

EDWARDINE VERNACULAR SERVICES BEFORE THE FIRST PRAYER BOOK.

THE history of the preparation of the First Book of Common Prayer of 1549 is a subject which is wrapped in much obscurity. It is difficult to determine with any degree of accuracy who the divines were who were responsible for the actual drafting of the book, or what were the steps which they took, and the stages through which they passed, on the way to accomplish their task. Something was done a few years ago to throw light upon this darkness by the publication of the Draft Services contained in Brit. Mus. MS 7. B. iv¹. These are of great value as representing the growth of ideas and the development of preparatory studies for Divine Service in the mind certainly of Cranmer and probably of those who were acting with him. But these drafts clearly never went beyond the study of Cranmer and the revisers, and they belong to the earlier stages of development, the first being probably anterior to the accession of Edward VI, and the second not long subsequent to it. Practical experiments, however, were made beforehand, as well as literary drafts; and, though attention has been called often enough to the fact that such experiments were made, and to the evidence which testifies to them, nothing has hitherto been produced to show of what the experimental services consisted.

There are in the British Museum and the Bodleian Library some manuscripts which will throw light upon this dark point of the history and explain the character of the experimental services. But before giving an account of them it will be best to gather together the few and scattered notices which mention the performance of service in English in preliminary preparation for the First Prayer Book.

Before three months of the reign of Edward VI had passed,

¹ Gasquet and Bishop, *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer*, pp. 311-394.

on Easter Monday, April 11, 1547, the first experiment was made, by the singing of Compline in English in the Royal Chapel¹. The service existed in several versions already in the English Primers²: that in Hilsey's *Manual* was closer to the ordinary Sarum service than that in Henry VIII's Primer, and closer also to the Compline of the Blessed Virgin Mary of the older Primers. It would seem likely therefore, for this reason as well as for general reasons, that the service used in the Royal Chapel was connected with the Royal Primer rather than with the service in Hilsey's *Manual*: but there is no direct evidence forthcoming, and nothing is possible but conjecture. It is worth while, however, to notice one small point which, so far as it goes, tells in the same direction. In Hilsey's Primer the hymn at Compline was 'O Lord the world the Saviour,' a version of the *Salvator mundi domine*, such as could hardly be sung to any existing plainsong tune. In Henry's Primer the hymn was 'O Lord the maker of all things,' a version of *Te lucis ante terminum*, which had certainly before this date (1547) been set to music for four voices. The composition has been ascribed either to William Mundy, or, more generally but more doubtfully, to King Henry VIII himself³: but in either case it is clear that there was music available for this hymn, and it is not impossible that it was this, which was sung in the Royal Chapel.

Three months later the Royal Injunctions prescribed a new experiment, viz. the reading of the Epistle and Gospel at High Mass in English. The innovation was not a marked one: English New Testaments containing a table of directions to find the Epistles and Gospels had long been in use; besides these the later Primers often contained the Epistles and Gospels in English, and, even if the actual reading at High Mass were an innovation, which is probably not altogether the case, it was

¹ Gasquet and Bishop, *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 58.

² The three principal types of reformed primer were Marshall's *Goodly Prymer*, 1535; Hilsey's *Manual of Prayers*, 1539; and King Henry's *Primer*, 1545. The latter was reprinted in the early part of Edward's reign. See these in Burton's *Three Primers*.

³ Barnard (*Church Music*, 1641) ascribed it to the former, and Boyce (*Cathedral Music* i.) to the latter. It is among the pieces in the Edwardine part-books in the Bodleian Library; see below, p. 245.

at any rate only a small one and did not involve the provision of any new service books.

There is no need at this point to do more than call attention to the saying of the Litany in English, which was also prescribed by the Injunctions; for Henry VIII had made provision for this in 1544, and the Edwardine forms of the Litany will be noted hereafter. Again, the 'Order of Communion,' the English devotions provided for communicants, to be for the time interpolated in the middle of the Latin Mass, and afterwards incorporated in the Prayer Book, is well known and need only be mentioned as a further step on the road of experiment; but long before this was issued, at the opening Mass of Parliament and Convocation on Nov. 4, 1547, the *Gloria in excelsis*, *Credo*, and *Agnus Dei* were all sung in English¹.

Six months later 'Poule's quire with diuers other parishes in London song all the seruice in English both mattens masse & euensonge,' and at the anniversary of Henry VII kept at Westminster on May 12, 1548, the mass was 'song all in English with the consecration of the sacrament also spoken in English².'

