

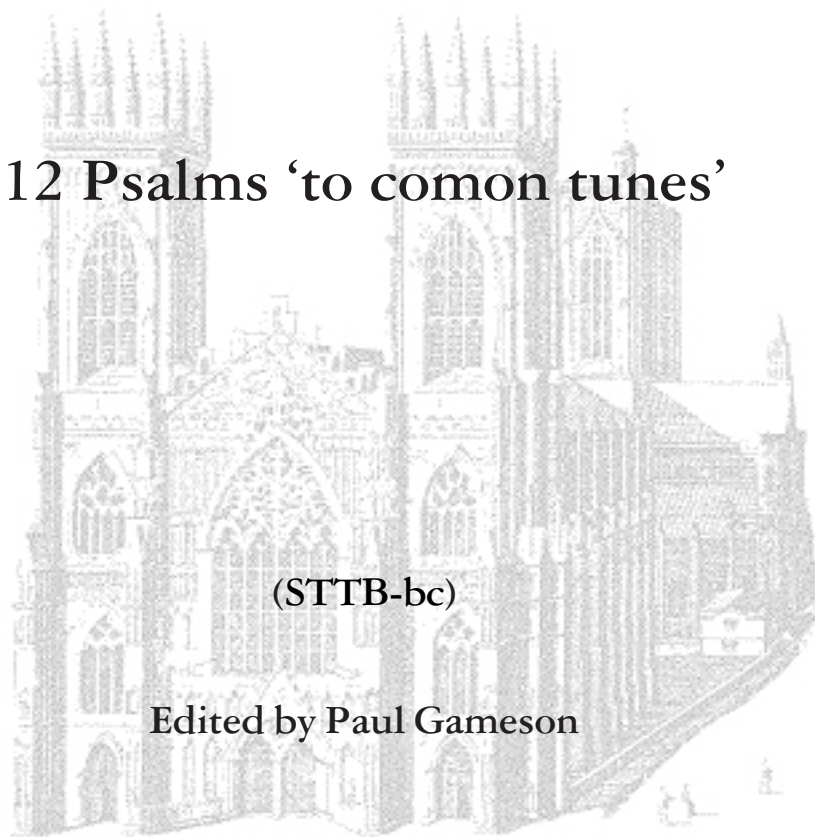
Y O R K 
E A R L Y Y
M U S I C
P R E S S

William Lawes
(1602 – 45)

12 Psalms ‘to comon tunes’

(STTB-bc)

Edited by Paul Gameson



in association with



YORK EARLY MUSIC FOUNDATION

THE UNIVERSITY *of York*



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(1602 – 45)

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Introduction

The Composer

William Lawes was born in Salisbury in 1602, and his father was a lay vicar at the cathedral there. He benefited from the patronage of local benefactor Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, and became a pupil of Coprario's.¹ Little is known of the private lives of William or his brother Henry during the 1620s and early 1630s; by 1634 however, the brothers had established themselves at the court of Charles I, when they both contributed music to James Shirley's masque *The Triumph of Peace*. While William's theatre and instrumental output continued, he also wrote sacred music for the Chapel Royal, including the verse anthems *The Lord is my light and my salvation* and *Let God arise*. There is no biographical information available from the outbreak of hostilities in August 1642 until Lawes' death at the Battle of Rowton Moor near Chester in September 1645, when Lawes joined a doomed sortie and was killed:

In these distracted times his loyalty engaged him in the war for his lord and master; and though he was by General Gerard made a commissary, on design to secure him... yet such the activity of his spirit, he disclaimed the covert of his office, and betrayed thereunto by his own adventurousness, was casually shot.²

It is possible that Lawes spent time at Charles I's court at Oxford (established there in 1642), and considering the circumstances of his death at Chester it is likely that he also saw action in battle. He may have been near York between 1642 and 1644, as his round *See how Cawood's dragons look* describes the ultimately unsuccessful Royalist defence of Cawood Castle (ten miles from York), when Parliamentary forces converged on York.³ Lawes' close association with Charles I and the heroic and tragic circumstances of his death elevated him to the rank of Royalist *célèbre*, as reflected by his inclusion in the post-Restoration dictionary of biography by Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England* (1662). Fuller's account of Lawes' death quoted above is followed by a description of Charles I's grief for his musician, the king having 'a particular mourning for him when dead, whom he loved when living, and commonly called the Father of Music'.⁴ More moving is the personal testimony of William's brother Henry, in the dedication to Charles I and preface of his own *Choice Psalms* (1648), published in the last months of the king's life:

Many of them [the psalms] were compos'd by my Brother (William Lawes), whose life and endeavours were devoted to Your service: whereof, I (who knew his heart) am a surviving witness, and therein he persisted to the last minute, when he fell a willing sacrifice for Your majestie... [he was] lost in these unnaturall Warres; yet lyes in the Bed of honour, and expir'd in the Service and Defence of the King his Master.⁵

With a few exceptions, Lawes' anthems are based on psalm texts, and draw on three traditions of translation: Miles Coverdale's prose translation (the two verse anthems and three pieces from *Choice Psalms*), and two metrical collections, George Sandys' ⁶ (used by Henry and William in *Choice*

¹ For further reading on William Lawes' life and music, see Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England* (London, 1662; repr. London, 1952), 617–8; Murray Lefkowitz, *William Lawes* (London, 1960); and Andrew Ashbee, ed., *William Lawes (1602–1645): Essays on his Life, Times and Work* (Aldershot, 1998).

² Fuller, *Worthies of England*, 618.

³ The round appears in John Hilton (ed.), *Catch that Catch Can* (London, 2nd edn. 1658; repr. 1663, 1667 and 1673). See David Pinto, 'William Lawes at the Siege of York', *Musical Times*, 127 (1986), 579–83.

⁴ Fuller, *Worthies of England*, 618.

⁵ Henry Lawes, *Choice Psalms* (London, 1648), Preface.

⁶ George Sandys, *A Paraphrase Upon the Psalmes of David* (London, 1636). Sandys later published *A Paraphrase Upon*

Psalms) and Sternhold and Hopkins' *Whole Book of Psalms*⁷ (the psalms 'to comon tunes'). The adoption of the first two texts reflects Lawes' position as part of the Court circle: Coverdale's version had been absorbed into Anglican worship long before it was included with the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer*, and Sandys' *Paraphrase* was a favourite book of Charles I. Yet as a court composer, Lawes' psalms 'to comon tunes' are an anomaly: while he writes for solo voices in the declaimed manner of the Court verse anthem, he also plunders both texts and tunes of a style popular with congregations but which by the 1630s was associated with the Puritan fringe of the Church of England and could not be further from the High-Church stance of Charles and his bishops. Determining the context and function of these psalms sheds light on the final years of William Lawes' life, music at the court of Charles I, and the practice of psalm singing in cathedrals before the Commonwealth.

The Psalms 'to comon tunes': Text and Music

The tradition of metrical psalm singing arose from the aspiration of the Reformation movement to render the Bible and liturgy accessible to the congregation, achieved by translation into the vernacular, and, in the case of the psalms, into a rhyming and strophic form. *The Book of Common Prayer* (1549) did not sanction the use of metrical psalms, ignoring the attempts of early publications such as Coverdale's *Goostly Psalms and Spirituall Songs* (London, c.1536) and Hopkins' *Certayne Psalmes* (London, 1547) to prompt liturgical reform and introduce congregational hymnody on the same lines as Lutheran practice. Hopkins' *Certayne Psalmes* included nineteen psalms. A second collection published in 1549 shortly after Sternhold's death, *All Such Psalmes of Dauid* (London, 1549), included eighteen more psalms by Sternhold and seven by Hopkins. These forty-four psalms were added to by Hopkins and other writers in several more publications, and culminated in *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* (London, 1562).

However, while 'it is true that [congregational] hymnody was not prescribed [in *The Book of Common Prayer*]... neither was it proscribed',⁸ and Elizabeth I's Royal Injunctions of 1559 permitted 'that in the beginning, or in the end of Common Prayers, either at morning or evening, there may be sung an hymn, or suchlike song, to the praise of Almighty God, in the best sort of melody and music that may be conveniently desired, having respect that the sentence of the hymn may be understood and perceived'.⁹ The translation into metre of the whole Psalter and canticles suggests that these versions were used as alternatives to the official prose versions. The psalm collections were also intended for domestic use, with books with four parts arranged so that singers could perform from a single copy, and some editions provided lute or cittern accompaniment.

The practice of congregational psalm singing was not officially recognized until Parliament's *A Directory for the Publique Worship* published in 1644,¹⁰ where it is recommended that psalms be sung 'before or after the reading' and before the Dismissal.¹¹ With the benefit of hindsight, and in the

the Divine Poems (London, 1638), which included tunes for the psalms by Henry Lawes.

⁷ Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins, *The Whole Booke of Psalmes, Collected into Englysh Metre* (London, 1562): numerous reprints and revisions followed.

⁸ Robin Leaver, 'Goostly Psalmes and Spirituall Songs': English and Dutch Metrical Psalms from Coverdale to Utenhove, 1535–1566 (Oxford, 1991), 132.

⁹ Quoted in Leaver, *Goostly Psalmes*, 239.

¹⁰ *A Directory for the Publique Worship of God Throughout the Three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Together with an Ordinance of Parliament for the taking away of the Book of Common-Prayer* (London, 1644).

¹¹ 'And because singing of Psalmes is of all other the most proper Ordinance for expressing of Joy and Thanksgiving, let some pertinent Psalmes or Psalmes be sung before or after the reading of some portion of the Word suitable to the present businesse ... And so, having sung another Psalmes suitable to the mercy, let him [the Minister] dismisse the Congregation

context of the *Directory*, these metrical psalm settings became associated with the Puritan reforms of Parliament; in reality, however, the *Directory* was reflecting a custom established in cathedrals (such as Worcester and York¹²) and parish churches before the Civil War. Indeed, the suppression of congregational psalms in some cathedrals by High-Church divines in the 1620s heightened worries that the Anglican Church was set on a course back to Rome. Peter Smart spoke vehemently when John Cosin, canon at Durham and Chaplain to Charles I, abolished the practice of psalm singing at Durham Cathedral:

Lastly, why forbid they singing of Psalmes in such a tune, as all the people may sing with them, and praise God together, before and after Sermons, as by authority is allowed, and heretofore hath been practised both here and in all reformed churches. How dare they in stead of Psalmes, appoint Anthems, (litttle better than profane Ballads some of them) I say, so many Anthems to be sung, which none of the people understand, nor all the singers themselves, which the Preface to the Communion booke, and the Queenes Injunctions, will have cut off, because the people is not edified by them. Is it for spite they beare to Geneva, which all Papists hate, or for the love of Rome, which because they cannot imitate in having Latine service, yet they will come as neer it as they can, in having service in English so said and sung, that few or none can understand the same? I blame not the singers, most of which mislike these prophane innovations, though they be forced to follow them.¹³

The language of Sternhold's translations is governed but never constrained by the self-imposed structure of the metre and rhyme schemes. Sternhold developed the Common Metre (8686) from the so-called Ballad Metre¹⁴ and within this 'repetition of sound, word and idea'¹⁵ are important aspects of his style. Occasionally, redundant words such as 'eke' or 'whit' are used to complete the rhyme or metre scheme. Sternhold also draws on Coverdale's prose translations, from which he expands or compresses ideas. For instance, in Psalm 18, part 1, a particularly vivid text, Sternhold's version builds on the images of the prose version, with the urgency of the text more obviously portrayed by the rhythm and rhyme of the metre. The concise paraphrase in verses one and two is contrasted with verse three, where the metrical scheme is completed by another paraphrase of the verse:

<i>Sternhold</i>	<i>Coverdale</i>
1. O God my strength and fortitude, Of force I must thee love: Thou art my castle and defense, In my necessity.	I will love thee, O Lord, my strength; the Lord is my stony rock, and my defence:
My God, my rock, in whom I trust, The worker of my wealth: My refuge, buckler, and my shield, The horn of all my health.	my saviour, my God, and my might, in whom I will trust, my buckler, the horn also of my salvation, and my refuge.

with a blessing' (*A Directory for the Publique Worship*, 81–2).

