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THE HYMNS AND RESPONDS OF JOHN SHEPPARD

Richard W. Chivers

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The Hymns and Responds of John Sheppard
in the context of the institutions
with which he was associated

by

Richard William Chivers

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in the University of Durham

February, 1997

THE HYMNS AND RESPONDS OF JOHN SHEPPARD

Richard William Chivers

THESIS ABSTRACT

The Office hymns and responds of John Sheppard make up the major part of his compositional output. With few exceptions, very little music for the Office by other composers remains, so his work is of especial interest. Biographical details about Sheppard are scant, but he was closely associated with two important musical institutions: Magdalen College, Oxford, where he was *informator choristarum*, and the Chapel Royal, where he served as a Gentleman.

The liturgy of the church had a profound effect upon musical composition and this study considers the music in its historical context. The background to Magdalen College and the Chapel Royal is considered and the development of the Office respond is traced. Sheppard's technique of composition and the problems associated with editing and interpreting this music are discussed.

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RWC

February, 1997

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JOHN SHEPPARD IN HISTORICAL CONTEXT

John Sheppard's creative life spans a period of history characterized by shifting religious, political and cultural opinions that shook the foundations of English society.

The Church in England, although undoubtedly influenced by Lutheranism in the mid 1530s, retained the main features of Catholicism during Henry VIII's reign and, for the most part, its services remained in Latin; apart from English readings at Matins and Evensong, the only other major change was the institution in 1544 of the "English Procession". It is frequently claimed that Henry's reformation of the Church in England was political rather than religious, yet it seems likely that the course he set obliged his successors, Edward VI, Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I, or their advisors, to adopt religious justifications for the reformation (or, in the case of Mary, her opposition to it), with the effect that the outward trappings of religion, its music, ceremony and art increasingly became a target for reformers and counter-reformers alike.

Although Edward became king by means of the Second Act of Succession of 1536 (which empowered Henry to name his own successor), his claim to the throne was as a direct result of his father's disobedience to the Church of Rome, as was that of his half-sister, Elizabeth. Mary, on the other hand, had every reason to remain loyal to Rome, for, had her father not defied the ruling of the Church in divorcing Catherine of Aragon, Mary's claim to the throne would not have been in dispute.

Very little is known of Sheppard's life and, with few exceptions, his compositions are difficult to date with any degree of certainty. From the information which he himself supplied when supplicating for the degree of D.Mus. at Oxford in 1554, it has been estimated that he was probably born between 1512 and 1515. He was appointed *Informator Choristarum* at Magdalen College, Oxford in 1541/2,¹ a post which he held, on and off, until 1548 when he left to

1. The precise date of his appointment is not clear as the source of this information is the *Libri Computi* or account books for the four-quarter year, from autumn to summer which were numbered accordingly across the year, for example, 1541-1542. Herbert Barry Lamont, in his Ph.D. dissertation for the University of Southern California (*John Shepherd, his Life and Music*, [1963] p.47) suggested that confusion may have arisen by their being labelled in time by the latter date only, thus the year of Sheppard's appointment was shown as 1542 whereas it was more probably 1541.

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

become a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal. He seems to have remained at the Chapel Royal until his death.

During Henry's reign, it seems that there were very few restrictions placed upon musicians. In Cranmer's much-quoted phrase contained in a letter to the King that there should be '...for every syllable a note..' the author is not referring to part-music.

Edward's reign witnessed a time of liturgical, musical and even spiritual oppression. Royal Visitations were made in an attempt to end "popish practices" in all their various manifestations. There were some who desired to take reform to extremes - Holgate, Archbishop of York, Ridley, Bishop of London and Hooper, Bishop of Worcester considered choral and instrumental music of little value in public worship and whittled it down wherever they could by reducing the number of choristers and the importance and duties of the organist or informant, whose clerical duties were to be considered more important than his musical ones. Attempts were made to silence the organs of St. George's, Windsor, York Minster and St Paul's. There is evidence that neither people nor some clergy fully embraced these reforms in what

amounted to a sullen form of rebellion in their acceptance: Martin Bucer, Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge and a supporter of the Edwardian reforms wrote to the King in 1551:²

Some turn the prescribed forms of service into mere papistical abuse, and although these are now in the vulgar tongue, the "sacrificers" recite them of set purpose so indistinctly that they cannot be understood, whilst the people altogether refuse to stand and listen....

England, under the influence of Cranmer and his colleagues was moving very close to Calvinism. The Mass was increasingly regarded as a service of memorial rather than a sacramental sacrifice and those elements which enhanced the sacramental significance, the vestments, furnishings and music, were severely pruned.

The state of the English church is again commented on by Daniel Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in London in a letter to the Venetian State:

Religion is, as it were, the heart of man, on which life depends. In Republics, and especially in Monarchies it is a wonderful power for good, leading men to acknowledge God as the giver of all kingdoms and victories. This is not so in England, however, where men change their beliefs from day to day. At this present moment everyone is dissatisfied, both Catholics and Protestants alike...Indeed, had the Catholics a leader

2. From: Peter le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660* (London, 1967), 26

they would undoubtedly rebel, in spite of the severe punishment that they have suffered recently...³

This was hardly an auspicious time for musicians. However, Sheppard's appointment to the Royal Chapel at the start of Edward's reign placed him in a very privileged position : the institution was a 'Royal peculiar' and its practices were not subject to a bishop since it was under the direct control of the monarch. Furthermore, all Gentlemen had the right to attend and vote at 'Vestry' meetings where the business of the chapel was decided, unlike Cathedral musicians who had little or no say in what went on. The Royal Chapel was held in great esteem and in 1548 it was held up as an example of correct practice.⁴

Under Mary Tudor, these Edwardian reforms were swept aside as England returned to Roman Catholicism with all its attendant trappings. It could be argued that, without Mary, England might have lost its choral tradition entirely.

3. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian, V (1534-54)*, ed. Brown, R. (1873) quoted in le Huray, *op. cit.*, 26

4. Somerset to the Vice Chancellors of Oxford and Cambridge Universities, 4th September 1548, quoted in le Huray, *ibid.*

Sheppard's composing career, then, straddled three liturgical periods: early reformation under Henry during which there were attempts to give the church a national identity whilst preserving its essential Catholicism, Protestantism of increasing austerity under Edward and, lastly, a period of almost belligerent Catholicism and liturgical opulence under Mary Tudor which harked back to the ritual 'excesses' of the early years of Henry's reign. Until recently, it was thought that Sheppard had lived beyond 1559 as his name appeared on the livery list of those Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal who were to have attended the coronation of Elizabeth I on 17th January of that year.⁵ However, in the light of the recent discovery of his draft will in Westminster City Archives by David

5. David Chadd, in his article on Sheppard in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, states that Sheppard 'was at the chapel throughout the 1550s, and was at the coronation of Queen Elizabeth on 17th January 1559.' The source of Chadd's information is not clear but it is possible that his statement is based on these livery lists. A major source of biographical reference consulted by Chadd is H. B. Lamont, *John Shepherd - His Life and Music*. Lamont is noncommittal about the date of Sheppard's death but notes that a certain John Shepherd mentioned in the Calendar of the Patent Rolls (PRO, Elizabeth, 1558-1603. Vol.I (1558-60) died on August 28th, 1559. In a recording note published in 1992 to accompany "Church Music by John Sheppard - 4" (The Sixteen directed by Harry Christophers), Roger Bray expresses the opinion that the style of the Second service suggests that Sheppard lived beyond 1560.

Mateer⁶ and work by other scholars,⁷ it now seems almost beyond doubt that he died just before this date, so missing a period of remarkable tolerance where liturgical practice, if not religious allegiance, was concerned.

6. As reported by David Wulstan, 'Where there's a Will', *MT*, 135 (January 1994), 25-27

7. Fiona Kisby, in her paper entitled 'The urban context of the early-Tudor Royal Household Chapel' delivered at the Royal Musical Association Conference at Southampton University on Friday 26th March 1992, also cited the Westminster City Archives to support her contention that John Sheppard was buried at St Margaret's, Westminster in 1558 and that the proving of his will could be pinpointed to within two months of Elizabeth's coronation. This view was supported by Daniel Page in his paper entitled 'Uniform and Catholic: the gentlemen of Mary Tudor's Chapel Royal' delivered on the same day.

THE LITURGY AND ITS INFLUENCE ON MUSICAL FORM

It is important to consider the political machinations which took place within a relatively short space of time and the effects of these on sixteenth century composers. In 1534, Henry VIII's Act of Supremacy formally separated the English Church from the Roman Catholic Church and resulted in the executions of Thomas More and John Fisher in 1535. In the same year he also issued a Royal Injunction that parishes should buy the authorized English Bible. In 1536 nearly four hundred of the smaller monasteries were dissolved by statute; seizure of the others was made by various means over the next four years and ratified by statute in 1539.

Although the Council of Trent did not make its final pronouncements about various practices within the Roman Catholic church until 1563 (by which time John Sheppard was certainly dead), it was held (with numerous interruptions) between 1545 and 1563 and is an indication of the criticisms and concerns that were being voiced in the church during this period. Whilst only a small part of the Council's work was concerned with the music of the church,

it heard complaints about excessively complicated polyphony which, some claimed, made the text unintelligible. The intrusion of secular songs into sacred music (as the basis of cantus firmi or parody compositions) was also objected to by some.

If Sheppard was variously at Magdalen College, Oxford and the Chapel Royal between 1542 and 1559, the question is posed: was his Office music, the spirit of which is clearly in accord with that of the Sarum (Salisbury) Use, for the English Church under Henry, separated from Rome politically but still using its forms and rituals; or (and this seems unlikely) was he writing at the time of the more austere regime of Edward (when the Use of Sarum was abolished by decree) or, to consider a third option, does this music come from the period of the Counter-Reformation when Mary did not just restore Roman Catholicism, but Roman Catholicism in its full ritual glory, reminiscent of the earliest days of her father's reign?

Whatever may be the answer, Sheppard's music for the Offices of the church can only be understood in context by reference to the practices of the Sarum Use, for both the

Chapel Royal and university college chapels were conservative institutions, secluded by peculiar privilege from the political forces at work elsewhere. Sheppard's music is inseparable from the plainsong roots from which it grew, which, in turn, cannot be satisfactorily separated from the forms and rituals which nurtured its evolution.

Distinguishing features of the Sarum Use

A 'Use' was the conventions and customs employed by a church in the conduct of its services. The term embraced not only the texts, rites and ceremonies of the church but also its constitutional regulations, having regard for the mutual relationships of its members. By the Middle Ages, several Uses coexisted within the Roman Rite in England: there were the Uses of Hereford, York and Sarum to name but three. There were also distinct Uses for monastic and secular foundations.

W. H. Frere¹ remarks that liturgy 'embodies every aspect of ...worship - the structure, the order, the text, the music, the movement, the ornaments and vessels.' The form which a ceremony took, the number of ministers and the texts of the

1. W. H. Frere, *The Use of Sarum* (Cambridge, 1898-1900)

service, were governed by the solemnity of the day as set out in the Calendar (or Kalendar).

The Use of Sarum became the most popular variation of the Roman Rite to be used in secular English churches. Its ceremonies were generally more elaborate than those of other Uses and had more ministers, more processions and therefore more processional singing, even within the penitential season of Lent when other liturgies adopted a much more sombre style. Sarum Use also introduced prayers in the vernacular towards the end of the procession before Mass (the Bidding of Bede).

Different Uses had alternative ways of marking a day of solemnity and the Sarum Use developed a comprehensive scheme to distinguish between the various degrees of solemnity of feast by varying the number of lessons and cantors (rulers) at Matins. Feast days were also marked by the wearing of special vestments and by special hangings and altar frontals. The more important, or 'double', feasts were marked by having two services of Vespers, the first celebrated on the evening before (the vigil) and the second on the feast day itself. Sunday was always regarded as a

feast day; other days were ferial unless a feast day from the Calendar fell on them. Some feast days were fixed by date (e.g. Christmas) while others (for example, Easter and Pentecost) could occur on one of any number of days.²

Abroad, the Papal Chapel in the Lateran (subsequently the Vatican), was moving in the opposite direction, simplifying and pruning its ceremonial rather than embellishing it. After the Reformation, this Use of the Roman Curia gained pre-eminence, and became the principal rite of the Roman Catholic Church, the basis of the Tridentine Rite which survived until the present century.

Because of the great popularity which the Use of Sarum enjoyed up to the Reformation however, manuscript sources of its service books were widely disseminated and a few survived to become readily available sources of reference. The earliest instructional books were the *Ordinal* and the *Consuetudinary*, the former containing details of ceremonial customs whilst the latter was concerned with the rite of the service and lists those items to be said or sung (and

2. The calendar is fully expounded in J. Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the tenth to the eighteenth century: a Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford, 1991), 45-57

by whom) throughout the year. Although these provided a set of unambiguous guide-lines along which the service could be ordered in a consistent and correct manner, their implementation involved the cross-referencing of numerous volumes. In an attempt to simplify this system, four definitive books emerged: the *Missal*, which contained Mass texts, the *Gradual*, which contained Mass texts with music, the *Breviary*, which contained Office texts and the *Antiphonal*, which contained the Office texts with music.³

The Offices of the church were based on the canonical hours:

Matins began with the *Invitatory*, or opening chant consisting of Psalm 94, 'Venite, exsultemus Domino' with antiphons sung at the beginning, between each pair of verses (which varied according to the Calendar) and at the end. There followed up to three divisions or *nocturns*, each of which included three psalms with their antiphons and three lessons. Each lesson was followed immediately by a responsory, the text of which usually commented upon the subject matter of the preceding reading. The final

3. A detailed account of liturgical books and their evolution can be found in Harper, *op. cit.*, 58-66

responsory, however, was often replaced, on feast days and Sundays by the singing of the 'Te Deum'.

Vespers was the first Office in which music other than plainsong was allowed.⁴ It consists of five psalms, each with antiphon, a hymn and the 'Magnificat'.

The structure of *Lauds* was almost identical to that of *Vespers*, save that the 'Magnificat' was replaced by 'Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel', the Canticle of Zachary, and the fourth psalm was replaced by one of the fourteen 'lesser' canticles (two were assigned to each day of the week, one for normal use, the other for the Lenten period).

Compline consisted of three psalms, an antiphon, a hymn, the Canticle of Simeon ('Nunc dimittis') and one of the four Marian antiphons, according to the time of year.⁵

The lesser hours of *Prime*, *Terce*, *Sext* and *None* each included a single hymn, three psalms and an antiphon.

4. Initially as *fauxbourdons*.

5. 'Alma Redemptoris Mater' from Advent to February 1st; 'Ave Regina caelorum' from February 2nd to Wednesday of Holy Week; 'Regina caeli laetare' from Easter to Trinity Sunday; and 'Salve Regina' from Trinity until Advent.

From a musical point of view, therefore, the most important Offices are Matins, Vespers, Lauds and Compline.

In order to appreciate the role of music in the services of the church for which Sheppard was writing, it is important to be aware of some of the extra-musical elements. Sheppard's hymn and respond settings provided rare moments of polyphony within an otherwise monodic service, but, particularly on major feast days, it was but one element with which the liturgy was adorned; an example of this is to be found in The Sarum rubric for Matins on Christmas Day which directs that the respond 'Hodie nobis caelorum rex' is to be started by two men, but the 'Gloria in excelsis' should be sung by five boys in a high place above the altar, holding lighted candles to represent the coming of the angels to the shepherds. Some rites further elaborated this ritual:

... at Exeter this was extended into a little play carried out in mime. There, the first eight words of the respond were sung by a boy with "a good and clear voice", who came from behind the altar holding a lighted torch (torticium) in his left hand. At the words, "caelorum rex" he pointed with his right hand to heaven, at "de Virgine" he turned to the altar and held out his hand towards the image of the Virgin, and at "dignatus est", he genuflected. While the choir sang the rest of the respond, three boys came from the south door of the choir, and three from the north door and stood at the choirstep. The solo boy joined them and all sang the

verse, turning towards the choir, and then walked slowly through the choir and out by the main choir door.⁶

6. Frank Ll. Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain* (London 1958 2/1963), 107

THE BACKGROUND TO THE INSTITUTIONS WITH WHICH SHEPPARD WAS ASSOCIATED

One of the earliest references to the Chapel Royal, albeit in an embryonic state, is in 1135¹ during the reign of Henry I. The monarch wanted to be seen to have the best musicians in his service and, even in the earliest days of the king's chapel, it seems that the Master of the Chapel had power to impress children into its service.

The main role of choirs until the fifteenth century was to sing plainsong. Elaborate polyphony was the exception, not the rule, and was undertaken only by the very best choirs or by the more expert individual members of lesser choirs.

Religious institutions fell into five main categories: secular cathedrals, monasteries, colleges, household chapels and collegiate churches. Each was constituted in a different way, with its own officers to fulfil the duties associated with it. Provision for music in some of the secular cathedrals and smaller monasteries was generally not as generous as in the colleges (which included Eton,

1. See E. S. Roper, *The Chapels Royal and Their Music*, *PMA*, 54, 1927-8

Magdalen College, Oxford and King's College, Cambridge)² and the collegiate churches and household chapels. Consequently, the choirs of the secular cathedrals were generally less proficient at tackling more elaborate polyphonic music. Larger monasteries sometimes enlisted lay singers to take part in those of their services which the laity were free to attend. Collegiate churches such as Ripon, Beverley and Southwell had a constitution very similar to that of a cathedral, but, unlike a cathedral, they were not associated with a bishop. Two important collegiate churches of royal foundation were St Stephen's, Westminster and St George's in Windsor Castle.

The institution of the Chapel Royal

Distinct from these two royal foundations of St Stephen and St George was yet another which seems to have had its roots in the thirteenth century and Henry III's love of religious ceremony (which he is reputed to have incorporated liberally into occasions of state). He is known to have employed three and sometimes four clerks from his household

2. Harrison, *op. cit.*, 157 *et seq.*, 165 ff, gives a detailed account of the extensive expenditure on music noted in contemporary inventories of certain college chapels.

chapel on important occasions. In its early stages, the 'Chapel Royal' was simply that part of the king's household chapel which accompanied him on his travels. Harrison notes:³

It may have been Edward III (r.1327-77) who first put the household chapel on a more formal basis, for in 1349 John Wodeford was 'a king's clerk and dean of his chapel.'⁵ The Wardrobe Account of 1393 gives the names of eleven chaplains and clerks...

5. *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1488-94*, p.309

In addition Edward III incorporated the chapels of St Stephen and St George by royal charter in 1348 and 1352 respectively. Edward IV began building his 'new' chapel of St George's, Windsor in 1474-5 which was incorporated by Act of Parliament in 1483. This chapel seems to have been particularly well-endowed for, at about the same time, there were as many as thirteen canons, thirteen vicars, thirteen clerks and thirteen choristers. The principal source of evidence that polyphonic masses were being sung on a daily basis by the fifteenth century is the Old Hall manuscript, a choirbook of the Household Chapel of the Duke of Clarence containing 147 compositions dating from about 1350 to 1420. Members of the Chapel Royal were also exposed to continental influences when the Court travelled abroad

3. *Op. cit.*, 21

with royal progresses or when the English Court played host to visiting royalty and its retinue.⁴

The institution continued to evolve as a powerful source of influence and excellence. Concerning a reception of Venetian ambassadors in the chapel of Henry VIII, Sagudino wrote to the Signory of Venice:⁵

"...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; *non cantavano ma giubilavano* [we did not sing, we rejoiced]; and as to the counter-bass voices, they probably have not their equal in the world"²....

2. *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, ii, p.247.

By the early sixteenth century the Chapel Royal was based at Westminster and, in an ordinance of 1526, Henry VIII ordered that in future, only a part of it should travel with him. It was now an institution whose members were proud to be associated with it and who banded together to protect their peculiar rights and privileges. Certainly, by the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, musicians of the Chapel Royal were held in great esteem and were not infrequently called upon to sing at other London churches.⁶

4. See Harrison, *op. cit.*, 224

5. As quoted by Harrison, *op. cit.*, 171

6. See Harrison, *op. cit.*, 198-99

Being thus based at Westminster, members of the Chapel Royal also came under the influence of another important London institution, the 'Gild of Parish Clerks'.⁷ The importance of this gild for musicians working in London is historical: in most pre-Reformation London churches, the parish clerk was responsible not only for menial tasks in the church, but also bore day to day responsibility for the organization of its music. By Tudor times, some busier London churches employed two or more clerks known as 'conducts' who were solely responsible for the music of the church. Parish clerks were obliged to become members of the Gild of Parish Clerks and heavy penalties were imposed on non-members who tried to undertake their tasks. The trades-union nature of the gild meant that it was not possible for a church musician to find work in London without being a member, and the fact of his membership brought him into social contact with other church musicians. The 'Bede roll' is a list of more than five thousand members of the Gild of

7. See Hugh Baillie, *PRMA*, 83, 15. This gild also seems to have been known at different times as the 'Company of Parish Clerks' and the 'Fraternity of St Nicholas' and was first granted a charter in 1240 by Henry III. A new charter was granted by Henry VI in 1443 which stipulated members' civic duties and privileges. In the following year the standing and importance of the gild was further enhanced by the City of London when members of the gild were also granted the Freedom of the City.

Parish Clerks and includes the names of a number of important pre-Reformation composers.⁸ By the early sixteenth century, just over half of the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal were also listed as members of the Gild of Parish Clerks in the Bede roll.

