

# “David’s Mystery and Mary’s History”: The Alternative Canticles at Evensong, (i) From the Reformation to the Interregnum

Geoffrey Webber

## Introduction

The two Gospel canticles, the Magnificat and Nunc dimittis (hereafter M & Nd), lie at the heart of Evensong in the Anglican church. The ecstatic and radical utterances of the young Virgin Mary and the resigned contentment of the dying Simeon form two highly contrasted texts that have inspired composers across the centuries. However, many people who attend Evensong today may be unaware that the liturgy of the Church of England allows for the M & Nd to be replaced by alternative canticles (hereafter ACs), the Cantate Domino and Deus misereatur (hereafter CD & Dm), being Psalms 98 and 67 respectively. This paper (in two parts) will consider the origins of the ACs and attempt to outline the waxing and waning of their popularity from the Reformation to the present day.

## The Prayerbook liturgy

When the first Book of Common Prayer (hereafter the Prayerbook) was introduced in 1549, the process of reducing the daily round of offices in the Sarum rite to just two services, Matins and Evensong (or Morning Prayer and Evening Prayer), led to the presence in Evensong of two canticles, the Magnificat taken from Vespers and the Nunc dimittis from Compline, both appended with a concluding doxology (‘Glory be to the Father’, etc.). The English texts were those that had already been established in the King’s Primer of 1545, in which Henry VIII had provided a standardised form of non-liturgical devotional worship in English. The original 1549 rubrics can be seen here:

### *Evensong*

*March 1549 print of the Book of Common Prayer (with the full texts removed).<sup>1</sup>*

Then psalmes in orde as they bee appointed in the Table  
for psalmes, except there be proper psalmes appointed for  
that daye. Then a lesson of the olde testamente as is appoin-  
ted likewise in the kalender, except there be proper lessons  
appointed for that daye. After that (*Magnificat anima mea domi-  
nũ*) in Englishe, as foloweth.

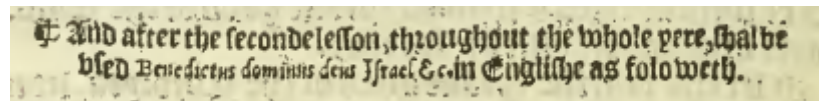
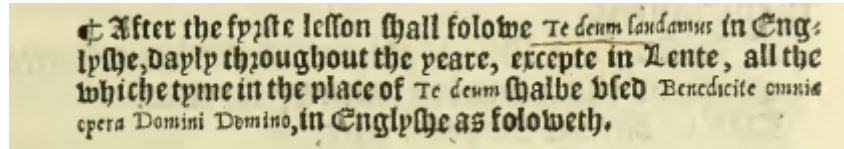
Then a lesson of the newe testamente. And after that (*Nunc  
Dimittis spiritũ tuũ*) in Englishe as foloweth.

<sup>1</sup> Facsimiles of all the Prayerbooks shown here can be found via the website ‘The Book of Common Prayer’:  
<http://justus.anglican.org/resources/bcp/england.htm>.

No alternatives are given. The provision for Matins, however, did contain an alternative element. The principal items were the Te Deum laudamus, from the old Office of Matins, and the Benedictus, from the Office of Lauds, but in Lent the Te Deum was to be replaced by the Benedicite, a 'lesser' canticle at Lauds.

### Matins

March 1549 print of the Book of Common Prayer (with the full texts removed).



The provision for both services in the 1549 Prayerbook is summarised in the following table:

#### MATINS 1549

##### Regular item

**Te Deum laudamus** (Hymn of Praise)

**Benedictus** (Canticle of Zechariah)

##### During Lent

**Benedicite** (Song of the Three Children)

[no variation]

#### EVENSONG 1549

**Magnificat** (Canticle of Mary)

[no variation]

**Nunc dimittis** (Canticle of Simeon)

[no variation]

This pattern remained in place for three years, till in 1552 a new Prayerbook was issued that introduced the ACs to Evensong. In Matins, the Benedicite was given as an option that could be used at any time of the year (meaning that the Te Deum could now be sung in Lent), and a new alternative was given to the Benedictus, also to be used at any time, the Jubilate Deo, Psalm 100. The new pattern can be summarised as follows:

#### MATINS 1552

##### Regular item

**Te Deum laudamus** (Hymn of Praise)

**Benedictus** (Canticle of Zechariah)

##### Alternative

**Benedicite** (Song of the Three Children)

**Jubilate Deo** (Psalm 100)

#### EVENSONG 1552

**Magnificat** (Canticle of Mary)

**Cantate Domino** (Psalm 98)

**Nunc dimittis** (Canticle of Simeon)

**Deus misereatur** (Psalm 67)

The text for Evensong states that after the First Lesson comes the "...Magnificat, *in Englishe*, as foloweth....Or els this Psalme. Cantate domino. psa. xcviij....Then a Lesson of the newe Testament. And after that (Nunc dimittis) *in Englishe*, as foloweth...Or els this Psalme. Deus misereatur. psal. lxvii."

The full pages can be seen here:

## An ordre for Eueninge

prayer throughout the yeare.

The Priest shall saye.

**O**ure father whiche arte. &c.

Then the people shall saye.

**O** Lord open thou oure lippes.

Answer.

And our mouth shall shewe forth thy prayse.

Prisest.

**O** God make spede to saue vs.

Answer.

Lord make haste to helpe vs.

Prisest.

Gloze be to the father, & to the sonne, & to the holy ghost.

As it was in the beginninge, is now, and euer shalbe: worlde without ende. Amen.

Prayse ye the Lord.

Then Psalmes in ordre as they be appoynted in the Table for Psalmes, excepte there be proper Psalmes appoynted for that daye. Then a Lesson of the olde Testamente as is appoynted by the people in the Kalender, except there be proper Lessons appoynted for that day. After that, Magnificat, in Englishe as foloweth.

Magnificat.

**M**y soule doeth magnifye the Lord: and my sprytle hath reioyced in God my Sauoure.

For he hath regarded the lowlyenes of his hand-mayden:

For behold from henceforth, all generacions shal call me blessed.

For he that is mightie, hath magnified me: and holpe is his name.

And his mercye is on them that feare him: throughout all generacions.

He hath shewed strength with his arme: he hath scattered the proud, in the ymaginacion of theyr heartes.

He hath putte downe the mightie from their seate: and hath exalted the humble and meke.

He hath fylled the hungrye with good thinges: and the riche

Eueninge prayer.

riche he hath sente emptye awayne.

He remembreth his mercy, hath holpen his seruaunte Israel: as he promysed to our forefathers, Abraham and his seede for euer.

Gloze be to the father, & to the sonne: & to the holy ghost. As it was in the beginninge, is now, and euer shalbe: worlde without ende. Amen.

Or is this Psalme.



Pringe vnto the Lord a newe songe: for he hath done merueylous thinges.

Cantate domino. ps. xcviij.

With his owne right hand, and with his holpe arme: hath he gotten himselfe the victorie.

The Lord declared his saluacion: his righteounesse hath he openly shewed in the sight of the heathen.

He hath remembred his mercy and trueth towarde the house of Israel: and all the endes of the worlde haue seen the saluacion of our God.

Shew your selues ioyfull vnto the Lord al ye landes: synge, reioyce and geue thanks.

Prayse the Lord vpon the harpe: sing to the harpe with a Psalme of thankesgeuinge.

With trumpettes also and Chatowes: & shewe your selues ioyfull before the Lord the kynge.

Lette the sea make a noyse and all that therein is: the rounde worlde, and they that dwell therein.

Let the floudes clappe their handes, and let the hylles be ioyful together before the Lord: for he is come to iudge the earth.

With righteounesse shal he iudge the worlde: and the people with equitie.

Gloze be to the father. &c. As it was in the. &c.

Then a Lesson of the new Testament. And after that (Nunc dimittis) in Englishe, as foloweth.

Luke. 2. 29. &c.



Lord, nowe lettest thou thy seruaunte departe in peace: accordinge to thy worde.

For myne eyes haue seen: thy saluacion. Which thou hast prepared: before the face of all people.

Co

Eueninge prayer.

To be a lighte to lighten the Gentyles: and to be the gloze of thy people Israel.

Gloze be to the father, and to the sonne: and. &c.

As it was in the beginninge, and is now. &c. Amen.

Or is this Psalme.

Deus miseratur. psal. lxxv.



God be merciful vnto vs, and blesse vs: and shewe vs the light of his countenance, and bee merciful vnto vs.

That thy way may be knowne vpon earth: thy sauinge health amonge all nations.

Let the people prayse thee O God: yea let all the people prayse thee.

O let the nations reioyce and be gladde: for thou shalt iudge the folke righteously, and gouerne the nations vpon earth.

Lette the people prayse thee O God: lette all the people prayse thee.

Then shal the earth bring forth her increase: and God, euen our owne God shall geue vs his blessinge.

God shall blesse vs: and all the endes of the worlde shall feare him.

Gloze be to the father, and to the sonne: and to the. &c.

As it was in the beginninge, is now, and euer. &c.

So why did these changes occur? Significant theological differences existed between the two Prayerbooks. The 1549 book still focused largely on the devotional life of the individual, thus being closer to the traditional books known as primers that contained a wide variety of texts for private devotional use in the Sarum rite, often in English. However, the clear intention of the 1552 book was to establish a public liturgy that would encourage worshippers to attend church and join in the worship of God.<sup>2</sup> The opening response "And *my* mouth shall shew forth thy praise" (my italics) in 1549 became the familiar "And *our* mouth shall shew forth thy praise" in 1552, with the singular

<sup>2</sup> See D. MacCullough, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* (Yale University Press, 1996), p.510.

form of 'mouth' enshrining the corporate nature of the enterprise, and the new order instructed for the first time that the Creed should be said by all present.