¹² Worcester's organist Thomas Tomkins was required to play 'to the psalms at sermons and morning prayer' (Worcester Cathedral Treasurer's Accounts, 1643, quoted in Ivor Atkins, *The Early Occupants of the Office of Organist and Master of the Choristers of the Cathedral Church of Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary, Worcester* (London, 1918), 54), and such services were attended by a congregation 'a greater I have not seen but that at St Paul's' (William Smith to Archbishop Laud, 18 November 1639, in William Hamilton, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I* (London, 1874), vol. 15 (1639–40), 108). The custom of psalm singing at York is discussed below.

¹³ Peter Smart, *A Sermon Preached in the Cathedrall Church of Durham, July 7 1628* (London, 1640), 19–20. His description of the order and position of psalm singing corresponds with that in the *Directory* (n.11 above): 'But every Preacher in a cathedral Church goeth up to the pulpit, taketh up a text of Scripture, hath a Psalme sung, and maketh a prayer, before the Sermon; Which Sermon being done, concludeth with a prayer, he sitteth down in the pulpit till the Psalme be ended, and then standing up, he dismisseth the congregation with the blessing of God's peace' (*A Catalogve of Superstitious Innovations in the Change of Services and Ceremonies, of Presumptuous Irregularities, and Transgressions* (London, 1642), 16).

¹⁴ Leaver, *Goostly Psalmes*, 119.

¹⁵ Rivkah Zim, *English Metrical Psalms: Poetry as Prayer and Praise, 1535–1661* (Cambridge, 1987), 118.

2. When I sing laud unto the Lord, I will call upon the Lord, which is worthy to be praised: so shall I
Most worthy to be served, be safe from mine enemies.
Then from my foes I am right sure,
That I shall be preserved.
3. The pains of death do compass me, The sorrows of death compassed me: and the overflowings of
And bound me everywhere: ungodliness made me afraid.
The flowing waves of wickedness
Did put me in great fear.

Poetic devices such as wordplay, (the succession of 'laud... Lord', v.2), alliteration ('the sly and subtle snares...', v.4, not set by Lawes), 'royally he rode' and 'wings of all the winds', v.10), enjambement ('Yea the foundations of the mount / of Basan', v.7) and onomatopoeia ('quake', v.7) further enliven the translation. Sternhold may modify textual ideas of Coverdale ('the overflowings of ungodliness' becomes 'The flowing waves of wickedness', v.3) or retain them without alteration ('consuming fire', v.8).

It is not surprising that William Lawes was drawn to these expressive texts. For some time English composers had been concerned with following the Italian musical developments and establishing a declaimed style of their own. While an effective recited style had emerged in music for the stage (evident in contributions by Henry and William Lawes), sacred music was more resistant to progressive ideas. To some extent, the declaimed style of the consort and verse anthem had already anticipated the *stile nuove* demands for clarity of text, though most works in this genre still held on to the archaic polyphonic texture derived from viol consort accompaniment. Walter Porter had adopted a florid style and borrowed the more ostentatious Italian devices such as *trillo* in 'O praise the Lord' of his *Madrigales and Ayres* (1632)¹⁶ but paid less attention to declamation. Although Lawes contrasts solo sections with chorus (the verses 'to comon tunes'), he has dropped the traditional form of the Jacobean verse anthem in favour of an arioso vocal style set above a functional bass accompaniment.

Lawes' verses are freely composed, so unlike other settings of metrical psalm texts, no reference is made to the relevant melody (though the opening to *The Lamentation* is identical to the first phrase of *The Humble Suite of a Sinner* common tune). The overall dramatic and penitential mood of the psalms displays Lawes' typical vocal style: expressive solo and chorus passages, combining Italianate declamation with more lyrical writing, exploiting limits of vocal range, chromaticism, dissonance and harmony. Indeed, in mid-seventeenth-century sacred music, these extremes are found only in the anthems and motets of George Jeffreys. It is not easy to highlight individual solo sections above others: often these acquire emotional impact in the context of the sequence of solo and chorus sections which also provides further structural cohesion to the imposed contrast of verse and common tune. Particularly effective is Psalm 18, with the final text 'And on the wings of the wind' culminating with an athletic bass solo and chorus. In Psalm 22, part 2, the imagery foreshadowing the Crucifixion demands a balance of restraint (falling figures in 'But I drop down') and desperation (the opening declamation 'O Lord depart not now from me', 'And like a potsherd'), and the choice of a major key renders chromatic inflexion more effective, such as 'in this my wretched grief' and 'And many dogs do compass me'; appropriately, the psalm concludes irresolutely with just tenor 2 and bass.

Lawes' use of common tunes conforms closely to the standard melodies included in contemporary publications.¹⁷ He sets a precedent in one psalm: Psalm 6 has a tune with which it was not usually

¹⁶ Walter Porter, *Madrigales and Ayres. Of Two, Three, Foure and Five Voices, with the Continued Base* (London, 1632).

¹⁷ Details of the sources of the texts and common tunes are included in the Editorial Commentary.

associated, though eventually text and melody were combined in print in 1661. Often the key chosen for the solo verses of Lawes' settings may not correspond with that of the common tune in printed collections. This can set the common tune at a higher pitch, usually only up a tone (Psalm 22, usually C; Psalm 100, usually F or C; *The Humble Suite of a Sinner*, D minor or A minor), though Psalm 67 shifts the common tune up a fifth, from the usual G minor to D minor. Even the range after the transposition in Psalm 67 does not exceed the *ambitus* of the tunes as a whole, d-a', so although Lawes' invariably chose of keys higher than the usual key of the common tune, the subsequent range remains practical for congregational singing.¹⁸

Lawes' choice of source text, eschewing the versions of the traditional Prayer Book and court favourite George Sandys and preferring Sternhold's balanced paraphrase, is well-suited to exploring the new declaimed vocal style. However, the quality of his settings suggests they were more than experimental works. If the psalms were intended for performance, the selection of texts is such that they may have been performed within a service either as para-liturgical psalms before and after the sermon and at the Dismissal as described above, much like hymns today, or as substitutions for prose texts in *The Book of Common Prayer*. In the 1559 Prayer Book, Psalm 67 can replace the Nunc Dimittis as a canticle at Evening Prayer and Psalm 100 is offered as an alternative to the Benedictus at Matins. Two works, Psalm 6 and Psalm 22, did not become proper psalms (for Ash Wednesday and Good Friday respectively) until the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer*. Psalm 18 is the appointed psalm for Evening Prayer on the third day of the month, though Lawes sets only the first of four parts (or ten of fifty-one verses). Psalms 6 and 51 are also penitential psalms. Three texts, *The Lamentation*, *The Lamentation of a Sinner* and *The Humble Suite of a Sinner*, feature only in metrical psalters.

The ordering of the psalms in the principal source (Christ Church, Oxford, Mus. 768–70, manuscripts in the hand of Edward Lowe; see Table 1) does not provide any evidence of the performance context: the order does not follow the that of the Psalter and it is not arranged, as printed collections often were, according to key or scoring; however, the sequence within the part books is consistent, with the exception of the placement of Psalm 67 in Mus. 769 and Mus. 770.

Table 1: contents of Christ Church, Oxford, Mus. 768–70

Psalm	768	769	770	Key
The Lamentation	1r		1r	G minor
67		3r	2r	D minor
100	2v		2v	G major
6	3v	1r	3v	G minor
51, part 1	4v		4v	D minor
51, part 2	5v	2r	5r	D minor
18, part 1	6v	4r	5v	G minor
The Humble Suite of a Sinner	7v	5r	6v	A minor
The Lamentation of a Sinner	8v	6v	7v	G minor
22, part 1	9r	7v	8r	D major
22, part 2	10r	8v	8v	D major
22, part 3	11r	9v	9v	D major

¹⁸ See notes on Performance for further discussion of performance and pitch of the common tunes.

Music for the Siege of York

It is difficult to imagine a context for the singing of these psalms until one reads an oft-quoted passage from Thomas Mace's *Musick's Monument* (1676), which includes a striking account of church services in York Minster during 'the great and close siege' of York:

By This occasion, there were shut up within that City, abundance of People of the best Rank and Quality, viz. Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen of the Countries round about, besides the Souldiers and Citizens, who all or most of them came constantly every Sunday, to hear Publick Prayers and Sermon in that spacious Church. And indeed their Number was so exceeding great, that the Church was (as I may say) even cramming or squeezing full. Now here you must take notice, that they had then a Custom in that Church, (which I hear not of in any other Cathedral, which was) that always before the Sermon, the whole Congregation sang a Psalm, together with the Quire and the Organ; And you must also know, that there was then a most Excellent-large-plump-lusty-full-speaking-Organ, which cost (as I am credibly informed) a thousand pounds. This Organ, I say, (when the Psalm was set before the Sermon) being let out, into all its Fulness of Stops, together with the Quire, began the Psalm. But when That Vast-Conchording-Unity of the whole Congregational-Chorus, came (as I may say) Thundering in, even so, as it made the very Ground shake under us; ... Because that at That Time, the desperateness and dismaidness of their Danger could not but draw them unto it, in regard the Enemy was so very near, and Fierce upon them, especially on That side the City where the Church stood; who had planted their Great Guns so mischievously against the Church, and with which constantly in Prayers time they would not fail to make their Hellish disturbance, by shooting against and battering the Church, in so much that sometimes a Canon Bullet has come in at the windows, and bounc'd about from Pillar to Pillar, (even like some Furious Fiend, or evil Spirit).¹⁹

Mace, either an eyewitness to the event himself or relying on information from his brother, Henry, a vicar choral at York,²⁰ is probably describing the events that took place on 16 June 1644, Trinity Sunday: York had been surrounded by the joint forces of the Scottish and Parliamentary armies for two weeks, and on this day the besiegers mined the city walls at King's Manor, not far from the Minster.²¹ The texts seem particularly appropriate for a city under siege: 'but Lord how long wilt thou delay to cure my misery' (Psalm 6), 'O Lord consider my distress, and now with speed some pity take' (Psalm 51, part 1), 'Cast me not Lord out from my face, but speedily my torments end', 'build up thy walls and love it still' (Psalm 51, part 2), 'O God my strength and fortitude', 'The Lord descended from above, and bow'd the heavens high' (Psalm 18). The siege of York lasted some twelve weeks over the summer of 1644. Lawes set twelve psalms, and it is possible that he was part of the Royal Army routed at Marston Moor on July 7, and that the psalms were written for the Sunday services described by Mace.