Political considerations do not help in the dating of Sheppard's music as few conclusions can be drawn from the fact that the greater portion of his work was for Latin services. Both the Chapel Royal and Magdalen College would have enjoyed a fair degree of independence in the format of their services, certainly much greater than other less influential institutions. Benham⁹ observes:

The 1549 Act of Uniformity made the Prayer Book the only authorized form of worship, but Mattins and Evensong could be said privately in Latin, or even Greek or Hebrew if one understood these languages. Latin, Greek or Hebrew could also be used publicly in College chapels at Oxford and Cambridge for Mattins, Evensong and all other services except the Communion "for the further encouraging of learning in the[se] tongues."⁸ Thus even now the performance and composition of Latin music remained at least theoretically possible. The 1552 Act,

8. Baillie *op. cit.*, lists the following as members with their date of joining: William Cornysh the elder (1480), Robert Fayrfax (1502), Robert Cowper (1510), John Taverner (1514) and Nicholas Ludford (1521). He also lists John Shepherd (sic) as a member and gives his date of joining as 1519, a date, which, according to more recent historical research, is far too early for this to be the same John Sheppard who was informant at Magdalen College.

9. Hugh Benham, *Latin Church Music in England c.1460-1575*, 165-6

which introduced a new, more Protestant Prayer Book, did not alter the position.

8. A. G. Dickens and D. Carr, *The Reformation in England*, 135

Restrictions on Latin compositions for the Roman Catholic church were completely lifted in the Marian reforms of 1553 but re-imposed five years later when Elizabeth came to the throne,¹⁰ by which time Sheppard had just died. The unique position of autonomy enjoyed by the Chapel Royal with regard to Latin church music, especially in the second half of the sixteenth century, cannot be over-emphasised: it enjoyed the privilege of being able to use such music on a regular basis without harassment from external quarters and its choir was better provided for than any other of the day.

Magdalen College, Oxford

The founder of Magdalen College, William Wayneflete, was associated with both Winchester (where he was Headmaster of the College in 1429 and Bishop in 1447) and Eton

10. Although all services had to conform to the Elizabethan prayer book, the Universities and the Chapel Royal were permitted to use a Latin translation. Latin texts could, in any case, be used for anthems or psalms used as an introit whose text was not prescribed by the prayer book.

(Headmaster in 1442 and Provost in 1443). Both Winchester and Eton provided for a similar number of choristers. Of the original constitution of Magdalen College, Harrison observes:¹¹

Waynefflete's *collegium beatae Mariae Magdalenae vulgariter dictum Maudeleyne College in Universitate Oxon*² had a grammar school joined to it, which did not, however, have a separate chapel choir. The college consisted of a president, forty scholars, thirty poor scholars called 'demys', four chaplain-conducts, eight clerks, sixteen choristers and their instructor. Both scholars and demys were required to have a knowledge of plainsong, while the clerks were to be good singers and competent in plainsong and reading. The president was to appoint one of the chaplains as sacrist or cantor and a chaplain or clerk to instruct the choristers in plainsong and other kinds of music (*in plano cantu et alio cantu*). If no one in the college was competent to be *informator* he was to appoint one from outside.³

2. *Instrumentum Foundationis*, 12th June, 1458 printed in Chandler, *Life of Waynefflete*, p.391.

3. *Statutes of Magdalen College*, pp.258-62 ...

In musical terms, then, the choir at Magdalen College consisted of eight men and sixteen boys. This was probably quite an untypical state of affairs as it seems that most polyphonic choirs of the first half of the sixteenth century had a working ratio of broken to unbroken voices that was the reverse of this. In the course of the fifteenth century however, there was a move towards having a greater number of boy choristers than was previously the

11. Harrison, *op. cit.*, 36

case. Wolsey's Cardinal College at Oxford (1525) was also planned with splendid proportions in mind:

...having a dean and sixty canons 'of the first rank', forty canons 'of the second rank' thirteen priest-conducts, twelve clerk-conducts, sixteen boy choristers and a 'very skilled' (*peritissimus*) *informator* to instruct them. This was the post which John Taverner filled from 1526 to 1530. A companion foundation of a grammar school at Ipswich, Wolsey's birthplace, was planned at the same time. Following Wolsey's fall and death both colleges were dissolved, and in 1532 the King established a new college on the same site, called 'King Henry VIII's College in Oxford...'¹²

Although there is no record in the statutes to reveal how many choristers were in the newly-founded college, it is apparent that Henry's vision was on a more modest scale than Wolsey's; the numbers of choristers at Winchester and Magdalen College were now matched by few other establishments in the country.

As a comparison, in 1525 the Chapel Royal, on the instruction of Henry VIII, was to have twelve choristers and in 1546, after Sheppard had been appointed to Magdalen College, Christ Church had only eight.

Given the relative distribution of men and boys at Magdalen College and the Chapel Royal, and notwithstanding what was

12. Harrison, *ibid.*

probably the part-time nature of the role of the gentlemen of the Chapel Royal,¹³ it is perhaps a reasonable assumption that the preponderance of higher voices at Magdalen College was matched by a preponderance of lower voices at the Chapel Royal.

13. Fiona Kisby considers the diversity of interests pursued by musicians working in Westminster at this time in her article 'Music and musicians of early Tudor Westminster', *EM* 23, 223-40

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RESPOND

The plainsong respond

Alternatim singing, by which solo plainsong and choral plainsong sections were contrasted, can be traced back to pre-Christian times: responsorial singing had its roots in the Jewish temple where it is known to have been used for the liturgical performance of the psalms. This practice, therefore, was absorbed quite naturally into Christian forms of worship.

In the Jewish tradition, the entire psalm was sung by a soloist with the congregation singing a short affirmatory chorus ('Amen' or 'Alleluia').

Responsorial singing came to be used both in the Mass and in the services of the Office. It became an important feature in the structure of the Offices of Matins and Monastic Vespers where it formed a musical postlude to the lesson readings. It became progressively less important within the Mass, however, and by the early sixteenth-

century its principal use was for the Gradual and Alleluia chants.

With the exception of chants for saints' days, all texts were biblical in origin: mass chant texts were derived principally from the psalms whilst the texts of the Office chants were from the historical books of the Old and New Testament for the feasts of the Proper of the Time.

In the Office services, the respond always follows a lesson and has a bearing on its subject matter. It seems likely that all the verses of the psalm may originally have been sung and that the response¹ to each verse was progressively shortened in order to keep the length of the service within reasonable bounds. The practice in Rome in the ninth century as reported by Amalar of Metz² was as follows:

First a soloist sings the respond, which the choir repeats; the soloist next sings the verse, following by choral repetition of the respond; then the soloist sings the doxology, with the choir now repeating only the second part of the respond; and finally soloist and choir, in turn, each sing the complete respond.

1. Although this term is not formally recognized, it is used here to refer to that part of the chant which is repeated.

2. (unattributed), 'Responsory', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* ed. Stanley Sadie (London, 1980), xv, 760

Later, the form developed so that only a single verse was sung and the respond itself became longer and stylistically more elaborate. The medieval practice was as follows:

- A) solo plainsong incipit followed by choral plainsong response
- B) solo plainsong verse
- A) choral plainsong repetendum (the last part of the response)

By the twelfth century, the respond was further shortened with only a single statement of the response at the start (intoned by the soloist and completed by the choir) and partial responses to subsequent verses. The addition of the doxology (which had long been part of the responsory in France³ but was only later adopted by Rome), was also followed by a shortened response.

The appearance of polyphonic respond settings

Early polyphonic respond settings in note-against-note or sustained-tone style appeared in about the second or third quarter of the twelfth century with Léonin and Pérotin.

Reese⁴ notes that

Contrast in rhythm was obtained not only by the juxtaposition of the two polyphonic styles but also by

3. See 'Responsory', *ibid.*

4. Gustave Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1940; London, 1941), 298

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RESPOND

the continued use of alternation between passages of plainsong sung by the choir and passages of organum normally sung by soloists... which produced a contrast in *timbre* as well. Two-part settings were provided for the intonations of the first section and of the verse of the Graduals etc. of the Mass (and likewise for the responds of the Office); the rest of the first section and verse were sung in plainsong....

That element of contrast which, in the plainsong respond, manifested itself in the alternation of solo and choral sections, was maintained in these early settings by contrasting solo and polyphonic settings. Those parts, however, which had traditionally been sung by a soloist were now rendered polyphonically and those parts that had been sung as choral plainsong were now given solo treatment.

In the latter half of the fifteenth century polyphonic responsories were being composed for the Sarum Use in England and by the first half of sixteenth century they had become a major feature of its services. The Sarum responsories (mostly Matins texts) that were traditionally associated with particular ceremonial (and so were most frequently set to polyphony) were 'Audivi vocem' (the Matins respond for All Saints), the verse 'Gloria in excelsis' (from the Christmas responsory, 'Hodie nobis'), the Easter respond, 'Dum transisset Sabbatum' and the two

Compline responsories for Lent, 'In pace' and 'In manus tuas'. In the early stages of the form's development it was the soloists' music which received polyphonic treatment (that is, the intonation and verse). In order to retain that element of contrast between solo voices and full choir which had become an intrinsic feature of the respond, the response was sung as plainsong by the full choir.

By the early sixteenth century the liturgical role of choral foundations began to change. Until this time, choirs were comprised principally of adult men whose traditional role had been to maintain the plainsong. Where there were boys, their liturgical function (as servers and assistants on the sanctuary) was considered quite as important as their musical function.⁵

The growth of secular polyphonic choral foundations such as Cardinal College, Oxford, was certainly one of the factors responsible for the further evolution of the respond. These choirs were now capable of polyphonic performance so the

5. Roger Bowers points out that 'the term chorista denoted a person in general attendance upon the work conducted in the *chorus*, the (architectural) choir of the church; cf. *altarista* (attendant at an *altare*, a side-altar), and *cantarista* (priest attending to the work of a *cantaria*, a chantry chapel).' (Bowers, 'The Performing Pitch of English 15th-Century Church Polyphony', *EM*, 8, 29).

response, previously sung as plainsong by the choir, was now *choral* polyphony; while the verse, previously solo polyphony, was now plainsong. In relation to Taverner's setting of 'Dum transisset Sabbatum', perhaps the first appearance of a 'choral' respond (as this new style became known), Harrison notes:⁶

In 'Dum transisset sabbatum'...Taverner set the respond in polyphony and left the soloist's beginning and verse to be sung in plainsong. 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, and replaced its plainsong as it had previously replaced the plainsong of the soloists. The effect was to restore the kind of contrast between choir and soloist which was originally contemplated by the liturgy.

Prior to Taverner, then, polyphony was for soloists and it was therefore the repeated verse sections that were given to the choir. The choirs of some secular foundations such as Cardinal College, Oxford, however, were now polyphonic, and so it became more common for this performance practice to be reversed, which, in turn, resulted in the increased growth of choral polyphony.

This pattern became the norm for later sixteenth century settings and represents a change in the nature of

6. Harrison, *op. cit.*, 369

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RESPOND

polyphonic writing. During the fifteenth century most English polyphony had been of a solo nature, but now a style of choral polyphony was emerging. The smaller responsories such as the two compline texts, 'In pace' and 'In manus tuas', however, continued usually to be set in the old manner of the 'solo' respond.

The following table summarises the progress of the respond through its various stages (Table 1).

TABLE 1

	Plainsong respond	The 'old style' or 'solo' respond as set by Léonin and Pérotin	The 'new style' or 'choral' respond as first set by Taverner
Response	choral plainsong	choral plainsong	choral polyphony
Intonation and Verse	solo plainsong	solo polyphony	(solo) plainsong

A specific example of these differences in practice may be seen in Sheppard's settings of 'In manus tuas'. He wrote three settings, the first in the 'old' style and the second and third in the 'new' style. Although this is a Lenten

respond and its structure is not, therefore absolutely typical, the differences can easily be seen (Table 2).

TABLE 2

	Plainsong respond	Sheppard's first setting (<i>'solo'</i> respond - the <i>'old'</i> style)	Sheppard's second and third settings (<i>'choral'</i> respond - the <i>'new'</i> style)
<u>Incipit</u> In manus tuas	solo	solo polyphony	solo plainsong
<u>Response</u> Domine, commendo spiritum meum.	choral	choral plainsong	choral polyphony
<u>Verse</u> Redemisti me, Domine Deus veritatis.	solo	solo polyphony	solo plainsong
<u>Partial response</u> commendo spiritum meum	choral	choral plainsong	choral polyphony
<u>Incipit</u>⁷ In manus tuas	solo	solo polyphony	solo plainsong
<u>Response</u> Domine, commendo spiritum meum.	choral	choral plainsong	choral polyphony

7. This final repetition of the full respond is peculiar to the Lenten liturgy for Compline.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RESPOND

The growth of the polyphonic responsory was more liturgically orientated in England than on the Continent where it became common for the intonation, respond, verse and repetendum to be set polyphonically. The repetitive pattern of the responsory (aBcB etc.) was an attractive structural device which composers readily adopted even where such a structure was not dictated by the form of the liturgy itself.

Until the beginning of the fifteenth century, a small measure of polyphony was to be found in services, but, *per se*, it was of secondary importance to the plainsong; an adornment, and nothing more, to those parts of the liturgy that were regarded as important enough to merit it. The respond, then, with its alternating solo and choral sections, was as a rare moment of polyphony in an otherwise monodic service; an element of contrast, further emphasised by its own structure.

Following the abolition of the Sarum rite, composers adapted the responsory by incorporating the intonation into the polyphony. Thus began the development of the 'responsory motet'.

The liturgy and the ritual of the pre-Reformation Sarum rite were ornate, splendid and unhurried and were integral parts of the medieval form of worship. So ritualistic, and stylized, was the worship of the Catholic church that the very words and actions of the prescribed forms of worship seem to have assumed an almost mystical significance in the worship itself. It may seem that the medieval Christian at times exhibited an almost cavalier attitude towards the prescribed texts of his worship, for how else could the omission of whole portions of text in many polyphonic settings of the Mass be explained? Such omissions, however, usually occurred only in sections of the Ordinary of the Mass which would have been entirely familiar to every worshipper (the most common instance of the omission of text in polyphonic Mass settings occurred in settings of the Credo⁸) and it is this very familiarity that the worshipper had with these texts that justified their partial omission, for his familiarity with the text enabled him to acknowledge the whole even though it was at times presented to him in an abbreviated form. On these occasions, the musical setting was considered to be an adornment of significant parts of the texts which were,

8. Ruth Hannas, 'Concerning Deletions in the Polyphonic Mass Credo', *JAMS*, 5, 155-186

nevertheless, present in their complete form within the mass; the celebrant, of course, quietly recited the full text of the prayers whilst the singing was in progress.

With these rather special exceptions, the structure of worship under the Sarum rite was strictly prescribed to follow the patterns which had been formed in the course of its long evolution. This is not to suggest that the liturgy had stagnated. In practice, where local tradition required variation, it was implemented largely without conflict and the Sarum Rite, although the dominant practice, was almost certainly influenced by other rites. The point is that the liturgy followed a carefully thought-out plan and was never allowed merely to happen by default.

The weight of centuries of tradition rested on plainsong chants and vested them with an historical, extra-musical significance. In the same way as a service used inaudible or unspoken prayers which were, nevertheless, integral to the form of worship, so too did newly composed sections make themselves more fitted for their purpose by incorporating the cantus firmus of a chant which had itself become a part of the very tradition of worship. The cantus

firmus provided continuity between the ancient plainsong and the modern polyphony.⁹

9. Our appreciation of this concept has a bearing upon the way in which we present the music of this period in modern performances. Many of Sheppard's responds are founded on a single strand of continuous chant. The chant in its original, solo, form is frequently juxtaposed with polyphonic sections in which it is less clearly apparent. To present these sections of plainsong at anything other than the same transposition, as has been heard in some modern performances, that is, in such a way that the underlying plainsong is distorted, would seem perverse, no matter how acceptable the final musical result is to modern perceptions.

SHEPPARD'S HYMNS AND RESPONDS

The background

It has traditionally been supposed that John Sheppard composed his responsorial music during a 'final flowering of ritual music' in the reign of Queen Mary; the Reformation had happened under Henry VIII and Edward VI, though only a child, was by all accounts a staunch Protestant who, from a musical point of view, pulled the country dangerously close to Calvinism, with its puritanical ideals. Mary has for some time, therefore, been hailed as the force which, by forcing the country back towards its Catholic roots and practices, thereby rekindled the dying spark of sacred music.¹

It is not even possible to say with certainty whether the responds were written for Magdalen College (where Sheppard was Informator Choristarum, on and off from 1542 until about 1557 - a period which saw three monarchs of very

1. The nature of the music fits this argument well but in 1971 Roger Bray presented circumstantial evidence which could place this music at the end of Henry's reign, something which had been suggested by Paul Doe in 'Latin Polyphony under Henry VIII', *PRMA*, xcv, 81-96

different religious convictions - Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary); or whether they were written while he was at the Chapel Royal (of which he became a Gentleman in Edward's reign). To consider the vocal forces which he had available, we know that there was a 'superabundance'² of boys at Magdalen College which would perhaps have encouraged him to write for divided trebles and means, as he does in his responsorial music, but there are also several instances when he writes in three or four real parts for adult voices (see, for example, the Mass Alleluias) - a luxury that he would have been more likely to have been able to enjoy while at the Chapel Royal.

2. Roger Bowers, 'The Vocal Scoring, Choral Balance and Performing Pitch of Latin Church Polyphony in England, c.1500-58' *JRMA* 112/1, 38-76

THE LITURGICAL CONTEXT

The Responds

The place of Sheppard's extant respond settings within the church's calendar and the voices assigned to them is shown in Table 3, below:

TABLE 3	<u>RESPOND SETTINGS BY SHEPPARD</u>	<u>VOICES¹</u>
	Tr=Treble, M=Mean, A=Alto CT=Countertenor, T=Tenor, B=Bass	
	Alleluia V. Confitemini Domino Vigils of Easter and Whitsunday: Vespers	a4: T, T, B, B
	Alleluia V. Per te, Dei genitrix Lady Mass Alleluia	a4: CT, CT, T, B
	Alleluia V. Ora pro nobis Lady Mass Alleluia	a4: T, T, B, B
	Alleluia V. Virtutes coeli Lady Mass Alleluia	a4: CT, CT, T, B
	Alleluia V. Veni, electa mea Lady Mass Alleluia	a4: A, CT, T, B

1. This column lists the number of voice parts with their names, as given in David Chadd's edition, EECM, 17. A missing voice part that has been composed by the transcription editor is shown in square brackets. A missing voice part that is a monorhythmic cantus firmus, inserted from an original plainsong source, is indicated by italics.

SHEPPARD'S HYMNS AND RESPONDS

Audivi vocem de coelo venientem All Saints: 8th respond at Matins	a4: M, M, T, T
Christi virgo dilectissima Annunciation: 9th respond at Matins	a6: Tr, A, CT, CT, [T], B
Dum transisset Sabbatum (2 settings) Easter: 3rd respond at Matins	1:a6: Tr, M, A, CT, T, B 2:a6: Tr, M, CT, CT, T, B
Filiae Hierusalem venite Low Sunday to Whitsun: Vespers of a martyr or confessor	a6: Tr, M, A, A, T, B
Gaude, gaude, gaude Maria virgi Purification: second Vespers	a6: Tr, M, CT, CT, T, B
Haec dies Easter Day: Mass Gradual and Vespers	a6: Tr, M, A, A, T, B
Hodie nobis caelorum rex Christmas: 1st respond at Matins	a4: Tr, Tr, M, A
Impetum fecerunt unanimes St Stephen and Sunday Octave: Vespers and 3rd respond at Matins	a6: M, CT, CT, T, B
In manus tuas, Domine (3 settings) Passion Sunday to Maundy Thursday: Compline	1:a4: Tr, M, M, T 2:a4: A, A, T, B 3:a3: A, T, B
In pace, in idipsum dormiam 1st Sunday in Lent to Passion Sunday: Compline	a4: Tr, M, M, T
Justi in perpetuum vivent Feasts of confessors outside Eastertide: second Vespers and 3rd respond at Matins	a5: M, A, CT, [T], B
Laude dicite Deo nostro All Saints: first Vespers	a5: A, A, T, B, B
Non conturbetur cor vestrum (2 settings) Vigil of Ascension: Vespers	a6: Tr, M, A, A, [T], B a6: Tr, M, A, A, T, B

SHEPPARD'S HYMNS AND RESPONDS

Reges Tharis et insulae Epiphany: first Vespers and 3rd respond at Matins	a6: Tr, M, A, A, T, B
Spiritus sanctus procedens a throno (2 settings) Whitsunday: 3rd respond at Matins	a5: A, A, T, B, B a6: Tr, M, A, A, T, B
Verbum caro factum est Christmas: 9th respond at Matins	a6: Tr, M, A, A, T, B

The majority of Sheppard's responds are choral settings. Those that are set as solo responds are the Mass Proper Alleluias and the Lenten and All Saints' Day responds which, as has already been noted, were associated with a particular ceremonial. By setting the Alleluias as solo responds, Sheppard may well have simply been attempting to acknowledge the Sarum rubric which stated that the Alleluia was to be chanted by 'two Canons in silk robes'.² In the preface to his edition of the responds, however, David Chadd observes,

The polyphonic sections of the responds whose plainsong is for the full choir are properly settings of soloists' music. This should not be taken as evidence for reduction of forces; the employment of polyphony seems itself to have satisfied ritual distinctions of this type.³

2. H Pearson: *The Sarum Missal done into English* (London, 1884), p.lxvii

3. David Chadd: 'John Sheppard 1: Responsorial Music', *EECM*, 17, xiv

The first part of the doxology ('Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto') was sung, to the same music as the verse, at the third, sixth and ninth responds at Matins. On Trinity Sunday all the responds at Matins included this partial doxology and it was sung with 'Aspiciens a longe' on the First Sunday of Advent. The office of Compline had a respond only in Lent. For the first half of Lent 'In pace' was sung, complete with 'Gloria Patri'; from Passion Sunday to Maundy Thursday, however the respond was 'In manus tuas' and the 'Gloria Patri' verse was not sung.