With regard to the canticles, the texts of both the M and Nd were the songs of individuals, and the selection of Psalms 98 and 67 may have been motivated at least in part by the more collective nature of praise evident in these psalms. In the CD there is verse 5, "Shew yourselves joyful unto the Lord, all ye lands: sing, rejoice, and give thanks", and in the Dm there is the even more relevant verse 3, "Let the people praise thee, O God: yea, let all the people praise thee", a verse that is then repeated as verse 5, though without the word 'yea' (a difference not evident in the original Hebrew or standard Latin versions of the text).<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the most obvious choice of psalm in this respect would have been Psalm 95, opening with "O come, let us sing unto the Lord...Let us come before his presence with thanksgiving: and shew ourselves glad in him with psalms", but this psalm was already in place as the invitatory psalm at Matins, the 'Venite'. In the same vein, the Dm opens with "God be merciful unto us, and bless us", emphasising the whole congregation rather than the individual.

The choice of Psalms 98 and 67 must also have been based on the theological similarities between their texts and those of the Gospel canticles that they are designed to replace. In the M, Mary places much emphasis on the actions of God with phrases such as "He hath shewed strength with his arm", a phraseology that might well have been inspired by similar references in the psalms, such as Psalm 98, verse 2: "With his own right hand, and with his holy arm: hath he gotten himself the victory", and the passage "He remembering his mercy hath holpen his servant Israel..." seems to recall Psalm 98, verse 4: "He hath remembered his mercy and truth towards the house of Israel". Just as the Nd opens in a more reflective mood after the exuberance of the M, the Dm begins with the request for God to be merciful to his people, though as we have seen, the theme of praise returns with verse 3. A full exposition of the links between these psalms and canticles was published in 1610 by the theologian John Boys in his *An Exposition of al the principal scriptures used in our English Liturgie*. He goes through each item of the Prayerbook in turn, and opens his section on the CD as follows:

The Church hath done well in joining to the *Magnificat*, *Psalm 98*: for the one is a perfect *echo* to the other (all Interpreters agreeing [he references Augustine, Jerome, Euthymius, Calvin and Générard]) that *David's* mystery, and *Mary's* history, are all one. Whatsoever is obscurely foretold in his *Psalm*, is plainly told in her *Song*: as he prophesied, "O sing unto the Lord a new song;...shew yourselves joyful" so she practised: "My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit rejoiceth in God my Saviour".<sup>4</sup>

He describes the Dm as "The parallel of the *Nunc dimittis*", being a "prophecy of Christ", and interprets God's "countenance" as the face of Jesus, again citing many past theologians. However, Boys says nothing about when or how often the ACs might be used at Evensong.

One further aspect of Psalm 98 that might have influenced its selection is the Christian interpretation of the second half of verse 2, where the victory referred to is seen as prophesying Christ's defeat of death through the resurrection. This Christo-centric understanding of Psalm 98 would certainly have appealed to the more radical reformers involved in devising the 1552 Prayerbook, for whom the use of the song of the Blessed Virgin Mary may have felt uncomfortably close to an aspect of pre-Reformation devotion that they were keen to abandon. At a more

<sup>3</sup> 'Yea' was later also added to verse 5 in the 1662 Prayerbook.

<sup>4</sup> Page 62 (spelling and punctuation modernised). The Dm is discussed from page 76.



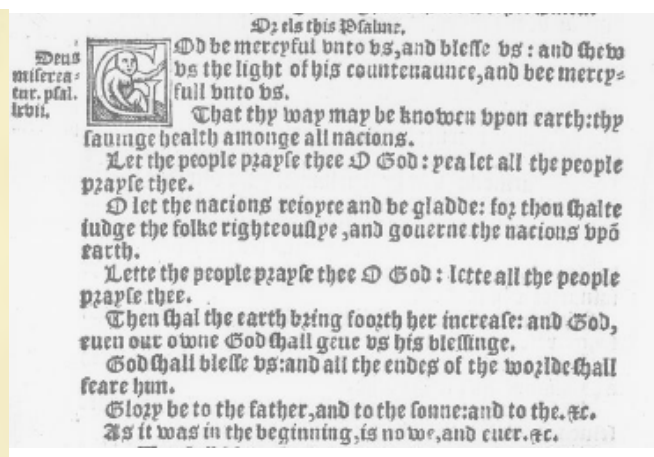
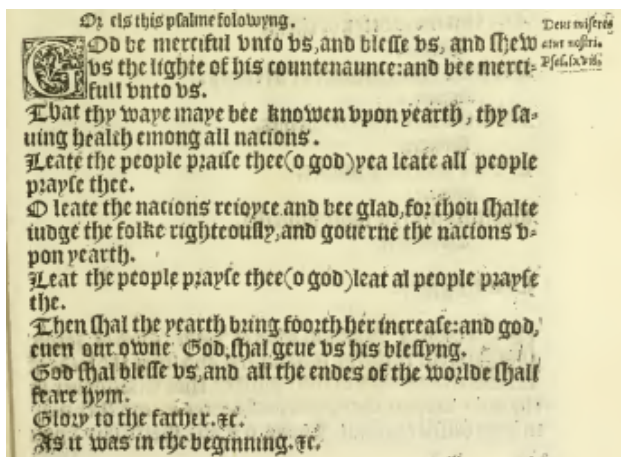
mundane level, the choice of these two psalms may also have been affected by their lengths, with the CD and M being almost identical in this respect, and the relative dearth of short psalms making Psalm 67 with seven verses (one of which is a repeat) a suitable fit for the Nd with only four.<sup>5</sup>

### Psalms 67 and 98 in the 1549/1552 Prayerbooks

It is important to note for this investigation that both the CD and Dm are present in the earlier 1549 Prayerbook, though in other contexts. Indeed, the Dm had already been employed as an alternative psalm within the 1549 Prayerbook, though not at Evensong. It appears in the Marriage service as an alternative to Psalm 128, where it has remained ever since. One early setting of Psalm 128 (in the Wanley partbooks) is marked 'Weddings'. As can be seen below, apart from spelling differences, the text of the Dm in the 1549 Wedding Service is the same as that found in the 1552 Evensong (though with minor differences in spelling and punctuation), and both have a Doxology:

Deus misereatur  
1549 (Marriage service)

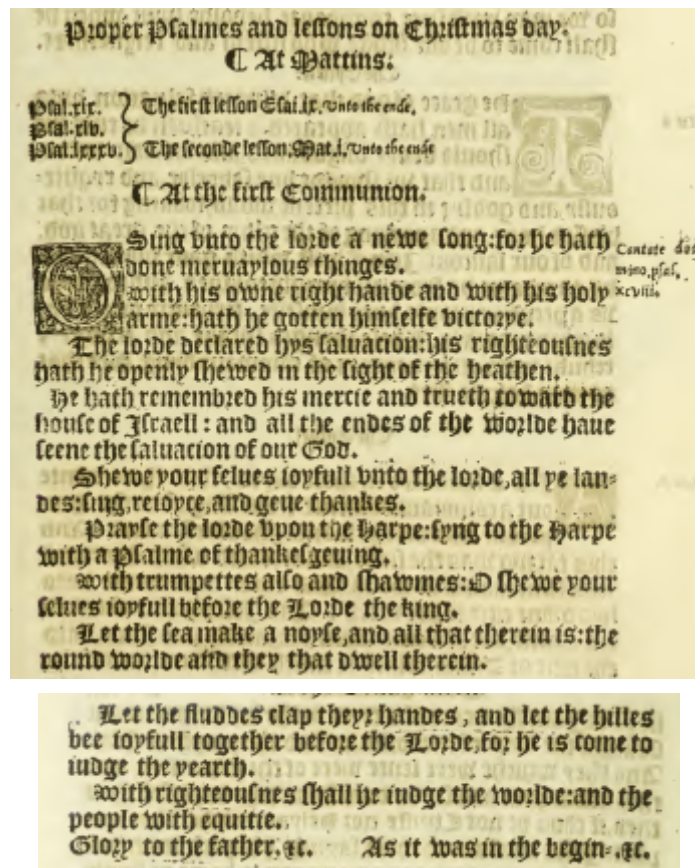
Deus misereatur  
1552 (Evensong)



Both psalms also appear amongst those given as introits for the Communion service in the 1549 Prayerbook.<sup>6</sup> Psalms 98 and 67 were assigned to major feasts, the CD to Christmas Day and Dm to Trinity Sunday. Here is the CD assigned to the first Communion Service on Christmas Day in 1549:

<sup>5</sup> In the first edition of *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1879-89), Hubert Parry wrote in his entry on the CD that its introduction at Evensong came about "probably to obviate the recurrence of the Magnificat when that canticle happened to be in the second lesson of the day". Although this factor may possibly have been in the minds of the compilers of the 1552 Prayerbook (in addition to those discussed above), Parry's comment may have been influenced by the instructions in the Restoration Prayerbook of 1662 which discussed another possible problem of duplication, stating that the ACs should not be sung on days when these psalms occurred in the regular monthly cycle.

<sup>6</sup> These introits were in effect a revision of the Use of Sarum: instead of combining a non-biblical text with a psalm verse and doxology, as was common in medieval liturgies, the non-biblical texts were removed and more psalm verses or complete psalms were used instead, plus the doxology.