It has already been noted that Lawes may have been in the vicinity of York during the autumn of 1642. He may have travelled to the city with Charles I, who established his court there for six months in 1642.²² Charles recognized the strategic importance of York: he spent much time there during the Scottish campaign, 1639-40, and following his rift with Parliament early in 1642 he moved the court there in March and requested his local supporters to follow him to Nottingham, where he eventually raised his standard in August. The king had attended services in the Minster

¹⁹ Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument* (London, 1676; repr. Paris, 1958), i, 19–20.

²⁰ Thomas mentions his brother by name as a clerk at York in *Musick's Monument*, Vol. 1: The Subscriber's Names.

²¹ Other descriptions of the siege are understandably less concerned with the music but nevertheless draw attention to the timing of the attack. One Royalist commentator saw the besieging forces' purpose was no less than 'to abolish the service of the Common-Prayer in a Military Way, which by Disputation they were not able to performe' (Christopher Hildyard, *A List or Catalogue of all the Mayors of Yorke* (York, 1664) quoted in Peter Wenham, *The Great and Close Siege of York, 1644* (York, 1970), 60), while others suggest the strike was planned to catch the Royalists by surprise, 'when most of the commanders for the city were at the cathedral' (Francis Drake, *Eboracum, or the History and Antiquities of the City of York* (London, 1736), 166).

²² See C. V. Wedgwood, *The King's War 1641–1647* (London, 1958), 82–7.

during the 1630s: he had been most concerned about the fixed seating in the quire, and it was at his insistence that the new Dallam organ completed in 1634 (and described by Mace) was set up on the north side of the quire so as not to obstruct the view of the east window from the nave.²⁵ When James, Duke of York (later James II) and Prince Rupert were to be invested as Knights of the Order of the Garter on St George's Day, April 23,²⁴ Charles had hoped that his musicians from chapel and chamber would follow him from London, but some were not prepared to make the journey as their salaries were already two years in arrears.²⁵ Nonetheless, the ceremony went ahead in the chapter house, 'with the utmost magnificence'.²⁶ Was Charles fortunate enough to have a loyal core of musicians with him in York such that he was later to enjoy in Oxford²⁷ or would he have been forced to rely on the regular Minster singers and other York musicians for such occasions as 23 April or 29 June 1642 when 'the King, Prince, with the Nobility being present, came in great State that day to the Sermon'²⁸ at the Minster? And even if Lawes had been in York with the king, would he have remained there for another two years after the court had moved south?

The limited but persuasive evidence for Lawes' presence in York rests on the canon describing the taking of Cawood Castle²⁹ and Mace's colourful account of the siege. It is quite possible that Lawes could have written the canon drawing on second-hand information, since both court and Parliament factions were following events in the north with interest.³⁰ The psalm singing 'Custom in that Church' recalled by Mace bears a striking similarity to the structure of Lawes' psalms, though also resembles the practice of 'lining-out', with the choir beginning each line of the psalm and then followed by the congregation: 'This Organ, ... together with the Quire, began the Psalm. But when That Vast-Conchording-Unity of the whole Congregational-Chorus, came (as I may say) Thundering in'.³¹ Furthermore, the virtuoso solo writing of the psalms would probably stretch the skill of most singers outside the Chapel Royal.

These considerations aside, if Lawes were in York, at the Minster he would have at his disposal the two musical traditions represented in the collection of psalms. In 1634 the choir and organ were

²³ The previous organ had been on the choir screen, 'but was removed hence by order of king Charles I, and placed opposite to the bishop's throne [the south side of the Quire]. His majesty giving for reason that it spoiled the prospect of the fine east window from the body of the church' (Drake, *Eboracum*, 521). See Michael Sayer, 'Robert Dallam's Organ in York Minster, 1634', *British Institute of Organ Studies Journal*, 1 (1977), 60–8, for a detailed study of the organ.

²⁴ April 20 1642: 'Upon Saturday the Duke of York... was welcomed into this city with 800 or 900 horse, and at night with bonfires all the town over... Upon Monday, the king, having begun the feast of St George for the last year, together with the Lords of the Garter here present, held a chapter and elected the young Duke into that order' (Hamilton (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers* (London, 1887), Vol. 18 (1641–3), 304).

²⁵ In early April Charles had requested 'Musitions for ye wind Instruments the whole company, Musitions for ye Violins the whole company, Trumpetters the whole company, Drumers the whole company, Gentlemen of ye Chappell' attend him 'at York and at St George's Feast' (Andrew Ashbee, ed., *Records of English Court Music* (Snodland, 1988), iii, 115) though in March the Commissioners of the Treasury received a petition from the musicians in ordinary of the wind instruments who declared that they had 'received command from his Majesty to attend and then do service at York, and are most ready to do so; but they are behind of their ordinary entertainments in the Exchequer above two years...'
(*Calendars*, 301).

²⁶ Drake, *Eboracum*, 144.

²⁷ This hypothesis is explored by Jonathan Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton, 1605–70* (Vermont, 1997), 169–177.

²⁸ *The last newes from Yorke and Hull. Or A true relation of all the passages and other occurrences that hath happened in and about the city of Yorke, and the towne of Hull from the twenty sixth of June, to the third of July* (London, 1642), 4.

²⁹ See footnote 3 above.

³⁰ News-sheets published in London were swift to report the success of Parliamentary supporters in Yorkshire: see *The last newes from York and Hull* (London, 1642), *Most joyfull newes by sea and land, being the true relation of a glorious victory obtained by the Lord Fairfax and Captain Hotham sonne to Sir Iohn Hotham at Cawood Castle in York shire, against the Earle of Cumberland and his northerne cavaliers* (London, 1642), and *A true and perfect relation of a victorious batell* (London, 1642).

³¹ Mace, *Musick's Monument*, 19.

praised by three military officers on tour, who observed that ‘we heard a faire, large, high organ, newly built, richly gilt, carv’d and painted; and deep and snowy row of quiristers’.³² There is no information of Minster Choir numbers after 1642, but there is little change in numbers between the 1620s and 1642, the last year of records, with the numbers of not less than twelve choristers and eight male adult singers remaining stable:³³ the full choir had presumably been disbanded soon after the siege in July 1644. In August 1645 the regional Commonwealth Committee ordered that the music books and fabric of the organ be handed over,³⁴ though there is evidence that the eight adult singers continued to lead worship after this time.³⁵ Only one set of pre-Interregnum music books survives, York Minster Library M 13 S, dating from the 1610s, which contains morning and evening service music by Tudor composers Parsons, Mundy, Morley, Sheppard and Byrd³⁶ and no doubt the choir also sang the standard full and verse anthem repertoire of this period.³⁷ Of the custom of psalm singing noted by Mace, several psalters were purchased for the choir from the late sixteenth century,³⁸ and when services were discontinued it fell to the Commonwealth Committee to pay ‘five pounds to Mr [Henry] Mace in full for all of demands for his former paynes in beginning the psalme at the Minster’.³⁹

Was this the environment that prompted Lawes to compose his psalms ‘to comon tunes’? If indeed York was the venue for these psalms, then it is more likely that the psalms’ performance was initiated when the court was in York during 1642 and subsequently remained in the Minster choir’s repertoire. The court was in York for most of Lent, arriving on Friday 18 March, and three of the psalms representing half the collection are appropriate for this season (Psalm 6, 22 and 51). The king attended the Maundy service on Thursday of Holy Week (April 7) as he had done in 1639.⁴⁰ Inevitably, further conclusions concerning Lawes’ movements in the north can only be conjectural,

³² Leopold Legg, ed., *A relation of a short survey of 26 counties, observed in a seven weeks journey begun on August 11, 1634, by a captain, a lieutenant, and an ancient, all three of the military company in Norwich* (London, 1904), 16.

³³ Payments to the Vicars Choral (some of the adult singers) in 1641 are recorded on the Chamberlain’s Roll for singing obit services and are the last records of financial transactions of the Dean and Chapter before the Restoration (York Minster Library, VC 6/123, 124). See David Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality: a History of Institutional Music-Making in York, c.1550–1990* (York, 1994), 10.

³⁴ The Commonwealth Committee for York and Ainsty ordered on 4 August 1645 that ‘Mr Doctor Hodson [Chancellor of York Minster] be desired to deliver unto Richard Dossy the books and parcels of the organs’ (Angelo Raine, ed., ‘Proceedings of the Commonwealth Committee for York and Ainsty, from York City MSS. E30, 31, and House Books XXXVI and XXXVII’ in Charles Whiting, ed., *Miscellanea*, vi, Yorkshire Archeological Society, Record Series, 118 (Leeds, 1953)).

³⁵ On 8 February 1646, the Commonwealth Committee for York and Ainsty ‘ordered that Mr Mace [Henry, Thomas’ brother], Mr Belwood, Mr Smith, Mr Lawrence and Mr Bullen, the vicars chorall, appere at this place this day fortnight, as alsoe John Richmond, Richard Marcschamm, Henry Thompson, singing men’ and March 15 1646 was ‘the day appointed for the vicars choral, the singing men, to give their answer if they will take the National Covenant. And if any of them shall not then appear at my Lord Mayor’s house herein, this shall be taken as a denial’ (‘Proceedings of the Commonwealth Committee’, 9).

³⁶ See David Griffiths, *A Catalogue of the Music Manuscripts in York Minster Library* (York, 1981), 78–79. Much of the choir’s library was lost in the Minster fire of 1829.

³⁷ After the Restoration, the Vicars Choral noted to the Dean and Chapter that ‘wee have 10 bookes printed in folio of services and anthems which are something rotted and decayed...’ (‘Humble answers of the Vicars Chorall’, quoted in F. Harrison, *Life in a Medieval College* (London, 1952), 325–7), which probably refers to John Barnard’s *First Book of Selected Church Music* (London, 1641).

³⁸ Acquisitions of psalters in the 1570s are recorded in York Minster Archives E3/53–57, with the Vicars Choral being provided with ‘a psalter & a booke of Geneva psalmes’, suggesting performance of both prose and metrical versions of the psalms, and York Minster Fabric Rolls, which includes payments ‘To Thos. Richardson for ii Geneva Psalters for the choristers, 2s. 4d’ (1580–1) and ‘To Anthonie Foster for two Psalters with Psalmes, 8s’ (1581–2) (in James Raine (ed.), *The Fabric Rolls of York Minster, with an Appendix of Illustrative Documents*, Publications of the Surtees Society, Vol. 35 (Durham, 1859), 118).

³⁹ Entry for 29 March 1647, ‘Proceedings of the Commonwealth Committee’, 10.

⁴⁰ Drake, *Eboracum*, 137 and 142.

but it does seem improbable that a musical motive alone would prompt the composer to remain in York after the court headed south.