Benham⁴ has noted that the following hymns and responds seem to form liturgical pairs and speculates that they are perhaps isolated survivors from some yearly cycle of hymn-respond pairs for Vespers at Magdalen College or the Royal Chapel : hymn: 'Jesu salvator saeculi' and respond: 'Laudem dicite' (First Vespers of All Saints); hymn: 'Ave maris stella' and respond: 'Christi virgo dilectissima' (Matins of the Annunciation); and hymn: 'Hostis Herodes' and respond: 'Reges Tharsis' (First Vespers and Matins of the Epiphany).

4. Hugh Benham: *Latin Church Music in England c.1460-1575* (London, 1977)

THE LADY MASS ALLELUIAS

From the early Middle Ages, the custom of celebrating weekly votive masses in honour of the Virgin Mary had become well established. These masses, usually celebrated on a Saturday, came to be regarded as especially important; so much so that a number of institutions laid down provision in their statutes for these 'Lady Masses'⁵ to be celebrated *cum nota*, as with Sunday and feast day masses. In monasteries and collegiate chapels in which more than one mass was celebrated daily, it became quite common for one of the daily masses to be designated a Lady Mass.

Liturgically, the Alleluia chant immediately precedes the reading of the Gospel and was one of only two places in the mass where responsorial singing survived, the other being the Gradual chant.

5. The term thus used distinguishes between the weekly (or daily) masses in commemoration of the Virgin and 'Mary Masses' which were celebrated on specific feasts of the Virgin.

THE HYMNS

The place of Sheppard's extant hymn settings within the church's calendar is shown in Table 4, below:

TABLE 4

<u>HYMN SETTINGS BY SHEPPARD</u>	<u>VOICES⁶</u>
	Tr=Treble, M=Mean, A=Alto CT=Countertenor, T=Tenor, B=Bass
Adesto sancta Trinitas (2 settings) Trinity Sunday: first Vespers and at Matins and Vespers from Trinity Sunday until Corpus Christi	1: a6:Tr,M,A,T,[T],B 2: a6:Tr,M,A,[T],T,B
Aeterne rex altissime Ascension: first Vespers and Matins and daily at Vespers from Ascension until Whitsunday	a5: Tr,M,M,A,T
A solis ortus cardine From Christmas until Epiphany: Lauds	a8: Tr,Tr,M,[A],A,T,[T],B
Ave maris stella Annunciation: Vespers	a6:Tr,M,A,A,[T],B

6. This column lists the number of voice parts with their names, though no distinction has been made between countertenor and tenor except where this was specified in the manuscript source, as indicated in Thurlow's transcription. With this exception, Thurlow's edition does not specify part names. The attempt made here to produce part names results in some ambiguity of terminology, particularly where 'alto' and 'countertenor' are concerned. This problem is discussed later in this thesis. A missing voice part that has been composed by the transcription editor is shown in square brackets. A missing voice part that is a monorhythmic cantus firmus, inserted from an original plainsong source, is indicated by italics.

SHEPPARD'S HYMNS AND RESPONDS

- Beata nobis gaudia a7: Tr, M, A, A, [T], B, B
 Whitsunday: second Vespers and then
 daily until Trinity Sunday
- Christe redemptor omnium, Conserva a5: M, A, T, [T], B
 All Saints: Lauds and second Vespers
- Deus tuorum militum (2 settings) a5: A, A, T, T, B
 a5: Tr, M, M, A, T
 Feast of a martyr: Lauds and second Vespers
- Hostes Herodes impie a6: Tr, M, A, A, [T], B
 Epiphany: first and second Vespers,
 Matins and Vespers throughout the Octave
- Iam Christus astra ascenderat a6: Tr, M, A, T, [T], B
 Whitsunday: first Vespers and at
 Matins during Whit Week
- Jesu salvator saeculi, Redemptis a5: T, T, T, T/[T] v.6/, B
 All Saints: first Vespers and Matins
- Jesu salvator saeculi, Verbum a6: Tr, M, A, A, [T], B
 Octave of Easter until Ascension Day: Compline
- Martyr Dei qui unicum a6: Tr, M, T, T, [T], B
 Feast of a martyr: first Vespers and Matins
- Sacris solemniss a8: Tr, Tr, M, M, T, T, [T], B
 Corpus Christi: first Vespers
- Salvator mundi Domine a6: Tr, M, A, A, [T], B
 Whitsuntide until the Octave of
 the Epiphany and then on double feasts and through their
 octaves until the first Sunday in Lent: Compline
- Salva festa dies a4: A, A, T, B
 Easter Day: procession to the Rood before Mass
- Sancte Dei preciose a5: M, M, T, [T], B
 St Stephen: Lauds and Vespers

The hymn genre was intrinsically much simpler than that of the respond. Each verse of text was sung to the same plainsong melody. The protocol for the performance of hymns in pre-Reformation offices, however, was highly structured and is described thus by Harrison:⁷

A hymn was sung at each of the Hours, except from Maundy Thursday to the Saturday after Easter.³ The words of the hymns sung at the 'lesser' Hours remained constant throughout the year,⁴ and were: *Jam lucis orto sidere* at Prime, *Nunc sancte nobis Spiritus* at Terce, *Rector potens verax Deus* at Sext and *Rerum Deus tenax vigor* at None. The tunes, however, varied with the season, *Jam lucis*, for example being sung to the tune of the Christmas hymn *Christe redemptor omnium* at Christmas, to *Hostis Herodes* at Epiphany, and so on. For this reason *Jam lucis* was sung to about twenty different tunes during the year, *Nunc sancte* to four, and the others to three each.

The hymn at Compline changed with the season. In Advent, from the Octave of Epiphany to Lent and from Trinity to Advent it was *Te lucis ante terminum*, which had two tunes, its *cantus festivus* being the tune of the Easter season hymn *Jesu salvator saeculi*. From Christmas to the Octave of the Epiphany, and on double feasts and through their Octave from Epiphany to the First Sunday in Lent and from Whitsuntide¹ to Christmas Eve, it was *Salvator mundi Domine*, which in the English secular uses was sung to the tune of *Veni creator Spiritus*. There was a

3. For the processional hymn (or prose) *Salve festa dies* ...see below....[quoted next]

4. The only exception was the hymn at Terce on Whitsunday, which was *Veni creator Spiritus*.

1. Except that on Whitsunday and the three days following the sequence *Alma chorus Domini* was sung in place of the hymn.

7. Harrison, *op. cit.* 64-5

special Compline hymn during each of the periods from Passion Sunday to the Wednesday in Holy Week (*Cultor Dei momento*), from the Octave of Easter to the Ascension (*Jesu salvator saeculi*) and from Ascension to Whitsunday (*Jesu nostra redemptio*).

The hymns at first Vespers, Matins and Lauds were proper to a day, *de Tempore* or *de Sanctis*, or to a season, e.g., Advent, the post-Trinity period, or to a group of saints, e.g., Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, Virgins. Some of the hymns in this last division which were used quite frequently had two or more tunes so as to provide simpler settings for use in octaves or commemorations. Thus *Exultet caelum laudibus* for Apostles at Lauds had five tunes.

Harrison then goes on to describe the manner in which hymns were used in procession:⁸

On the more important double feasts the procession before Mass went out of the choir by the west door and around the choir, presbytery and cloisters before arriving at the rood. On about eight of these days, including Easter, Ascension, Whitsunday, Corpus Christi and the Dedication of the Church, but not Christmas or Trinity, the procession was begun with the prose *Salve festa dies*.⁶ The verses, which differed with the day⁷ though the music was invariable, were sung by the rulers, and the refrain *Salve festa dies*, with a varying second line, by the choir. The procession was completed to the singing of two responds, or two antiphons (on Easter Day *Sedit angelus* with the verse *Crucifixum in carne*¹ and *Christus resurgens* with the verse *Dicant nunc Judei*), or a respond and antiphon (on Corpus Christi).

6. The form is processional hymn with refrain (see Raby, *Christian Latin Poetry*, pp 92-3), but the ordinals and service-books are unanimous in calling it *prosa*.

7. *Breviarium Sarum*, iii, p.xcviii, lists eight sets of verses for Sarum and one peculiar to York; Frere (*Hymns Ancient and Modern*, p.205) mentions seven feasts, including the late Medieval additions of the Visitation and the Name of Jesus. Local saints also had their versions of the processional *Salve*...

1. *Crucifixum in carne* was sung in the *pulpitum* by three from the senior stall, turning towards the people. *Use of Sarum*, ii, p.168

8. Harrison, *op. cit.* 90-91

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

Although Sheppard's music is found in various manuscript sources throughout England,¹ the wholesale destruction of monastic libraries which occurred during the religious upheaval of the Tudor period has made the task of reconstruction difficult.

There are some twenty extant items by Sheppard that can properly be classified as liturgical responds. The remaining half dozen pieces composed in respond form comprise some Mass Alleluias, a gradual ('Haec dies quam fecit Dominus') and a motet ('Confitemini Domino').

There is a number of manuscript sources for the responds, but only four, the second setting of 'Dum transisset Sabbatum', 'Filiae Hierusalem', the second setting of 'Spiritus Sanctus procedens' and 'Haec dies', are not *unica*.² The two most important sources for modern editions

1. Lamont, *John Shepherd: His Life and Music*, 81, noted that there were at least forty-six different manuscripts containing Sheppard's music at eight different locations in England. Twenty-three of these, however, are in the British Library.

2. Secondary sources:

London, British Library, Add. MSS 30480-4

London, British Library, Add. MS 31390

are the 'Gyffard' partbooks in the British Library, London and the Christ Church partbooks which were copied by John Baldwin.⁴

The four 'Gyffard' part-books, so-called because they once belonged to a Dr Philip Gyffard (of whom little is known),⁵ make up an edition of English music for four voices⁶ which is complete in itself. It seems to have been compiled for the revival of the old liturgy during the reign of Queen Mary, that is, between 1553 and 1558. This hypothesis is further supported by the fact that, in addition to music by Sheppard, they also contain pieces by composers who either predated this period (John Taverner) or who were probably actually composing during this time (Thomas Appleby, [William?] Blytheman, Robert Okeland [or Hockland], William Mundy, Thomas Knyght, [Robert?] Whyte, William Whytebrook

London, British Library, Add. MS 32377
 London, British Library, Add. MS 47844
 London, British Library, Royal Music MS 24 d.2
 Oxford, Bodlian Library, Tenbury MS 389

3. London, British Library, Add MSS 17802-5

4. Oxford, Christ Church, Mus. MSS 979-83

5. Harrison, *Op. cit.*, 289

6. Sheppard's third setting of 'In manus tuas', however, appears to be for only three voices as there is no music for it in the contratenor book.

and Christopher Tye). Benham⁷ notes the importance of the Gyffard partbooks as a unique source of most of the music contained therein; of the ninety-four pieces in the collection, only three have concordances elsewhere. With further regard to the date of these partbooks, Harrison⁸ notes :

The books also contain music by Blytheman and Whyte, presumably William Blytheman (d.1591) and Robert Whyte, who was born about 1535,⁴

and can therefore not have been written before the introduction of the English Prayer Book in 1549. The liturgical character of the contents shows clearly that they were written for use with the Sarum rite, and among the compositions by (William?) Mundy is a setting of 'Exurge Christe', a prayer for the confounding of schismatics and the revival of 'apostolic truth'. The problem of the date of the manuscript is complicated by its including music by Byrd and John Mundy. The former, however, may be Thomas Byrd of the Chapel Royal or the William Byrd who was a chorister at Westminster in 1542
3.

4. *Tudor Church Music*, v, p.xi

The Christ Church collection is the sole surviving source for eleven of the responds and for sixteen of the eighteen hymns. It was copied by John Baldwin, probably in the last decade of the sixteenth century. Benham speculates that, as their condition suggests they were little used, they probably formed part of a private, musical treasury. Unfortunately, the collection lacks its tenor partbook.

7. Hugh Benham, *Latin Church Music in England*, 25

8. *op. cit.*, 288

Where the respond is concerned, the most common compositional practice was to assign the monorhythmic plainsong cantus firmus to this voice, therefore it has been possible to reconstruct much of what has been lost by referring to the original plainsong source. Seven of these responds, 'Verbum caro factum est', 'Reges Tharsis et insulae', 'Dum transisset Sabbatum' (I), 'Non conturbetur cor vestrum' (II), 'Spiritus Sanctus procedens a throno' (I), 'Impetum fecerunt unanimes' and 'Gaude, gaude, gaude Maria virgo' can be completed in this way. Three responds, 'Non conturbetur cor vestrum' (I), 'Christi virgo dilectissima' and 'Justi in perpetuum vivent' have the cantus firmus in their highest voice and can only be reconstructed by editorial recomposition, the original tenor voice part being irrecoverable.

Reconstruction of the hymns in the same manner, however, is not possible as the most usual compositional practice was to assign the cantus firmus to the uppermost, not the tenor, voice.

'Laudem dicite' also appears solely in the Christ Church collection. It is five-part polyphony marked 'for men'. The

missing tenor part-book contained both tenor and upper bass parts, but as this respond was copied into the manuscript twice (nos. 7 and 25) and each partbook contained both voice parts, complete reconstruction has been possible. The following table⁹ shows the manuscript sources:

TABLE 5

	A ¹	A ²	T	B ¹	B ²
No.7 in MSS:	980	979	981	-	983
No.25 in MSS:	979	980	-	981	983

Table 6 shows the principal manuscript sources of the responds, the voice part to which the plainsong cantus firmus is assigned and a note of other factors which may be relevant to the reconstruction of the piece.

The Mass Alleluia chants are polyphonic settings of the opening word, 'Alleluia'. The remainder of the text follows as plainsong and then a repeat of the opening polyphony.

9. From: *John Sheppard 1: Responsorial Music*, ed. David Chadd, EECM 17 (London, 1977), 160

SHEPPARD'S HYMNS AND RESPONSES

The principal source for these settings is the Gyffard partbooks which is also the source of the respond-motet for Easter, 'Confitemini Domino'.

The gradual respond for Easter Day, 'Haec dies quam fecit Dominus', seems to have been particularly popular as it is found in no fewer than six sources.

TABLE 6

G = "Gyffard" Partbooks, London, British Library, Add. MSS 17802-5
 CC = Christ Church (lacking Tenor book) Oxford, Christ Church, Mus. MSS 979-83
 BL = London, British Library, Add MSS 31390
 OBLT = Oxford, Bodlian Library, Tenbury MS 389

Voice parts are abbreviated thus: Tr=treble; Mn=mean; Tn=tenor; B=bass

OFFICE RESPONDS

TITLE	(PLAINSONG CANTUS FIRMUS)	SOURCES	NOTES
Audivi vocem de caelo	(-)	G	Does not use the plainsong directly, but refers to it in the imitation.
Christi virgo dilectissima	(Tr)	CC	Can only be restored by recomposition.
Dum transisset Sabbatum (no.1)	(Tn)	CC	Missing tenor can be restored from original chant source.
Dum transisset Sabbatum (no.2)	(Mn)	CC BL	Can be restored from alternative manuscripts.
Filiae Jerusalem venite	(Tr)	CC BL	Can be restored from alternative manuscripts.
Gaude gaude gaude Maria virgo	(Tn)	CC	Missing tenor can be restored from original chant source.

TITLE	(PLAINSONG CANTUS FIRMUS)	SOURCES	NOTES
Hodie nobis caelorum	(-)	G	Does not use the plainsong directly, but refers to it in the imitation.
Impetum fecerunt unanimes	(Tn)	CC	Missing tenor can be restored from original chant source.
In manus tuas Domine (no.1)	(-)	G	Does not use the plainsong directly, but refers to it in the imitation.
In manus tuas Domine (no.2)	(Tn)	G	
In manus tuas Domine (no.3)	(B)	G	3 part polyphony (not in 17802). The plainsong is used in decorated form in the BASS.
In pace in idipsum	(-)	G	Does not use the plainsong directly, but refers to it in the imitation.
Justi in perpetuum vivent	(Mn)	CC	Can only be restored by recomposition.
Laudem dicite Deo nostro	(Tn)	CC	Tenor and upper bass parts from the missing tenor book are duplicated in another, complete restoration therefore has been possible.
Non conturbetur cor vestrum (1)	(Tr)	CC	Can only be restored by recomposition.
Non conturbetur cor vestrum (2)	(Tn)	CC	Missing tenor can be restored from original chant source.
Reges Tharsis et insulae	(Tn)	CC	Missing tenor can be restored from original chant source.
Spiritus Sanctus procedens (1)	(Tn)	CC	Missing tenor can be restored from original chant source.

TITLE	(PLAINSONG CANTUS FIRMUS)	SOURCES	NOTES
Spiritus Sanctus procedens (2)	(Tn)	CC BL	Missing tenor can be restored from original chant source and alternative manuscripts.
Verbum caro factum est	(Tn)	CC	Missing tenor can be restored from original chant source.
<u>MASS PROPERS</u>			
Alleluia V. Ora pro nobis	(B)	G	Reference to the monorhythmic cantus firmus in the bass and imitative reference in all parts.
Alleluia V. Per te Dei genitrix	(Tn)	G	Reference to the monorhythmic cantus firmus in the tenor and imitative reference in all parts.
Alleluia V. Veni electa	(*)	G	* Imitative reference to the monorhythmic cantus firmus all parts.
Alleluia V. Virtutes caeli	(Tn)	G	Reference to the monorhythmic cantus firmus in the tenor and imitative reference in all parts.
Alleluia V. Confitemini Domino	(no)	G	A mass proper. Does not use the plainsong directly, but refers to it in the imitation.
Haec dies quam fecit Dominus	(Tn)	CC BL	CC BL - various MSS : Add. MSS 30480-4; Add. MSS 32377; Add. MSS 47844; Royal Music 24 d.2
		OBLT	

The eighteen¹⁰ surviving hymns by Sheppard are:

- Adesto sancta Trinitas (I)
- Adesto sancta Trinitas (II)
- † * Aeterne rex altissime
- A solis ortus cardine
- Ave maris stella
- Beata nobis gaudia
- Christe redemptor omnium, Conserva
- Deus tuorum militum (I)
- † Deus tuorum militum (II)
- Hostis Herodes impie
- Jam Christus astra ascenderat
- Jesu salvator saeculi, Redemptis
- Jesu salvator saeculi, Verbum
- Martyr Dei qui unicum
- Sacris solemniis
- Salvator mundi Domine
- Salve festa dies, Qua Deus infernum
- Sancte Dei preciose

- * also in British Library Add. MS 32377
- † also in Tenbury MSS 341-344 and MS 1464
- cantus firmus in tenor
- cantus firmus in tenor, but lacks another part

Only the processional prose, 'Salve festa dies', is to be found in the Gyffard partbooks. The other seventeen are in the Christ Church collection but they cannot be so readily reconstructed as the responds. The missing parts of two hymns, 'Aeterne rex altissime' and the second setting of 'Deus tuorum militum', were found in the Tenbury manuscript,¹¹ wrongly attributed to Tallis. 'Aeterne rex

10. This list excludes a 'Te Deum' which, although it is more properly a hymn should, perhaps be classified as a canticle by virtue of its liturgical use.

11. Tenbury, St. Michael's College, MSS 341-344 and MS 1464

altissime' is also found in the British Library.¹² Complete restoration, without the need for editorial recomposition, is only possible in the case of four hymns, 'Aeterne rex altissime', both settings of 'Deus tuorum militum' and 'Salvator mundi'. These are either not unica or their missing tenor part was assigned to the cantus firmus which could be inserted from plainsong sources, as indicated in the list above.

Although the second setting of 'Adesto sancta Trinitas', has a tenor cantus firmus, it lacks another part also contained in the lost book, and cannot, therefore, be reconstructed.

12. London, British Library, Add. MS 32377.

Plainsong sources

The original plainsong sources are readily available. All the Mass Alleluias are found in the *Gradual*¹³, the responds in the *Antiphonal*¹⁴ and the hymns in the *Hymnal*.¹⁵

13. Chadd's edition for EECM uses *Graduale ad usum Sarisburiensis* (London and Paris, 1532).

14. Chadd's edition for EECM uses *Antiphonale ad usum ecclesiae Sarum...* (Paris, 1519) and *Antiphonale ad usum Sarum volumen secundum* (Paris, 1520)

15. Thurlow uses *Hymnarium Sarisburiense* for his edition - except for 'Salve Festa dies' which is in the *Gradual* and the *Processionale ad usum Sarum* (Paris, 1530).

EDITIONS

Little of Sheppard's music had been reconstructed in time for the first ten volumes of Tudor Church Music. A further series of volumes was planned but never printed.

