 

ta

Me - di - a vi - 

ta

Me - di - a vi - 

ta

in mor - te

Me - di - a vi - 

ta
quem quae - ri - - - - mus ad - ju - to - - - -

quem quae - ri - - - - mus ad - ju - to - - - - rem

... rem ni - si te mus

... rem ad - ju - to - - - -

... rem ad - ju - to - - - - rem

... rem ni -

... rem ni - si te Do - mi - ne,

... rem ni - si te Do - mi - ne, ni - si te Do - mi - ne,

... rem, ni - si te Do - mi - ne

... rem, ni - si te Do - mi - ne, ni -

... rem, ni - si te Do - mi - ne, ni -

... rem, ni - si te Do - mi - ne,

... ni - - - -
quem quaerimus ad iustitiam
quem quaerimus rem
ad iustitiam rem
ad iustitiam
ad iustitiam ni si te Domine,
ni si te Domine, ni si te Domine,
ni si te Domine, ni si te Domine,
ni si te Domine,
ni si te Domine,
pro pec-ca-tis no-stris,
qui pro pec-ca-
tis no-stris, qui
ne qui pro pec-ca-tis no-
qui pro pec-ca-tis

qui pro pec-ca-tis no-
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Dux Chöster, Prīstī form
Nunc di\-mittis servum tu\-um Do\-mi\-ne:
secundum verbum tu\-um in pa\-ce_

Quia viderunt o\-cu\-li me\-i: sa\-lu\-ta\-re tu\-um_

Quod pa\-ra\-st\-i: ante faciem omni\-um po\-pu\-lo\-rum_

Lumen ad revelati\-o\-nem gen\-ti\-um: et gloria\-mple\-bis tu\-ae Is\-ra\-el_

All turn to face East

Gloria Pa\-tri et Fi\-li\-o: et Spi\-ri\-tu\-i\-_ Sanc\-to_

Sic\-ut erat in principio et nunc et sem\-per: et in saecula sae\-cu\-lo\-rum_ A\-men.
...et misericors salvator,
...se - ri - cors sal - va - tor,
et misericors salvator, a - marae morti,
et misericors salvator a - marae morti ti
...tor, et misericors salvator a - marae mort -...
241

248
et misericors saluator

sae - ri - cors sal - tor, et miseri - cors sal - vator

et miseri - cors sal - vator a - ma - rae mor - ti

et miseri - cors sal - vator a - ma - rae mor - ti

et miseri - cors sal - vator a - ma - rae mor - ti

et miseri - cors sal - vator a - ma - rae mor - ti
9a. IN MANUS TUAS (III)

In manus Corus: mr shepeorde

COMPLINE RESPOND,
Passion Sunday through Holy Week
Original Cof

On Weekdays: First Duty Choirmaster, First Form
On Saturdays, Sundays, Feast Days: Duty Clerk, Second Form

Beginner

In ma-nus tu-as

Full Choir

Do -- mi -- ne

Do -- mi -- ne

Do -- mi -- ne

com - men - do, com - men-do spi - ri-tum me-
com - men-do spi - ri-tum me-
com - men-do spi - ri-tum me-

Beginner

Re-de-mi-sti me Do-mi-ne De-us ve-ri-ta-tis.
9b. IN MANUS TUAS (III)

In manus Corus: mr sheperde

facing across the quire

COMPLINE RESPOND,
Passion Sunday through Holy Week
Transposed Up Perfect Fourth

JOHN SHEPPARD (c.1515-1558)
Edition Mark Ardrey-Graves

On Weekdays: First Daily Choir, First Form
On Saturdays, Sundays, Feast Days
Duty Clerk, Second Form

Beginner

In manus tu-as

MEDius

Do - mi - ne

TENOR

Do - mi - ne

BASSUS

Do - mi - ne

COM - men - do, com - men-do spi - ritum me-

com - men-do spi - ritum me-

com - men-do spi - ritum me-

Beginner

Re - de-mi-sti me Do - mi-ne De-us ve - ri - ta - tis.
commendo do, commendo spiritum

commendo spiritum me-

Beggar

In manus tuas

Do mine

Do mine

Do mine

commendo do, commendo spiritum

commendo spiritum me-

commendo spiritum me-
VERSE 1

VERSE 2 (Choir: Non-Duty Side)

Precamur Sancte Domine, Defende nos in hac nocte;
Sit nobis in te requies, quiem nocem tribue.