The court at Oxford

Charles arrived in Oxford in late October 1642 after victory at the Battle of Edgehill, and set up his court at Christ Church. The university town soon adapted to its new role as a garrison to several regiments and a new home to the loyal nobility and gentry flocking to the king's side. Recent research has suggested that the court at Oxford was a centre of musical activity, with Charles and Henrietta Maria both boasting their own musical household.⁴¹ As at York, many of the king's musicians could not afford to join the court in Oxford, but those who did were paid on an occasional basis.⁴² Anthony à Wood and John Hawkins both note the presence of George Jeffreys (as organist to Charles I) and John Wilson, and it is also likely that Henry Lawes made visits to the town.⁴³ As a composer of merit, one would expect mention of William Lawes' name if he too had been in Oxford, but again the records, such that they are, are silent. However, the sole source for most of this collection is a set of partbooks held in Christ Church Library copied by Edward Lowe, Mus. 768–70, and dating from the 1670s when Lowe was professor of music. Lowe had been organist of Christ Church from 1631.⁴⁴

There is scant information regarding the king's worship, and it is not clear whether he attended the regular services in Christ Church (college chapel and cathedral foundation) or his own private services: several sermons published in pamphlet form are described as having been delivered at Christ Church before the king, possibly indicating that on occasions he was present at the cathedral.⁴⁵ Similarly, there are few records of the performance of sacred music: Hawkins comments that 'choral services were performed.... after a very homely fashion'.⁴⁶ The turncoat Sir Edward Dering, who left Oxford for London in 1644, cited the style of worship and music as a reason for his defection: he complained of 'Organs, Sackbuts, Recorders, Cornets, &c. and voices.... mingled together, as if we would catch God Almighty with the fine ayre of an Anthem, whilst few present do or can understand'.⁴⁷ In Oxford, Charles was surrounded by several High Church writers and clergy, which only fuelled existing Protestant fears that the king was an agent of the Roman Catholic Church. The few surviving sources of music from Civil War Oxford support the reason for Dering's objection of the High Church worship there. Jeffreys and Stephen Bing copied many Italian motets for Christopher, First Baron Hatton, Comptroller of the King's Household, which were no doubt intended to accompany the king's or queen's worship.⁴⁸

The modest scoring of the psalms 'to comon tunes' and those in *Choice Psalms* would be well-suited

⁴¹ Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 169–177.

⁴² See Ashbee, ed., *Records*, 119.

⁴³ Henry Lawes had visited Oxford with the Court in 1636, when he provided music for two plays. Recent research by David Pinto has credited Henry Lawes with providing the music to several 'court carols' performed in Oxford between 1642 and 1646 for which only the texts survive: see 'The True Christmas: Carols at the Court of Charles I', in Ashbee, *William Lawes*, 97–120.

⁴⁴ 'Lowe, Edward' in Andrew Ashbee and David Lasocki, eds., *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians 1485–1714* (Aldershot, 1998), ii, 740–2.

⁴⁵ See, for instance, Richard Harwood, *King David's sanctuary, or. A sermon preached before the His Majesty the fourth of Febr. 1643 at Christ-Church in Oxford* (Oxford, 1644), and John Berkenhead, *A sermon preached before his Majestie at Christ-Church in Oxford, on the 3. of Novemb. 1644. after his returne from Cornwall* (Oxford, 1644).

⁴⁶ John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (London, 1776), iv, 323.

⁴⁷ Sir Edward Dering, *A Declaration* (London, 1644).

⁴⁸ Most of the printed and manuscript contents of Hatton's library is held in Christ Church Library, Oxford. For a detailed study of the collection, see Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*.

to the limited musical forces available in Oxford, and Henry Lawes writes of the published collection that they were ‘born and nourish’d in Your Majesties service’.⁴⁹ If the psalms were written in Oxford, then they may have been performed before and after the sermons regularly preached to Charles in Christ Church. But would Charles have tolerated the Low Church associations of the psalm translation and the common tunes? Certainly the psalms are at odds with the other extant music from the Oxford court, the Latin motets by Italian composers. Perhaps therefore it is significant that the music survives in Lowe’s and not Hatton’s (high church) collection. With Lowe and Jeffreys both present in Oxford, it is possible that Lowe played for services in the cathedral and Jeffreys was responsible for the king’s private worship,⁵⁰ and Lowe’s manuscript might reflect both the separate roles of the two organists and the distinct styles of the king’s private and public worship.

Colonel Charles Gerard’s regiment of foot was stationed at Oxford from 1642 until 8 May 1644, when Gerard led it to Wales. It was with this regiment that Lawes served and lost his life at the Battle of Rowton Moor near Chester in September 1645.⁵¹ Fuller’s account of Lawes’ life provides no detail of when Lawes joined the regiment, but clearly he would have been unavailable to join the regiment at this time were he at the Siege of York and the Battle of Marston Moor (April 22 – July 16). Such was the movement of troops in England and the demand for recruits that Lawes could have joined Gerard’s troop any time after it left Oxford in May 1644.⁵²

The Chapel Royal

The Chapel Royal itself was an itinerant organization, based in London but moving with the king when he travelled around the country. Music by Lawes features in Chapel Royal sources before the Civil War and at the Restoration. At least one psalm from Lowe’s collection was also in circulation in London by the first years of the Restoration: Psalm 22 appears in an organ book of possible Chapel Royal provenance now held in Durham Cathedral, Dean and Chapter Library, MS B.1. This source contains works by other early Restoration Chapel Royal composers (and also includes Lawes’ own *The Lord is my light and my salvation*).⁵³ The psalm is copied with the common tune verses omitted and a few minor alterations, including the introduction of another voice at the end of one section to compensate for the alteration of the structure, thus transformed from occasional piece to traditional verse anthem.

Inevitably it is difficult to establish a context for the psalms based on little tangible evidence. The close circle of personnel at the Oxford court during the Civil War and at the Chapel Royal in London in the 1630s, which included the Lawes brothers, Lowe and Wilson, was such that the composition of

⁴⁹ Henry Lawes, *Choice Psalms*, Preface.

⁵⁰ See Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 119.

⁵¹ For details of the battle, see Peter Young and Wilfrid Emberton, *Sieges of the Great Civil War* (London, 1978), 107–116.

⁵² Lawes would have been able to travel south after Marston Moor, as the conditions of surrender imposed on the king’s forces in York were lenient: ‘the Governour, and all Officers and Souldiers, both Horse and Foot...[were allowed to] march out of the City on Horse-back and with their Armes, flying Colours, Drums, beating Matches lighted on both ends, Bullets in their mouths, and with all their bag and baggage, that every souldier shall have 12 charges of Powder’ (Article 2, *The articles of the svrrender of the city of Yorke to the Earle of Leven, Lord Fairefax, and Earle of Manchester, on Tuesday July 16, 1644* (London, 1644)). Perhaps he joined Lord George Goring or Prince Rupert, who both marched south to take part in Charles I’s Cornish campaign (August–September). He could have remained at the king’s side, and joined Gerard’s regiment later in 1644 or at Chester itself. Gerard returned to Oxford to reinforce the Royal Army after the Second Battle of Newbury (27 October 1644). On 18 September 1645 near Hay-on-Wye Charles’ Oxford army combined with other brigades, including Gerard’s, to march to Scotland. On their journey north they hoped to relieve Chester.

⁵³ See Brian Crosby, ‘An Early Restoration Liturgical Musical Manuscript’, *Music & Letters*, 55 (1974), 458–64.

the psalms may have occurred any time during the 1630s and 40s. It is clear that the form of the psalms copied by Lowe pre-dates the version of Psalm 22 in the Chapel Royal source, but although the sources vary occasionally they also agree over several errors, suggesting an initial common source. In the Chapel Royal manuscript, the psalm is not the only work to be modified and so it may have been revised after the Restoration,⁵⁴ but equally the arrangement could have been made by the composer himself as a musical self-imposed censorship in response to the High Church movement when he wrote for the Chapel Royal in the 1630s.

The reduced scoring of the psalms at the Chapel Royal was not unprecedented. William Child's *First Set of Psalmes of III Voices... Newly Composed After the Italian Way* (London, 1639) was dedicated to Charles, and Henry and William Lawes' *Choice Psalmes* may also have been written at this time, perhaps for the king's private devotion.⁵⁵ The psalms 'to comon tunes' share with the some of the *Choice Psalmes* a predilection for texts that mirror the determination of Charles to save the crown, even at the cost of his own life, and uncomfortably anticipate the 'sacrificial' deaths of both himself and William Lawes.⁵⁶ Such resolve hardened as the war with Parliament continued and the King's cause became more desperate.⁵⁷ In this context, William Lawes' psalms could be seen as the first of the musical panegyrics for the doomed Royalist cause that were later to include music by other members of the king's inner musical circle, such as the penitential anthems of Jeffreys, Wilson's *Psalterium Carolinum*, and William and Henry Lawes' own *Choice Psalmes*.⁵⁸ Nonetheless, whatever the *raison d'être* of these psalms, be they prompted by specific circumstances or intended for regular worship, their unusual style is a radical departure from the typical Jacobean verse anthem and provides a unique musical insight into the political, social and religious frictions of the day.

Performance

Liturgical Context

The pragmatic nature and diverse elements of these psalms make them ideally suited for varied occasions (concert or service, as psalm or anthem) and forces (full choir, men only, congregation). The psalms are appropriate for use either as a psalm or anthem: as a psalm with full choir or congregation taking the common tune verses, and as an anthem with the common tune verses omitted if desired, with solo lines sung by a single voice and ensemble sections sung by full choir (as with the later version of Psalm 22, see **Scoring** below). Lawes never sets the Doxology in verse sections nor indicates its use in the 'common tune' sections, and in several psalms directs that the final verses be repeated by chorus (Psalm 18, 100): while the Doxology is similarly not usually included with psalms in metrical collections, no doubt congregations would have been accustomed to

⁵⁴ For instance, Locke's 'Lord let me know mine end' is rearranged and ascribed to Silas Taylor: see Crosby, 'Early Restoration', 460.

⁵⁵ See Andrew Robinson, 'Choice Psalmes': A Brother's Memorial', in Andrew Ashbee, ed., *William Lawes*, 181.

⁵⁶ *Choice Psalmes* includes settings of Psalms 6 and Psalm 22 (see also psalms 'to common tunes') and an anthem in three parts based on the Lamentations of Jeremiah. Other works include the prophetic 'In the substraction of my years', with the text 'cut off by death before my time, and like a flower cropt in my prime', and 'Music, the master of thy art is dead' in memory of John Tomkins.

⁵⁷ Such feeling is evident in the text of the sermon preached to Charles I at Christ Church after his return from the Cornish campaign: John Berkenhead proclaimed that 'They who under the royall command of a rightfull King, obediently, conscionably, zealously, and courageously fight against a Schismaticall, or Hereticall Rebellious people, (who make religion the pretext for Rebellion) if they die, they dye Martyrs, if they live, they live Confessors: and therefore we must feare even the Princes sword' (*A Sermon* (Oxford, 1644), 19).