These Communion introits disappeared from the Church of England liturgy with the 1552 Prayerbook, representing a further distancing from previous practice in the new Church of England. Thus between 1549 and 1552 the CD and Dm appear in the context of the Communion service, and the Dm also occurs in the Marriage service; after the introduction of the ACs in 1552, only the Dm appeared elsewhere in the Prayerbook – in the Marriage service as already noted, but also as a ‘proper’ psalm for Matins on Whitsunday to follow the preces.<sup>7</sup>

### The ‘most ancient’ Deus misereatur?

In the eighteenth century, James Hawkins, writing in his *General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, claimed that the ‘most ancient Deus misereatur’ was composed by Nicholas Storgers. He refers to it in a footnote concerning the Short Service by Thomas Tallis:<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Two or three proper psalms were allocated to Morning and Evening Prayer in the 1552 Prayerbook (at Christmas, Easter, Ascension and Whitsun), in effect shifting the use of proper psalms from the Communion to the other two principal services. Of the two surviving copies of the 1552 Prayerbook that are available online, one indicates psalm “xlvi” and the other has “lxvii”. The 1559 and later printings of the Prayerbook have “lxvii”, so it seems likely that 47 was a mistake in one of the 1552 printings.

<sup>8</sup> John Hawkins, *General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (London, 1776), vol.3, p.263. Hawkins suggests that the lack of these ACs implies that the Tallis service is connected to the 1549 Prayerbook, yet as John Caldwell has observed (*The Oxford History of English Music*, vol.1, (Oxford University Press, 1991), p.290), the material for the Communion Service is that found in the 1552 and not the 1549 Prayerbook.

\* It may be remarked that neither the psalms, *Jubilate Deo* in the morning, nor *Cantate Domino* and *Deus misereatur* in the evening prayer, occur in this service of Tallis; the reason is, that in the first settlement of the choral service they were not included, the most ancient *Jubilate* being that of Dr. Giles, and the most ancient *Deus misereatur* that of Mr. Stogers, both printed in Barnard's Collection, hereafter mentioned. When the *Cantate Domine* was first taken in appears not.

Hawkins appears to base his claim on the evidence of John Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick* (London, 1641), in which Barnard clearly includes the Dm by Stogers as part of the composer's Service of 4 Parts, as shown in his index:

Mr. Thomas Tallis first Service of 4. parts.			
TALLIS. I.	{	1. Service.	{ Venite. 1.
			{ Te Deum. 2.
			{ Benedictus. 3.
	{	2. Service.	{ Kyrie Eleeson. 4.
			{ Nicene Creed. 4.
	{	At the Com:	{ Sanctus. 5.
			{ Gloria in excel. 5.
	{	Evening P.	{ Magnificat. 6.
		{ Nunc Dimittis 7.	

---

M. Nich: Stogers Service of 4. Parts.			
STROGERS	{	1. Service.	{ Venite. 7.
			{ Te Deum. 8.
			{ Benedictus. 10.
	{	2. Service.	{ Kyrie eleeson. 11.
			{ Nicene Creed. 11.
	{	Evening P:	{ Magnificat. 13.
			{ Nunc Dimittis. 14.
	{		{ Deus Misereatur, 14.

Nicholas Stogers has been aptly described by John Caldwell as a "shadowy figure of the early Elizabethan period".<sup>9</sup> Little is known about him beyond his appointment at St Dunstan-in-the-West in the City of London from 1564-75. Some surviving church music in Latin suggests he was already active as a composer during the reign of Queen Mary, even though his known employment dates from the Elizabethan period. The few compositions we have by him show him to have been a composer of considerable ability, including a 'Fantasia' in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book (No. 89) noted for its several false relations.

Stogers was amongst the earliest generation of composers who composed a more-or-less unified complete service to be sung across the three principal services. The most celebrated example is of course that by Tallis, whose service is often called the 'Dorian' due to its mode. The precise dating of Tallis's service is far from clear, but its influence on the younger generation of composers such as Byrd and Morley was considerable, as has been amply demonstrated by Craig Monson in his

<sup>9</sup> John Caldwell, *The Oxford History of English Music*, vol.1 (Oxford University Press, 1991), p.332. Stogers is not present in the useful list by Peter Le Huray in his book *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660* (Cambridge University Press, 1967/78) entitled 'Edwardian and Early Elizabethan Services and Anthems' (pp.183-5), collating all the repertoire found in late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century sources that would seem to date from this period.

article “Throughout all generations’: intimations of influence in the Short Service styles of Tallis, Byrd and Morley’.<sup>10</sup> Not considered in Monson’s study, the service by Strogers occupies a very similar musical idiom to Tallis’s setting, and is also in the Dorian mode. However, unlike the services by Tallis, Byrd, Morley and others, it appears to contain a setting of the Dm, as well as the M & Nd.<sup>11</sup> As with Tallis’s service, no sources of the work survive from the sixteenth century, but there is one crucial feature of Strogers’s setting that suggests that it was indeed originally conceived as part of his music for Evensong, and not for the Marriage service or other contexts: it shares a head-motif with several of the other movements in the service, as shown below:

### Nicholas Strogers: Short Service (Cosyn’s Virginal Book and the Peterhouse partbooks)

VENITE EXULTEMUS (O come let us sing unto the Lord)



BENEDICTUS (Blessed be the Lord God of Israel)



NUNC DIMITTIS (Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace)



DEUS MISEREATUR (O God be merciful unto us and bless us)



Moreover, a number of other musical phrases in the Dm are also closely related to other parts of the service; for example, the music for the textually similar verses 3 & 5 occurs in the Venite at the end of the main text and start of the doxology. It should be noted that services were often loosely connected with particular anthems, sharing the same scoring and general tonality (the most famous clear instance of this being the anthem ‘Almighty and everlasting God’ and the Short Service of Orlando Gibbons), but the musical connections in the case of the Strogers Dm and the other items of the service are particularly strong.<sup>12</sup>

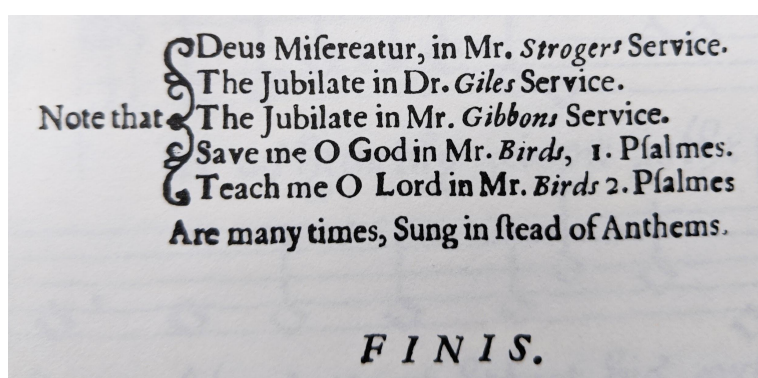
<sup>10</sup> *Byrd Studies*, ed. A. Brown and R. Turbet (Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp.83-111.

<sup>11</sup> See *Nicholas Strogers, Evening Service (Magnificat, Nunc dimittis & Deus misereatur)*, ed. G. Webber (Church Music Society / Oxford University Press, 2021).

<sup>12</sup> John Morehen gives a table of known service-anthem pairings in his article ‘The ‘burden of proof’: the editor as detective’, in *English Choral Practice, 1400-1650*, ed. J. Morehen (Cambridge University Press, 1995), p.213.



However, even if the case for thinking that Strogers designed his Dm as part of his service is strong, its seventeenth-century sources suggest that it also enjoyed a wider liturgical use. Whilst the Venite, Benedictus and Nunc dimittis in the above example are transcribed from one of the earliest surviving sources, the “Six Services for the Kings Royall chapell” found at the end of Benjamin Cosyn’s Virginal Book (c.1620),<sup>13</sup> the Dm is missing from this source. It is included in the large collection of music compiled for Peterhouse, Cambridge, in the 1630s and ’40s, but not positioned together with the other parts of the service. The same occurs in the British Library partbook Add. MS 29289: the service appears amongst other settings, sitting between those of Tallis and Byrd, but the Dm appears later in the manuscript after the beginning of the section marked ‘Anthems’, which begins with Mundy’s *O Lord the maker* on fol.83.<sup>14</sup> Barnard’s positioning of the Dm within the service itself is unique, but crucially he also acknowledges the flexibility that existed at the time with regard to how certain psalms were used liturgically, specifically mentioning the Jubilate Deo at Matins, and the Dm by Strogers, noting that such psalm settings were often sung as anthems:



If the piece was sometimes performed as an anthem or in the Marriage service then it is understandable that many compilers would choose to place it under anthems rather than services in their collections, contrasting with Barnard’s more correct positioning of the work as part of Evensong.

### Other settings of the Cantate Domino and Deus misereatur and their use up to the Interregnum

The remainder of this article will consider all the other settings of the Dm to survive from the period, along with all extant settings of the CD, following a roughly chronological order.<sup>15</sup> In assessing whether particular settings may have been sung as ACs, it seems logical to assume that those which have a concluding doxology are more likely to have been originally intended for use as ACs than those which finish with just ‘Amen’, or in the early years of the English liturgy ‘So be it’.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, if a surviving setting can be shown to relate musically to the music of a service by the same composer (as in the case of Strogers), then this would increase the likelihood that it was originally intended for this particular liturgical use.

<sup>13</sup> British Library, R.M.23.I.4, from fol.123.

<sup>14</sup> The source contains four settings of the Dm, all placed in the anthem section, the others being by Mundy, Sheppard and Tye. (The [EECM database](#) erroneously places the Tye setting as the second item in the collection amongst the services.)