The experiments were clearly being continued in the Royal Chapel, and it was even thought wise that they should have a wider recognition. On September 4, 1548, a letter was sent from Somerset to the University of Cambridge ordering them in their 'colleges, chapels, or other churches (to) use one uniform order, rite and ceremonies in the mass, matins, and evensong, and all divine service in the same to be said or sung such as is presently used in the King's Majesty's Chapel'—pending further changes³. There is no express mention here of English services, but the Use of the Royal Chapel was clearly an anticipation of the coming Prayer Book.

Five days after the writing of this letter Robert Ferrar was consecrated Bishop of St. David's, and at the Eucharist not only the administration but also the Consecration of the Blessed Sacrament was in English⁴.

Such are the brief and scattered notices of the experiments

¹ Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, i 187.

² *Ibid.* ii 2.

³ Gasquet and Bishop, p. 147.

⁴ See the Acts of Consecration from Cranmer's Register in Courayer, *Défense*, II. ii, Appendix, p. xxxvii, or Estcourt, *Anglican Ordinations*, Appendix VIII.

made in English Service preliminary to the First Prayer Book. It is time now to go on and see what documentary evidence of these experimental services has survived.

There is one MS at the British Museum which bears upon the question of the Mass, as it appeared in English dress previous to the First Prayer Book¹. It contains the Bass part of a quantity of Latin Church music by composers of the time of Henry VIII, including a motet which embodies a prayer for the King. Then follows in a later hand and in a different style an adaptation of some of the old plainsong to English words, together with the Bass part of the English Litany. Of this and of the English version of the *Te Deum* which follows, it will be better to speak later, and deal first with the adaptation of the Mass. There are no *Kyries* given at the beginning, but only *Gloria in excelsis*, *Credo in unum*, 'Let your light so shine,' *Sanctus*, *Agnus*, and the responses of *Sursum corda*.

It is remarkable that in *Gloria in excelsis* the repetition 'Thou that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us,' occurs, which was inserted in the Second Prayer Book but was not in the First. The last clause runs thus: 'in the glory off the Father.' Otherwise this both in position and in wording agrees with the First Prayer Book. The *Credo* only differs from it in small details², but the *Sanctus* runs thus: the italics show the variations from the First Prayer Book, the (2) marks a repetition:—

Holy *art thou*: holy *art thou*: holy *art thou*, Lord God of hosts: hevyn and erth ar full of thy glory. Osanna yn the hyst (2). Blyssyd ys he that cummith yn the name of the Lord. *Osanna* yn the hyst (2).

The *Agnus* is the same as that in the First Prayer Book, and the only other point that calls for notice is that there is no sign of the Response to *Dominus vobiscum* before the *Sursum corda*, but only of the two following responses³.

¹ Brit. Mus. MS 34191.

² 'And was crucified for us': 'to judge the quycke': 'which spake by the prophets.'

³ This plainsong adaptation has been published by J. W. Doran as *Missa Simplex* (St. Mary's Convent, Wantage), but brought into line with the present service, and not in its original shape.

There follow some pages containing Latin Church Music—the Bass part only—similar to the first section of the book, and then again there are some items added in the hand of the second section, viz. the Bass part of a *Gloria in excelsis* and a *Credo in unum*, both in English. These seem to belong to the First Prayer Book¹. But these do not represent the latest additions: for at the end of the second section there has been added in a third hand a setting of the *Kyrie* for three voices in the well-known form as now used, and distinctive at that date of the Second Prayer Book of 1552.

A set of part-books in the Bodleian Library² gives further evidence of versions of the Mass previous to the Prayer Book of 1549. The music contained in them is divided into three books: a great part of it corresponds to the First Prayer Book, and the last entry of all is a single setting of the English *Kyrie*, which evidently was added in 1552 on the appearance of the Second Prayer Book. Neither here nor elsewhere in the volume is there any mention of the name of any composer. The first book contains two Masses, the second three, and the third five.

The second Mass of the first book, the first Mass of the second book, and all except the second of the third book exhibit the text of the First Prayer Book with only some unimportant variations³. But there remain four Masses which in the main agree in exhibiting a different version; and this unanimity shows that the variations are not mere freaks, such as may be observed in the settings above mentioned of the text of the First Prayer Book, but that they represent another substantive version.

The most conspicuous variation is that the Apostles' Creed is used instead of the Nicene Creed in all four settings: the text of it is that of the King's Primer⁴: and this suggests that the use of the Apostles' Creed in place of the Nicene Creed was due to the fact that this version of the former was ready to

¹ There is no repetition of the first *Qui tollis* in the *Gloria in excelsis*.

² Mus. Sch. E. 420-422; the Tenor volume is unfortunately missing.