⁵⁸ John Wilson, *Psalterium Carolinum: The Devotions of His Sacred Majestie in His Solitudes and Sufferings* (London, 1657), with the Dedication written by Henry Lawes, and Henry Lawes, *Choice Psalmes*.

adding that portion of text. Table 2 lists the use of the psalms, and though none of them appear as Proper psalms in the 1559 Prayer Book, their function in the 1662 Prayer Book reflects the prevalence of penitential and Lenten texts. Two psalms, 6 and 51, are also penitential psalms, and the texts that are not psalms are not included in any version of the Prayer Book.

Table 2: Psalm usage

<i>Psalm</i>	Use according to <i>The Book of Common Prayer</i> (1662)	<i>Seasonal use</i>
6	Ash Wednesday, Matins	Lent
18, part 1		General
22	Good Friday, Matins	Holy Week, Lent
51		Lent
67	substitute for Nunc Dimittis, Evensong	General
100	substitute for Benedictus, Matins	General
<i>The Lamentation</i>		General
<i>The Humble Suite of a Sinner</i>		General
<i>The Lamentation of a Sinner</i>		General

Scoring and Pitch

The psalms in this volume share the three-part male voice scoring of clefs C3, C4 and F4, typical of Italianate music at this time, while the nomenclature reflects the traditional vocal usage within church and cathedral choirs of countertenor, tenor and bass. The countertenor range and the vocal versatility demanded of the bass (over three octaves, D' - e, spanned just within one solo) suggests that the pitch used then is close to today's and the transposition up a minor third often applied in works from the 1620s–30s would be impractical.⁵⁹ Even so, the countertenor range is not suitable for a modern alto, here descending as low as the tenor, and in this edition the part has been transcribed in an octave-treble clef. Too little is known of vocal technique in the seventeenth century to presume that there were not falsetto singers in cathedral choirs (as the modern countertenor), but it is equally possible that the different size of choirs from today elicited a different singing tradition,⁶⁰ perhaps resulting in a timbre comparable to the French *haute-contre*. Although *The Lamentation of a Sinner* is incomplete, the scoring of the other psalms is self-sufficient (and reflected in the Chapel Royal version of Psalm 22). The verse sections should be sung by solo voices, as some florid phrases make this necessary. However, the later source of Psalm 22 makes a distinction between verse and chorus passages within these through-composed sections, possibly indicating single voices for complex solo phrases, and chorus for the passages with all parts singing.

If Mace's description of singing in the Minster is accurate, then the chorus verses were to be sung by the congregation. A chorus alone singing these verses would not be wrong and certainly very practical, yet originally the metrical tunes were designed for congregational or private singing at various octaves. Again, the alternate source of Psalm 22 provides another option: it omits the common tune verses entirely, leaving a more traditional Jacobean verse anthem structure with contrast between soloists and chorus. Ultimately, the performance should be spirited, particularly if considered with Mace's description of the Minster in mind, and reflect the circumstances for which the psalms were intended.

⁵⁹ David Wulstan, 'The Problem of Pitch in Sixteenth-Century English Vocal Music', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 93 (1967), 97–111.

⁶⁰ Ian Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music, 1660–1714* (Oxford, 1995), 60.

Tempo

Only one time signature for solo and chorus verses is used, C. In the solo verses, the minim pulse should be defined by the tactus (minim = c.60), though the speed should also relate to the mood of the text, 'sometimes Faster, and sometimes Slower, as we perceive, the Nature of the Thing Requires'.⁶¹ There is no information about the speeds that metrical psalms were sung: often a cantor would sing a line and then the congregation would follow ('lining out'),⁶² and the speed would vary depending if the congregation was supported by choir or instruments (it seems likely that these psalms were led by both). The use of minims and semibreves used by Lawes was a standard notational practice based on the first sixteenth century psalters, though it was not until after the Restoration that these note values were related to a tempo, where 'one semibrief is two minims, or four pulses'⁶³ (minim = c.120). A speed of semibreve = c.60 relates to the tempo of the preceding solo passages, is a speed to which trained cathedral choirs of the seventeenth century may have tried to lead the congregation and modern congregations are accustomed to sing, and reflects the possible spirited circumstances of the psalms' first performance.

Accompaniment

A simple 8' organ registration should be reserved for the solo sections, and depending on the context of performance, a louder accompaniment could be provided for the common tune verses. Wind or string instruments could also be used in these congregational verses. Mace mentions that the York Minster organ cost '(as I am credibly informed) one thousand pounds'. He is referring to the new organ completed by Robert Dallam in 1634, 'possibly the largest, but certainly the most sumptuous, organ in England at the time',⁶⁴ which was pulled down in 1646. Other instrumental resources were in use during this period: York Minster accounts show that a viol consort was purchased in 1618 and repairs were continued up to at least 1640 (though they may not have been used in the Minster)⁶⁵ and the York Waits were being paid to play in services up to 1639, and they were no doubt involved after this date.⁶⁶ Instrumental accompaniment obscured the text and was associated with the High Church movement: Peter Smart objected to the 'so strange, ridiculous, and idolatrous gestures, with excessive noise of Musicall harmony, both instrumentall and vocall, at the same time, as the like was never used before, in this [Durham], or any other Cathedrall Church...',⁶⁷ while Edward Dering drew attention to the use of instruments in services at the Oxford court.

⁶¹ Mace, *Musick's Monument*, 81.

⁶² See *A Directory for the Publique Worship*, 84: 'When many in the congregation cannot read, it is convenient for the Minister, or some other fit person appointed by him and the Ruling Officers, doe read the Psalme, line by line, before the singing thereof.' Henry Mace performed this role in York Minster (see footnote 39 above).

⁶³ Playford, *The Whole Book of Psalms* (London, 1688), The Preface.

⁶⁴ Sayer, 'Robert Dallam's Organ', 60–8.

⁶⁵ See Ian Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected Cathedrals c.1547–c.1646* (London, 1993), 144.

⁶⁶ See Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality*, 12.

⁶⁷ Peter Smart, *A short treatise of altars, altar-furniture, altar-cringing, and musick of all the quire, singing-men and choristers, when the holy Communion was administered in the cathedrall church of Durham, by prebendaries and petty-canons, in glorious copes embroidered with images. 1629* (London, 1643), 9.

Pronunciation

It is not uncommon for today's professional performers to adopt an appropriate historical pronunciation for English music of the seventeenth century and earlier. However, it is a difficult undertaking. One needs access to very detailed information, since all the sounds need to fit properly into a phonological set. Otherwise, the effect will be inconsistent and implausible, besides being difficult to sustain. As with most historical pronunciations, the best course is to treat the text as a foreign language, and employ a specialist coach.⁶⁸

Practically speaking, not all pieces are entirely suitable for a historical pronunciation in any case and, arguably, the Lawes psalms are among them. Firstly, it is much easier for a soloist to sound convincing with historical English, than it is for an ensemble or choir, where major effort must be expended in getting the singers to agree on what, exactly, they are aiming for. Secondly, much of the very fast change that the English language experienced in the course of the so-called 'Great Vowel Shift' had already been completed by the 1620s or so. This means that although the English of the present texts would certainly not have sounded identical with a modern pronunciation, the contrasts are not of the same order as for earlier pieces, and, once filtered through the medium of choral performance, many may not be detectable to an audience. A great deal of effort could, then, be expended for relatively little impact. Thirdly, the sounds in question are subtle and difficult to pronounce, and often serve to distract the singers from the music.

Most of all, however, the adoption of any historical pronunciation can be argued to undermine 'authenticity' as much as it supports it. Certainly, an early seventeenth-century pronunciation of Lawes' texts would reunite the musical patterns with the vowel and consonant sounds that were originally intended for them. Using a modern pronunciation can often introduce poor rhymes and failed assonances that would be avoided with a historical one. However, the major purpose of using English texts for English singers and English listeners was so that the words would be simple to understand. By imposing a 'foreign' historical pronunciation, today's singers and audience are deliberately cut off from the immediacy of the words, and, thus, from a major component of the music as it was intended by the composer. Of course, the incompatibility of these two types of 'authenticity' is intractable, which is why performers need to feel free to make either choice, according to their priorities in performance.

⁶⁸ For an overview of the patterns in the musical context, see Alison Wray, 'English Pronunciation c.1500–c.1625', in John Morehen, (ed.) *English Choral Practice, 1400–1650* (Cambridge, 1996). For a more technical account of specific problems with the reconstruction of English, see Alison Wray, 'Singers on the Trail of 'Authentic' Early Modern English: the Puzzling Case of /<: / and /E: /', *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 97 (1999), 185–211.

Critical Commentary

Sources

No autograph manuscripts survive. It is likely that the Christ Church source was itself based on a secondary source of partbooks, as one psalm in Edward Lowe's copy is incomplete, with the indication that 'this verse, or a part, wantinge' in *The Lamentation of a Sinner*. Even though the Durham source may predate Lowe's copy of Psalm 22, Lowe's version preserves the psalm in its original form and has been preferred as the primary source in this edition.

Christ Church, Oxford, Mus. 768–70

Partbooks, late seventeenth century, in the hand of Edward Lowe.

'Mr Will: Lawes his Psalmes for 1. 2. and 3 partes, to the comon tunes'

768: 'countertenor'; 769: 'tenor'; 770: 'bassus'. All partbooks also include a 'throughbase'.

Durham Cathedral, Dean and Chapter Library, MS B1

Score, c.1660, of possible Chapel Royal provenance.

Psalm 22 only: pp. 97–107.

Acknowledgements

The editor wishes to express his gratitude for permission to consult these manuscripts to the Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral and the Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford.

Editorial procedure

1. Prefatory staves show original clefs, keys and time signatures, followed by editorial nomenclature. The source is inconsistent in its use of 'verse' scoring indications, usually appearing only in solo sections in a part not singing. These indications are retained in the score, and their occurrence in the partbooks is noted in the commentary.
2. There is no separate continuo partbook; a continuo line is provided in all partbooks, though is most detailed in the bass. Often the bass vocal part and continuo share the same stave, or the continuo doubles the lowest vocal line. The continuo line common to most partbooks is used without comment, though if one partbook is preferred (for instance if there is an alternative lower continuo reading or the rhythm is simplified), this is used and recorded in the commentary. When the bass and continuo share a stave, fermatas or slurs are sometimes used to indicate when the bass is not singing. These are not included in the score but are recorded in the commentary.
3. Original time signatures have been retained. Notation, such as notes tied across bars, has been standardized in accordance with modern practice.
4. In the verse sections, barring has been regularized. Original double bars have been retained. In final bars, if there is a fermata in one part, it is included in the other parts and noted in the commentary. There are two instances of signs resembling a modern repeat barline, which are more likely to indicate the final section of the work: these are not retained but are mentioned in the commentary. In the chorus sections, the original notation and barring have been preserved.
5. Notes in small type are editorial and recorded in the commentary. In the source, typically quavers are beamed together for melismas and separately for single syllables: in the score they have been beamed according to modern use.