<sup>15</sup> Modern bibliographical references to these and other early settings of Psalms 67 and 98 can be misleading since they tend to label them as ‘canticles’ or as being ‘Evening Service’, even when their original liturgical use is not clear.

<sup>16</sup> On the presence or absence of doxologies at the conclusion of settings of psalm texts, see John Morehen, ‘The English Anthem Text, 1549-1660’, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, Vol.117, No.1 (1992), p.65.

Set against the significant quantity of settings in English of the M and Nd that survive from the period, the number of extant settings of Psalms 67 and 98 is meagre indeed. This simple variance suggests that the use of the ACs at Evensong, at least in choral establishments, was not common. Four surviving settings of Psalm 67 from the period can quickly be removed from our investigation: two are contrafacta (motets originally with Latin texts) and two were composed as part of a festal preces and psalm for Whitsunday Matins, as explained above.

Settings of Psalm 67 not connected to Evensong:

Child, William	Preces & Ps 67 for Whitsunday Matins
Smith, William	Preces & Ps 67 for Whitsunday Matins
Tallis, Thomas	God be merciful = <i>Absterges Domine</i>
Taverner, John	God be merciful = <i>Mater Christi</i>

Excluding these and the Dm by Stogers, this leaves the following settings of the CD and Dm to be considered, listed alphabetically by composer, most of which survive only in fragmentary states in a single source:

Psalm 98 - Cantate Domino: *O sing unto the Lord a new song, for he...*

Hinde, Richard/Henry	Several sources
Marson, George	Incomplete (London, Royal College of Music)
Mundy, William?	Incomplete (Queens' College, Cambridge)
Sheppard, John	Incomplete (York Minster)

Psalm 67 - Deus misereatur: *God be merciful unto us and bless us*

Anonymous	Incomplete (London, BL Add. MS 22597)
Farrant, John?	Incomplete (Oxford, Bodleian Library)
Mundy, William?	Incomplete (London, British Library)
Sheppard, John (i)	Several sources
Sheppard, John (ii)	Incomplete (York Minster)
Tye, Christopher	Several sources
Woodson, Leonard	Incomplete (Oxford, Bodleian Library)

Our knowledge of the earliest English service music of the Reformation comes from the Wanley partbooks (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Mus. Sch. e. 420-422, c.1548-9) and the Lumley partbooks (British Library, MSS Royal Appendix 74-76, c.1548), together with two publications - John Merbecke's *Booke of Common praier noted* in 1550 and John Day's *Certaine notes set forth in fowre and three parts* in 1565 – a largely retrospective collection containing some of the Wanley repertoire. The first three of these sources pre-date 1552 and so have no connection with the ACs at Evensong, and it is the Lumley partbooks that Tye's setting is found, confirming that it was not originally intended for use as an AC. A late source of Tye's setting of Psalm 128, 'Blessed are all they that fear the Lord' (the Chirk Castle partbooks c.1618-33) describes it as 'the marriage songe', reminding us that his Dm may also have been intended for this context. It may also simply have been intended as an anthem, or possibly as an introit psalm at Communion, though the settings from this context noted above by Child and Smith suggest that chanted forms were used rather through-composed settings in this particular context.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Tye's Dm also exists in a later, more extended musical version, discussed below.



Amongst the English works of John Sheppard, who died in 1558, a single partbook in York Minster contains both a CD and Dm that are only known from this source. A different setting of the Dm survives complete, and is found in three sources. The musical style of the complete Dm is very similar to Tye's setting, and it probably also dates from the Edwardian period. Its text is much closer to the Prayerbook version than that found in Tye's setting, but given the late date of all its sources, it is possible the original text may have been modified by this point. In one source, the Chirk Castle partbooks, there are only two differences to the Prayerbook text, both in verse 1, highlighted below in green, and in another, the only difference is the additional 'O' at the start.

1549/1552 Prayerbook

1. God be merciful unto us, and bless us: and shew us the light of his countenance, and be merciful unto us.

Sheppard, *O God be merciful* (US-NYp MSS Mus. Res. \*MNZ. Chirk Castle partbooks, c.1618 – c.1633)

1. O God be merciful unto us, and bless us: and shew the light of thy countenance, and be merciful unto us.

Sheppard, *O God be merciful* (BL Add. MS 29289; partbook, c.1625-30)

1. O God be merciful unto us, and bless us: and shew us the light of his countenance, and be merciful unto us.

The opening 'O God', and the use of 'thy countenance' is also found in Tye's setting (as shown below), and although it is not known which was composed first, the similarity may owe something to the practice identified by David Wulstan in which composers may have taken their words "from earlier settings..., rather than seeking their text in the Service books".<sup>18</sup>

Tye, *O God be merciful* (version in Lumley partbooks, c.1548)

1. O God be merciful unto us, and bless us: and shew the light of thy countenance upon us.

Both Tye's Dm and Sheppard's complete setting will receive further attention below since they remain relevant to our investigation long after their dates of composition, even though at least the Tye Dm can be shown to have had no original connection with Evensong.

Sheppard's incomplete CD and Dm present a rather more tantalising picture with regard to the history of the ACs. The single source is a bass partbook at York Minster, the so-called Dunnington-Jefferson manuscript, copied c.1630-40.<sup>19</sup> Both pieces are transcribed in full in the Appendix (A). The manuscript contains mainly anthems, and there are no settings of the M and Nd or morning canticles, but items 3 and 4 in the manuscript are the CD and Dm respectively, both complete settings of the psalms with doxology. The text of the Dm is notable for starting with 'God be merciful' as in the Prayerbook, rather than 'O God be merciful', though again the lateness of the source must be remembered. The two are clearly a musical pair, being in the distinctive musical mode known as 'E la mi', employing the relatively unusual F5 clef.<sup>20</sup> The question arises as to whether they might be connected to a more complete setting of the liturgy already known by Sheppard. The clef and mode do not match with Sheppard's First or Second Service, nor to the Service 'for trebles' (which survives only as an organ score). However, in the mostly contratenor partbook in the British Library Add. MS 29289 (c.1625-30) there is a Te Deum, Magnificat and

<sup>18</sup> David Wulstan, *Tudor Music* (J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd, 1985), p.284.

<sup>19</sup> I am grateful to Tim Hone of York Minster for supplying images from this manuscript.

<sup>20</sup> There seems no reason to doubt that this music is indeed by Sheppard, despite the lateness of the source, and much of his characteristic phrase-shaping is evident (a style admittedly shared with his Chapel Royal contemporaries such as Parsons and Mundy), as in the rhythmic shaping of 'and ever shall be' in the two Glorias.

Nunc dimittis headed 'in e la mi' (fols 86-88).<sup>21</sup> In the example below one can see the openings of the M, Nd, CD and Dm against one another.

**John Sheppard:** items from BL Add. MS 29289 and the York Dunnington-Jefferson MS

Magnificat (in E la mi: British Library MS)

Ct? (C4)

My soul doth mag - ni - fy the Lord and my

Nunc dimittis (in E la mi: British Library MS)

Ct? (C4)

Lord, now let - test thou thy ser - vant de - part in peace

Cantate Domino (York MS)

B (F5)

O sing un - to the Lord a new song

Deus misereatur (York MS)

B (F5)

God be mer - ci - ful un - to us and bless us and shew

Although a precise match is difficult to assess since the parts are not the same, the harmony implied by the bass part seems to fit well with the movement of the contratenor part. Moreover, the final cadences of the four evening canticles seem to correspond. Could this be an echo of one of the first attempts to compose a setting of the service that included both of the evening ACs, soon after the introduction of the 1552 Prayerbook? Certainly their presence amongst the anthems in the manuscript should not discount this possibility, given the interchangeable usage already discussed.

Since the Use of Sarum was restored under Queen Mary only a year after the introduction of the 1552 Prayerbook, there was little time at this juncture for the new ACs in Evensong to be put into practice. The earliest printed evidence of canticle use we have from the early years of the reign of Elizabeth I is found in John Day's book, *Certaine notes set forth in fowre and three parts* (1565):



<sup>21</sup> Transcriptions will be included in Stefan Scot (ed.), *John Sheppard IV: Vernacular Church Music*, Early English Church Music (London: British Academy/Stainer & Bell, forthcoming).

In the Wanley and Lumley collections there are signs of composers aiming to provide musically related compositions for use within the same service, and in Day's book we find larger collections of pieces that form a service going across Matins, Communion and Evensong. The publication has three such services, all of which have only the first-choice canticles for Matins and Evensong, i.e. the Te Deum and Benedictus, and M & Nd, together with two further settings of the M & Nd:

*Settings of the M & Nd in Day's Certain notes*

- 2 settings (for men) - Thomas Causton
- 1 setting (for men) - [Thomas] Whytbroke
- 1 setting (for men) - Knight
- 1 setting (for children) - Thomas Causton

Given its retrospective contents, it is generally assumed that Day's collection was originally assembled in the reign of King Edward VI, but only later published under Queen Elizabeth I. The presence of 5 settings of the M & Nd and none of the ACs provides no evidence of an early take-up of the ACs, though if its compilation pre-dates the 1552 Prayerbook, then this is only to be expected since the ACs had not yet been introduced. Further evidence might also be gleaned from publications of the Psalter issued around this time. Robert Crowley's *The Psalter of David* contains various extra liturgical items including the M & Nd, but this was published in 1549, so again before the ACs were introduced. However, when John Day brought together material by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins and others for his highly successful *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* in 1562, again only the M & Nd are to be found.