³ Such as 'art most hiest,' or 'in the glory off the Father,' or 'Thou only art the Lord Jhesu,' in the *Gloria in excelsis*. The words 'whose kingdom shall have no end' are uniformly omitted from the Creed, as in the First Prayer Book. See Dowden, *Workmanship of the Prayer Book*, p. 106.

⁴ Burton, p. 459.

hand while there was none available of the latter¹. The *Kyrie* and *Agnus* are practically the same as the Prayer Book version, but both *Gloria in excelsis* and *Sanctus* differ.

The following is their text: the italics mark the variation from the Prayer Book version:—

GLORIA IN EXCELSIS

And *peace on the earthe & unto men of [a] good wyll*:
 We praise the, we *magnifye* the, we worshype the,
 We gloryfy the, we gyve thanks *unto* the for thy grete glorie,
 O lord god, heuently Kyng, God the father *omnipotent*,
 O lord the onlye begotton sone Jhesu Chryst.
 O Lord God, *the* lambe of God, *the* sone of the father,
Which takest awaye the synes of the world, have mercy upon us;
Which takest awaye the synes of the world, *graciously receve ouer*
supphycacyons ;
Whych syttest at the ryght hand of *the father*, have mercy upon us.
 For thou only art holy, thou only *art lord*,
 Thou only *art hiest* O *Jhesu Chryst* with the holy goost
Unto the glory of God the father. Amen.

This version is interesting in several respects: it is a simple translation of the Latin *Gloria in excelsis*, evidently made before the Reformers began to exercise their critical skill on the text of the hymn. The first words follow the version in the Bible of the day: later, the reading *eὐδοκία* was adopted instead of *eὐδοκίας*, and our version consequently deserted the Latin *hominibus bonae voluntatis*. Two other departures from the Latin which were made eventually do not appear here, viz. (i) At the right hand of *God* the Father: (ii) the omission of the word *Jesu* in the closing phrase. Now that the existence of this version is known it is more difficult than ever to see why these two departures from the text were ever made. No doubt the Revisers had reasons, and probably similar to those which led them to alter the opening sentence: but they do not seem to be discoverable now².

The version of the *Sanctus* is similar to that quoted above from the British Museum MS:—

¹ In that case the version of the Nicene Creed in Brit. Mus. MS 34191 would necessarily be later.

² See Dowden, *op. cit.* p. 79.

Holy art thou, Holy art thou, Holy art thou¹, O Lord God of hostes :
Heven & earth are *replenished* with thi glory.

Osanna in the hiest (2).

Blessed is he that commethe in the name of the lord :

Osanna in the hiest (2).

In several of the Masses an Offertory and a Postcommunion are given : these agree with the First Prayer Book except that at the end of the first book a postcommunion is added which is not in the Prayer Book of 1549, 'I am the voyce².' A further piece 'O Almighty God the Father we give Thee thanks' is provided at the beginning of the second book for use 'After the communion received,' and there is a setting also of the words 'Christ our Paschal Lamb' which are appointed in the First Prayer Book to be said by the Priest at the end of the Canon.

Besides the Masses the Bodleian part-books contain other liturgical music. The three settings of the Easter anthems *Christus resurgens*³ anticipate the version of the First Prayer Book, except in having 'Praise ye the Lord' in place of 'Alleluia'; and the music of the Burial service is also practically identical⁴. For a 'Wedynge' there is provided a metrical version of Ps. cxxviii with doxology, and for 'Ashe Wensday' a musical setting of 'Torne thou us good lord⁵.'

Coming to the question of Mattins, Evensong, and Litany, it is necessary to take some farther MSS into account besides those that have been so far described. At the British Museum there is another set of Edwardine part-books from the Royal Chapel containing canticles and psalms which are of considerable interest in this connexion⁶, while various items of information are to be gathered also from another set of five part-books and two odd part-books⁷.

¹ In the first Mass of the first book this is 'Holy, Holy, Holy.'

² Also at the beginning of the first book, in the Postcommunion, 'Happy are those servants,' the clause 'When he cometh' is omitted.

³ A setting of this by Batten is in the Peterhouse part-books; see *The Ecclesiologist* for 1859, p. 170.

⁴ Note 'of whom seke we' for 'of whom may we seek.'

⁵ A setting of these words by Causton is printed in *Day's Morning and Evening Prayer*, &c., 1565 (Bodleian Douce, B. 248), or the earlier edition of 1560 called *Certain Notes*. In the First Prayer Book they are termed 'Antheme.'

⁶ Royal Appendix, 74, 75, 76. Triplex, Medius, and Tenor, probably only for one side of the choir.

⁷ Brit. Mus. 30480-4, 22597, and Harl. 7578.