6. Extra accidentals in the source, that are redundant according to modern musical convention, are tacitly omitted. Precautionary accidentals are given in brackets. Accidentals above the note are editorial suggestions.
7. Spelling has been modernized. The punctuation of Sternhold and Hopkins' metrical setting has been retained. Unclear underlay and words omitted in the source appear in italics. Variants between vocal parts and significant deviations from the metrical text are noted in the commentary. The indications for the text of the final reprise of the common tune are consistent; directions in the source are included in the score, and editorial decisions are noted in the commentary.
8. In Psalm 22, the alternate endings to sections in the Durham source are included above the score. Such variants are not included in the commentary.

Editorial Commentary

All variants refer to the Christ Church source, except in Psalm 22 where variants refer to Christ Church unless the part is preceded by 'D' to distinguish a variant in the Durham source.

Abbreviations have been adopted to correspond to the nomenclature used in the score:

T1: Mus. 768; T2: 769; B: 770; bc (T1) refers to the continuo in T1

Common tune references and information (including first appearance in a printed source) are based on their entries in Nicholas Temperley, *The Hymn-Tune Index: A Census of English-Language Hymn Tunes in Printed Sources from 1535 to 1820* (Oxford, 1998).

Numbers refer to bar and superscript numbers to the beat within the bar

Note pitches are given according to the Helmholtz system: C c c' c'' etc.; c' = middle C

Abbreviations:

br	breve	sb	semibreve	m	minim
cr	crotchet	q	quaver	m.	dotted minim
r	rest	~	tie		barline

Psalm 6

Source: 768: 3^v–4^r, 'Psal 6'; 769: 1^r–^v, 'Psal 6. 3 voc: Tenor'; 770: 3^v–4^r, '3 voc: Psal 6'

Common tune: 271a (Damon, 1591, but not used in association with Psalm 6 until Playford, 1661)

1	bc (B)	vocal line only till 23 ³
12	T1	'Cho: Comon tune Lord in thy wrath'
13		change of key signature in T1 only: E flat consistently added in T2 and B
16–17	bc (T2)	m cr (no tie)
20 ³	bc (T2)	E and e (no accidental)
31	T2	q - q - m
35	T1, T2	'verse'
	B, bc (B)	change of key signature to 2 flats
62	T2	change of key signature to 2 flats

	bc (B)	m - m
68	bc	as in bc (T1)
70 ³⁻⁴	bc	as in bc (T1)
78-9	bc (B)	br
80	T1, bc (T1)	sb only, no fermata

Psalm 18

Source: 768: 6^v-7^r, 'a3 voc: Psal 18'; 769: 4^r-4^v, 'a3 voc: Psal 18'; 770: 5^v-6^r, Psal 18. a 3 voc'
Common tune: 159a (Geneva, 1561)

1	T2	'verse'
26 ⁴	bc (B)	e (no accidental)
38-9	bc (T2)	cr. - q - m - m
39 ⁴	T2	e (no accidental)
44	bc	as in bc (T1 and B)
46 ¹⁻²	bc (T1)	cr. - cr
46 ²	T2, bc (T2)	e (no accidental)
47-8 ²	bc	as in bc (T2)
50-69	B	vocal line only
50	B	'verse'
51 ¹⁻²	bc	as in (bc) T2
57	bc	as in (bc) T2
63 ³ -4 ²	bc (T1)	m cr -cr; from final q also gives B: g qu a cr. - b flat - c' m
64 ³	T2	e' (no accidental)
68 ¹	T2	e (no accidental)
68 ³ -9	bc	as in (bc) T2
70	T1, T2	'verse base'
78	bc (T1, B)	as in (bc) T2
90-1	B	repeat bars between sections
91	T1	'& on the wings &c for 3'
93 ²	T2	f' (no accidental)
94	T2	underlay: q - q - q - q (fly) - ing changed to correspond with T1; see also B (88, 95), T1 (95), T2 (96)
96	T2	e' (no accidental)
96-7	bc (T1)	m - m - m
99 ³	bc (T2)	E (no accidental)
102	B	no directions for common tune

Psalm 22

Sources: 768: 9^r-11^r; 769: 7^v-10^r; 770: 8^r-10^r

D: 97-107

p 97: 'O God my God psalme 22nd. Mr William Lawes'

p 107: '22nd psalme. First, second and thirrd [sic] parts by Mr William Lawes'

Common tune: 113b (Damon, 1579) though only one note variation from 113a (Geneva, 1558)

The underlay, actual and editorial, is drawn on 768–770, although it is largely realised in D. Only variants between the underlay of the two sources are noted below.

Part 1

768: '1st part of the 22th psal: 2 voc.'; 769: '1st part of the 22th psal: 2 voc.'; 770: 'Psal 22th: 1st part 2 voc.'

1	D	no time signature
19	bc (T1)	sb
	D: T1, T2, bc	'cho'
23	D	no double bar
51	769, D: T2	cr r - b cr - d' m
66	D: all parts	br and double bar, no fermata

Part 2

768: '1d part of 22th Psalme. a 3 voc.'; 769: '2d part 22th psal: a 3 voc.'; 770: '2d part 22 psal.'

1–28	bc (B)	included at the end of Part 2 (9r), with the note: 'This throughbas followinge is to the beginning of this 2d part before the Base comes in'
19 ⁴	D: bc	a cr
32 ⁴ –5	D: B	underlay, with full metrical text: cr qu - qu - qu - qu - cr - cr qu - qu - qu - qu - cr - cr sb gree-di- - ly - as though they - would - - me slay
35	D: bc	a sb
41	D	double bar
42	bc (B)	fermata
50	bc	as in bc (T1, T2); vocal line only in B and D
63 ¹	bc (T2)	A and a
64 ¹	D: bc	g (no accidental)
65	D: bc	m - m
70 ³ –71	D: T2	e m d m
83	bc (T1)	g (no accidental)
89	D: all parts	br
90	T1	'verse'
	bc (B)	fermata

Common tune only verse 21 (Therefore I pray thee) indicated

Part 3

768: '3d part: 22th Psal: 3 voc.'; 769: '3rd Part 22th psal: 3 voc.'; 770: '3d part 22 Psal'

3 ³	D: B	g sharp
8	D: bc	g' m - g' m

10 ²	D: B	f´ sharp qu – g´ qu - rence -
19 ²	T1, D: T1	c´ sharp
21	D: B	E sb
33 ¹⁻³	D: T1, B	qu - qu - m in - dea - vour
33 ⁴	T1, D: T1	e´
33–6	all parts: bc	C4 clef, with precautionary accidentals in 768, 770 and D
38 ²	D: B	fermatas
39	D: all parts	‘cho’
42	bc (T1)	m - m
	bc (B)	fermata
48	bc (T2)	E and e
51–2	768–9, D: T1, T2	c´ sharp (no accidental)
56	bc (B)	fermata on both notes
56–9	bc (T2)	follows vocal line, then 59: A m – d m
66 ¹	D: B	B
73	T1, T2, B	Indication for ‘Cho: My seed shall’, though repetition of previous verse (‘And all that shall go down to dust’) required to complete the reprise of the common tune.

Psalm 51

Source: 768: 4^v – 6^t; 769: 2^r – 2^v; 770: 4^v – 5^r

Common tune: 93a (Geneva, 1557)

Part 1

768: ‘first part of 51 Psalme’; 770: 1st part 51 psal.’

17 ⁴	T1	b flat (no accidental)
26 ⁴	T1	b flat (no accidental)

Part 2

768: ‘3 voc: 2d pt of the 51 psalme’; 769: A 3 voc: psal. 51. 2d part’; 770: ‘2d pt of the 51 psal.’

1–19	B	vocal line only
6 ¹⁻³	bc	as in bc (T2); bc (T1): cr - cr - cr
12	bc	as in bc (T2); bc (T1)s follow B
12	T2	‘spirit <i>and</i> grace’
24–30	bc	as in bc (T1 and T2); but 27 and 30 as in bc (T2); bc (T1) and (B) follow B
32	B	‘verse’
32–3 ²	bc	as in bc (T1 and T2)
37 ¹	bc (B)	fermata
37	T1	‘and then my <i>lips</i> shall’
38 ³ –40 ²	bc	as in bc (T2); bc (T1 and B) follow B
45 ¹	bc (B)	missing first 2 beats (A m)

64 ¹	bc (B)	fermata
65	B	'mercy'
66 ⁴	bc	as in bc (T1); bc (T2 and B) follow B
68–9	all parts	double bars
76	B	sb and fermata

'Cho: Thou shalt accept': verse 19, and the Doxology completes the reprise of the common tune.

Psalm 67

Source: 769: 3^r-^v, 'Psal: 67. for a Tenor alone'; 770: 2^r, 'Psal: 67. for a Tenor alone'
Common tune: 269a (Cosyn, 1585)

1	B	'verse'
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Psalm 100

Source: 768: 2^v-3^r, 'A 2. voc. Psalme 100'; 770: 2^v-3^r (T2 and bc), 'A 2 voc: Psal. 100'
Common tune: 143a (French, Psalm 134)

4–5	bc (T1)	follows rhythm of T2
6	bc (B)	d m - g cr - c cr (consecutive octaves with T1)
9	bc (T1)	follows rhythm of T2
19	bc (B)	m - m

The Lamentation

Source: 768: 1^r -^v, 'a 2 voc: The Lamentation'; 770: 1^r -^v, '2 voc: The Lamentation'
Common tune: 184a (1563) (usually in D minor)

1	B	'Songe'
24–5	bc	follows bc (T)
31-2	T	metrical text: 'with speed <i>their just</i> desire'
36 ³	B	g cr
42 ¹	bc (B)	f (no accidental; f in bc (T))
47 ¹	bc (T1)	c sharp

The Humble Suite of a Sinner

Source: 768: 7^v -9^r, 'The Humble Suite of a Sinner. a 3 voc.'; 769: 5^r -6^r, 'a. 3 voc: the Humble Suite of a Sinner'; 770: 6^v -7^r, 'The Humble Suite of a Sinner. a 3 voc.'
Common tune: 170a (1562)

10 ¹	bc (B)	fermata
12 ⁴	bc	T2, B: natural; T1: no accidental
13	bc	follows bc (T2)
22	T1	'verse'
32–5	bc (B)	bracket above notes indicating bass voice silent

38	bc	follows bc (T2)
39	bc (T1)	c sb only
39 ³ –40 ¹	bc (B)	fermatas
43 ²	bc (T2)	g natural (no accidental)
48	bc	follows bc (T2); bc T1: m - cr - cr
61	bc	follows bc (T2)
68	T1, bc (T1)	br
93 ⁴	T1	e´
94	T1, bc (T1)	sb, no fermata

The Lamentation of a Sinner

Source: 768: 8^v–9^f, ‘The lamentation of a Sinner’; 769: 6^v–7^f, ‘The Lamentation of a Sinner. a 3 voc.’; 770: 7^f–8^v, ‘The Lamentation of a Sinner. a 3 voc.’