Returning to the manuscript evidence, one of the few manuscript partbooks that survive from the early Elizabethan period is the tenor partbook BL Add. MS 22597, dated c.1565-85. This contains an anonymous setting of the Dm, with a text that is closer to that used by Tye rather than Sheppard, though here a full doxology is used; a transcription is given in the Appendix (B). The differences between the texts in the Lumley version of Tye's Dm and the anonymous setting can be seen below, indicated in purple:

*Tye, O God be merciful (version in Lumley partbooks)*

1. O God be merciful unto us, and bless us: and shew the light of thy countenance upon us.
  2. That we may know thy way upon earth: thy saving health among all heathen.
  3. Let the people praise thee, O God: let all the people praise thee.
  4. O let the people rejoice and be glad: that thou judgest them righteously, and governest all the nations upon the earth.
  5. Let the people praise thee, O God: let all the people praise thee.
  6. God, even our own God, give us thy blessing: that the earth may bring forth her increase.
  7. God bless us: and let all the ends of the world fear him.
- So be it.

*Anon., O God be merciful (BL Add. MS 22597, tenor partbook)*

1. O God be merciful unto us, and bless us: and shew the light of thy countenance upon us.
2. That we may know thy way upon earth: thy **salvation** among all heathen.
3. Let the people praise thee, O God: let all the people praise thee.
4. O let the people rejoice and be glad: that thou judgest **the folk** righteously, and governest all the nations upon the earth.
5. Let the people praise thee, O God: let all the people praise thee.
6. God, even our own God, give us **his** blessing: that the earth may bring forth her increase.
7. God bless us: and let all the ends of the world fear him.

**Glory be the Father etc.**

The presence of the doxology increases the likelihood that the work was intended for use as an AC rather than simply an anthem, though the Marriage service again remains another possibility.

Like Sheppard's settings, the two by Mundy also only survive in seventeenth-century sources; one of these has only recently come to light, located inside a printed Prayerbook in Cambridge. Although confusion surrounds the name Mundy, since this could refer either to William or his son John, the musical style of the fragmentary survivals considered here point to the older composer William, who was a younger contemporary of Sheppard at the Chapel Royal. Mundy's setting of the Dm is known only from the same partbook that contains the Service 'E la mi' by Sheppard: BL Add. MS 29289. Like Sheppard's setting it begins with the Prayerbook 'God be merciful' rather than 'O God' and the text proceeds to follow the Prayerbook exactly throughout (including doxologies), though as with Sheppard's setting it is possible that some modifications were made after the piece was composed. The setting of the CD survives in a tenor partbook at Queens' College, Cambridge interleaved inside a 1636 printing of the Prayerbook: Old.Lib. G.4.17. Both pieces are transcribed in the Appendix (C & D).

Unlike Sheppard's pair in the York manuscript, these settings of the CD and Dm are not related, since the parts suggest that the CD was based on D (minor), whereas the Dm was based on F. If one compares the parts to the extant service settings by Mundy, the tenor part of the CD is written with a C5 clef and descends to low A (with one flat as key signature), a disposition not found in his several known service settings (though the tenor parts do not survive in all cases); however, there is one match regarding the high contratenor part of the Dm, since the same high clef, key signature and exact vocal range (g-c") can be found in the Service in four parts for men, known from the Hamond and Peterhouse partbooks. The top-most part is lacking in the Peterhouse source, but the earlier Hamond partbooks, containing only the Te Deum, have the second contratenor part. A comparison of the two parts shows them to be musically very similar, as well as having the same technical specifications. A complete transcription of the Te Deum is in the Appendix (E), and the start of both may be compared here:

## Mundy, William?: opening of *God be merciful* and *Te Deum* (contratenor parts)

Mundy, *God be merciful* (partbook BL Add. MS 29289)

Clef: C2

God be mer - ci - ful un - to us and bless us, and shew us the light of his  
coun - te - nance and be mer - ci - ful un - to us. That thy way may be known up - on - earth, -  
thy sav - ing health a - mong - all na - ti - ons. Let the peo - ple praise

Mundy, *Te Deum* (Contratenor partbook BL Add. MS 30481)

Clef: C2

We know - ledge thee to be the Lord. All - the earth doth wor - ship thee the  
Fa - ther e - ver - las - ting. To thee all an - gels cry a - loud, the heavens and all -  
the powers there - in, there - in. To thee che - ru - bim and se - ra - phim con - tin - u - al - ly do

There seems a good possibility that this DM and *Te Deum* could have originally been part of the same service, Mundy's Service for Men in four voices.

The setting of Psalm 67 by Farrant survives only in a post-Restoration source, a bass partbook dating from the late 1660s, possibly compiled at Winchester. The attribution is simply "Mr Farrants" and probably refers to one of the two composers called John Farrant active in Salisbury in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, probably father and son. Elsewhere in the partbook there is a service setting attributed to Farrant "of Windsor", i.e. Richard Farrant (d.1580), and another assigned to Farrant "of Salisbury". The Psalm 67 is set apart from either of these services, though its style, range and key signature point to a possible connection with the service by one of the Salisbury Farrants. The text is exactly that of the early Prayerbooks but there is no doxology, the setting ending at "shall fear him". If it does indeed hold a relationship with the other 'Salisbury' movements – a *Te Deum*, Magnificat and Nunc dimittis from his widely disseminated Short Service in the Dorian mode – it would thus seem to be probably as an anthem, rather than an AC.

In considering the early seventeenth-century evidence concerning the use of ACs at Evensong there are two avenues to explore: first, the ways in which older settings were employed liturgically in the early seventeenth century, and second, the new settings which date from this later period. With regard to liturgical practice, the sources themselves often contain significant clues. In the Queens' College, Cambridge source already mentioned, the morning canticles included with the Matins pages of the Prayerbook are as follows:

Te Deum	7 settings (Tallis, Gibbons, Tomkys, Causton, Parsley, Sheppard, Parsons)
Benedicite	1 setting, anonymous
Benedictus	7 settings, as above
Jubilate Deo	1 setting, anonymous

Here we have clear evidence of occasional use of the 1552 ACs at Matins.<sup>22</sup> When we arrive at the canticles for Evensong, the following works are present:

Magnificat	7 settings, as above (Tallis, Gibbons etc.)
Magnificat & Nunc dimittis	Tye
Magnificat & Nunc dimittis	(verse) Gibbons
Magnificat & Nunc dimittis	(verse) Cobbhold

The next music given is for the responses after the Creed, so no ACs are included at Evensong. However, that is not quite the end of the story, since later in the book, after the Psalter, comes a section marked 'Anthems'. Thirty anthems are included, and the first two are settings of Psalms 98 and 67:

O sing unto the Lord a new song	Mr Munday
God be merciful unto us	Dr Tye

This may be entirely coincidental, but coupled with the evidence of Barnard's note from around the same time that the ACs were often used as anthems, the prominent position of these two psalms (in their correct AC order) as the first two anthems in the Queens' source may perhaps similarly reflect the dual usage of such works.

The Queens' source is also informative on account of its texts. The musical reading of Tye's Dm is close to the later, more extended version of the work found in the Hamond partbooks (British Library, Add. MSS 30480-84, dating from the late sixteenth century), but the text in the Queens' manuscript has been altered, at times requiring adjustments to the music. Three versions of the opening section of the tenor part are shown below, from the Lumley, Hamond and Queens' sources. The syllabic nature of Tye's original setting is clearly evident in Lumley, with no melismas at all in this opening section, as was typical of the style of the late 1540s. The Hamond version shows how the music has been expanded in length, and also how mild decoration has gradually been added, with the introduction of melismas. The text is largely the same, but one crucial difference appears with the use of 'his' rather than 'thy' before 'countenance', taking it closer to the standard Prayerbook version, though the opening 'O' before 'God' remains, despite its absence in the Prayerbook. However, the Queens' manuscript reflects a much more uncompromising approach by containing the precise Prayerbook text, thus distorting the originally comfortable word stresses, and cramming in the extra text "and be merciful unto us" at the end of the section, as shown below.

<sup>22</sup> A handful of settings of the Jubilate Deo survive by mid sixteenth-century composers which may have been used at Matins, including a simple homophonic setting by Robert Johnson (I), who died c.1560, that survives alongside a Te Deum, another homophonic setting in the Short Service by William Mundy, and a published setting by Thomas Whythorne in his essentially secular collection *Songs for three, fouer and five Voyces* (1571) where it follows a setting of the Venite.



# Christopher Tye: *O God be merciful unto us* (Tenor part)

## 1) Tye, *O God be merciful unto us*: LUMLEY version

8 5  
O God be mer-ci-ful un - to us, un - to us, \_\_\_\_\_ O

8 10  
God be mer-ci-ful un - to us, un - to us, \_\_\_\_\_ and bless us, and bless us, and

8 15 20  
bless us, \_\_\_\_\_ and shew the light of thy coun - te-nance up -

8 25  
on us, and shew the light of thy coun - te-nance up - on us, and shew the

8 30  
light of thy coun - te-nance up - on us.

## 2) Tye, *O God be merciful unto us*: HAMOND version

8 5  
O God be mer-ci-ful un - to us, [un - to us,] \_\_\_\_\_ O

8 10  
God be mer-ci-ful un - to us, [un - to us,] \_\_\_\_\_ and bless us, and bless us, and

8 15 20  
bless us, and bless us, and bless us, and bless us, and

8 25  
shew the light of his coun - te-nance up - pon us, and shew the light of his coun - te-nance [up -

8 30  
- on us,] and shew the light of his coun - te-nance up - pon us.