There are presently two commercially available editions of the Responds and one of the Hymns. Another edition of the Hymns forms part of a dissertation completed by Alan Thurlow in 1979 in the University of Cambridge, now deposited in the Cathedral Library at Chichester. Six of the responds, 'Audivi vocem de caelo venientem', 'Hodie nobis caelorum rex', 'In pace, in idipsum dormiam', 'In manus tuas, Domine' (first setting), 'Reges Tharsis et insulae' and the second setting of 'Spiritus Sanctus procedens a throno', are also available in an edition by Frank Harrison, published by Möseler Verläg and issued as Volume 84 of "Das Chorwerk".¹

Harrison presents the six responds in his edition untransposed with note values halved. Editorial bar lines are shown between the staves.

1. *John Sheppard, Sechs Responsorien*, ed. F. Ll. Harrison, *Das Chorwerk*, 84, (Wolfenbüttel, 1960)

In 1977, Stainer and Bell published volume 17 of *Early English Church Music*, edited by David Chadd, for the British Academy. He referred to the earlier edition by Harrison, mentioned above and also consulted copies of 'Alleluia V. Confitemini Domino', edited by R. R. Terry,² and 'Haec dies, quam fecit Dominus', edited by H. B. Collins.³

In his edition, Chadd presents the music untransposed, in quartered note values as does Alan Thurlow in his edition of the Hymns.

An edition of the collected works of John Sheppard was published by Oxenford Imprint, volume 1, *Office Responds and Varia* edited by David Wulstan and published in 1978, and volume 2, *Hymns* edited by Roger Bray and published in 1981. Each editor broadly follows the same editorial practice in which note values are halved and the music transposed usually (but not always) upwards a minor third.

2. London, n.d.

3. London, 1930

The degree of diminution applied to the graphical representation of the notes is, of course, merely a matter of editorial preference and does not affect the music itself.

An important divergence between Chadd's edition of the responds and Wulstan's is in the naming of voice parts. They disagree principally about the nomenclature of alto and countertenor parts, even though, in each case, the original clef is shown as a tenor clef. These, and other editorial matters are considered in Chapter 7.

Other differences of this sort occur between Chadd's and Wulstan's editions:

	<u>Chadd</u>	<u>Wulstan</u>
'Hodie nobis'	Tr, Tr, M, A	Tr, Tr, M, M
'In pace'	Tr, M, M, T	M, A, A, B
'In manus tuas' - I	Tr, M, M, T	M, A, A, B
'Christi virgo'	Tr, A, CT, CT, T, B	Tr, M, A, A, T, B
'Audivi vocem'	M, M, T, T	A, A, T, T

SHEPPARD'S HYMNS AND RESPONDS

In his edition of the hymns, Thurlow makes no suggestion as to the disposition of the various voices unless this was indicated in a source manuscript. Bray, however, follows the same editorial policy as Wulstan in this matter.

SHEPPARD'S TECHNIQUE OF COMPOSITION

TREATMENT OF THE CANTUS FIRMUS

In the majority of his responds and hymns, Sheppard uses the original plainsong as a cantus firmus in his polyphony. In the responds, the cantus firmus is most commonly monorhythmic and given to the tenor whilst in the majority of the hymn settings, it is in the top vocal part. Although most of the cantus firmi (even in the hymns) are monorhythmic, or treated with only the lightest decoration,¹ in those instances where the cantus firmus itself is highly decorated, it is usually to be found in the highest voice part.

Although in individual responds, Sheppard does occasionally make use of a decorated form of the cantus firmus, only in his hymn settings does he treat it both monorhythmically and in decorated form within the space of a single verse. Such varied treatment is almost unheard of in the respond settings.

1. Most common of which is the occasional passing note inserted between intervals of a third in the original chant.

Exceptions to this general rule occur in the settings of the Alleluia chant for the Lady Masses (which may be considered as solo responds in the old style) where the cantus firmus parodies the original plainsong and is treated quite freely.

In three of the four settings of the Lady Mass Alleluias, the cantus firmus is carried by an inner voice (the tenor) as would be expected. In one case, however ('Alleluia V. Ora pro nobis'), the cantus firmus is in the lowest (second bass) part. The original chant is used as a cantus firmus only up to the final melisma of the first word (which here stands in place of an incipit).

The head-figure of each vocal line in all cases is closely related to the start of the original chant, as shown by Example 1,² taken from 'Alleluia V. Virtutes coeli'. This example also illustrates the freedom with which the cantus firmus is itself treated, adapting to the rhythmic patterns of the other voices and assimilating itself into the overall texture of the polyphony:

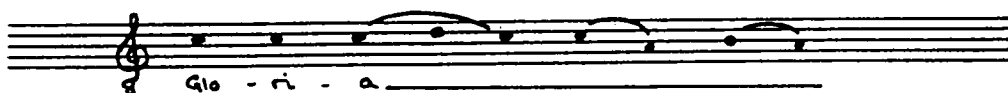
2. Music examples of the responds are taken from EECM 17, edited by David Chadd. Music examples of the hymns are from Alan J. Thurlow, *The Latin Church Music of John Sheppard* (submitted as a Ph.D. thesis in the University of Cambridge in 1979, now in Chichester Cathedral Library).

SHEPPARD'S TECHNIQUE OF COMPOSITION


Sheppard provides polyphony only for the doxology alone and observes the rubric in a setting for high voices. The highly decorated cantus firmus is presented in its entirety in the second treble and the start of the plainsong is used as a point of imitation by all voices:

Example 2

Start of plainsong Gloria:



Start of polyphony:



Four staves of polyphonic music. The top staff is a treble clef with a highly decorated melody for "Glo - ri - a". The second staff is a second treble clef with a similar decorated melody. The third staff is a mezzo-soprano clef with a simpler melody. The bottom staff is an alto clef with a similar decorated melody. All staves have the lyrics "Glo - ri - a" written below them, with horizontal lines under the "a" in each part.

Example 3, below, shows plainsong of the Gloria above Sheppard's second treble part as an illustration of his style of decorating a cantus firmus:

SHEPPARD'S TECHNIQUE OF COMPOSITION

Example 3

Chant

Glo - ri - a

Tre

Glo - ri - a

in ex - cel - sis De - o

in ex - cel - sis De - o

et in ter - ra pax ho - mi -

et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni -

ni - bus bo - nae vo - lun -

- bus bo - nae vo - lun ta -

ta - tis

bis

bis

Example 2, above, also illustrates the manner in which Sheppard usually handles a delayed entry of the cantus firmus in the polyphony following the plainsong (usually the incipit). In most instances, particularly when the

SHEPPARD'S TECHNIQUE OF COMPOSITION

cantus firmus is undecorated and in long notes, it is the first part to enter so that the continuity with the chant is not lost:

Example 4 'Verbum caro factum est'

The musical score consists of seven staves. The top staff is labeled 'Three soloists' and contains a long note with the lyrics 'Ver - - - bum'. The second staff has the lyrics 'Ver - bum car - o fa - ctum -'. The third staff has the lyrics 'Ver - bum car - o fa - ctum'. The fourth staff has the lyrics 'Ver - bum'. The fifth staff has the lyrics 'Ver - bum car - o fa - ctum'. The sixth staff has the lyrics 'car - o - - - fa - ctum - est'. The seventh staff has the lyrics 'Ver - bum car - o - fa - ctum - est, fa ctum'. The score illustrates the technique of delaying the entry of the cantus firmus in the highest voice part.

Sheppard occasionally delays the entry of the cantus firmus when it is in the highest voice part but such delays are usually disguised by the entry of other voices which begin with a similar head figure:

SHEPPARD'S TECHNIQUE OF COMPOSITION

Example 5 'Non conturbetur cor vestrum' (I)

(cantus firmus in treble)

[THREE SOLOISTS]

Non - - - - - con - tur - be - tur

Cor - - - - -

Cor ve - - - - -

Cor - - - - -

ORGAN
(CHOR)
Cor ve - - - - - strum

Cor ve - - - - - strum

Sheppard employs the same technique in his setting of 'Justi in perpetuum vivent' and 'Filiae Hierusalem' where the treble entry of the plainsong is anticipated by quasi-canonic entries, effectively disguising the break between the incipit and the entry of the cantus firmus proper:

Only one respond, 'Laudem dicite' (marked 'for men'), has a delayed tenor cantus firmus entry and this is disguised with paired entries of the first three notes of transposed and untransposed versions of the chant thus:

Example 8 'Laudem dicite'

(cantus firmus in tenor)

The musical score consists of six staves. The top staff is for three soloists, with the instruction "[THREE SOLOISTS]" above it. The lyrics "Lau - dem - di - ci - te" are written below the notes. The second staff is for Alto 1 (A1), the third for Alto 2 (A2), and the fourth for Tenor (T), with the instruction "c.f." above it. The lyrics "De - o no -" are written below the notes. The fifth staff is for Bass 1 (B1) and the sixth for Bass 2 (B2), with the lyrics "De - o no -" written below the notes. The score is in 4/8 time and features a cantus firmus in the tenor part.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE POLYPHONY

The intrinsically sectional structure of the respond demanded music which was itself capable of sectional repetition and which provided convenient breaks thus enabling the performance of a partial response. There is, of course, no difficulty with the solo, or 'old' style responds ('Audivi vocem', 'Hodie nobis caelorum', 'In pace' and the first setting of 'In manus tuas Domine') where the section containing the text from which the partial response is taken is the original plainsong.³ The Lady Mass Alleluias⁴ are similarly set as solo responds.

In each of these, only the initial word, 'Alleluia', is set polyphonically and, for this, only adult voices are used. The vocal ranges of these four settings are broadly similar with only one of the tenor (or counter tenor) parts exceeding the typical range of a ninth.⁵ Following the

3. It has already been noted, however, that the Lenten liturgy requires a final repetition of the full respond.

4. 'Alleluia V. Per te, Dei genitrix', the chant for Mondays and Eastertide; 'Alleluia V. Ora pro nobis', the chant for Tuesdays; 'Alleluia V. Virtutes coeli', for Wednesdays and 'Alleluia V. Veni, electa mea' for Thursdays.

5. The question of pitch and vocal scoring is discussed later but the presence of both tenor and alto clefs does not necessarily imply that different voice timbres were used for these parts.

opening polyphony, there is a choral repetition of the Alleluia to its original plainsong melody and this is followed by the plainsong verse, which the Sarum rubric directs should be sung by two soloists. The chorus joins the final melisma on the last vowel of the verse (which, as with almost all plainsong Alleluia chants is the same as the original *jubilus* - the melisma on the final vowel of the word 'alleluia') and this is followed by a repetition of the polyphony.

The majority of Sheppard's respond settings are in the choral, or 'new' style in which the response itself is polyphonic and his polyphony is, therefore, structured in a manner which facilitates the performance of a partial response. In Example 9, the second setting of 'In manus tuas, Domine' is quoted in full as an illustration of the manner in which this sectional performance is typically handled.⁶

6. It should be noted, however, that the final repetition of the response, 'A to C' which includes the opening incipit, is peculiar to this Lenten respond.

SHEPPARD'S TECHNIQUE OF COMPOSITION

Example 9 'In Manus tuas, Domine' (II)

A [Soloist]

In man-us tu - as.

Do - mi - na
Do - mi - ne

B

mi - ne, com - men - do, com -
ne. com - men - do spi - ri -
com - men -
- mi - ne com - men -

- mendo spiritum me -
- tum me - um, spi - ri - tum me -
- do spi - ri - tum
- do spi - ri - tum me - um, com -

SHEPPARD'S TECHNIQUE OF COMPOSITION

The musical score consists of five staves. The first four staves are polyphonic settings of the word 'me-um'. The first staff is marked 'A' at the beginning and 'C' at the end. The second staff is marked 'B' at the beginning. The lyrics 'me - um' are written below the first two staves. The fifth staff is a soloist part for the verse, marked 'VERSE [Soloist]' and contains the lyrics 'Re - de - mi - sti - me, Do - mi - ne De - us ver - i - ta - tis.' Below the soloist staff, the instruction 'Repeat B to C then A to C' is written.

Example 9 shows the standard way in which the first section of polyphony completes its cadence before the second section of polyphony (marked 'B' in Example 9) begins. This pattern is followed in all of the choral responds with the exception of 'Verbum caro factum est' where a single voice part is permitted to overlap the second section by one note:

Example 10 'Verbum caro factum est'

(bars 11-13)

T. A
 M.
 A.
 A.
 T.
 B.

- bis. Cu-jus glo-
 -vit in no - - bis Cu - jus glo - ri am vi
 -ta - vit in no - bis. Cu - jus glo - ri - - am,
 - bis. - Cu - jus glo - ri
 bis. Cu - jus glo - ri

SHEPPARD'S TECHNIQUE OF COMPOSITION

SHEPPARD'S TREATMENT OF THE ADDED VOICES

Shepherd treats the added voices in a variety of ways: in some responds they are totally independent of the chant, in some they derive the head figures of their points of imitation from its overall shape while in others their underlying skeletal shape is based upon it.

In the Easter setting 'Alleluia V. Confitemini Domino', the head figure in each voice paraphrases the chant while the first bass adjusts the chant to give a tonal entry. The cantus firmus does not run throughout the polyphony, although there is frequent allusion in the polyphony to the upward leaping fourth (or its tonal inversion being a fifth) of the opening plainsong. The verse, also, is thematically linked to the opening plainsong but without this initial distinctive leap. The verse's polyphony continues without any further direct reference to the original chant, ending before the final word ('ejus') to permit a choral melisma prior to the return of the polyphonic Alleluia. Example 11 gives a comparison of the original plainsong with opening polyphony of the 'Alleluia'

and with the start of the verse shows the thematic links discussed:

Example 11

Original plainsong: 'Alleluia V. Confitemini Domino'



Opening polyphony of response:



Opening polyphony of verse:



A further illustration of Sheppard's use of imitation in his added voice parts is provided by his setting of the

SHEPPARD'S TECHNIQUE OF COMPOSITION

Gradual for Easter Day, 'Haec dies'. The cantus firmus is in the tenor, independent of the added voices and in long notes throughout. This is a choral Respond, but, as a Gradual, its manner of performance differs slightly from the norm insofar as there is no repetition of the polyphony following the verse. The polyphony sustains a major tonality throughout and (to quote Harrison) has 'an air of joyous optimism'. Examples 12a and 12b illustrate the insistent points of imitation which are a feature of this respond.

Example 12a 'quam fecit'

The musical score consists of six staves. The lyrics are distributed across the staves as follows:

- Staff 1: es quam fe-cit Do-mi
- Staff 2: es
- Staff 3: Haec di es quam fe-cit Do-mi
- Staff 4: quam fe-cit Do-mi
- Staff 5: es quam fe-cit
- Staff 6: quam fe-cit Do-mi nus quam

7. Although Harrison is of the opinion that it is likely also to have been sung at Vespers, with a verse but without its neuma. *Op. cit.* 371

Example 12b 'exultemus'

The musical score consists of six staves. The top staff is the vocal line with lyrics: 'nus: ex-sul-te'. The second staff has lyrics: 'nus: ex-sul-te'. The third staff has lyrics: 'nus: ex-sul-te'. The fourth staff has lyrics: 'ex-sul-te'. The fifth staff has lyrics: 'nus: ex-sul-te'. The sixth staff has lyrics: 'nus: ex-sul-te'. The score shows a complex texture with multiple voices entering and imitating each other.

The first setting of 'Spiritus Sanctus, procedens a throno' exhibits the same independence of the added voices from the cantus firmus and exploits imitative entries between the added voice parts to the full. It follows the usual pattern of a choral respond and introduces a series of memorable canons at 'invisibiliter', 'penetravit', 'sanctificationis' and 'Alleluia' with voices entering in quick succession to create a most remarkable tapestry of sound:

Example 13

The image shows a musical score for five voices: Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), Bass I (B1), and Bass II (B2). The lyrics are 'Al-le-lui-a' and 'al-le-lui'. The score illustrates imitative entries of the text across the different voices.

The same textural points are treated imitatively in his second setting of this respond, but in a much more leisurely manner, with entries far more spaced out. The point 'nascerentur linguarum' is handled more insistently and this leads to a succession of close entries on the final 'Alleluia' as in the first setting.

Occasionally the added voices make paired entries (for example, 'Filiae Hierusalem' quoted as Example 7 and the first setting of 'Non conturbetur' quoted as Example 5 previously).

Although word-painting is not a primary objective in the Responds, a few instances of it can be found; the

RESPONDS REQUIRING SPECIAL COMMENT

The Lenten Responds

The service of Compline has a respond only in Lent. 'In pace' was sung from the first Sunday in Lent to Passion Sunday, when the rubrics state that the first part of the doxology is also to be sung and followed by a complete repeat of the response. 'In manus tuas' was sung, without a doxology, from Passion Sunday to Maundy Thursday. These responds belong to that group that had a longer tradition of polyphony than the others. Consequently, they were more often still set in the old style, retaining solo polyphony with choral plainsong responses.

'In pace, in idipsum dormiam' is a solo respond. Its structure is:

Response:	solo polyphony..choral plainsong
Verse: (si dederò)	solo polyphony
Partial Response:	choral plainsong
Gloria	solo polyphony
Complete Response:	solo polyphony..choral plainsong

The opening polyphonic response begins in stretto with imitative motives and then is completed in plainsong. There

are some strong chordal phrases (such as at the end of the second section on the word, 'dormitationem') where there is a definite authentic cadence with a suspension in the upper part. The polyphony of 'In pace' incorporates only fragmentary and highly decorated references to the plainsong in the upper voices.

Sheppard's first setting of 'In manus tuas' is clearly paired with 'In pace'. Their scoring is identical and their vocal ranges remarkably similar. They are similar, also, in their lightness of touch, phrase structure, overall architectural form and thematically related musical phrases. Imitative, paired entries predominate in each, at times, paraphrasing the plainsong. 'In manus tuas' has no 'Gloria' but the Lenten rubric requires a complete final statement of the response, with its *incipit*, at the end. These features are shown in Examples 15, 16 and 17.

Example 15(a) 'In pace' - opening phrase

Example 15(b) 'In manus tuas' - I - opening phrase

Example 16(a) 'In pace' - melodic fragment from 1st section:

Example 16(b) 'In manus tuas' - I - melodic fragment from 1st section:

SHEPPARD'S TECHNIQUE OF COMPOSITION

Example 17(a) 'In pace' - start of 2nd section

Si de-dero
Si de-dero
Si de-dero
Si de-dero

Example 17(b) 'In manus tuas' - I - start of 2nd section

Re - - de-misti me,
Re - - de-misti me,
Re - - de-misti me,
Re - - de-misti me, Do - - -

Gaude, gaude, gaude maris virgo

This respond, with its prose, was sung at second vespers on the Feast of the Purification. Scored for six voices with high trebles, it has been acclaimed by Harrison as the most significant and highly-developed of Sheppard's responds:

Sheppard's six-part *Gaude, gaude, gaude Maria* with the prose *Inviolata*² for second Vespers on the feast of the Purification is the sole surviving example of a polyphonic setting of both respond and prose, only the verse *Gabrielem archangelum scimus* and the *Gloria Patri* being sung in plainsong. This is perhaps his finest work, and must be accounted one of the masterpieces of the last years of the Sarum rite. It is based throughout on the plainsong transposed down a fifth as a monorhythmic cantus firmus, and the treatment is an interesting demonstration of the manner of joining the beginning and end of a prose, without breaks, to the words and music of a respond.

2. In Oxford, Christ Church, MSS. 979-83

The full text of this respond is given below. The sections not set polyphonically by Sheppard but which use the original plainsong are shown in brackets.

(*Gaude, gaude, gaude Maria*)

Virgo cunctas haereses sola interemisti
 quae Gabrielis Archangeli dictis credidisti.
 Dum Virgo Deum et hominem genuisti et post partum,
 Virgo inviolata permansisti.

8. Harrison, *Op.cit.*, 397-400

(Gabrielem archangelum scimus divinitus te esse affatum: uterum tuum de spiritu sancto credimus impregnatum erubescat Judeus infelix qui dicat Christum ex Joseph semine esse natum.)

Prose:

- V.1: Inviolata et integra et casta es Maria
 - V.2: Quae es effecta fulgida coeli porta.
 - V.3: O mater alma Christi carissima.
 - V.4: Suscipe laudum pia praeconia.
 - V.5: Nostra ut pura pectora sint et corpora.
 - V.6: Quae nunc flagitant devota voxque et corda.
 - V.7: Tu da per precata dulcis sona.
 - V.8: Nobis perpetua frui vita.
 - V.9: O benigna quae sola inviolata permansisti.
- (Gloria Patri et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto.)

An explication of the method of performance is as follows:

1. There is a complete choral statement of the response in which imitative entries are based on the transposed cantus firmus. This first section ends with a plagal cadence with separately placed final chords.
2. Solo plainsong verse ('Gabrielem')
3. Partial response (from 'Dum virgo'). The figure at the word 'inviolata' is used in imitation to provide a pivot between the response and prose.

PROSE INTERPOLATION

After each verse the choir repeats the plainsong melody as a *neuma* (a vocalization of the last vowel sung).