Three versions are found of the *Venite*: the one in the Harleian part-book is quite unlike any of the Primers¹, and differs only in five or six places from the Prayer Book Version thus:—

O come let us worshipe & fall down ourselves . . . For he is our God . . . This daye . . . As when ye provoked in time of temtacion . . . They err as in their harts, theie verelie have not . . . Wherefore I swear unto them . . .

One of the versions given in the Bodleian books is substantially the same as this: it is not at all clear so far from what source these two versions are derived. The third version, which is also given in the Bodleian books, is altogether different, being practically the same as the version contained both in Hilsey's *Manual* and also in the King's Primer²: it will be seen from the text printed here, with footnotes calling attention to the variations of the text printed in the Primers, that two unimportant words are added, and the supposititious clause of the Primers, *quoniam non repellit dominus plebem suam*, is omitted. The other omissions were only due to the musical exigencies of the Bass part of the setting, and were supplied by the other voices:—

Come and let vs reioyce vnto y^e Lord³. Let vs come before hys face $\frac{1}{2}$ confesson and thankes gyvyng, and syng we Ioyfullye to hym in psalmes. For god ys a grete Lord, and a grete kyng ouer all godes⁴: in whose powr are all y^e coastes of y^e earthe, and he beholdethe y^e toppes of y^e mountayns. The sea ys hys, for he hathe made yt, and hys hand hathe fashionede y^e earthe also: come therfore and let vs worshype and fall down before god, Let vs wepe before y^e Lord who hathe made vs, for he is our Lord god and we are hys people and y^e shepe of his pasture⁵. Se $\frac{1}{2}$ ye harden not your hartes⁶ in tyme of temtacyon in wyldernes, where your fathers temptede me [and] provede me and sawe my workes. Fortye years was I grevede $\frac{1}{2}$ thys generacyon and I sayd euer, y^e erre in ther hartes⁷: $\frac{1}{2}$ y^e shulde not enter (2) into my rest. Glorye [be] to y^e father and to y^e sone and to y^e hollye goost, as

¹ In Burton's reprint of the *Three Primers* many of the common forms are not printed out in full in each case, even though they exhibit in some cases great differences of text or are even entirely different versions of the same original.

² The full text is not printed in Burton.

³ *The two Primers add*, let us ioyfully sing to God our saviour.

⁴ *Add*, whyche doth not forsake his people.

⁵ *Add*, Today if ye hear his voyce.

⁶ *Add*, as in the bitter murmuring.

⁷ *Add*, they have not knowen my wayes: to whom I swore in myne angre.

yt was in y^o begynnyng, and ys nowe, and euer shalbe, world w^out end.
Amen¹.

The following is the version of the *Te Deum* given in the Royal part-books ; it is substantially, though not verbatim, that of the Primer of 1535, called Marshall's Primer², and not that of the King's Primer which agrees with the First Prayer Book. It is printed here with notes, showing how far some of the same peculiarities are found in the Harleian part-book, which has a text intermediate between this and the Prayer Book text. The passages bracketed are those in which the Harleian text agrees with the Prayer Book ; the italics show what is different from the Prayer Book text³.

We praise the O God ; we knowledge the to be the lord.
All the erth [*might*] worship the, *which art* the father everlasting.
To the [*crye forth all angels*], the heavens & all the powrs therin :
To the *thus cryeth* cherubin and seraphin contynually :
Holy art thou (iij) ; *Thou art the* Lord God of *hosts* :
Heaven and erth ar [*fulfilled with the glorye of thy maiestie*].
The glorious company of th' apostels praise the :
The goodly felowship of the prophets *worship* the :
The *faire felowship of the* martirs praise the⁴ :
The holy [*congregation of the faithful thorow* all the world *magnifie* the,
They knowledge the to be] the father of an infinite maiestie,
They⁵ knowledge thy honorable [*and verie*] only sone,
They⁵ knowledge the holie gost *to be* a comforter.
Thou art the king of glorie O Christ :
Thou art the everlasting sone of the father.
Thou when thou [*shouldst take*] upon the [*our nature*] to delyuer
man didst not abhorre the virgin's wombe.
[*Thou hast now*] openyd the kyngdome of heuyn to [*the*] beleuers
[*death's dart ouercom*] :
Thou sittest on the right hand of god in the glorie of the father :

¹ Bodl. Mus. Sch. E. 422, f. 77.

² See Burton's *Three Primers*, p. 82.

³ In Hilsey's Primer the version of the *Te Deum* is similar to Marshall's, while the curious Grafton Primer of 1540, which is in the main a cross between Marshall and Hilsey, gives here yet another version of *Te Deum*, intermediate between Marshall's and the later version ; but not the same as the Harleian version. The version in Roger Car's *Psalter and Litany* of 1548 is different again in a few points. (Brit. Mus. C. 25. b. 2.)