A fourth part is lacking. Edward Lowe comments on the cover of 770 that ‘A whole verse left out in the Lamentation of a Sinner, ther[e] beinge a Throughbase, but neither of the 3 partes singinge to it. I suppose the songe therefore to bee 4 partes. If soe the 4th part is wantinge’. It is reconstructed by the editor as a soprano part.

	bc (B)	follows vocal part
18–19	bc	T2: sb - m
25	T1	‘verse & feareth to bee beate’
	T2	‘verse wantinge endinge Men’
	bc (B)	‘This verse, or a part, wantinge’
74	all parts	repeat bars

1. Psalm 6: Lord in thy wrath reprove me not

Countertenor

Tenor

Bass

Throughbase

Basso Continuo

I Lord in thy wrath re - prove me not, though I de - serve thine ire:

II

Bass Lord in thy wrath re - prove me not, though I de - serve thine ire:

Basso Continuo

6

I Nor yet cor - rect me in thy rage, O Lord I thee, O Lord I thee de - sire.

II

Bass Nor yet cor - rect me in thy rage, O Lord, O Lord I thee de - sire.

Basso Continuo

13

I For I am weak, there - fore O Lord, of mer - cy me for - bear:

II For I am weak, there - fore O Lord, of mer - cy me for - bear:

Bass For I am weak, there - fore O Lord, of mer - cy me for - bear:

Basso Continuo

19

But Lord how
My soul is trou-bled ve-ry sore, and vex-ed vehe-ment-ly:
My soul is trou-bled ve-ry sore, and vex-ed vehe-ment-ly:

24

long wilt thou de-lay, to cure my mi-se-ry, But Lord, but Lord how
long wilt thou But Lord how long wilt thou
But Lord how long wilt
But Lord how long wilt

30

long wilt thou de-lay, to cure my mi-se-ry?
de-lay, to cure my mi-se-ry, to cure my mi-se-ry?
thou de-lay, to cure my mi-se-ry?

Chorus: Lord turn thee [to thy wanted grace]

Lord turn thee to thy won-ted grace, my fee-ble soul up take:

O save me not for my de-serts, but for thy mer-cy's sake.

35

B

For why? No man a-mong the dead, re-mem-breth thee one whit: Or who shall wor-ship thee O

39

Lord In the in - fer - nal pit, in the in - fer - nal pit?

44

So grie - vious is my plaint and moan, that I wax won - drous faint, All—

50

—the day long— I wash my bed, with tears, I wash my bed, with tears, of my com - plaint, of

56

my com - plaint,— I wash my bed,with tears, of my com - plaint,— of my com - plaint.

Chorus: My sight [is dim and waxeth old]

My sight is dim and wax - eth old, with an - guish of my heart,

For fear of those that be my foes, and would my soul sub - vert.

62

I
T. But now a-way from me, but *now a-way from me* all ye, that work i - ni - qui - ty: For

II
But now a-way from me all ye, all ye, that— work i - ni - qui - ty: For why? The

67

I
why? The Lord hath heard the voice, of my com - plaint and cry. He heard not

II
Lord hath heard the voice, of my com-plaint and cry. He heard not on-ly the re -

71

I
on - ly the re-quest, and pra - yer of my heart: But it re - cei - ved at my hands,

II
quest, and pra - yer of my heart: But it re - cei - ved at my hands, and

76

I
and took it in good part, and *took it in good part*, and *took* it in good part.

II
took it in good part, and *took it in good part*, and *took it in good part*, and took it in good part.

Chorus: And now the foes [that vexed me]

I
And now the foes that vex - ed me, the Lord will soon de - fame:

I
And sud - den - ly con - found them all, to their re - buke and shame.

2. Psalm 18: O God, my strength and fortitude

Countertenor
Tenor
Bass
Throughbase
Basso Continuo

I
II

Verse

O God, my strength and for - ti - tude, of force — I must thee

6
T. II
love: Thou art my cas - tle and de - fence, — in my — ne - ces - si - ty.

12
My God, my rock in whom I trust, the wor - ker of my wealth:

18
My re - fuge, buck - ler, and my shield, the horn — of all my health.

24
T. I
When I sing laud un - to the Lord, most wor - thy to be serv'd, Then from my foes I

29
I
T.
II
am — right — sure, that I — shall — be pre - serv'd. The pains — of death — did com - pass
The pains of death did com - pass

35

me, and bound me ev' - ry where: the_ flow - ing waves, the_ flow - ing waves,

40

the_ flow - ing waves of wick - ed - ness did put me in great fear,
- ing waves of wick - ed - ness did put me in great

45

did put me in great fear, did put me in great fear.
fear, did put me in great fear, did put me in great fear.

Chorus: The sly and [subtle snares of death]

The sly and sub - tle snares of hell were round a - bout me set:

And for my life there was pre - par'd a dead - ly trap - ping net.

I thus be - set with pain and grief, did pray to God for grace:

And he forth - with heard my com - plaint out of his ho - ly place.

50 Verse

Such is his pow'r that in his wrath, he made the earth to quake, Yea,—

Such is his pow'r that in his wrath, he made the earth to quake, Yea,—

Such is his pow'r that in his wrath, he made the earth to quake, Yea,—

55

- the foun-da - tions of the mount of Ba - san for to shake, And from his nos - trils

- the foun-da - tions of the Mount of Ba - san for to shake, And from his nos - trils

- the foun-da - tions of the Mount of Ba - san for to shake, And from his nos - trils

60

came a smoke, when kin - dled was his ire: And from his mouth came kin - dled coals,

came a smoke, when kin - dled was his ire: And from his mouth came kin - dled

came a smoke, when kin - dled was his ire: And from his mouth came kin - dled

65

of hot con - su - ming fire, of hot, of hot con - su - ming fire.
 coals, of hot con - su - ming fire, of hot, of hot con - su - ming fire.
 coals, of hot con - su - ming fire, of hot con - su - ming fire.

70 Verse

The Lord de - scend - ed from a - bove, and bow'd the hea - vens high:

75

Un - der-neath his feet he cast, the dark - ness of the sky. On che-rubs and on che - ru -

81

bims full ro - yal - ly he rode: And on the wings of all the winds, came fly -

86

ing, came fly - ing, came fly - ing all a - broad.

91

I And on the wings of the winds came fly - ing all a -
 II And on the wings of the winds came fly - ing all a -
 B And on the wings of the winds came fly - ing all a - broad, came

95

broad, came fly - ing all a - broad, came

broad, came fly - ing all a - broad, came fly - ing all a -

fly - ing all a - broad, came fly - ing all a - broad, came

fly - ing all a - broad, came fly - ing all a - broad, came

99

fly - ing all a - broad, came fly - ing all a - broad.

broad, came fly - ing all a - broad.

fly - ing all a - broad, came fly - ing all a - broad.

fly - ing all a - broad, came fly - ing all a - broad.

Chorus: The Lord descended [from above]

The Lord de - scen - ded from a - bove, and bow'd the hea - vens high:

And un - der - neath his feet he cast the dark - ness of the sky.

On che - rubs and on che - ru - bims full ro - yal - ly he rode:

And on the wings of all the winds came fly - ing all a - broad.

3. Psalm 22, part 1: O God my God

Countertenor

Tenor

Tenor

Throughbase

Basso Continuo

O God my God, where-fore doest thou for - sake me. ut - ter -

6

ly: And help-est not when I do make my great complaint and cry. To

12

thee my God e'en all day long, I do both cry and call: I cease not all the night, and yet thou

18

Cho[rus]

I cease not all the night, and yet thou hear - est not at e'er.

all, I

hear-est not at all, I cease not all the night, and yet thou hear-est not at all.

Chorus: Even thou [that in thy sanctuary]

E'en thou that in thy sanc-tua - ry, and ho - ly place doest dwell:

Thou art the com - fort and the joy, and glo - ry'of Is - ra - el:

As he in whom our fa - thers old, had all their hope for e - ver.

And as they put their trust in thee, so didst thou them de - li - ver.

24

I
T.
II

They were de-li-ver'd e - ver, when they cal - led on thy name: And

30

I
T.
II

- for the faith they had in thee, they were not put to shame. But I am now

36

— be - come a worm, more like than a - ny man, An out - cast whom

41

— the peo - ple scorn, with all the spite, with all the spite they can.

47

— men de - spise as they be - hold me walk - ing on the way: They They mock,

52

mow, they nod their heads and in this wise they say.
— they nod their heads and in this wise they say. This man did glo - ry

57

Let him re - deem
in the Lord, His fa - vour and his love, Let him re -

62

and help _____ him now _____ his power _____ if he will prove.

deem and help him now his power if he will prove.

Chorus: But Lord {out of my mother's womb}

But Lord out of my mo - ther's womb, I came by thy re - quest:

Thou didst pre - serve me still in hope, While I did suck her breast.

I was com - mit - ted from my birth, with thee to have a - bode,

Since I was in my mo - ther's womb, thou hast been e'er my God.

4. Psalm 22, part 2: O Lord depart not now from me

Countertenor
Tenor
Bass
Throughbase

I
II

Basso Continuo

O Lord, O Lord de -

6
T. I
part not now from me, in this my wre-tched grief: Since I have none,

13
since I have none to be my help, my suc-cour and re-lief. So

18
— ma-ny bulls do com-pass me, that be full strong of head: Yea

23
— bulls so fat as though they had in Ba-san field been fed.

29

They- gape- u - pon me, they gape_____ u - pon me, as

33

though___ they___ would, as *though___ they___ would* me slay: Much like a

37

li - on roar - ing, roar - ing out, and ramp - ing, and ramp-ing for his prey.

42

I: But I drop down, but
 II: But I drop down, but *I drop*
 B: But I drop down, but *I drop down,*

47

I: *I drop down* like wa - ter shed, My joints in sun - der
 II: *dawn* like wa - ter shed, My joints_____ in sun -
 B: *but I drop down* like wa - ter shed,_____ My joints_____ in sun -

break: My heart doth in my bo - dy melt, Like
 - der break: My heart doth in my bo - dy melt,

[Source D: see p.19]

wax, like wax a - gainst the heat.
 - Like wax, like wax a - gainst the heat. And
 - Like wax, like wax a - gainst the heat.

T. II
 - like a pots - herd drieth my strength, My tongue it clea - veth fast: Un - to my

jaws, and I am brought, to dust of death at last, and

- I am brought, to dust of death, of death at last.

75
 T. I
 And ma - ny dogs do com - pass me, and wick - ed coun - sel

80
 eke: Con - spire a - gainst me cru - el - ly, they pierce,

85
 they pierce, they pierce my hands and feet.

90
 T. II
 I was tor - men - ted so that I might

B
 I was tor - men - ted, I was tor - men - ted

96
 all my bones have told:

Yea still u - pon me they did look,

103
 T. II
 Yea still u - pon me they did look, and still they me be -

T.II
B

hold.

My gar-ments they di - vi - ded eke, in_ parts a - mong them all:

And for my coat they did cast lots, to whom it might be -

And for my coat they did cast lots, to whom it might be -

fall, to_ whom, to whom it might be - fall.

fall, to whom, to whom it might be - fall.