SHEPPARD'S TECHNIQUE OF COMPOSITION

4. Verse 1 of the prose follows ('Inviolata integra...') ending on the word 'Maria', with a major chord.
5. Prose verse 2, 'Quae es effecta' follows, set for all voices, which has been the pattern in this piece up to this point.
6. Verse 3 of the prose, 'O mater alma' set for two trebles, two means and a bass follows. The cantus firmus has moved to the second mean. From this verse onwards, the word 'gymel' appears which indicates solo performance. The cantus firmus is in the second mean, the other voice parts moving in imitation.
7. Prose verse 4, 'Suscipe' follows with the cantus firmus in the first mean. This is essentially the same music as for the third verse but the first treble and first mean exchange parts with the second treble and the second mean.
8. Prose verse 5, 'Nostra', set for two trebles, two means and bass follows. The cantus firmus is in the second mean.
9. Prose verse 6 'Quae nunc' follows with the cantus firmus in the first mean. An exchange of parts occurs again, as for verses 3 and 4.
10. Prose verse 7 'Tu da per precata dulcis sona' set for two trebles, two means and a countertenor (which replaces the bass) follows. The cantus firmus is in the second mean.

SHEPPARD'S TECHNIQUE OF COMPOSITION

11. Prose verse 8, 'Nobis', follows with the cantus firmus in the first mean. This is the same music as verse 7 and the first treble and the first mean exchange parts with the second treble and the second mean, ending the gymel performance.
12. Verse 9 of the prose is for all voices and the cantus firmus is again in the tenor. This section leads back into the response without a break.
13. The response, 'Inviolata permansisti' ends as before.
14. Soloists sing the plainsong 'Gloria Patri'.
15. The second half of response, 'Et post partum', is repeated.

THE HYMNS

Sheppard's technique of hymn setting requires some separate consideration as the genre is essentially quite different from that of the respond. It was the common practice of the period to incorporate the plainsong melody of the hymn into a polyphonic setting as a monorhythmic cantus firmus, usually in the topmost voice. Odd numbered verses were usually sung to the original plainsong while even numbered verses were treated polyphonically. The hymn could end either with a plainsong or a polyphonic verse, according to the number of verses in the hymn. Sheppard follows this basic procedure in ten of his hymn settings. These are scored much more flexibly than are the responds: occasionally the plainsong is to be found in the tenor or the bass and one setting even has it in the mean. One setting uses the faburden of the plainsong for its bass line. Only one setting, the Easter processional hymn 'Salva festa dies' does not use the chant at all in its polyphony; instead, Sheppard provides a newly-composed refrain to be sung after each plainsong verse.

SHEPPARD'S TECHNIQUE OF COMPOSITION

It is important to note that, unlike the responds, the hymns have strophic texts and it would, therefore, be possible to apply the music composed for one particular verse to the text of another. It cannot be assumed that simply because Sheppard did not provide music for verse 4 of 'Aeterne rex altissime' (for example), that its manner of performance would necessarily have differed from the normal pattern noted above. It is quite likely that the polyphony given for verse 2 would have been repeated in order to maintain the pattern of alternating chanted verses with polyphony. This is seen in practice in the second setting of 'Adesto Sancta Trinitas'; if the openings of the polyphonic verses 2 and 4 are compared, it will be seen that the polyphony is essentially the same, and, where changes occur, they do so only to accommodate the natural inflections of the words:

Sheppard occasionally applies another form of variation to the final verse of a hymn by changing the mensuration (the temporal relationships between the note values). The effect of this is often either to produce a faster tempo⁹ or, in modern terminology, a change from simple to compound time. Just such a change occurs in the final verse of 'Beata nobis gaudia'¹⁰ where the cantus firmus (in the mean)¹¹ and polyphony take on triplet movement. Example 19 shows the openings of verses 4 and 6:

9. Benham, *op. cit.*, 30, 200 notes that, while the opening verses of 'Aeterne rex altissime' and the first setting of 'Deus tuorum militum' have the signature C , the final verse is marked with a new signature D , which was used to indicate a mensural diminution which was likely to have been interpreted as an acceleration in performance.

10. The change is from *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione imperfecta* to *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione perfecta*.

11. This is the only hymn that has the plainsong cantus firmus in the mean (as an inner voice) throughout.

Example 19a

'Beata nobis gaudia' - start of verse 4

Example 19b

'Beata nobis gaudia' - start of verse 6

SHEPPARD'S TECHNIQUE OF COMPOSITION

The second half of the cantus firmus in verse 6 is treated very freely indeed, all but disappearing from the mean in the final few bars of transcription. The treble part, however, retains its outline:

Example 20: the treble and mean voices compared with the original chant - end of verse 6.

The image displays three staves of musical notation. The top staff is labeled 'Chant' and features a single melodic line with a few notes and a fermata. The middle staff is in treble clef and shows a more complex melodic line with many notes, some marked with 'x' and an upward-pointing arrow. The bottom staff is in bass clef and shows a similar complex melodic line, also with 'x' marks and an upward-pointing arrow. The notation is arranged in a three-staff format, with the treble and bass staves sharing a common vertical line on the left.

Although delayed entries of the cantus firmus occur less frequently in the hymns than in the responds, Sheppard handles them in the same way, either by hiding the cantus firmus' entry amongst imitative entries which are independent of the chant (Example 21) or by hiding the cantus firmus' entry amongst imitative entries which share its head figure (Example 22):

Example 21 'Deus tuorum militum' - I

(tenor cantus firmus entry, verse 2)

Hic nempe mundi gau-di-a, hic nempe mun-di
 Hic nempe mundi gau-di-a,
 Hic nempe mundi gau-di-a, gaudi-
 Hic nem-
 Hic nempe

Cantus firmus:
 Hyperionium
 Saxiborinense

Example 22 'Deus tuorum militum' - II

(treble cantus firmus entry, verse 4)

Ob hoc pre-ca-
 ob hoc pre-ca-tu sup-pli-
 Ob hoc pre-ca-tu sup-
 Ob hoc pre-
 Ob

cantus firmus:

'Sancte Dei pretiose', the hymn for Vespers on the Feast of St Stephen, is the only one of Sheppard's hymns to be based



SHEPPARD'S TECHNIQUE OF COMPOSITION

on the faburden of the chant (transposed up a fourth), rather than the chant itself. As there are only three verses, only the second is set polyphonically. Sheppard's faburden here is derived almost entirely from parallel thirds or unisons with the original (transposed) chant, decorated with the occasional passing or escape note.¹² Example 23 shows the cantus firmus and the transposed plainsong melody together. There is clearly an incongruity with the tenth note of the chant, suggesting that the chant upon which Sheppard wrote this faburden had two Gs for its tenth and eleventh notes, which transposed, would produce two Cs, giving expected intervals of a unison followed by a third at this point:

12. A technical explanation of faburden is given by Frank Ll Harrison, 'Faburden in practice', *MD* 16, 11-34

A HYMN REQUIRING SPECIAL COMMENT

'Sacris solemniis' is an eight part setting of the hymn for First Vespers on Corpus Christi and is perhaps the most elaborate of all Sheppard's hymn settings. Stylistically, it may be paired with the respond, 'Gaude, gaude, gaude Maria virgo'. Of the seven verses, Sheppard provides polyphony for three (verses 2, 4 and 6) with verses 2 and 6 sharing the same music, thus framing verse 4 which is scored quite differently and which, with its contrasting high and low textures, is reminiscent of his scoring of the *prosa* to 'Gaude, gaude, gaude'. Similar also is the use of the paired top voices to which the cantus firmus is assigned which at times sing in unison and then separate in *gymel*.

The cantus firmus in the paired treble parts is ornamented irregularly, in a manner not found in any other of Sheppard's hymns. Sometimes it is presented in even notes, sometimes it is ornamented; sometimes fragments of the chant are augmented and sometimes diminished or even momentarily omitted altogether. Example 24 shows the plainsong chant and the two upper voices of verses 2 and 4.

SHEPPARD'S TECHNIQUE OF COMPOSITION

Correlations of the chant and Sheppard's line are indicated 'X' (chromatically altered notes [X]). The text has been omitted for visual clarity:

Example 24

Chant:



The Chant section consists of three staves of music. The top staff is in treble clef, the middle in alto clef, and the bottom in bass clef. The music is written in a single melodic line across the three staves, featuring a series of eighth and sixteenth notes with some rests and ties.

Verse 2:



The Verse 2 section consists of six systems of two staves each. The top staff of each system is in treble clef and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The music is written in a single melodic line across the two staves of each system. Numerous 'X' marks are placed above notes in both staves of each system, indicating chromatically altered notes. Some notes are also enclosed in brackets with an 'X' next to them, such as [X] and [X]. The music features a variety of note values including eighth, sixteenth, and quarter notes, along with rests and ties.

SHEPPARD'S TECHNIQUE OF COMPOSITION

Verse 4:

The musical score for Verse 4 consists of six systems, each with two staves. The notation is complex, featuring various rhythmic values, accidentals, and 'x' marks above notes. The first system shows a melodic line in the upper staff and a more rhythmic accompaniment in the lower staff. The second system continues this pattern with similar rhythmic structures. The third system introduces a more melodic accompaniment in the lower staff. The fourth system shows a continuation of the melodic line in the upper staff. The fifth system features a more rhythmic accompaniment in the lower staff. The sixth system concludes the verse with a final melodic phrase in the upper staff and a rhythmic accompaniment in the lower staff.

Sheppard's repeated use of the 'English' cadence figure, with a descending voice singing a flattened leading-note against the sharpened leading-note of an ascending voice, is a marked feature of this hymn (Example 25).

Example 25

Noc-tis re-co - - li - tur coe - na — no - vis-si-
 Noc-tis re-co - - li - tur coe - na — no - vis-si-
 Noc-tis re-co-li-tur, noc-tis re-co-li-tur coe-na no-vis-
 Noc-tis re-co-li-tur, noc-tis re-co-li-tur coe-na no-vis-
 Noc-tis re-co - li-tur — coe-
 Noc-tis re-co - li-tur, noc-tis re-co-li-tur coe-na no - vis - si-ma, coena no-
 Noc - tis re-co. li-tur coe-na no
 Noc-tis re-co-li-tur coe-na no-vis-si-ma
 - ma —, Qua Chris - - bus, qua Christus creditur ag - - num,
 - ma —, Qua Chris - - bus, qua Christus creditur ag num — et — ag-
 - si - ma, coe-na no-vis - si-ma, Qua Christus qua Christus cre-di-tur — cre - di-tur agnum et a -
 - si-ma, coe-na no-vis - si-ma Qua Christus cre-di-tur, qua Christus cre - di-tur ag-num et a -
 na no-vis-si-ma, Qua Christus cre-di-tur, qua Christus credi-tur — ag-num et a-sy-ma-
 -vis-si-ma, Qua Christus credi-tur, qua Christus credi-tur — ag-num et a-sy-ma, agnum et a-sy-
 -vis-si-ma, coena no-vis-si-ma Qua Christus cre - - di-tur ag-num et a-sy-
 Qua Christus cre-di-tur agnum et a-sy-ma

USE OF DISSONANCE

The use of such 'English' cadence figures noted in Example 25 is not, in itself particularly remarkable in music of this period and it is explainable in terms of notated *musica ficta* which would have been applied quite naturally in performance. According to the linear motion of the voice parts, the leading notes were raised in ascent but lowered in descent. Example 26, below, illustrates the new dissonances that arise by applying the principles of *musica ficta*¹³ to Thurlow's transcription of the final 'Amen' from the hymn 'Jesu salvator saeculi, Redemptis'.¹⁴

13. Thurlow's editorial accidentals are shown in square brackets. Examples in this section are taken from both the hymns and the responds. For visual clarity, where possible, they are quoted in short score, without text. The number of voices per stave is indicated by arrows and editorial voices are labelled as such.

14. As the two hymns share an identical first line of text, they are distinguished in references by including the first word of their second line thus: 'Jesu salvator saeculi, Redemptis' and 'Jesu salvator saeculi, Verbum'.

Example 26

Thurlow describes this sort of dissonance as 'harmonic', and distinguishes it from polyphonic dissonance thus:¹⁵

much of the polyphonic dissonance in Sheppard's writing (as opposed to the harmonic dissonance caused by conflicting accidentals on the same letter-name note) derives from the use of dissonant passing-notes on accented beats, consonants often being sounded between the accented beats.¹⁶

HARMONIC DISSONANCES

Harmonic dissonances may occur in two forms, either with the dissonant notes sounding in juxtaposition (Example 27) or together (Example 28):¹⁷

15. *Op. cit.*, 372

16. *Op. cit.*, 351-375

17. The point of discord under discussion is marked by an asterisk below the lowest staff. Bar number citations refer

Example 27a

Hymn: 'Jesu salvator saeculi, Verbum' (v.2, bb.1-3)

Example 27b

Respond: 'Laudem dicite' (bb.20-21)

Example 28a

Respond: 'Laudem dicite' (bb.40-42)

to Chadd's edition of the responds and Thurlow's edition of the hymns. Two examples of each type of dissonance are given.

Example 28b

Hymn: 'A solis ortus cardine' (v.2, bb.1-3)

Editorial →

Editorial →

Editorial →

POLYPHONIC DISSONANCES

Tension preceding a cadence is often built up by causing suspensions to follow each other in close succession, thus making the final resolution all the more effective:

Example 29

Hymn: 'Deus tuorum militum' - I (v.2, bb.9-11)

Example 30

Respond: 'Audiui vocem' (bb.5-6)

SHEPPARD'S TECHNIQUE OF COMPOSITION

Sheppard very frequently delays the resolution of the fifth note of his final chord thus producing a 6 - 5 progression. Depending upon the mode, the suspended sixth may be either major or minor. This is often used alone or with a rhythmic extension in another voice-part:

Example 31

Respond: 'Laudem dicite (bb.40-42)

Example 32

Hymn: 'Deus tuorum militum' - I (v.2, bb.10-12)

There can also be found examples of 'forced' passing notes,¹⁸ by which a major 2nd is sounded above a sustained note, the sustained note resolving upward (in the following example, as an upper auxiliary note which then proceeds to resolve downward):

18. Thurlow, *Op. cit.*, 363

Example 33

'Alleluia V. Per te, Dei genitrix' (bb.1-2)

The following example shows a more strikingly dissonant entry:

Example 34 - 'Ave maris stella' (v.6, bb.6-7):

The following two examples show how decorated vocal lines - which, individually, seem to be contrapuntally quite logical with the implied triad - can, in combination with each other, almost obscure the triad completely:

Example 35

Respond: 'Verbum caro factum est' (bb.19-20):

Example 36

Respond: 'Verbum caro factum est' (b.32):



In general, Sheppard chooses textures which are thick and sonorous, yet, at times, seem to transgress the bounds of musical decorum.¹⁹ Wulstan expresses the following opinion:

If these effects are sometimes achieved at the expense of convention, it is because he considered the listener more important than the pundit. Preparations of suspensions on discords, upward resolving suspensions, and other striking peculiarities are perfectly explicable in sound, if not reconcilable with Palestrina's technique.²⁰

Some of Sheppard's music can, at first, be disconcerting to the listener. The density of his writing does lend his work an aura of grandeur but unrelenting thickness of texture coupled with unconventional part-writing can introduce an element of confusion for the listener. As Wulstan suggests, the progress of the part-writing is not immediately

19. Thurlow, *op. cit.*, Chapter 6, lists numerous examples of weak moments in Sheppard's polyphony:- exposed intervals, consecutives, dissonant entries and upwardly resolving dissonances.

20. David Wulstan, *Tudor Music* (London, 1985), 299-300

SHEPPARD'S TECHNIQUE OF COMPOSITION

apparent, but from the synthesis, listeners can be misled to believe that they perceive part movements which, in fact are not present. This is not always sufficient, however, for the evolution of Western music has produced certain musical expectations linked to our physical experience of tension and relaxation. The case could be made that a dissonance, in the context of this period of music history, can only be satisfactorily resolved by a downward progression, akin with physical relaxation; a concept implicit in the work of so many of Sheppard's contemporaries.

Those moments when Sheppard scores his work more thinly or allows a contrasting reduction in the vocal forces (for example, in the reduced forces at the *gymel* in 'Gaude, gaude, gaude Maria Virgo' or the smaller scale *Lenten responds*) arguably provide us with examples of his writing at its most effective in which the individuality of the parts is most apparent.

PROBLEMS OF EDITING AND INTERPRETATION

One of the major problems with which any modern editor of music of this period has to deal is how to notate the music in a manner which conveys as accurate an impression as possible of the composer's intention with regard to the vocal scoring, and therefore the pitch, of the music.

There are basically three methods of approaching this problem. Some editors have endeavoured to discover, by historical research, the precise pitch at which Sheppard's singers would have performed this music and their editions show exactly this transposition in modern 'keys'. A second group of editors, while not indicating an exact transposition, nevertheless designates the vocal lines to modern voice parts according to the written compass of their source. A third group of editors has provided transcriptions in modern notation but has retained the vocal nomenclature used in the primary sources, thereby taking a neutral stance on the whole issue of performance pitch.

David Wulstan distinguishes between voice names and part names and suggests that sixteenth century part names do not necessarily denote a particular voice. He also expresses the opinion that the clefs used had a special significance:

the clefs in which a piece is written in the sources are a code that guides the performer to the correct transposition...this is backed up by collations of different sources existing in conflicting keys and clefs, which are resolved by reference to the clef code.

1

Like Wulstan, Roger Bray also advocates upward transposition by a minor third for choral music of this period. He notes that the few surviving organ cases from the late sixteenth century, the 'chair' case at Gloucester and the main case at King's College, Cambridge, were built to house pipes with a maximum length of ten feet. From this evidence he postulates that many Tudor, like Jacobean organs, may have been transposing instruments:

Surely our Jacobean organist would recognize the instructions; depress C to sound F. The evidence suggests that his early Tudor counterpart is being told precisely this, in order to give the starting pitch to the plainsong intoner. We must remember that the plainsong is not copied into the choirbook.²

As further evidence in support of the hypothesis that the singer of the incipit may have taken his pitch from the

1. David Wulstan, 'The Problem of Pitch in sixteenth-century English vocal music', *PRMA*, 93, 98

2. Roger Bray, 'More Light on Early Tudor Pitch', *EM*, 8, 35-42

organ (thereby providing a tenuous link between organ pitch and vocal pitch) he explains some annotations to a Magnificat by Cornysh which appears in the Caius Choirbook thus:

In the case of the Cornysh, the wording 'Ut in C fa ut' must mean, 'your ut, or Final, is C'. Both plainsong and polyphony begin on C as the fifth degree, but the Final (ut) is indeed C in terms of a transposing organ, or F in terms of the choir.³

Roger Bowers disputes this explanation⁴ and, by implication, denies that any such link can be made between organ and vocal pitch. He suggests that the inscription in the Caius choirbook, and others like it, was simply an additional cue for the less experienced singers, written 'to ensure that on commencing the polyphony, the boys began by reading the music in the hexachord most appropriate to the contour of their line.' Thus, 'Ut in C fa ut' was nothing more than a reminder for the boys to read 'c' as 'ut' in the c hexachord.

In his edition of the responds, David Chadd wisely advocates a cautious approach to the presentation of

3. *Ibid.*

4. Roger Bowers, 'Further thought on early Tudor pitch', *EM*, 8, 368-74

sixteenth century choral music in modern versions transposed according to any particular theory:⁵

That transposition of certain sixteenth-century polyphony was often practised in performance there can be little doubt. But... it seems not altogether satisfactory to substitute a new sort of notational fixity for an old one. The former is unlikely to be universally applicable, and it would effectively obscure the latter, which presumably had some reason behind it.... where transposition is thought desirable it should be (as it must have been) a matter of interpretation and not of prescription...

Although Chadd, unlike Wulstan, does not suggest a specific transposition of the responds, he does, nevertheless, indicate voice-parts according to their written compass (i.e. the clefs used) in the primary source. Bowers and other scholars have argued that the clefs used by Sheppard and his contemporaries have little bearing on the actual performing pitch of the music. According to this theory, plainsong notated on a four-line stave was performed in the same compass, no matter what clef was in use. The clef served to indicate to the performer where the semitones lay within that overall compass but gave him no information as to the performing pitch whatsoever.

Pitch was conveyed not by the clef but by the extremities of the staff; its highest and lowest pitches conveyed the singer's highest and lowest usual notes, and [the location of] the clef (expanded where necessary

5. David Chadd, EECM, 17 (Notes on Performance) p.xiv

by a staff-signature) merely purveyed the pattern of tones and semitones between them...."

The clef, therefore, did not convey any instruction regarding the actual sounding pitch. No question of 'transposition' arises; the task which the modern performer of this music finds himself tackling is never to take a specified pitch and transpose it to another, but to *find* a pitch for a piece of music which, in the notated form in which it has come down to us, has none.... Not until the later 16th century (and following the Reformation), when the invention of the verse style first associated performance by voice with simultaneous performance on a fixed-pitch instrument, did any element incorporated within the notation of ecclesiastical vocal music in England even need to begin to assume the role of conveying a sense of prescribed and designated pitch.⁷

The question of achieving correct vocal pitch poses a special problem in those responds which do not use the chant as a monorhythmic cantus firmus in the polyphony. In these pieces, it is necessary for the editor to decide the pitch relationships between the polyphony and the chant with which it is juxtaposed. His decision, therefore, has a bearing on the internal structure and integrity of the composition. This applies to three of the four Lenten Compline responds (the second setting of 'In manus tuas' has a long note cantus firmus throughout so no problem exists: the polyphony must be performed with the cantus

6. Roger Bowers, 'To chorus from quartet: the performing resource for English church polyphony, c.1390-1559', *English choral practice 1400-1650*, ed. John Morehen (Cambridge, 1995) quoted by the author in 'Key evidence', *MT*, 138, 5

7. Roger Bowers, 'Key evidence', *MT*, 138, 5-6

firmus in the same ambit as the plainsong). Example 36 shows Chadd's transcription of the opening polyphony and chant of 'In pace':

Example 36

The musical score consists of two systems of staves. The first system, labeled 'A', contains four staves of polyphony. The lyrics 'In pa-' are written under the first two staves. The second system contains four staves of polyphony with lyrics '-ce, in pa-ce,' and a fifth staff of chant with lyrics 'in pa-ce,'. The third system, labeled 'B' and 'C', contains a single staff of chant with lyrics 'in id-ip-sum dormi-am et re-qui-e-scant.'.