⁴ *Harl.* The felowship of the blessed martirs praise & magnify Thee.

⁵ *Harl.* We.

[*Thou art bilicyd to come*] our iudge.

Wherfore we pray the help thy seruants, whom thou hast redemyd
w^t thy precious blood :

Make [*me then*]¹ nombrid w^t thy sainctes in [*joy*] euerlasting.

O Lord saue thy people & blesse theine heritage.

Gouerne them [*also*] and lift them up for euer.

[*We praise the euery day,*]

And we worship thy name euer² world without end.

³O lord let it be thy pleasure³ to kepe us this daye without syn.

O lord haue mercy on us, [*O lord*] haue mercy on us.

O lord let thy mercy [*light on*] us *euen as we⁴ now do⁴* trust in the.

⁵O lord *I trust in the* (2)⁵: let me⁶ neuer be confounded (2).

Other versions in the main anticipate the Prayer Book, or, in other words, follow the King's Primer, but 'Holy art thou' appears in some⁷ and 'which art the father everlasting' in others⁸. Some have 'heaven & earth are replenished with' thy glory, and 'The Holy Gost also being the Comforter,' which are forms printed in some editions of the Prayer Book⁹.

Here then, again, there are two distinct versions, that of Marshall's or Hilsey's Primer, and that of the Royal Primer and of the Prayer Book, and it seems likely that the former was in use in experimental services preliminary to the Prayer Book.

The *Benedicite* appears in the Royal part-books in this form, set for two alternating choirs, and in the Bodleian part-books it is almost identical. The version comes from the King's Primer; that in Marshall's and that in Hilsey's Primer are quite different, though mainly agreeing together. In the Prayer Book the old form of the Canticle was deserted in favour of the full scriptural text with the refrain repeated after every address, and *Gloria patri* was appended as the doxology in place of *Benedicamus*.

Prayse ye the lorde, all the works of the lorde,
prayse & exalte¹⁰ hym for euer.

The Angelles of the lorde, prayse ye the lorde,
Ye heauens prayse [ye] the lorde.

¹ Probably miswritten, for the Primer has here the same as the Prayer Book.

² *Harl.* for ever.

³ *Harl.* We beseech thee O lord.

⁴ *Harl.* put our.

⁵ *Harl.* In thee O lord we trust.

⁶ *Harl.* us.

⁷ *Brit. Mus.* 34191 and Bodleian.

⁸ *Brit. Mus.* 29289, f. 1, and a setting by Thomas Causton in 38226, f. 63.

⁹ Note also that 34191 has 'And we worship thy holy name.'

¹⁰ *Bodl.* has 'extol' throughout.

Ye waters, all that are above heauen, prayse the lorde,
 All the powers of the lorde, prayse ye the lorde.
 The sonne & mone, prayse ye the lorde.
 Sterres of the firmament, prayse ye the lorde.
 The rayne & the dewe, prayse ye the lorde.
 All ye¹ wyndes of god, prayse ye the lorde.
 Fire & heate, prayse ye the lorde.
 Winter & somer, prayse ye the lorde.
 Dewes & hore frosts, prayse ye the lorde.
 Frost & colde, prayse ye the lorde.
 Yse & snow, prayse ye the lorde.
 Nyghtes & dayes, prayse ye the lorde.
 Light & darnes, prayse ye the lorde.
 Lightnyng & cloudes, prayse ye the lorde.
 The earthe prayse the lorde,
 lawde & exalte hym for euer[more.]
 Mountaynes & hills, prayse ye the lorde.
 All that spryngs² upon the earth, prayse ye the lorde.
 Ye welles & spryngs, prayse ye the lorde,
 Seas & fluddes, prayse ye the lorde.
 Grete fishes & all that moue in the waters, prayse ye the lorde.
 All byrdes of the ayre, prayse ye the lorde.
 All beastes & cattell, prayse ye the lorde.
 Ye children of men, praise the lorde.
 Let Israell prayse the lorde,
 Laude hym & exalte hym for euermore.
 Ye prestes of the lorde, prayse [ye] the lorde.
 Ye seruants of the lorde, prayse [ye] the lorde.
 Ye spirits & soules of rightuse men, praise [ye] the lorde.
 Ye holy & meke in hart, praise [ye] the lorde.
 Anania azaria mysaell, prayse ye the lorde,
 lawde & exalte hym for euermore.
 Blesse we the father the sonne & the holy ghost,
 Prayse we hym & exalte hym for euermore.
 (*full*) Blessid art thou, lorde, in the fyrmament of heauin,
 Thow arte praysewortheie, gloryous and exallted,
 worlde wythe oute end. Amen³.