3) Tye, *O God be merciful unto us*: QUEENS' version

God be mer-ci-full un - to us, un - to us, God

be mer-ci-full un - to us, un - to us, and blesse us, and blesse us, and

blesse us, and blesse us, and blesse us, and blesse us, and

shew us the light of his coun - te - nance, coun-te-nance, and shew us the light of his coun - te-nance, coun -

- te - nance, and shew us the light of his coun - te-nance, and be mer-ci-full un-to us.

The Queens' source of Tye's Dm even squeezes in the text of the doxology during the final 'So be it' section of Tye's work, as shown here (alongside the rather unsatisfactory underlay given in the Hamond source):

(clef C5; underlay unclear)

Hamond

him, fear him so be it so be it,

(clef C5)

Queens'

him. Glo - ry be to the Fa - ther, and to the Son, and to the Ho-ly Ghost; as it was in the be -

so be it,

gin - ning, is now and ev - er shall be, world with-out end. A - men.

A similar process of up-dating texts to conform with the Prayerbook can be found in other sources from the period. In the Peterhouse sources of the Dm by Nicholas Stogers, although the opening 'O God' (as in Tye's Dm and one of Sheppard's settings) is left unchanged, some of the partbooks have 'his countenance' (as in the Hamond version of Tye's setting) but others such as the Cantoris Medius book (MS 34) have 'thy' which has been crossed out and replaced by 'his', thus revealing the likely original use of 'thy' by Stogers (as also appears in Barnard's 1641 print). The version of Sheppard's complete Dm in the Chirk Castle partbooks contains a doxology, though this is not present in the other sources. Unlike the Queens' version of the Tye setting where the doxology is placed under pre-existent music (even if this is the later, extended version of the piece which may or may not have been produced by Tye), here a new musical section has been added, closely

based on the previous material, perhaps to make it suitable for use as an AC or in the Marriage service.<sup>23</sup>

Such textual alterations in the Queens', Peterhouse and Chirk sources show an increasing concern for fidelity to the text of the Prayerbook in the early seventeenth century, and the insertion or addition of doxologies in the settings of the Dm by Tye and Sheppard suggests that they were now being marshalled into use as either ACs or in the Marriage service, whatever their original use may have been. In the Hamond partbooks, recently dated by Katherine Butler to c.1570, Tye's Dm is even placed amongst other service settings rather than amongst the anthems, suggesting that its use as an AC may already have been common by this point, even though this version contains no doxology.<sup>24</sup>

#### Hamond Partbooks (order as in BL Add. MS 30480)

<i>Composer</i>	<i>Service movements:</i>
Partyne	M & Nd
Parsley	Te Deum
Adams	Venite
Anon.	Benedictus
Parsley	Benedictus
Mundy	Te Deum
<b>Tye</b>	<b>Dm</b>
Anon.	Jubilate
Adams	Nd
Tye	Nd
Whytbroke	M
Anthems, beginning with Tye's 'Give alms of thy goods'	

The Dm by the Windsor & Eton composer Leonard Woodson (c.1565-c.1640) presents something of a puzzle because it survives only in an organ score with no text, so it is not immediately apparent whether it contains a doxology: see transcription in the Appendix (F). Being in D minor with one flat and in the 'verse' style, the music is similar to the other movements that make up a service setting by Woodson in the same source (the so-called Batten organ book, c.1630), a Te Deum, Benedictus, Magnificat and Nunc dimittis. The Dm is located immediately after the Magnificat and Nunc dimittis. It is then followed by a verse anthem, 'Have mercy upon me O God' in the same general style, with an opening that is particularly close to the start of the Magnificat, as can be seen in the following example which presents the openings of this group of four consecutive pieces:

<sup>23</sup> This has been reproduced in the edition of the work by David Evans and Graeme Cotterill for Cathedral Press (Bangor, 2011).

<sup>24</sup> Katherine Butler notes that the contents of the collection shows that "The priority was music for the canticles of Morning and Evening Prayer": Katherine Butler (2019) [From Liturgy and the Education of Choirboys to Protestant Domestic Music-Making: The History of the 'Hamond' Partbooks](#) (GB-Lbl: Add. MSS 30480-4), Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle, 50:1, 29-93, DOI: 10.1080/14723808.2018.1546477, p.61.

**Leonard Woodson:** openings of Magnificat, Nunc dimittis, 'God be merciful unto us' and 'Have mercy upon me' in the Batten Organ Book (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tenbury 791) from fol.104v

Verse: My soul

Verse: Lord now lettest thou

Verse: God be merciful

Verse: Have mercy upon me

Whilst the scores of the Magnificat and Nunc dimittis have several markings to indicate the text in each section, unfortunately the 'God be merciful' has none after the opening incipit. Neither is it possible to determine the text distribution according to the number of separate musical sections, since two verses are sometimes combined together, as in the chorus section in the Magnificat which contains verses 5 and 6. The final short section of each is almost certainly an Amen, but that can occur after a psalm text without doxology. In the absence of further evidence, one might conclude that this group of pieces either contains the two main evening canticles together with either one AC and a companion anthem, or with two companion anthems.

The final two pieces to be considered are both 'verse' settings of the CD, one by George Marson, Organist and Master of the Choristers of Canterbury Cathedral (d.1632), found in the partbooks associated with John Barnard's 1641 print (now in the Royal College of Music, MSS 1045-51), and one attributed to Richard Hinde of Lichfield Cathedral in the Peterhouse partbooks.<sup>25</sup> Marson's setting is only known through Barnard's manuscripts, though the organ and bass parts are missing, whereas Hinde's setting survives in several sources.<sup>26</sup> Neither setting has a doxology and so they cannot clearly be identified as ACs, though one might observe that they both contain lively and dramatic renderings of certain parts of the text, a feature that was to become such a characteristic of later settings. In Marson's CD we encounter duelling trumpets and shawms, as shown in the example below, together with a sea that makes 'a noise', and the strumming of a harp.

<sup>25</sup> In one of the partbooks (MS 45), the piece is headed 'Rich: Hind: 1632'.

<sup>26</sup> The one surviving Bass partbook in Barnard's collection does in fact have an indexed setting of 'O sing unto the Lord' but this is in fact a setting in a different key of Psalm 96, which shares the same textual incipit.

### George Marson: Psalm 98 (Barnard MSS collection, bass and organ part missing)

[Clefs C3]

Ct Dec

Ct Can

With trum-pets al - so, with trum-pets al - so and with \_\_\_\_

With trum-pets al - so, with trum-pets al - so and with \_\_\_\_

[Time signature C:]

shawms, o shew your-selves joy - ful be

shawms, o shew your-selves joy - ful be - fore the Lord, o

Hinde's setting, described in the organ book with the Peterhouse partbooks as an Anthem for 5 voices, abandons the Prayerbook translation and adopts that of the 1611 King James Bible, which may also suggest that it was probably not being considered as a liturgical canticle. In the following verse section we find more trumpet fanfares and the portrayal of cornets, rather than shawms, as chosen for the King James text.

### Richard Hinde: Psalm 98 (Peterhouse partbooks)

[Vocal clefs C1; organ score C1 and F4]

M Dec

M Can

Org.

With trum - pets, with trum - pets, with \_\_\_\_ trum - pets and the

With trum - pets, with trum - pets, with \_\_\_\_ trum - pets

Verse

sound of a cor - net, and make a joy - ful noise un-

and the sound of a cor - net, and make a joy - ful noise

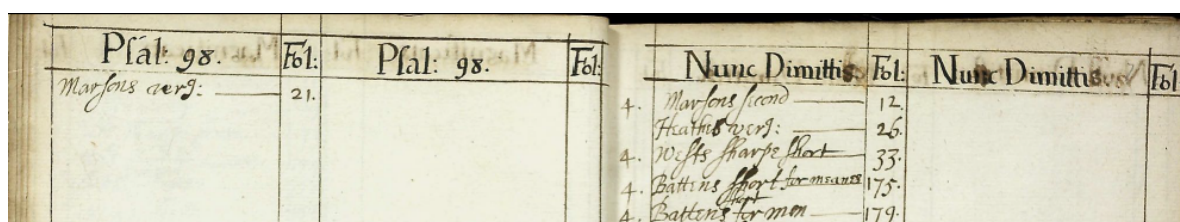
Further liturgical evidence can be found in John Barnard's manuscript partbooks which contain indexes at the start and end of each book, moving through Matins, Communion and Evensong, with separate lists for the Full Anthems and Verse Anthems. The headings for each liturgical item are not entirely consistent between the partbooks, but regarding Evensong the following are given,

revealing not only Barnard's awareness of the Dm as an AC (which we know from his edition of the Strogers setting), but also, in two partbooks, 1048 and 1046, the similar function of the CD.