Two features of this transcription need explanation. One would expect the final of the polyphony and the chant to match, which they do not (the final of the polyphony here is 'c', while that of the chant is 'g'). In addition, it is

most unlikely that Sheppard intended 'In pace' to be sung by a choir with high trebles and no basses. If, however, the polyphony is transposed down a fourth, both of these objections are dealt with; the polyphony and chant now have the same final ('g') and the parts can be comfortably allocated to a bass, two tenors and a mean.

The same editorial approach might also be taken in the first setting of 'In manus tuas', the chant of which is in the Lydian mode with an 'f' final. Sheppard's polyphonic incipit starts with a 'c' final and ends with (in modern terminology) a perfect cadence on 'd'. The verse, also, begins with a 'c' final and ends with an imperfect cadence on a. Whilst both of these cadence points and their juxtaposition with the chant that follows them work well in this manner, it will be seen that if the polyphony is transposed down a fifth, a different relationship is established between polyphony and chant. Example 37, below, shows these cadence points with alternative workings and the chant that follows:

Example 37a: 'In manus tuas, Domine' - I (end of incipit):

original (notated) ranges

in ma-nus tu - - as

in ma-nus tu - - as

in ma-nus tu - - as

in ma-nus tu - - as

[chorus]

Do - mi - ne - , com-men - do - spi - ri - tum - me - um

Example 37b: 'In manus tuas, Domine' - I (end of verse):

ve-ri-ta - - - - -

ve-ri-ta-tis Deus ve-ri-ta - - - - -

ve-ri-ta - - - - -

verri-ta - - - - -

ve-ri-ta - - - - -

[chorus]

Com - men - do - spi - ri - tum - me - um.

The third setting of 'In manus tuas' might possibly be treated in a similar manner, the polyphony being transposed down a fifth. This, however, would result in an uncharacteristically low bass part. Upward transposition of

PROBLEMS OF EDITING AND INTERPRETATION

a fourth, although a possibility, would effectively produce a scoring for tenor, mean and treble. If a reconciliation is to be effected, it is the chant (in this case, the incipit and the verse) that needs to be transposed up a fifth. It has been suggested that there might be a fourth, missing, voice-part which paraphrased the plainsong. It will be noted, however, that the bass part as it stands is such a paraphrase. Example 38 compares the chant (transposed up a fifth) and the bass part of the polyphonic response:

Example 38:

The musical score for Example 38 is presented in three systems. Each system consists of two staves: a top staff for the Chant and a bottom staff for the Polyphony. The Chant is written in a treble clef with a common time signature (C), and the Polyphony is written in a bass clef with a 4/4 time signature. The lyrics are written below the notes.

System 1:
 CHANT: Do - mi - ne,
 POLYPHONY: Do - mi - ne,

System 2:
 CHANT: com - men do Spi - ri -
 POLYPHONY: com - men - do Spi - ri - tum me -

System 3:
 CHANT: tum me - um.
 POLYPHONY: tum um

In their transcriptions of 'In pace', both Harrison⁸ and Wulstan place the plainsong and the polyphony in the same relationship to each other as does Chadd. These editors disagree with Chadd, however, in their transcriptions of the first setting of 'In manus tuas'. Ignoring Wulstan's overall transposition of these pieces he, like Harrison, places the plainsong of the first setting a tone higher than Chadd in relation to the polyphony. In Wulstan's transcription of the third setting, the polyphony is effectively a fifth lower than Chadd's, thus presenting it in the same mode as the plainsong as one would expect.

In respect of Wulstan's assertions regarding the absoluteness of performing pitch, in the absence of positive proof of the correctness of his clef-code theory,⁹ the only safe course is to admit that we have no way of knowing the ideal or absolute performance pitch used by Sheppard's singers and the only pitch information we have is relative, that of one voice to another.

8. John Sheppard, *Sechs Responsorien*, ed. F. Ll. Harrison, *Das Chorwerk*, 84, (Wolfenbüttel, 1960)

9. David Wulstan, 'The Problem of Pitch in sixteenth-century English vocal music', *PRMA*, 93, 97-112

PROBLEMS OF EDITING AND INTERPRETATION

It might be of practical use if it were possible to discover the choral forces for which Sheppard intended any particular setting. So far as we know, Sheppard was associated with only two choral institutions in the course of his life, Magdalen College, Oxford and the Chapel Royal. At this time, each was renowned for the excellence of its singers and yet each institution clearly had a unique character. With its sixteen choristers, Magdalen College had a larger group of well-trained boys than almost any other choir at that time. It would seem likely that Sheppard would have taken full advantage of this resource during his time as *informator* there, perhaps by writing for high or divided trebles. (It should be remembered that the more usual boys' range was that of the mean with a notated range of g to c'' with only occasional excursions up to e''. High trebles, on the other hand, operated principally in the notated range e' to g''). This approach, however, must be treated with great caution as the pitch ranges of the individual parts cannot be assumed to correlate with absolute pitch values. The only safe course would be to examine fully-scored pieces, the range of which places it without doubt in a particular range of absolute pitch, and

note any particular voice of the choir that is exploited to particularly good effect within this framework.

Unfortunately, the more remarkable pieces reveal little in this respect: 'Gaude, gaude, gaude Maria Virgo' and the eight part hymn, 'A solis ortus cardine' both exploit multiple upper and multiple lower parts.

It was suggested earlier that some insight might be gleaned by looking at the disposition of the voices within any composition. Yet it is less likely, in isolation, to be the mere presence of a particular vocal range that provides the clue as to whether Sheppard was at Magdalen College or the Chapel Royal at the time of the composition, than the number of real parts that are written for a particular tessitura. The inference from this is that a preponderance of parts for low voices may indicate his presence at the Chapel Royal (and therefore a composition date after about 1552, when he became a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal) whereas a preponderance of parts for unbroken voices may point towards his being at Magdalen College.

The presence of a long-note tenor cantus firmus is perhaps not of any great relevance in this consideration for this part would, most probably, have been assigned to less expert choir men or even to the singing clerics who would have been thoroughly familiar with the chant.

By this criterion, the former category might include the hymns with four or more parts (excluding a tenor cantus firmus) for men's voices:¹⁰ 'Beata nobis gaudia', 'Deus tuorum militum' (no.1), 'Jesu salvator saeculi, Redemptis' and 'Salva festa dies', all of the Mass 'Alleluias' and the responds, 'Christi virgo dilectissima', 'In manus tuas Domine' - II, 'Justi in perpetuum vivent', 'Laudem dicite Deo nostro' (specifically marked 'for men'), 'Sacris solemnibus iuncta sit gaudia' and the first setting of 'Spiritus Sanctus procedens'. It might also include the following hymn and respond pairs which are linked liturgically and share similarities of scoring: the respond, 'Laudem dicite Deo nostro' and hymn, 'Jesu salvator, Redemptis', for first Vespers on All Saints; and the respond, 'Spiritus Sanctus procedens' and hymn, 'Beata

10. See Appendix B

nobis gaudia', for Whitsunday. There are six other hymn and respond pairs which are liturgically linked.¹¹

It is interesting to note the different voice groupings that Sheppard uses in those instances where he has provided alternative versions of the same hymn or respond, for example, the two settings of 'Deus tuorum militum'. It is possible that these represent alternative settings for different choirs, but there are, of course, numerous reasons, both musical and extra-musical, why alternative settings should have been produced, ranging from the simple desire for textural variety to the practical need to provide music for occasions when the vocal forces of the upper or lower parts were reduced for some reason. Another reason for caution is that we cannot assume that Sheppard's links with Magdalen College were severed simply on account of his appointment to the Chapel Royal. It is not impossible that, for a time, he was associated with both

11. These are: hymn, 'Christe redemptor, Conserva' and respond, 'Justi in perpetuum' for second Vespers on All Saints; hymn, 'Sancte Dei preciose' and respond, 'Impetum fecerunt unanimes' for the Feast of St Stephen; hymn, 'Hostis Herodes impie' and respond, 'Reges Tharsis et insulae' for the Epiphany; hymn, 'Ave maris stella' and respond, 'Christi virgo dilectissima' for the Annunciation; hymn, 'Martyr Dei unicum' and respond, 'Filiae Hierusalem' for Feasts of Martyrs and Confessors from Eastertide to Whitsun and hymn, 'Aeterne rex altissime' and each of the two respond settings, 'Non conturbetur cor vestrum'.

institutions simultaneously and therefore used music originally written for the one whilst in the service of the other.

An appraisal of the number of specific voice parts put to use in any composition is further complicated by the fact that, in practice, there was no clear distinction between tenor, countertenor and alto. Any allocation of parts is likely to be misleading unless this is understood. Wulstan states:¹²

Five distinct voices are used by Sheppard. They are not specified in the part-books; their names and ranges are known from theoretical works and 'eponymous' sources (i.e. those carrying voice-names) of a slightly later period. The highest voice was the *treble*, which ascended as high as ab'' or bb'' and was as Charles Butler stated in his treatise of 1636, "a high clear voice". The *mean* was a voice (boy's or woman's) of differing quality, no doubt akin to the modern continental boy alto: its compass was from bb to eb''. The alto or countertenor (there was no distinction between the two names, in spite of many misleading comments on this point) was the highest man's voice, having a falsetto compass (apart, probably from the lowest notes) of eb to bb'. There were usually two equal groups of altos in the choir.... The tenor was not a highly esteemed voice; the tenors had to sing the chant, and were probably what would now be called high baritones. The tenor compass was variable, c - f' (or higher). An intermediate baritone voice is sometimes called for in pieces for men's voices alone (e.g. *Laudem dicite, Spiritus Sanctus*) but does not seem to have had a separate name. The bass voice (Ab - db', with occasional lower or higher notes) sustained a slightly higher tessitura than is now the case, for the obvious reason that in a thick polyphonic texture its

12. David Wulstan, *John Sheppard, Collected Works, Vol.1, 1978* (editorial commentary) page v.

contrapuntal contribution would not be properly evident in the lowermost part of the voice.

While Wulstan's degree of preciseness in relation to the sounding pitch (as distinct from the notated pitch) of the voices may be open to question, his description does help to clarify the spectrum of voices that was likely to have been available to Sheppard. When balanced with Roger Bowers' assertion that there was no distinction between a sixteenth century tenor and countertenor,¹³ it is possible to make an informed guess at the true state of affairs that there probably were five distinct voice groupings, trebles, means, altos, tenors and basses, with an overlap between the mean and trebles¹⁴ and an overlap between the altos and tenors.¹⁵

13. Roger Bowers, 'Vocal scoring', *JRMA* 112/1, 38-76.

14. See Roger Bowers ('The Performing Pitch of English 15th Century Polyphony' *Early Music* 8/1, January 1980, 21). The assertion in this essay that there were only four vocal groupings and that the mean was sung by a broken voice, thereby blurring the distinction between mean and alto or countertenor refers specifically to vocal polyphony before the second half of the fifteenth century. The status quo changed with the introduction of boys' voices into polyphonic settings in about 1460. Before that time, Bowers maintains that boys' voices were restricted principally to plainsong.

15. See Appendix C. The part names allocated in the responds are Chadd's who is generally more conservative, with regard to the original clefs, than is Wulstan (although, as noted earlier, this may actually produce an incorrect voice designation). There is a clear overlap, and

sometimes a duplication between tenor, countertenor (i.e. tenors with an extended range) and alto. There are instances when the editorial decision to use one appellation or another seems almost arbitrary: compare, for example, 'Impetum fecerunt', 'Manus tuas' - I and 'Verbum caro'.

AN OVERVIEW

In general, Sheppard chooses textures which are thick and sonorous, exciting yet, at times, transgressing the bounds of musical decorum.¹

If these effects are sometimes achieved at the expense of convention, it is because he considered the listener more important than the pundit. Preparations of suspensions on discords, upward resolving suspensions, and other striking peculiarities are perfectly explicable in sound, if not reconcilable with Palestrina's technique.²

Some of Sheppard's music can, at first, be disconcerting. The density of his writing does lend his work an aura of grandeur but the unrelenting thickness of texture coupled with unconventional part-writing can be somewhat confusing for the listener. Those moments when Sheppard scores his work more thinly or allows a contrasting reduction in the vocal forces, for example, in the reduced forces at the *gymel* in 'Gaude, gaude, gaude Maria Virgo' or the smaller scale *Lenten* responds arguably provide us with examples of his writing at its most effective.

1. Thurlow, *op. cit.*, Chapter 6, lists numerous examples of weak moments in Sheppard's polyphony, exposed intervals, consecutives, dissonant entries and upwardly resolving dissonances.

2. David Wulstan: *Tudor Music* (London, 1985), 299-300

As Wulstan suggests, above, in those works which are most densely scored, the linear progress of the individual parts is not immediately apparent, but from the synthesis, listeners can be misled, perceiving part movements which, in fact are not present. This is not always sufficient, however, for the evolution of Western music has produced certain musical expectations linked to our physical experience of tension and relaxation; a case could be made that a dissonance can only be satisfactorily resolved by a downward progression, akin with physical relaxation, in the context of this period of music history; a concept implicit in the work of so many of Sheppard's contemporaries.

It is not simply the occurrence of striking dissonances within Sheppard's writing that should elicit comment, for such dissonances are to be found in abundance in the work of his contemporaries. It is, rather, the manner by which they are approached and resolved that is, at times, questionable.

One cannot assess Sheppard's stature as a composer by considering any perceived shortcomings in technique in isolation. This must be balanced with an appreciation of the sheer forcefulness and vitality of his music which should secure for him a place of note among his contemporaries.

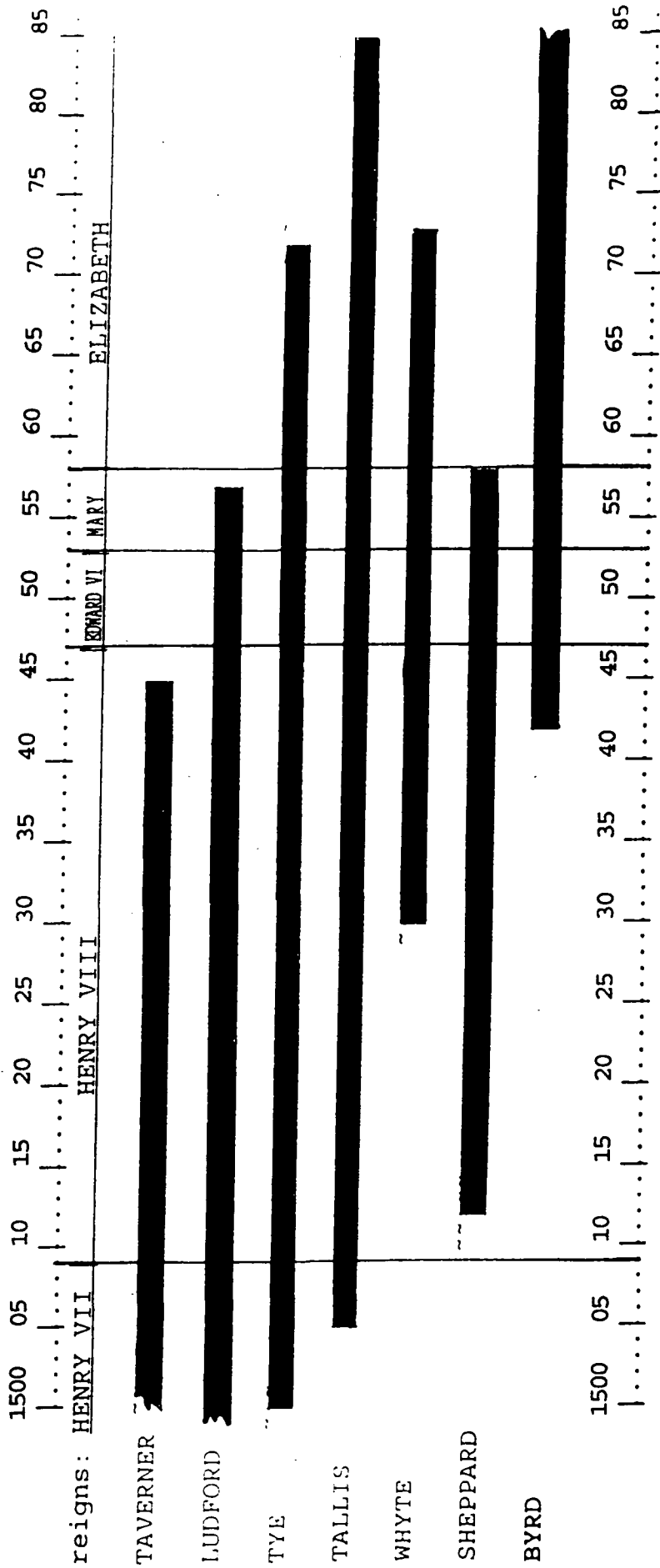
APPENDIX A

REIGNING MONARCHS AND COMPOSERS

CONTEMPORARY WITH

JOHN SHEPPARD

REIGNING MONARCHS AND COMPOSERS CONTEMPORARY WITH JOHN SHEPPARD



NOTE ABOUT APPENDICES B AND C

Voice ranges are represented in two ways. The graphical representation enables the general spread of all voice parts within a hymn or respond to be compared easily with each other; the notational representation enables an easier comparison of the notated ranges of individual vocal parts between different hymns and responds.

These appendices do not give any indication of the sounding pitch of the hymns or responds and take no account of any transpositions that may legitimately be applied. They are intended merely as a guide to the notated ranges employed.

APPENDIX B - Graphical representation

This table gives the ranges in graphical form with a scale of pitch on the vertical axis and voice-names on the horizontal axis.

The range of individual vocal lines are are shown by a single vertical line.

Where a single vocal line is divided in *gimel*, this is shown by two lines, bracketed together with the letter 'g' above them thus:



Where the voice part has been supplied by the editor of the edition, this has been shown as a broken line.

APPENDIX C - Notational representation

The top stave of each page shows the upper note on the voice part.

Each hymn and respond is then assigned a separate stave below this on which is notated the lowest note of each voice part, the horizontal position of the note thus notated therefore, relates to the upper note of its range.

The names of voice parts are abbreviated thus:

Tr	-	Treble
M	-	Mean
A	-	Alto
CT	-	Counter Tenor
T	-	Tenor
B	-	Bass

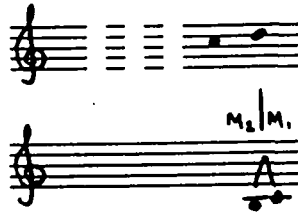
Divided voice parts are indicated by a subscript number, thus:

Tr₂

In each form of representation, countertenor and alto are noted separately. In the responds, these part names correspond with Chadd's edition. For the hymns, part names have been given in accordance with the information available, and, where ambiguity exists, in relation to 'alto' or 'countertenor', a name has been given to correspond with Chadd's practice in the responds which is, for the most part, in accord with the original clef sign. It is a matter of debate whether there should be any distinction between these voice parts.¹

¹See Wulstan's editorial commentary to his edition, p.v.

Where one or more voices share the same upper note, this is indicated thus:

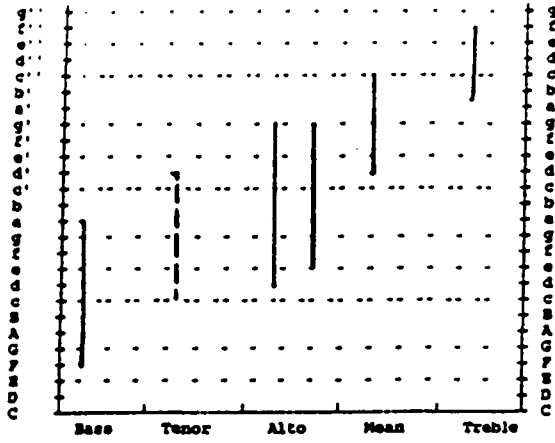


(Here Mean₁ and Mean₂ each have d'' as its highest note. The range of Mean₁ is therefore b to d'' and Mean₂ has a range of c' to d'')

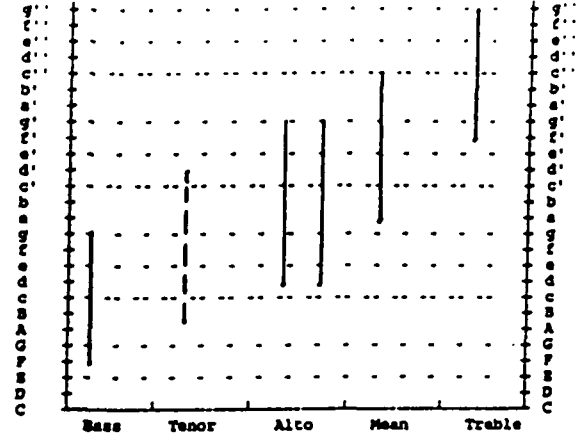
Bracketed notes and voice-name letters indicate that the part is editorial.