VERSE 3

Oculi somnum capiant, cor ad te semper vigilet;

Dextra tua protegat, famulos qui te diligunt.

VERSE 5
VERSE 6 (Choir: Non-Duty Side)

Memorato nostro Domine, In gravi esto corpore;

qui es defensor animae, Adesto nobis Domine.
VERSE 1

Pre - ca - mur_ Sanct - e Do - mi - ne, De - fen - de nos in hac noc - te;
Sit nobis in te requies, Qui et tam noc tem tribue.

VERSE 3

Oculi somnum capiant, Cor ad te sem per vigilet;

Dextra tua protegat, Famulos qui te diligunt.

VERSE 4 (Choir: Non-Duty Side)

VERSE 5
VERSE 6 (Choir: Non-Duty Side)

Me - men - to nos - tri Do - mi - ne, In gra - vi is - to cor - po - re;

qui es de - fen - sor a - ni - me, Ad - es - to no - bis Do - mi - ne.
Choir (Full)

A - men.
11a. MISERERE

PSALM ANTIPHON at COMPLINE
Passion Sunday through Holy Wednesday; Sundays after Trinity
UNTRANSPPOSED (See Critical Notes)

* After the Psalmody is Sung:

[Music notation image]
12a. SALVE REGINA

Salve regina, mater misericordiae: et spes nostra, salve.

Ad te clamamus, exsulles filii E-
Ad te suspiramus generantes et
flentes in hoc lacrimarum valle.
Eia ergo, advocata nostra, illos
utros misericordes oculos ad nos convertete.
12b. SALVE REGINA

pilyp alcoke

TRIPLEX
(Treble)

Medius
(Mean)

Contratenor
(Tenor I)

Bassus
(Tenor II)

Salve regina, mater miseri-

cor di ae: et spes nostra, salve.

cor di ae: vita dulce de et spes nostra, salve.

cor di ae: Vi ta dulce de et spes nostra, salve.

T. Ad te clama mus, ex su les fi li i E -

M. Ad te clama mus, ex su les fi li i E -

C. Ad te clama mus, ex su les fi li i E -

B. Ad te clama mus, ex su les fi li i E -
vae. Ad te sus-piramus gemen-tes et

vae. Ad te sus-piramus gemen-tes et

vae. Ad te sus-piramus gemen-tes et

vae. Ad te sus-piramus gemen-tes et

vae. Ad te sus-piramus gemen-tes et

vae. Ad te sus-piramus gemen-tes et

vae. Ad te sus-piramus gemen-tes et

vae. Ad te sus-piramus gemen-tes et

vae. Ad te sus-piramus gemen-tes et

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vae. Ad te sus-piramus gemen-tes et

vae. Ad te sus-piramus gemen-tes et

vae. Ad te sus-piramus gemen-tes et

vae. Ad te sus-piramus gemen-tes et
Et Jesum benedic tum fructum ventris tu i, nobis post hoc exsilium ostende.

Virgo mater ecclesi ae, Aeterna porta gloriae, Esto nobis refugium Apud Aeternam portam gloriae.
12c. SALVE REGINA

pilyp alcoke

PHILIP ALCOCK (fl. 1524-1543)
Edition Mark Ardrey-Graves

TROPE MARIAN ANTIPHON
Transposed Down Perfect Fourth

TRIPLEX (Contratenor)

Sal - ve re - gi - na, ma - ter mi -

MEDIUS (Tenor)

Sal - ve re - gi - na, ma - ter mi - se - ri -

CONTRATENOR (Bassus I)

Sal - ve re - gi - na, ma - ter mi - se - ri -

BASSUS (Bassus II)

se - ri - cor - di - ae: et spes nos - tra, sal - ve.

cor - di - ae: vi - ta dul - ce - do et spes nos - tra, sal - ve.

cor - di - ae: Vi - ta dul - ce - do et spes nos - tra, sal - ve.