### John Barnard, liturgical headings in RCM MSS 1045-45

		Folio	Heading
1045	Medius Decani	[2v]	Magnificat
		[3r]	Nunc dimittis
		[3v]	Nunc dimittis
		[4r]	Psalm 67
		[4v]	Full Anthems
1048	Medius Cantoris	[6v]	Magnificat
		[7r]	Magnificat
		[7v]	Psalm 98
		[8r]	Nunc dimittis
		[8v]	Nunc dimittis
		[9r]	Psalm 67
1046	Primus Contratenor Decani	[5v]	Magnificat
		[6r]	Magnificat
		[6v]	Psalm 98
		[7r]	Nunc dimittis
		[7v]	Nunc dimittis
		[8r]	Psalm 67
1049	Primus Contratenor Cantoris	[5r]	Nunc dimittis
		[5v]	Nunc dimittis
		[6r]	Psalm 67
1047	Tenor Decani	[7v]	Magnificat
		[8r]	Nunc dimittis
		[8v]	Nunc dimittis
1050	Tenor Cantoris	[6r]	Nunc dimittis
		[6v]	Nunc dimittis
		[7r]	Psalm 67
1051	Bass Cantoris	[5v]	Magnificat
		[6r]	Nunc dimittis
		[6v]	Nunc dimittis
		[7r]	Psalm 67

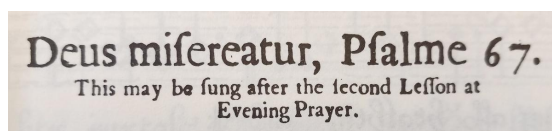
Many of the columns in the partbook indexes have been left blank, and the Magnificat has even been completely forgotten in MS 1049, but some lists of pieces and their page numbers are present. No piece is listed in any of the columns for Psalm 67, though two of the partbooks, Cantoris contratenor and Cantoris bass, mention three settings of the psalm already encountered, those by Tye, Sheppard and Strogers (all in fact absent in the surviving partbooks). But in the Decani contratenor partbook MS 1046, where Psalm 98 is given its own column (between the M and the Nd), a single piece is listed:



Marson's verse setting of Psalm 98 is thus presented here in the liturgical position as an AC, though it is also listed in the indexes of some of the partbooks under 'Verse Anthems'. This may



suggest that Marson's setting was considered by Barnard to be suitable for use as an AC, even though it has no doxology. A similarly liberal approach is indicated in his 1641 print, where besides stating that canticle settings can be used as anthems, as already noted, he also states in the case of Tye's Dm that it "may be sung after the second Lesson at Evening Prayer", again despite its lack of doxology, as shown here:

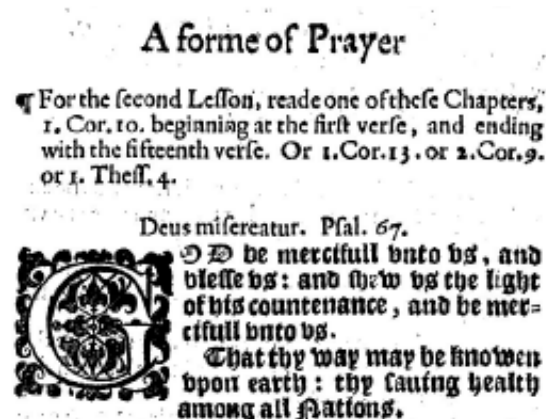


It would seem that Barnard saw the psalm text itself as the critical matter, not whether it was followed by a doxology or not. However, it seems that this view was not shared by everyone at the time, since others went to the trouble of inserting the precise Prayerbook text with doxology, when there was no other need to do so. In the Peterhouse collection, Hinde's Psalm 98 is indexed under "Anthems of Praise", and unlike Barnard's collection, the headings in the section "Ad vespertinas" only include the M and Nd.<sup>27</sup>

One further piece of liturgical evidence may be considered, a published order from 1636 that not only adds to the positive evidence concerning the use of ACs in the early seventeenth century but also provides a rare clue as to the type of occasion on which an AC may have seemed appropriate. 1636 saw one of the major outbreaks of plague, mostly in London and Newcastle, and a special order of Common Prayer was issued to mark the end of the outbreak with the following title:<sup>28</sup>

*A forme of common prayer, together with an order of fasting: for the auerting of Gods heauie visitation vpon many places of this kingdome, and for the obtaining of his blessings vpon vs The prayers are to be read euery Wednesday during this visitation. Set forth by his Maiesties authority. 1636*

Evening Prayer contains the M as usual, but after the carefully chosen options for the second lesson, the Nd is absent; instead we find the Dm (just the start being shown here):



The opening verse of the Dm fits well with the intentions set forth in the title of the publication, asking for God's "blessings upon us". Moreover, whilst Simeon may have died 'in peace' as in the text of the Nd, this sentiment may not have seemed particularly sensitive at a time when thousands

<sup>27</sup> The Dm by Storgers, along with the Dm contrafactum of the motet Absterges Domine by Thomas Tallis, are listed under "Full Anthem". Three categories are given, of Praise, Prayer and Penitence, and the Dm settings appears in various partbooks under the headings of both Praise and Prayer.

<sup>28</sup> A digital copy is available on the [Proquest](#) platform.

had recently died of the plague. The order is also helpful in revealing the practice whereby only one of the ACs is employed, showing that the two psalms were considered as entirely separate alternatives that did not need to be used together in the same service.

## Conclusion

If one considers overall the use of the ACs in the 1552 Prayerbook before the Interregnum, it seems that the earliest alternative to catch on with any frequency was the Jubilate Deo at Matins, since several settings, which include a doxology, survive from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries as part of complete services.<sup>29</sup> Regarding the ACs for Evensong it seems clear that the sixteenth-century setting of the Dm by Nicholas Strogers was one of the earliest to have been conceived as part of a whole service, and that various settings of the Dm were sung as alternatives to the Nd with some frequency by the early seventeenth century, in some cases using earlier settings with adapted texts. However, this investigation has highlighted the fact that other surviving settings also have claim to be amongst the ‘most ancient’ ACs, especially the CD and Dm pair by Sheppard found in the bass partbook at York, possibly composed as part of his Service in E la mi, and that other echoes of possible AC use can be found in a few isolated pieces, notably the unrelated settings of the CD and Dm by William Mundy, the Dm being possibly related to his Service for Men, and the Dm by Leonard Woodson, possibly part of a Verse Service in D minor.

The following table gathers together our evidence with regard to settings of Psalms 67 and 98 composed in the period in roughly chronological order:

<i>Composer/setting</i>	<i>Doxology</i>	<i>Notes</i>
Tye, Dm	No	Before 1552 (not composed as an AC)
Sheppard, Dm (complete)	No	Uncertain date, but before 1552?
Sheppard, CD & Dm	Yes	Part of his Service in E la mi?
Anon., Dm (Add. MS 22597)	Yes	–
Strogers, Dm	Yes	Part of his Short Service
Mundy, CD	Yes	–
Mundy, Dm	Yes	Part of his Service for Men in 4 parts?
Farrant, Dm	No	–
Woodson, Dm	?	Part of his Verse Service in D minor?
Marson, CD	No	
Hinde, CD	No	King James Bible text

With regard to the question of whether the presence of a doxology or not determines a psalm’s liturgical use, Barnard’s hints that settings without doxology are indeed suitable for use as ACs (Tye, Marson) indicates a liberal approach, but against this there is the evidence of others cramming in the doxology to early settings in order to make them conform to the Prayerbook. It seems likely that views on this topic may have differed from place to place and across the decades. The second part of this study will continue the story after the Restoration of the Monarchy in 1660.

<sup>29</sup> In addition to early examples listed in note 22, one could cite those by Edmund Hooper (the ‘Flat’ Service), Nathaniel Giles (three settings: ‘First’, ‘Second’ and ‘Short’ Services), and John Hilton (the ‘Whole’ Service). A younger generation of composers then seem to have continued the tradition, including Thomas Tomkins, Thomas Weelkes and Orlando Gibbons, and there are even two Latin settings, probably written for use with the Elizabethan Latin Prayerbook in Cambridge chapels (where Latin was permitted), by William Child (for Peterhouse) and Robert Ramsey (at Trinity College) – composers who also wrote settings of the Jubilate in English.

## APPENDIX

### Transcriptions

A) Sheppard, CD and Dm: the Dunnington-Jefferson MS, York Minster

B) Anonymous, Dm: British Library, Add. MS 22597

C) Mundy, CD: Queens' College, Cambridge, Old.Lib. G.4.17

D) Mundy, Dm: British Library, Add. MS 29289

E) Mundy, Te Deum: contratenor part in the Hamond partbooks, British Library Add. MS 30481

F) Woodson, Dm: The Batten Organ Book, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tenbury 791

Note: in the transcriptions below and the examples above the note values, time and key signatures of the sources have been retained and barlines added every breve; the original clefs are as indicated.

**A) Transcription of the CD and Dm in the Dunnington-Jefferson MS at York Minster (M 29 S), fols 4-6.**

O sing unto the Lord (Ps 98)

clef = F5 John Sheppard

O sing un - to the Lord a new song for

he hath done mar - vel-lous things. With his own right hand and with his ho - ly arm hath he got - ten him -

self vic - to - ry. The Lord de - clar - eth his sal - va - ti-on his right - e-ous-ness hath he

o - pen - ly shew'd in the sight of the hea-then, of the hea - then. Shew

your-selves joy - ful un - to the Lord all ye lands. Sing, sing re - joice

(rest missing)

and give thanks. Praise the Lord up - on the harp, sing to the harp with a psalm of thanks-giv -

(shawms?) (dot missing)

ing. With trum - pets al - so and psalms O shew your-selves joy - ful be - fore the Lord

4 breves rest (semibreve)

the King. Let the floods clap their hands and let the hills be joy -

ful to - ge - ther be - fore the Lord for he is come to judge the earth. With right - e-ous-ness shall he

udge the world and the peo - ple with e - qui-ty. Glo - ry be to the Fa - ther and to the

Son and to the Ho - ly Ghost. As it was in the be - gin - ning and is now, and e -

ver shall be world with - out end, world with - out end A - - - men.