Vocal ranges of the Hymns

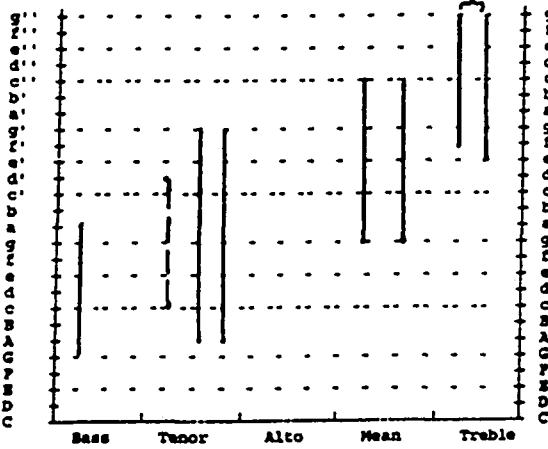
Jesu salvator seculi, verbum



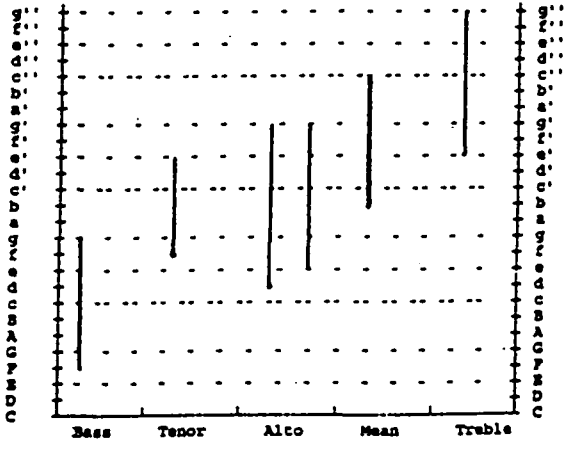
Martyr dei qui unicum



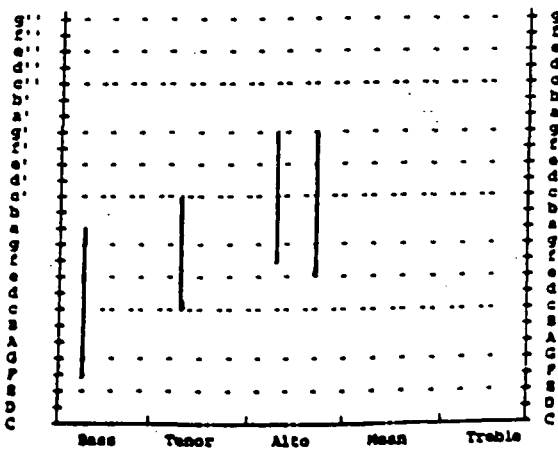
Sacris solemnibus juncta sit gaudia



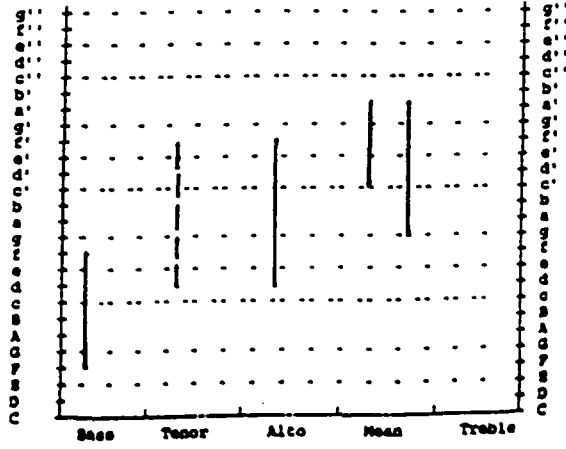
Salvator mundi Domine



Salve festa dies



Sancte Dei preciose

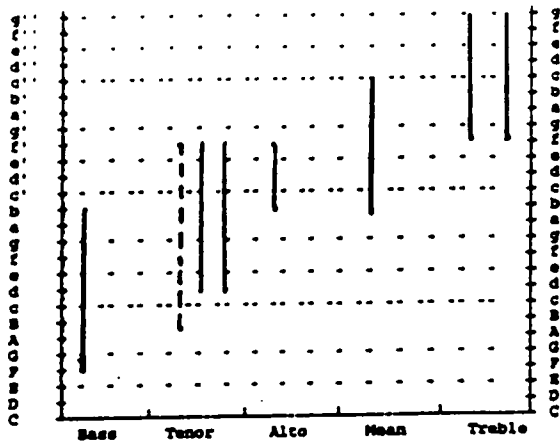


APPENDIX B

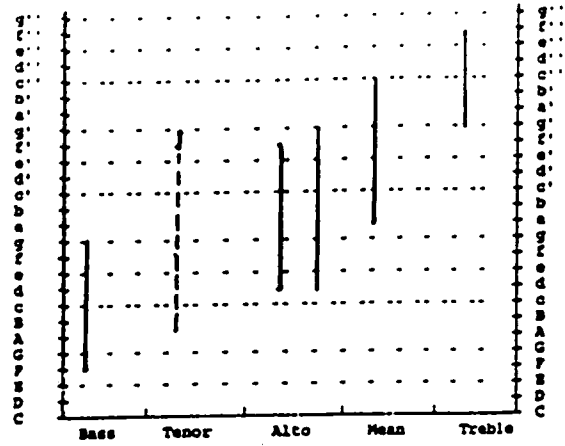
VOCAL RANGES OF THE HYMNS AND RESPONDS
(GRAPHICAL)

Vocal ranges of the Hymns

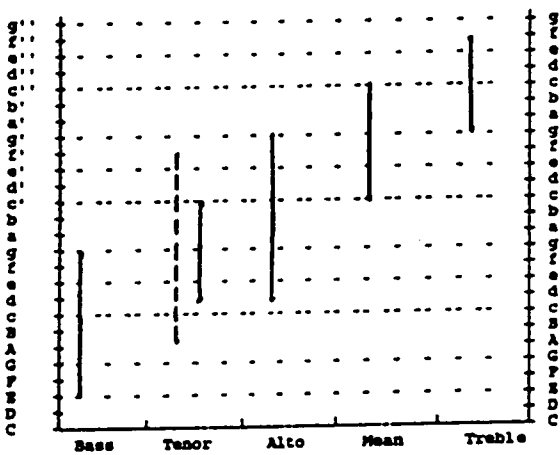
A solis ortus cardine



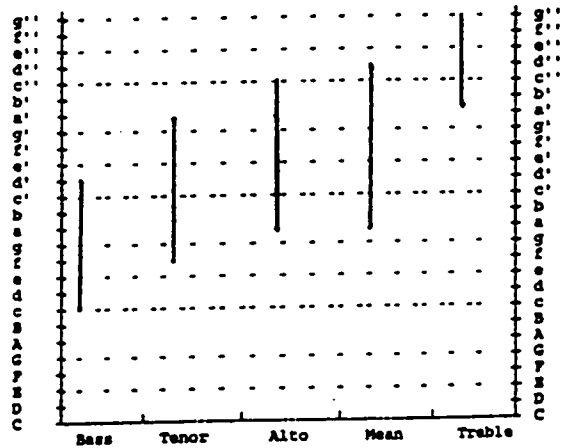
Adesto Sancta Trinitas (no.1)



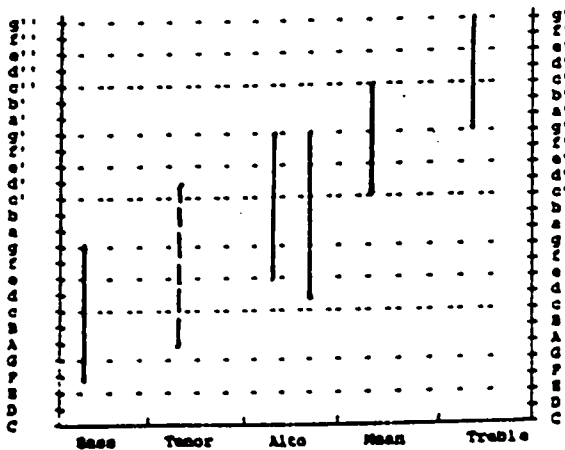
Adesto Sancta Trinitas (no.2)



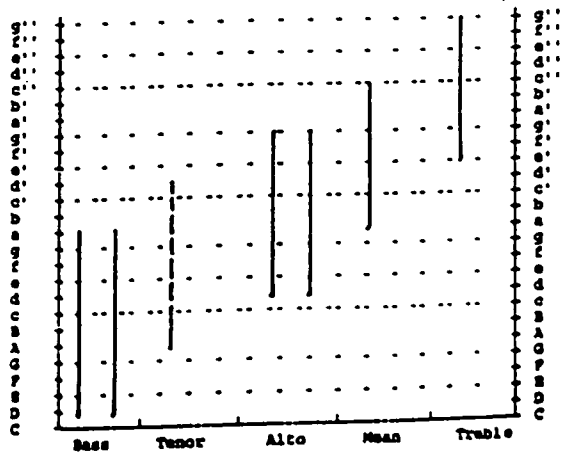
Aeterne Rex altissime



Ave maris stella

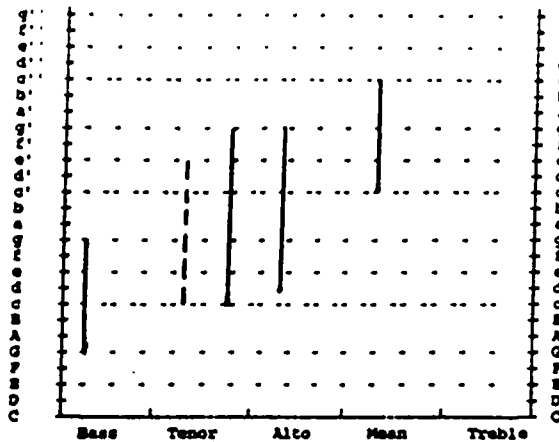


Beata nobis gaudia

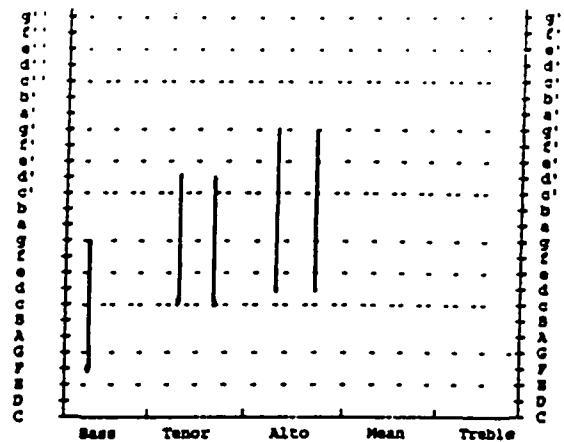


Vocal ranges of the Hymns

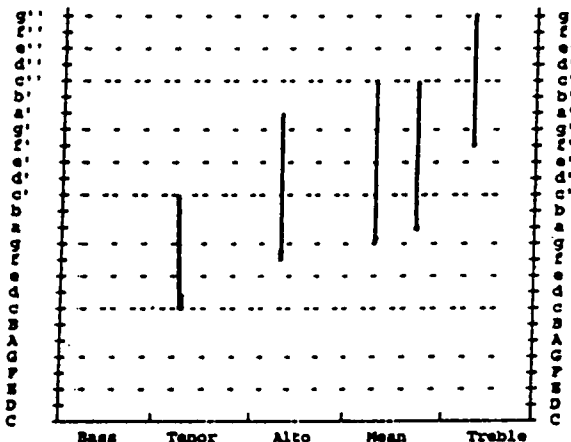
Christe redemptor omnium, conserva



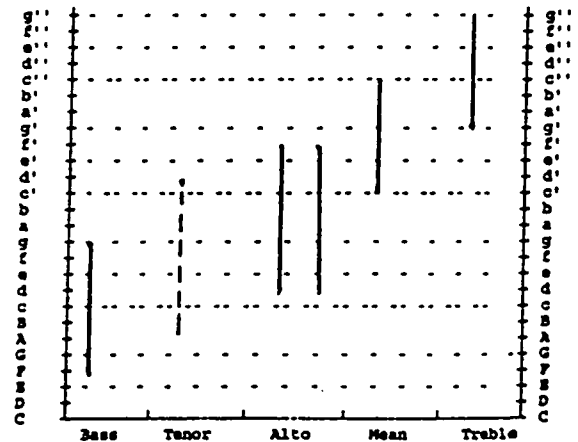
Deus tuorum militum (no.1)



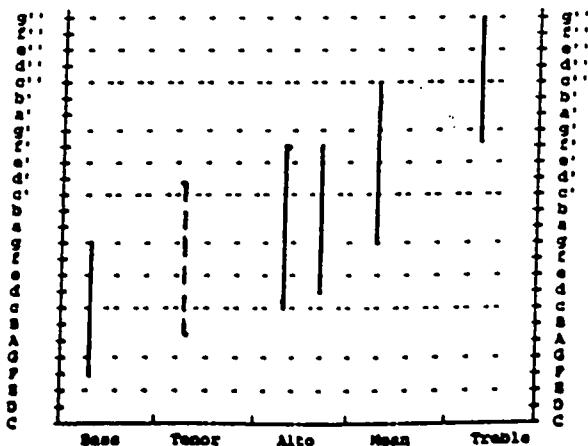
Deus tuorum militum (no.2)



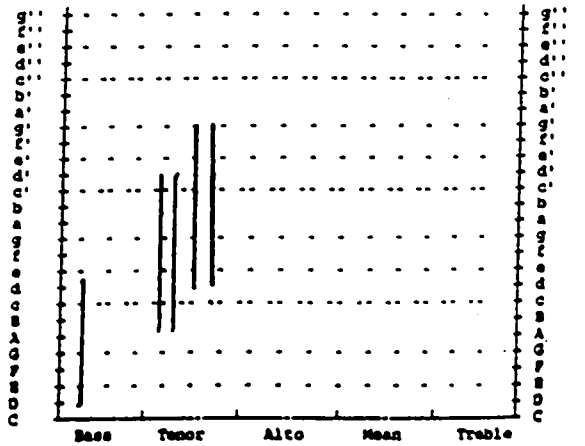
Hostis Herodes impie



Iam Christus astra ascenderat

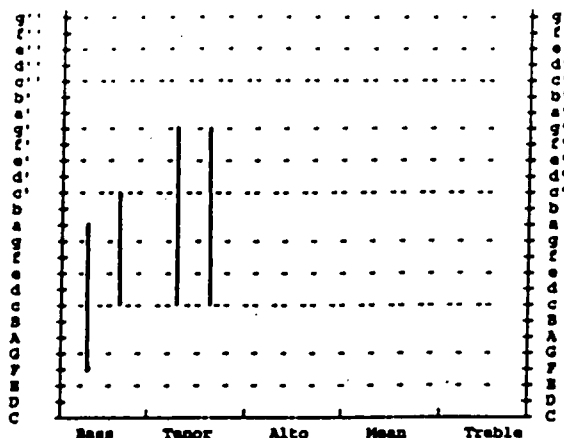


Jesu salvator seculi, redemptis

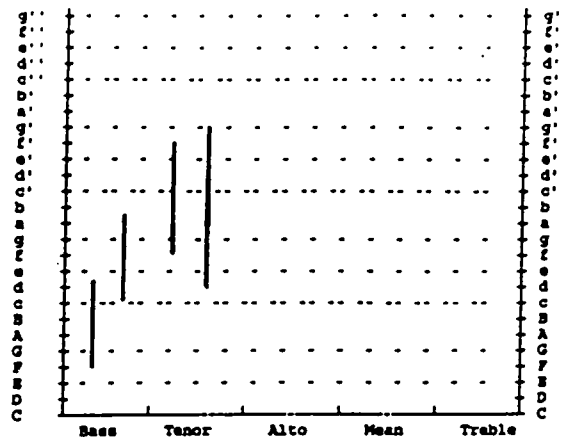


Vocal ranges of the Responds

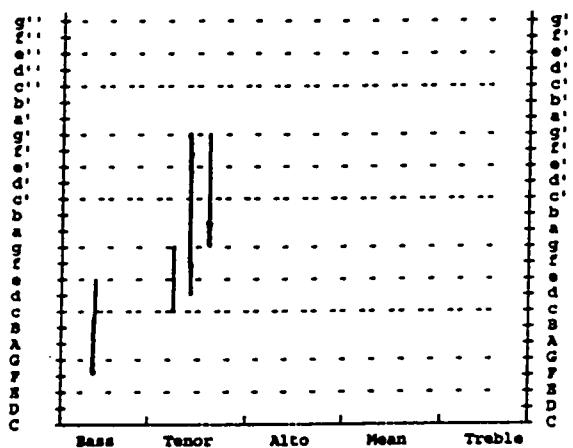
Alleluia V. Confitemini Domino



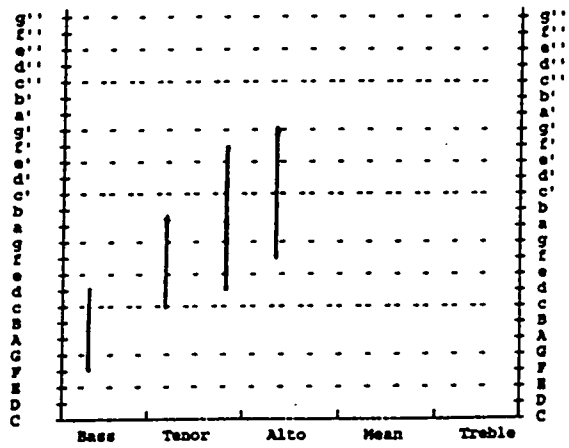
Alleluia V. Ora pro nobis



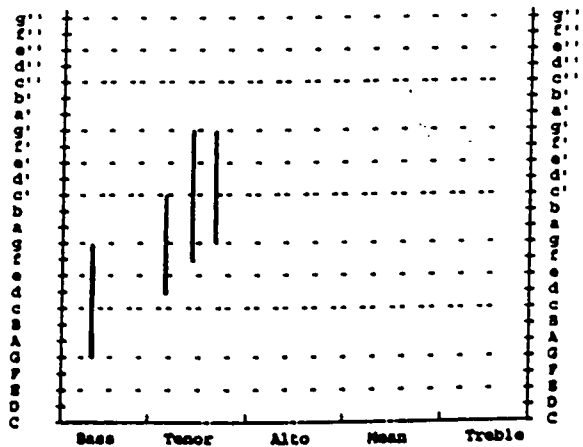
Alleluia V. Per te Dei genetrix



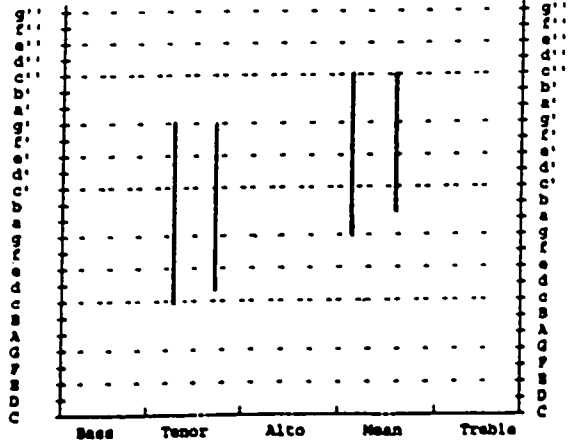
Alleluia V. Veni electa



Alleluia V. Virtutes caeli

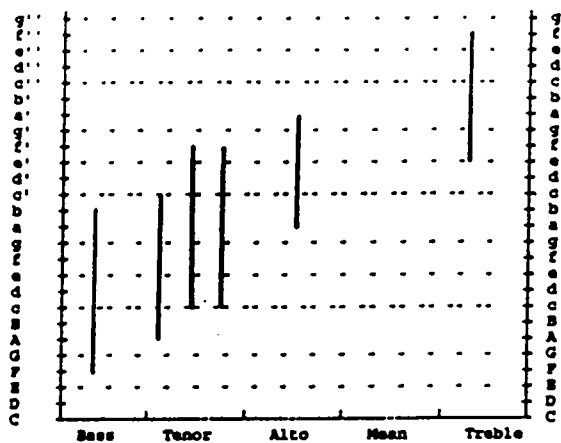


Audivi vocem de caelo

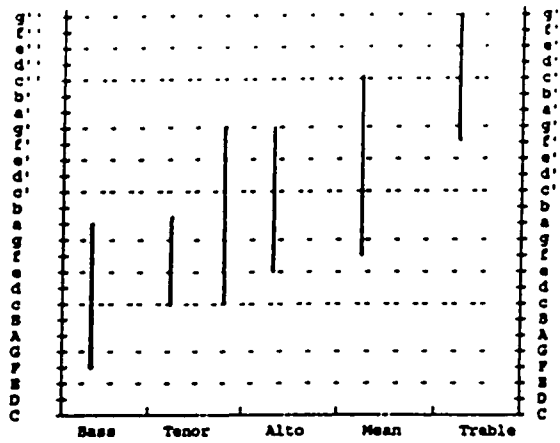


Vocal ranges of the Responds

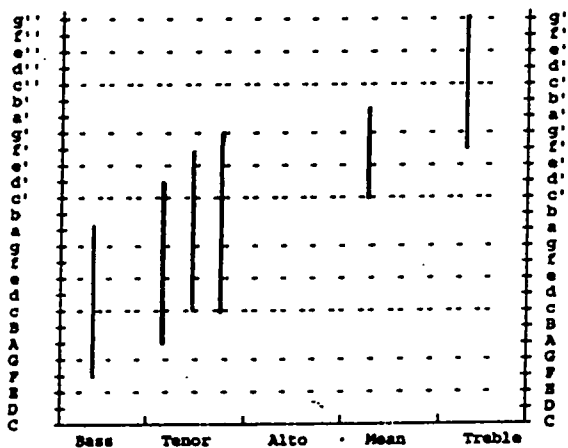
Christi virgo dilectissima



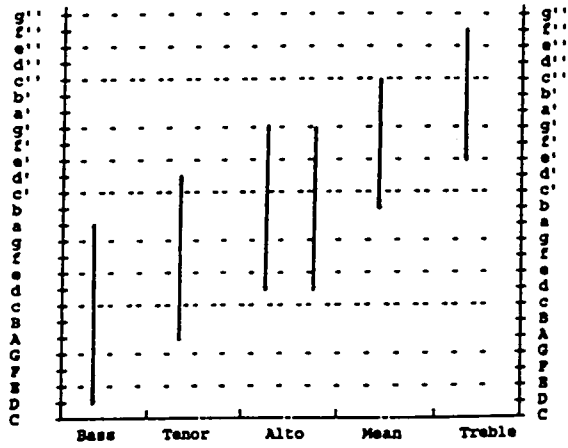
Dum transisset Sabbatum (no.1)