The *Benedictus* everywhere agrees with the First Prayer Book,

¹ Or the.

² *Primer* springeth.

³ A setting by Farrant, for men, somewhat similar is in Brit. Mus. 29289, f. 99^r. Only one part-book exists, and it contains only some of the verses; but it has *Gloria patri* and not *Benedicamus*. The same is the case with the Bodleian part-books.

which has the same version as the Primer of 1545. In Hilsey's Primer of 1539, and Marshall's Primer of 1535, there are other versions.

The *Magnificat* is used in several forms: the first is that of Marshall's Primer, which appears almost verbatim in the Royal part-books.

My soule magnifithe the lorde, & my sprite reioyith in god my sauior.
For he hath lookt on the poore degre of his handmayden.
Behold now from henseforth all generacions shall call me blessed:
For he that is mightie hath magnifide me; wherefore [O] blessid be his
name.

And his mercy is ouer them that feare him thorow all generacions.
He shewth strength w^t his arme, he skattreth [all] them that are
prowde in thymaginacion of ther hartis:

He hath pluckt down men of power from ther seats, & hath liftid
up the poore lowlyons.

The hungry men he hath satisfide with [his] goodnes: and them
th^t appered riche he hath left voide:

He hath taken up Israel his seruant, thinking upon him [for] to be
saud for his mercyes sake,

Like as he promest to o^r fathers, as to Abraham and to his seede
for euermore.

Glory be to the father, to the sone & to the holy gost:
[Evy]n as it was in the beginning, as it is now & euer shalbe. So
be it [always]. So be it!¹

The version in the King's Primer is that used in the First Prayer Book; Hilsey's is intermediate between the two.

The Bodleian part-books give three settings different from that of the Prayer Book: two of these are in the main identical with it and with the King's Primer², but the third varies considerably, and is closer to Hilsey's version than to any other.

¹ See Burton's *Three Primers*, p. 109. Marshall has 'Shall all generations,' throughout all generations,' and omits the bracketed words.

² The setting on f. 6^v shows the following variations:—

For behold from henceforth shall all generacions . . . hath done grete thyngs. And hys mercy endurethe throwgthout all generacyons. . . . He shewed strength with hys arme & scaterethe . . . He puttethe down . . . & exalteth them of lowe degree. He fylleth . . . & letteth the ryche go emtye. He remembrethe mercy & helpeth up hys seruant Israell, even as he promised unto our father abraham & to hys seed for ever. Glory to the.

The setting on f. 90 has 'the humillitye of his handmaiden,' 'seat,' 'Glory be to,' 'and is now.'

My soule dothe magnifye the lord: & my spret reioysethe¹ in god
my savyour.

For he hath loked upon the lowe degre of hys hand mayden:

Beholde from henceforthe shal all generacyons call me blessed:

Because he that ys myghtye hathe done to me greate thyngs, and
holly ys hys name.

And hys mercy ys on them that feare him from generacyon to
generacyon.

He hath shewed streynghth with hys arme, he hathe scatered them
that are proude in the Imaginacyons of ther hartes.

He hathe put down the myghtye from there seates & hathe exalted
them of lowe degre.

He hath fylled the hongry with good thyngs, & sent away the ryche
emtye.

He hath holpen hys servant Israell in remembrance of hys mercy,
Even as he promysed to ower father abraham and to hys seed for
ever.

Glory to the father and to the sone & to the holly goost,

As it was in the begynnyng ys now, & ever shalbe, world without
end. Amen².

The *Nunc dimittis* in every case but one keeps fairly close to the Prayer Book version, which, though varying in different editions, is in the main the same as that of the King's Primer. However, the first setting in the Bodleian part-books gives a quite different text, which seems to be also unlike that of either Marshall's or Hilsey's Primer, though it has points of agreement with each of them.

Lord, let thi servant now depart in peace, according to thi promys:
For myne eyes have seen thi savyour, sent from the;

Whom thou hast prepared before the face of the people:

A lyght to lyghten the gentyles to be the glory of thy people Israel.

Glory to . . .

As it was in the begynnyng, as ys now & ever shalbe, world without
end. Amen. So be it (2).

There are several settings of the Litany, but none follow either the Litany of 1544, or that in the Primer of 1545, or that in Car's Psalter and Litany of 1548, in having the three invocations of the Blessed Virgin, the angels &c., the patriarchs &c., nor

¹ This reading is common even in the texts which follow the Prayer Book.