## God be merciful unto us (Ps 67)

God be mer - ci - ful un - to us and bless us and shew us the light of thy coun - te - nance

and be mer - ci - ful un - to us. That thy way may be known up - on earth thy sav - ing

health a - mong all na - ti - ons. Let the peo - ple praise thee O God, yea let all the

22 breves rest

peo - ple praise thee. Let the peo - ple praise thee O God, let the

peo - ple praise thee O God, let all the peo - ple praise thee. Then shall the earth bring forth her in - crease

rest missing

and God even our own God, our own God shall give us his bles - sing. God shall bless

us, God shall bless us and all the ends of the world shall fear him, shall fear him. Glo -

- ry be to the Fa - ther and to the Son and to the Ho - ly Ghost.

3 breves rest

As it was in the be - gin - ning and is now, and is now, and

e - ver shall be world with - out end, and e - ver shall be world with - out end,

world with-out end. A - - - men.

**B) Transcription of the tenor part of Anon., *O God, be merciful* from BL Add. 22597, fols 23v - 25r.**

Clef = C4 (no time signature)

The musical score is written for a tenor voice part on a single staff with a C4 clef and no time signature. The lyrics are written below the staff, with some words connected by hyphens across lines. The score includes various musical notations such as whole, half, quarter, and eighth notes, rests, and bar lines. A specific instruction '4 breves rest' is noted above a four-measure rest. The lyrics end with 'men.' on the final line.

O God be mer - ci-ful un - to \_\_\_\_\_ us and bless  
 us, and bless us, \_\_\_\_\_ and shew the light of thy coun - te -  
 nance up - on us that we may know thy way up - on earth, up - on earth thy sal - va - ti - on a - mong  
 all hea - then let the peo - ple praise thee O God \_\_\_\_\_ let all the peo -  
 - ple praise \_\_\_\_\_ thee, O let the peo - ple re - joice and be glad, [be glad], O let the peo - ple  
 re - joice and be glad, and be glad that thou judg - est the folk right - e - ous - ly and go - ver - nest all  
 na - ti - ons up - on \_\_\_\_\_ earth let the peo - ple praise thee \_\_\_\_\_ O God let all the  
 peo - ple praise \_\_\_\_\_ thee \_\_\_\_\_ God even \_\_\_\_\_ our own \_\_\_\_\_ God  
 give us his bles - sing that the earth \_\_\_\_\_ may bring forth \_\_\_\_\_ her in - crease God bless us and let all the  
 4 breves rest  
 ends of the world fear him, fear him, fear him. \_\_\_\_\_ Glo - ry be to the Fa -  
 ther and to the Son and to the Ho - ly Ghost as \_\_\_\_\_ it was in the be - gin -  
 ing and \_\_\_\_\_ is \_\_\_\_\_ now and ev - er shall be \_\_\_\_\_ world with - out end, and  
 ev - er shall be \_\_\_\_\_ world with - out end \_\_\_\_\_ A - - - -  
 - - - - men.



**C) Transcription of the tenor part of Mundy's *O sing unto the Lord* from Queens' College, Cambridge, Old.Lib. G.4.17, fol.73.**

**clef = F5**

O sing un - to the Lord a new \_\_\_\_\_ song, for he hath done mar - vel-lous things with  
 \_\_\_\_\_ his owne right hand and with \_\_\_\_\_ his ho - ly arme, hath he got - ten him - self the vic - to - ry. The  
 Lord de - clar - ed his sal - va - ti - on his right - eous-ness hath he \_\_\_\_\_ op - en - ly  
 shewed in the sight of the hea - then. He hath re - mem - bred his mer - cy and truth to -  
 - wards the house of Is - ra - el, and all the ends of \_\_\_\_\_ the world have seen the sal - va - ti - on of our God, the sal -  
 va - ti - on of our \_\_\_\_\_ God. Shew \_\_\_\_\_ your-selves joy - ful un - to the Lord all ye lands, sing  
 re - joice and give \_\_\_\_\_ thanks. Praise \_\_\_\_\_ the Lord up - on the harpe sing to the harpe with a  
 psalme of thanks - giv - ing. With trum - petts al - so and shawmes O shew your-selves joy - ful be - fore the Lord the \_\_\_\_\_  
 King. O shew your-selves, O shew your-selves [joy - ful] be - fore the Lord \_\_\_\_\_ the King.  
 Let the sea make a noise and all that there - in is, the round world and they that dwell  
 there - in, the round world \_\_\_\_\_ and they that dwell there - in, and they that dwell there - in. Let  
 \_\_\_\_\_ the floods clap their hands and let the hills be joy - full, be joy - full to - ge - ther be - fore the Lord, be - fore the  
 Lord, for he is come to judge the \_\_\_\_\_ earth. \_\_\_\_\_ With right - eous-ness shall he judge the world,  
 shall he \_\_\_\_\_ judge the world, and the peo - ple with e - qui - ty, and the peo - ple with e - qui -

ty, and the peo - ple with e - qui - ty. Glo - ry be to the Fa - ther, and to the Son, and

to the Ho - ly Ghost. As it was in the be - gin - ning is now and ev - er shall be, world with - out

(source has *f*)

end, world with - out end, and ev - er shall be world with - out end, and ev - er shall be world with - out end.

A - - - - - men.

**D) Transcription of the contratenor part of Mundy, *God be merciful*, BL Add. MS 29289, fol.102.**

clef = C2 (no time signature)

God be mer - ci - ful un - to us and bless us, and shew us the light of his coun - te - nance

and be mer - ci - ful un - to us. That thy way may be known up - on earth, thy sav - ing health a - mong

— all na - ti - ons. Let the peo - ple praise thee, O God, praise — thee, O God, yea,

let all the peo - ple praise — thee, yea, let all the peo - ple praise — thee. O let the

na - ti - ons re - joice and be glad, for thou shalt judge the folk right - eous - ly, right - eous - ly and

go - vern the na - ti - ons, and go - vern the na - ti - ons up - on earth, and go - vern the na - ti -

ons up - on earth. Let — the peo - ple praise thee, — O God, let all the peo - ple — praise thee, let

all the peo - ple praise — thee. Then shall the earth bring forth his in - crease, and God, ev - en our

own God shall give us his bles - sing, and God, ev - en our own God shall give us his bles - sing.

God shall bless us, and all the ends of the world shall fear — him, and all the ends of the

world shall fear — him. Glo - ry be to the Fa - ther, and to — the Son, and

to the Ho - ly Ghost; as — it was in the be - gin - ning, is now, and ev - er shall be world with - out

end, and ev - er shall be world with - out end. A - men. A - - - - - men.

**E) William(?) Mundy, *Te Deum*: contratenor 2 part in the Hamond partbook, BL Add. MS 30481, fol.14v.**

clef = C2

We know - ledge thee to be the Lord. All the earth doth wor-ship thee the

Fa - ther e - ver - las - ting. To thee all an - gels cry a - loud, the heavens and all the powers there -

in, there - in. To thee che - ru - bim and se - ra-phim con - tin-u-al - ly do cry, con - tin-u-al - ly do

cry, ho - ly, ho - ly, ho - ly, ho - ly, ho - ly, Lord God of Sa - ba - oth, ho - ly, Lord God of Sa - ba -

oth. Heaven and earth are full of the ma - je - sty, are full of the ma - je - sty of thy glo - ry.

The glo - ri - ous com - pa - ny of the a-po-stles praise thee, praise thee. The good - ly fel - low -

ship of the pro - phets praise thee, praise thee. The no - ble ar - my of mar - tyrs praise

thee. The ho - ly church through-out all the world doth know-ledge thee, doth know-ledges thee. The Fa - ther of an

in-fi-nite ma - je - sty, the Fa - ther of an in - fi - nite ma - je - sty. Thy ho - nour - a - ble, true and on - ly

Son. Al - so the Ho - ly Ghost the com - for - ter, Thou art the King of glo -

ry, O Christ. Thou art the e - ver - last - ing Son of the Fa - ther, thou art the e - ver - last - ing Son of the

Fa - ther. When thou tookest up - on thee to de - li - ver man, to de - li - ver man, thou didst not ab - hor the

Vir-gin's womb. When thou hadst o-ver-come the sharp-ness of death, the sharp-ness of death, thou

didst o-pen the king-dom of heaven to all be-lie-vers. Thou sit-test on the right hand of God

in the glo-ry of the Fa-ther. We be-lieve that thou shalt come to be our Judge.

We there-fore pray thee help thy ser-vants whom thou hast re-deem-ed with thy pre-cious

blood. Make them to be num-bered with thy saints, to be num-bered with thy saints in glo-ry e-ver-last-

-ing, in glo-ry e-ver-last-ing. O Lord save

thy peo-ple and bless thine he-ri-tage, and bless thine he-ri-tage. Go-vern them and lift them up for e-

ver, for e-ver. Day by day we mag-ni-fy thee, and we wor-ship thy name e-ver world with-out end.

Vouch-safe O Lord to keep us this day, to keep us this day with-out sin. O Lord have mer-cy up-on us,

have mer-cy up-on us, up-on us. O Lord let thy mer-cy light-en up-on us, as our trust

is in thee, as our trust is in thee. O Lord in thee have I trust-ed, let me ne-ver

be con-found-ed, let me ne-ver be con-found-ed, con-found-ed, let me ne-ver be con-found-ed, con-found-ed.

F) Woodson, Leonard, *God be merciful unto us*: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tenbury 791, fol.108v.

Two 6-line staves: clefs = l.h. C4 & F4, r.h. G3

Versus

Chorus

Versus



Chorus

Versus

sb

Chorus

Versus

Chorus

A - - - - - [men.]

END