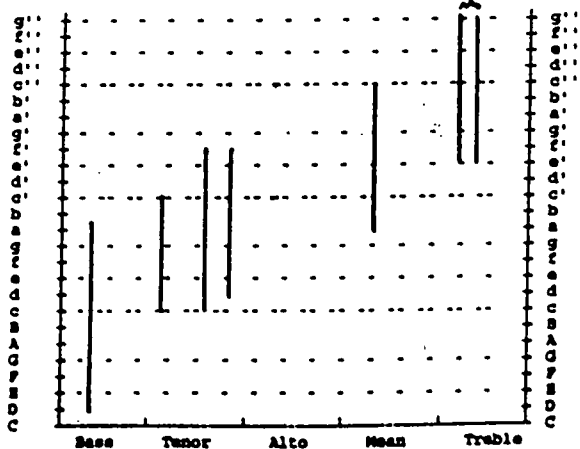
Dum transisset Sabbatum (no.2)



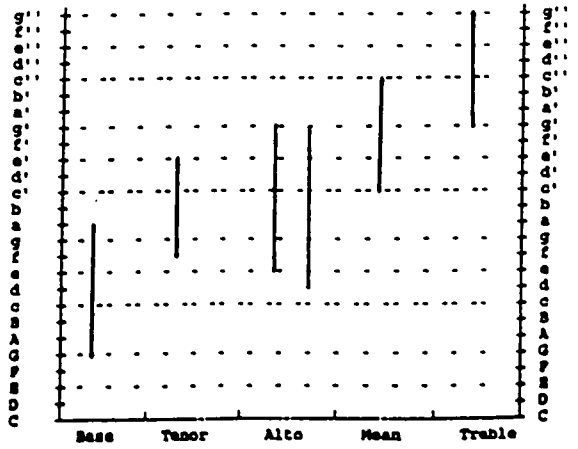
Fillae Jerusalem venite



Gaude gaude gaude Maria virgo

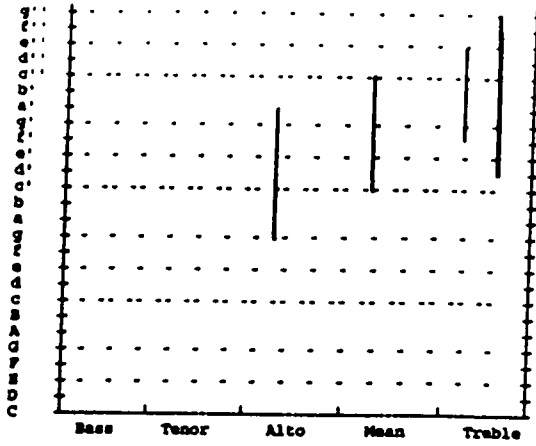


Haec dies quam fecit Dominus

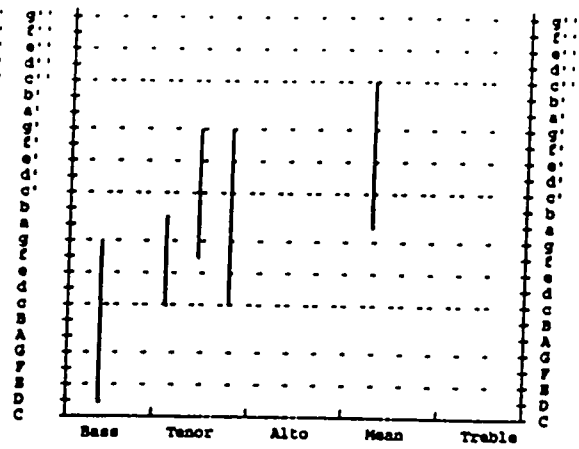


Vocal ranges of the Responds

Hodie nobis caelorum



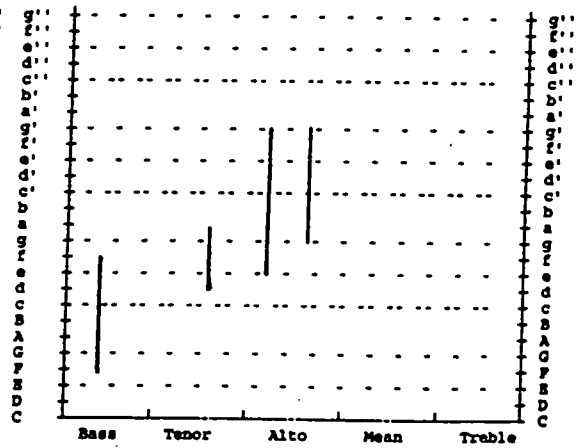
Impetum fecerunt unanimes



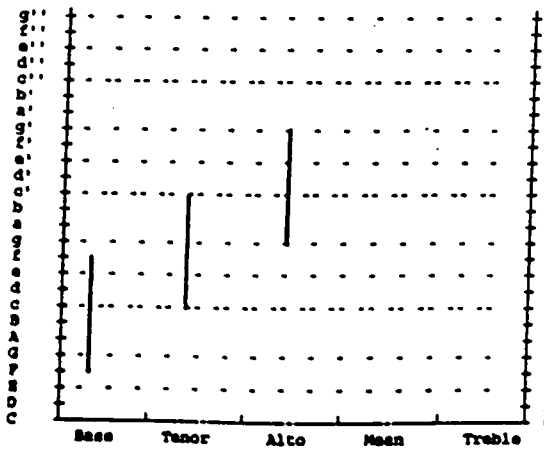
In manus tuas Domine (no.1)



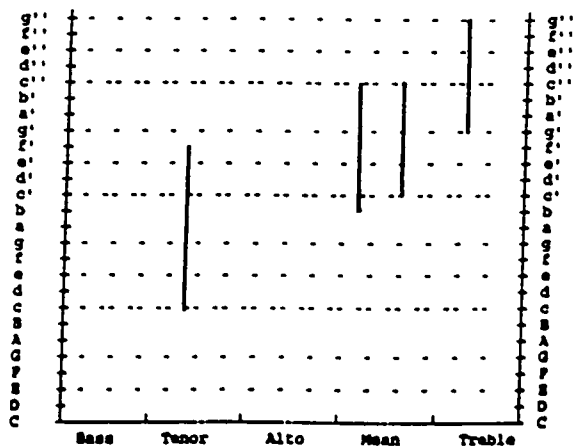
In manus tuas Domine (no.2)



In manus tuas Domine (no.3)

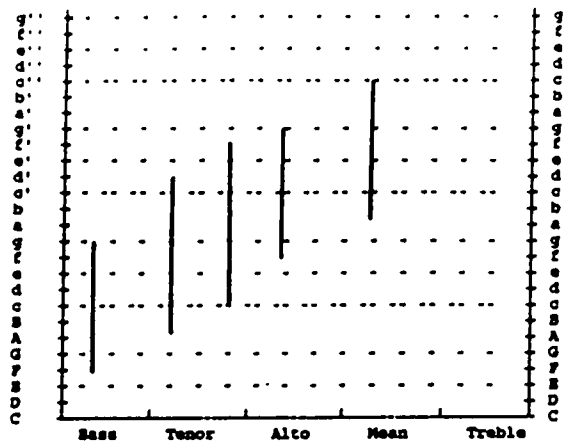


In pace in idipsum

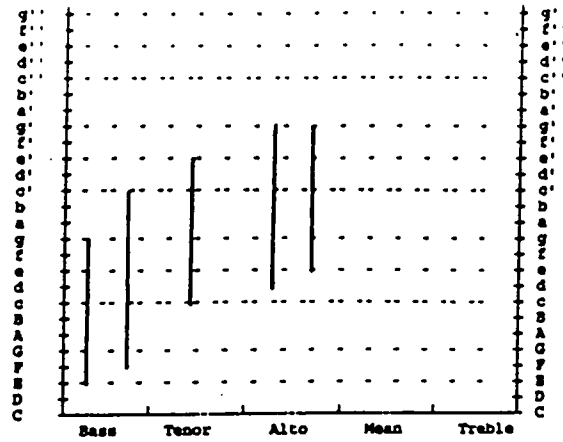


Vocal ranges of the Responds

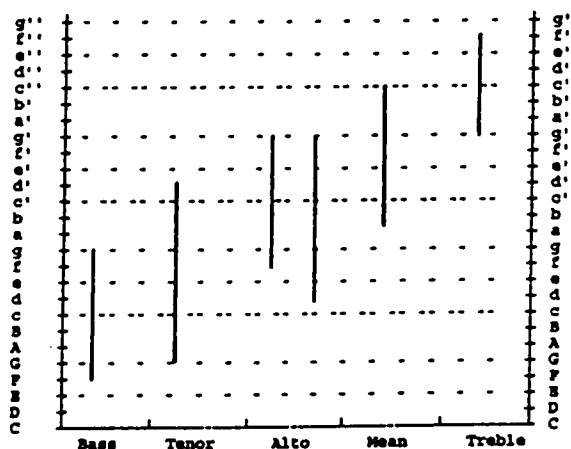
Justi in perpetuum vivent



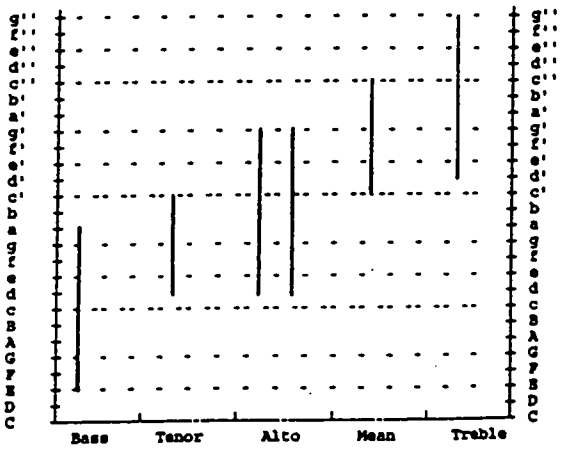
Laudem dicite Deo nostro ('for men')



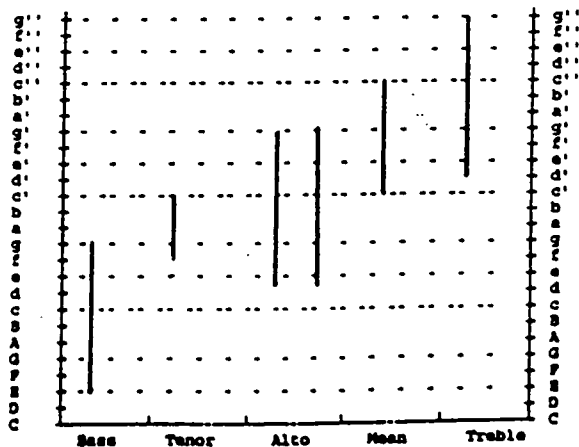
Non conturbetur cor vestrum (no.1)



Non conturbetur cor vestrum (no.2)



Reges Tharsis et insulae

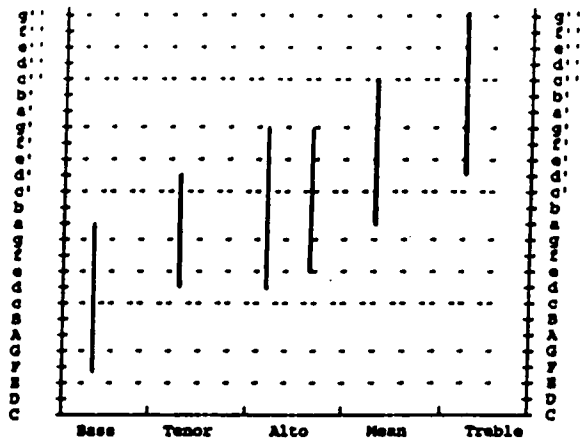


Spiritus Sanctus procedens (1)

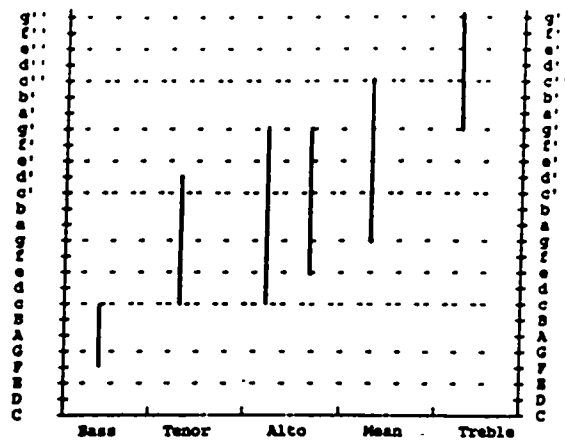


Vocal ranges of the Responds

Spiritus Sanctus procedens (2)



Verbum caro factum est



APPENDIX C

VOCAL RANGES OF THE HYMNS AND RESPONDS
(NOTATIONAL)

VOCAL RANGES OF THE HYMNS

- 1. Editorial additions are bracketed.
- 2. Notes showing an upper noted indicated: A

UPPER NOTE OF RANGE:

LOWER NOTES

[Voice]:
A solis ortus cardine

[Voice]:
Adesto Sancta Trinitas I

[Voice]:
Adesto Sancta Trinitas II

[Voice]:
Aeternae Rex altissime

[Voice]:
Ave maris stella

[Voice]:
Beata nobis gaudia

VOCAL RANGES OF THE HYMNS

UPPER NOTE OF RANGE:

LOWER NOTES

[Voice]:
Christe redemptor
omnium, conserva

[Voice]:
Deus tuorum militum I

[Voice]:
Deus tuorum militum II

[Voice]:
Hostis Herodes impie

[Voice]:
Iam Christus astra
ascenderat

[Voice]:
Jesu salvator seculi,
redemptus

VOCAL RANGES OF THE HYMNS

UPPER NOTE OF RANGE :

LOWER NOTES

[Voice]:
Jesu salvator seculi,
verbum

Musical notation for the hymn 'Jesu salvator seculi, verbum'. The notation shows a vocal line with a treble clef and a bass clef. The upper note of the range is marked with a 'C' on the first line. The lower notes are marked with 'B', 'A₂', and 'A₁'. The melody consists of a series of eighth notes, followed by a quarter note, and ends with a trill (Tr).

[Voice]:
Martyr dei qui unicum

Musical notation for the hymn 'Martyr dei qui unicum'. The notation shows a vocal line with a treble clef and a bass clef. The upper note of the range is marked with a 'C' on the first line. The lower notes are marked with 'B', 'A₂', and 'A₁'. The melody consists of a series of eighth notes, followed by a quarter note, and ends with a trill (Tr).

[Voice]:
Sacris solemniis iuncta
sit gaudia

Musical notation for the hymn 'Sacris solemniis iuncta sit gaudia'. The notation shows a vocal line with a treble clef and a bass clef. The upper note of the range is marked with a 'C' on the first line. The lower notes are marked with 'B', 'A₂', and 'A₁'. The melody consists of a series of eighth notes, followed by a quarter note, and ends with a trill (Tr).

[Voice]:
Salvator mundi Domine

Musical notation for the hymn 'Salvator mundi Domine'. The notation shows a vocal line with a treble clef and a bass clef. The upper note of the range is marked with a 'C' on the first line. The lower notes are marked with 'B', 'A₂', and 'A₁'. The melody consists of a series of eighth notes, followed by a quarter note, and ends with a trill (Tr).

[Voice]:
Salve festa dies

Musical notation for the hymn 'Salve festa dies'. The notation shows a vocal line with a treble clef and a bass clef. The upper note of the range is marked with a 'C' on the first line. The lower notes are marked with 'B', 'A₂', and 'A₁'. The melody consists of a series of eighth notes, followed by a quarter note, and ends with a trill (Tr).

[Voice]:
Sanctae Dei preciose

Musical notation for the hymn 'Sanctae Dei preciose'. The notation shows a vocal line with a treble clef and a bass clef. The upper note of the range is marked with a 'C' on the first line. The lower notes are marked with 'B', 'A₂', and 'A₁'. The melody consists of a series of eighth notes, followed by a quarter note, and ends with a trill (Tr).

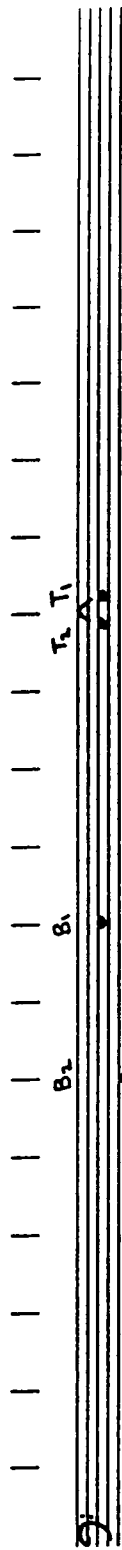
VOCAL RANGES OF THE RESPONDS

UPPER NOTE OF RANGE :

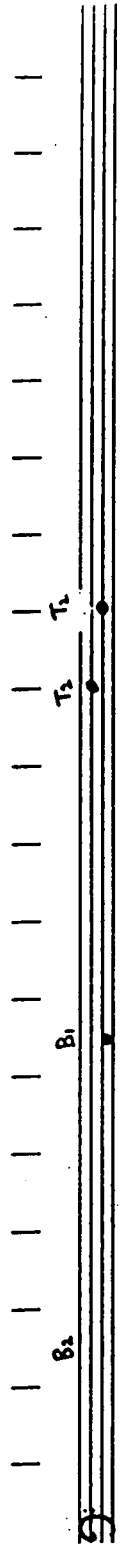


LOWER NOTES

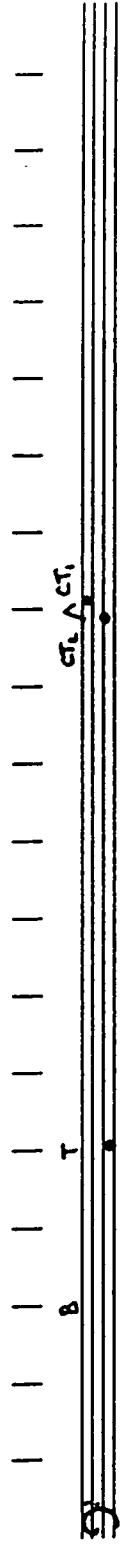
[Voice]:
Alleluia V. Confitemini
Domino



[Voice]:
Alleluia V. Ora pro nobis



[Voice]:
Alleluia V. Per te Dei
genetrix



[Voice]:
Alleluia V. Veni electa



[Voice]:
Alleluia V. Virtutes caeli



[Voice]:
Audiui vocem de caelo



VOCAL RANGES OF THE RESPONDS

UPPER NOTE OF RANGE :

LOWER NOTES

[Voice]:
Christi virgo dilectissima

[Voice]:
Dum transisset
Sabbatum (no.1)

[Voice]:
Dum transisset
Sabbatum (no.2)

[Voice]:
Filiae Jerusalem venite

[Voice]:
Gaude gaude gaude
Maria virgo

[Voice]:
Haec dies quam
fecit Dominus

VOCAL RANGES OF THE RESPONDS

UPPER NOTE OF RANGE:

LOWER NOTES

[Voice]:
Hodie nobis caelorum

[Voice]:
Impetum fecerunt
unanimes

[Voice]:
In manus tuas
Domine (no.1)

[Voice]:
In manus tuas
Domine (no.2)

[Voice]:
In manus tuas
Domine (no.3)

[Voice]:
In pace in idipsum

VOCAL RANGES OF THE RESPONSES

UPPER NOTE OF RANGE :

LOWER NOTES

[Voice]:
Spiritus Sanctus
procedens (2)

[Voice]:
Verbum caro factum est

APPENDIX D

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AM</i>	<i>Acta Musicologica</i>
<i>EECM</i>	<i>Early English Church Music</i>
<i>EM</i>	<i>Early Music</i>
<i>EMH</i>	<i>Early Music History</i>
<i>JAMS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Musicological Society</i>
<i>JRMA</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Musical Association</i>
<i>MD</i>	<i>Musica Disciplina</i>
<i>ML</i>	<i>Music and Letters</i>
<i>MQ</i>	<i>The Musical Quarterly</i>
<i>MT</i>	<i>The Musical Times</i>
<i>PMA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Musical Association</i>
<i>RMARC</i>	<i>Royal Musical Association Research Chronical</i>
<i>PRMA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association</i>

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