² f. 4^v.

in having 'suffer us not to be led into temptacion' at the end of the Lord's Prayer¹. Many cases, however, occur of the alternative rendering 'let us not be led into temptacion².' In some cases this is joined with further variation in the version; thus in the Royal part-books the Lord's Prayer has at the beginning 'O our Father,' and at the end 'But delyuer us from all euil'; and although forming part of the Litany it also has the full doxology, 'for thine is the kingdom & the power & the glory for ever. So be it.' The Litany then inverts the present order of the two forms of 'O lord arise,' and further it gives instead of Amen 'Always so be it,' once as the end of the *Gloria*, and six times more; no doubt these six repetitions are meant for use at the end of the six prayers which closed the Litany of 1544 or 1545, but were not all appended to the Litany in the First Prayer Book. This Litany thus represents an intermediate stage between the Psalter of 1548 and the Prayer Book of 1549.

The Bodleian part-books give (at f. 58^v of Mus. Sch. E. 422) another version altogether of the Lord's Prayer, but throw no fresh light on the Litany.

Our Father . . . Thy name be hallowede.
Thy kingdom come unto us, thi wyll be done & fulfilled . . .
And let us not . . . from all euil. Amen.

Both the Royal and the Bodleian part-books contain a number of other settings, anthems, metrical psalms, &c. The former has also four psalms set to the Tones in a harmonized form with the Plain-song in the tenor³, and five psalms set anthem-wise. They are all followed by the *Gloria*, except two which end simply with 'So be it,' and one with 'Amen,' but the version of it which is given in two cases is an unusual one; the three bracketed words are only there in one case, and the first two are insertions in a later hand.

Glorie be to the Father, [to] the sone, and [to] the holy gost,
[Even] As it was in the beginning, as it is now & ever shalbe.
So be it.

¹ The Litany in Brit. Mus. MS. 34191 stops before the Lord's Prayer.

² Bodl. Mus. Sch. E. 422 ff. 58, 59, 82^v. Royal Appendix, 76 p. 2. And cp. Brit. Mus. 22597 and 30483.

³ To the Tones II, V 1, VII (signed Johnson), VIII 1. Considerable liberty is taken with the canto fermo.

Other versions of the *Gloria patri* have already been given above with the canticles: in one case, that of the Magnificat in the Royal part-books, the version was that common to Marshall's and Hilsey's books: in other cases the version was that of the King's Primer, and in other cases that of the First Prayer Book: while the two versions last given belong to none of these three clear types. Here then the greatest diversity is traceable¹.

Among the other pieces contained in these part-books are a number of metrical psalms not drawn from Sternhold's collection (first published in 1549), but probably from some earlier source²; these are of interest, and would probably contribute something to the solution of the problem which besets the history of the early metrical psalms, but they are alien to the present purpose, and all that can now be done is to append a rough alphabetical list of the different items, other than those above mentioned, which are found in the Royal and the Bodleian part-books.

It was not to be expected that such sources would give new evidence as to some features of the experimental stage, about which news would be specially welcome, e.g. the Eucharistic Canon or 'the consecration of the sacrament' mentioned by Wriothesley³. But they have preserved some interesting links, and established more clearly the connexion between the Primers and the Prayer Book; and also, in testifying to the use of the Apostles' Creed at the Eucharist, they have rescued from oblivion an unexpected and important fact.

W. H. FRERE.

AN INDEX OF THE FURTHER CONTENTS OF THE ROYAL AND THE BODLEIAN PART-BOOKS.

ROYAL APPENDIX, 74, 75, 76⁴.

All men rejoice. Metrical Version of *Iubilate deo* (Ps. c).
Behold bretherne. *Ecce quam bonum*. Psalm set to seventh Tone.
Benedicite. Praise ye the Lord. Metrical version.

¹ See Dowden, *Workmanship*, p. 166.

² Others are in Harl. 7578, Add. 15166, 30480-4, 22597.

³ Above, p. 231.

⁴ The items are indexed by their Latin titles, where these are given, as well as by their first words.

Benedictus. Praysid be th' Almighty Lord. Metrical version.

Celi enarrant. The heauens in ther excellence. Metrical psalm.

De profundis. Out of the deep. Psalm set to second Tone.

Deus in nomine tuo. Save me O God. Anthem.

Deus misereatur nostri. O God be mercifull unto us. Anthem.

Domine dominus noster. O Lorde our lorde how marvellous. Metrical psalm.

Domine quis. O Lord whom wilt thou. Metrical psalm.

Ecce quam bonum. Behold bretherne. Psalm set to seventh Tone.

Geue sentence with me O God. *Iudica me.* Psalm set to eighth Tone.

How long O Lord wilt me forget? Metrical version of *Usquequo domine?* (Ps. xiii).