Ad te cla - ma - mus, ex - su - les fi - li - i E -

Ad te cla - ma - mus, ex - su - les fi - li - i E -

Ad te cla - ma - mus, ex - su - les fi - li - i E -

Ad te cla - ma - mus, ex - su - les fi - li - i E -
Et Jesus benedictum fructum ventris tuorum, nobis post hoc excessimum ostende.

Virgo Mater ecclesiae, Aeterna portae, Esto nobis refugium.

Aeterna porta gloriae, Esto nobis refugium A pud.
A - pud Pa - trem et Fi - li - um.

Pa - trem et Fi - li - um.

um A - pud Pa - trem et Fi - li - um.

O cle - mens.

O cle - mens.

O cle - mens.

O cle - mens.

Vir -

Vir - go cle - mens, vir - go pi - a,

Vir - go cle - mens, vir - go pi - a, Vir -

go dul - - cis, O Ma - ri - - a,

Ex - au - di
dul - cis, O Ma - ri - - a, Ex - au - di
Ad te pie clamantium.

Preces omnium ad te pie clamantium.

O pia.

O pia.

O pia.

O pia.

Fun de preces tu o nato Crucifix o, vulnera.

Fun de preces tu o nato Crucifix o, vulnera.

Tu o nato vulnera.

Fun de preces Crucifix o,
ra - to, Et pro no - bis fla - gel -
ra - to, Et pro no - bis fla - gel-la - to,
ra - to, Et pro no - bis fla - gel - la -
Et pro no - bis
la - to, Spi - nis puncto, fel - le po - ta - to.
Spi - nis puncto, fel - le po - ta - to.
Spi - nis puncto, fel - le po - ta - to.
Spi - nis puncto, fel - le po - ta - to.

O cle - mens, O pi - - - a,
O cle - mens, O pi - - - a, O dul -
O cle - mens, O pi - a, O dul -
O cle - mens, O pi - a, O dul -

O cle - mens, O pi - a, O dul -

O cle - mens, O pi - a, O dul -

O cle - mens, O pi - a, O dul -

O cle - mens, O pi - a, O dul -

O cle - mens, O pi - a, O dul -

O cle - mens, O pi - a, O dul -

O cle - mens, O pi - a, O dul -

O cle - mens, O pi - a, O dul -

O cle - mens, O pi - a, O dul -

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O cle - mens, O pi - a, O dul -

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O cle - mens, O pi - a, O dul -

O cle - mens, O pi - a, O dul -

O cle - mens, O pi - a, O dul -
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III. Books and Articles: Contextual/Related fields


**IV. Primary Sources, Facsimiles, and Music Editions (Scholarly/Performing)**


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*Processionale ad usum matris eccle Sarum recentissime ac de novoampliatum et ultra prins impressa (tam in brevi quod notulis et pacibus) uscta antiquam ac modernum veritatem solertii vigilantia ac diligenti cura correctum atque emendatum.* Rouen: Morin, 1517.

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V. Web resources

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www.british-history.ac.uk/rchme/

*Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music (DLAMM)*
www.diamm.ac.uk

*Early English Books Online*
www.eebo.chadwyck.com/home

*English Heritage: Old Sarum*
list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1015675

*The Eton Choirbook Project (Newcastle University)*
research.ncl.ac.uk/etonchoirbook/

*The Experience of Worship in Late Medieval Cathedral and Parish Church*
www.experienceofworship.org.uk

*The Gregorian Institute of Canada’s Sarum Chant Page*
www.sarum-chant.ca/
VI. Lectures and Personal Correspondences


__________. “Music and Ritual in Late Medieval England.” Lecture given at Christ Church, Bronxville, NY, January 16, 2011.