I cryde unto the Lord. *Voce mea.* Anthem.

Iubilate deo. All men reioice. Metrical psalm.

Iudica me deus. Geue sentence with me O God. Psalm set to eighth Tone.

Laudate pueri dominum. Praise the Lord ye servants. Psalm set to fifth Tone.

Ne reminiscaris. Remembre not O Lord. Anthem, not psalm.

Non nobis domine. Not unto us. Anthem.

Not unto us. *Non nobis domine.* Anthem.

O clappe your hands. *Omnes gentes.* Psalm set anthemwise.

O God be mercifull unto us. *Deus misereatur nostri.* Anthem.

O Lord Christ Jesu that art king in glory. Anthem with prayer for Edward VI.

O Lorde, our lorde, how marvellous. Metrical version of *Domine dominus noster* (Ps. ix).

O Lord rebuke me not in thy fury. Psalm set anthemwise with *Gloria.*

O Lord whom wilt thou count worthie. Metrical version of *Domine quis* (xv).

Omnes gentes. O clappe your hands. Psalm set anthemwise.

Out of the deep. *De profundis.* Psalm set to second Tone.

Praise the Lord ye servants. *Laudate pueri dominum.* Psalm set to fifth Tone.

Praise ye the Lord. Metrical version of *Benedicite.*

Praysid be God our Father. Anthem.

Praysid be th' Almighty Lord. Metrical version of *Benedictus.*

Remembre not O Lord. *Ne reminiscaris.* Anthem, not psalm.

Save me O God. *Deus in nomine tuo.* Anthem.

The heauens in ther excellence. Metrical version of *Celi enarrant* (Ps. xix).

Usquequo domine? How long O Lord wilt me forget? Metrical psalm.

Voce mea. I cryde unto the Lord. Anthem.

BODLEIAN. MUS. SCH. E. 420-422¹.

- ii. All people hearken & give ear (Metrical).
 - i. Blessed art thou that feareth God. *Metrical psalm & doxology* at a Wedyng.
 - i. *Deus in adiutorium.* Haste thee O Lord.
 - i. *Domine secundum actum.* In judgment Lord.
 - i. Happy is the people. *Antem.*
 - i. Haste thee O Lord (*Deus in adiutorium*).
 - i. Hear the voyce and prayer. ? Tallis in Day's *Certain Notes*².
 - i. How long wilt thou forgete me? (*Usquequo domine?*).
 - i. I am the trewe vyne. *Antem.*
- iii. If a man saye. *Antem.*
 - ii. If ye love me. ? Tallis in Day's *Certain Notes*.
 - i. I give you a new commandment. *Antem.* ? Sheppard or Johnson in Day's *Certain Notes*.
- iii. I have set my hope.
 - i. In judgment Lord. (*Domine secundum.*) (Metrical.) Cp. Brit. Mus. MS. 30480.
 - i. In no kind of creature. *Antem.*
 - ii. Let all the congregation. (Metrical)³; in Day's *Certain Notes*.
 - i. Lord Jesu Christ son of the living God. i. e. the collect *Domine Jesu Christe fili dei vivi.*
 - i. Make ye melody. *Antem.*
- iii. O almighty God the Father we give the thanks. *After the Communion received.*
 - ii. O clap your hands.
 - ii. O eternal God almighty.
 - ii. [O God be merciful unto us] and bless us.
 - iii. O God in whose hand³.
 - iii. O Lord of hosts. *Antem.*
 - i. O Lord the maker of all thing. i. e. Hymn *Te lucis ante terminum.*
 - i. O most merciful Jesu Christ. *Antem*³.
 - i. O praise ye the Lord. *Antem.*
 - ii. Praise be to God (3). Come thou Holy Ghost fulfil, i. e. the Antiphon, *Veni sancte spiritus.*
- iii. Praise the Lord. *Antem.*

¹ The Roman numerals refer to the three books into which the collection is divided. See above, p. 233.

² See above, p. 235, note 5.

³ This contains a prayer for Edward VI.

- i. Praise we the Father. In Day's *Certain Notes*.
- ii. Praise ye the Lord our soules.
- ii. Remember not O Lord God our old iniquities. i. e. *Ne reminiscaris*.
Set by Tallis in Day's *Certain Notes*.
- i. Submyte yourselves. *Antem*. (?Sheppard.)
- ii. The sprete of the Lord hath replenished. i. e. Ant. *Spiritus domini* with Psalm Verse lxxviii. 1. & *Gloria*.
- i. This is my commandment. *Antem*.
- i. *Usquequo domine?* How long wilt thou forgete me?
- ii. Verely verely I say unto you Except ye eat.
- iii. Walke while ye have. *Antem*.