Source D: bars 116-end

I
T.
II
B

Cho[rus] And for my coat they did cast_ lots, cast lots, to whom it might be -

Cho[rus] And for my coat they did cast lots, to whom it might be -

Cho[rus] And for my coat they did cast lots, to whom it might be -

fall, to whom it might, to whom it might be - fall.

fall, to_ whom_ it might, it might be - fall.

fall, to whom it might, it might be - fall.

Chorus: Therefore [I pray thee]

There - fore I pray thee be not far, from me at my great need:
And from the li - on's mouth that would, me all in sun - der shi - ver:

But ra - ther that thou art my strength, to help me Lord make speed.
And from the horns of u - ni - corns, Lord safe - ly me de - li - ver.

And from the sword Lord save my soul, by thy might and thy power:
And I shall to my breth - ren all, Thy ma - jes - ty re - cord:

And keep thy soul thy dar - ling dear, From dogs that would de - vour.
And in thy church shall praise thy name, of thee the li - ving Lord.

Source D: from bar 56 (p.16)

56
wax, like wax _____ a - gainst the heat.
_ Like wax, _____ like wax _____ a - gainst the heat. And _____ like a pots-herd
_ Like wax, _____ like wax a - gainst the heat.

(to bar 61, p.16)

5. Psalm 22, part 3: All ye that fear him praise the Lord

Countertenor
Tenor
Bass
Throughbase
Basso Continuo

I
II
8

All ye that fear him praise the Lord,

5
B
thou Ja - cob ho - nour him: And all ye house of Is - ra -

9
T.I
8
B
el, with rev' - rence wor - ship him.

14
8
poor, he tur - neth not a - way: His coun - te - nance when

18
8
they do call, But gran - teth to their cry.

A - mong the folk that fear the

22

Thy praise, and keep thy
Lord, there - fore will I pro - claim: Thy praise, and

26

pro - mise made, for set - ting forth thy name. The poor shall
keep thy pro - mise made, for set - ting forth thy name. The

30

eat and be suf - fic'd, and those that do their dea - vour: To
poor shall eat and be suf - fic'd, and those that do their dea - vour: To

34

know the Lord and praise his name, their hearts shall live for e - ver.
know the Lord and praise his name, their hearts shall live for e - ver.

Chorus: All coasts [of earth shall praise the Lord]

All coasts of earth shall praise the Lord, and turn to him for grace:

The hea - then folk shall wor - ship him, be - fore his bles - sed face.

The king - dom of the hea - then folk, the Lord shall have there - fore:

And he shall be their go - ver - nor, and king for e - ver - more.

39 Cho[rus]

I
T. The rich — men of his good - ly gifts, shall feed —

II
The rich — men of his good - ly gifts, shall feed and

B
The rich — men of his good - ly gifts, shall

43

and taste al - so: All in his pres - cence wor - ship — him, And

taste, and taste al - so: All in his pres - cence wor - ship him, And

feed and taste al - so: All in his pres - cence wor - ship him, And

47

bow their kness full low. All — that go down to dust, all —

bow their kness full low. All — that go down to

bow their kness full low. All that go down to dust,

51

- that go down — to dust, of life by him must

dust, all — that go down — to dust, of life by him must

all that go down to dust, of life by him must

taste: My seed shall serve and

taste: My seed shall serve and praise the Lord,

taste: My seed shall

praise the Lord, while_____

while_____ a - ny world shall

serve and praise the Lord, while a - ny world shall last, while a - ny

- a - ny world shall last, while a - ny world shall

last, while_____ a - ny world shall

world shall last, while a - ny world shall

last, while_____ a - ny world_____ shall last.

last, while_____ a - ny world shall last.

last, while_____ a - ny world shall last.

Chorus: [And all that shall go down to dust]

And all that shall go down to dust, of life by him must taste:

My seed shall serve and praise the Lord, while a - ny world shall last.

My seed shall plain - ly show to them, that shall be born here - af - ter:

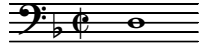
His jus - tice and his right - eous - ness, and all his works of won - der.

6. Psalm 51, part 1: O Lord, consider my distress

Countertenor alone



Throughbase to the
countertenor verses



Verse

Tenor

O Lord, O Lord, O Lord, con -

Basso continuo

6

si - der my dis-tress, and now with speed some pi - ty take: My sins—

12

- de - face, my faults re - dress, good Lord, for thy great mer - cy sake,

17

Wash me, O Lord, and make me clean from this un - just and sin - ful act,

21

And pu - ri - fy thee on a - gain this hei-nous crime and blood - y fact.

Chorus: Remorse and [sorrows do restrain]

Re - morse and sor - rows do con - strain Me to ack - know - ledge mine ex - cuse:

My sins a - las do still re - main Be - fore my face with - out re - lease.

For thee a - lone I have of - fend-ed, Com - mit - ting e - vil in thy sight:

And if I were there - fore con-demn'd, yet were thy judge-ments just and right.

26 Verse

Is it too ma - ni - fest a - las, that first I was con - ceiv'd in sin: Yea -

32

- of my mo - ther so born was, and yet, vile wretch, re - main there-in. Al - so be - hold,

al - so be-hold, Lord, thou dost love the in-ward truth of a pure heart:

There - fore thy wis - dom from a - bove thou hast re - veal'd me to con - vert.

If thou with hys - sop purge this blot, I shall be clean - er than the glass:

And if thou wash a - way my spot, the snow in white - ness I shall pass.

There - fore, such joys, O Lord, me send, that in - ward - ly I may find grace:

And that my strength may now a - mend, which thou hast suag'd,

which thou hast suag'd, which thou hast suag'd for my tres - pass.

Chorus: Turn back [thy face and frowning ire]

Turn back thy face and frown - ing ire, for I have felt e - nough thy hand:

And purge my sins I thee de - sire, which do in num - ber pass the sand.

Make new my heart with - in my breast, and frame it to thy ho - lit will:

Thy con - stant sp'rit in me let rest, which may these ra - ging en' - mies kill.

7. Psalm 51, Part 2: Cast me not Lord out from thy face

Countertenor

Tenor

Bass

Throughbase

Basso Continuo

I
II

Cast me not Lord out from thy face,
Cast
Cast me not Lord out from thy face,
Cast me not Lord out from thy face,
but spee - di -

5

cast me not Lord out from thy face, but spee - di -
- me not Lord out from thy face, but spee - di - ly my
cast me not Lord out from thy face, but spee - di - ly my

9

ly my tor - ments end: Take
tor - ments end: Take not from me thy sp'rit of grace,
tor - ments end: Take not from me thy sp'rit of grace,
tor - ments end: Take not from me thy sp'rit of grace,

14

not from me thy spirit of grace, which may from dan - gers me de - fend. Re store me to those joys a-gain, which I was wont in me de - fend.

18

And let me thy free spi - rit at - tain, which un - to thee may stir my mind, which un - to thee may stir, may stir my mind.

23

And let me thy free spi - rit at - tain, which un - to thee may stir my mind, which un - to thee may stir, may stir my mind.

27

And let me thy free spi - rit at - tain, which un - to thee may stir my mind, which un - to thee may stir, may stir my mind.

Chorus: Then when [I shall they mercies know]

Thus when I shall thy mer - cies know, I shall in - struct o - thers there - in:

And men that like - wise are brought low, By mine ex - am - ple shall flee sin.

O God that of my health art Lord, For - give me this my bloo - dy vice:

My heart and tongue shall then ac - cord, To sing thy mer - cies and jus - tice.

O Lord which art the on - ly ray:
O Lord which art the on - ly ray:
Touch thou my lips, my tongue un - tie, O Lord which art the on - ly ray:

37

And then my mouth shall tes-ti-fy, thy won-drous works, thy won-drous works and praise al-way.

And then my mouth shall tes-ti-fy, thy won-drous works and praise al-way.

42

And as for out-ward sa-cri-fice, I would have of-fered ma-ny'a one: But thou e-steam'st them of no

47

The hea-vy heart, the mind price, and there-in plea-sure ta-kest none.

The hea-vy heart, the

52

- op-pressed, O Lord, O Lord thou ne-ver dost re-ject: And to speak

mind op-pressed, O Lord, O Lord thou ne-ver dost re-ject: And

truth it is the best, and of all sa - cri - fice th'ef - fect. Lord

Lord, Lord

to speak truth it is the best, and of all sa - cri - fice th'ef - fect. Lord un - to

to speak truth it is the best, and of all sa - cri - fice th'ef - fect. Lord un - to

- un-to Si - on turn thy face, pour - out thy mer - cies, pour - out thy

- un-to Si - on turn thy face, pour - out thy mer-cies on thy

Si - on - turn thy face, pour - out thy mer - cies - on thy

Si - on - turn thy face, pour - out thy mer - cies - on thy

mer-cies on thy hill: And on Je - ru - sa - lem thy grace, build up thy - walls, build -

hill: And on Je - ru - sa - lem thy grace, build -

hill: And on Je - ru - sa - lem thy grace, build up thy walls,

hill: And on Je - ru - sa - lem thy grace, build up thy walls,

- up thy - walls and love, and love, and love it still.

- up thy - walls and love, and love, and love it still.

build up thy walls - and love, - and love it still.

build up thy walls - and love, - and love it still.

Chorus: Thou shalt accept [then our off'rings]

Thou shalt ac - cept then our off - rings, of peace and right - eous - ness I say:

Yea cal - ves and ma - ny other things u - pon thy al - tar will we lay.

To Fa - ther Son and Ho - ly Ghost, all praise and glo - ry be there - fore:

As in the be - gin - ning was, is now, and shall be e - ver - more.

8. Psalm 67: Have mercy on us Lord

For a tenor alone

Tenor

Throughbase Basso Continuo

Have mer - cy on us Lord, and grant— to us thy

6

grace, To shew to us do thou ac - cord, the bright - ness of thy face.

Chorus: That all the earth {may know}

That all the earth may know, the way to god - ly wealth: And

all the na - tions on a row, may see thy sa - ving health.


11

Let all— the world O God, give praise— un - to thy name:

16

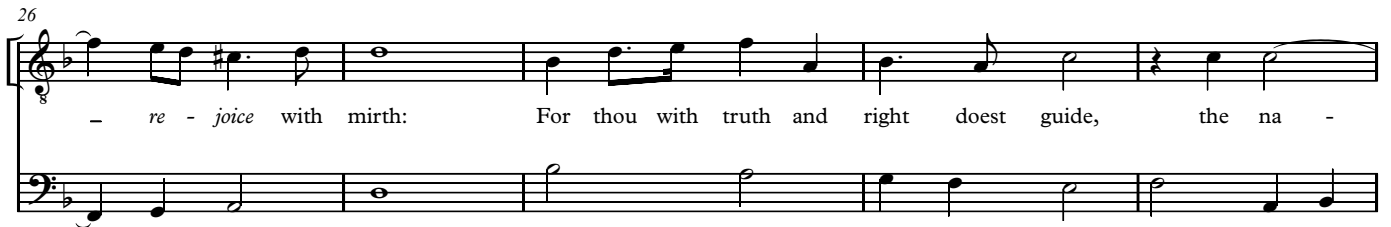
O let the peo - ple all a - broad, ex - toll— and laud,— and laud the same.

21



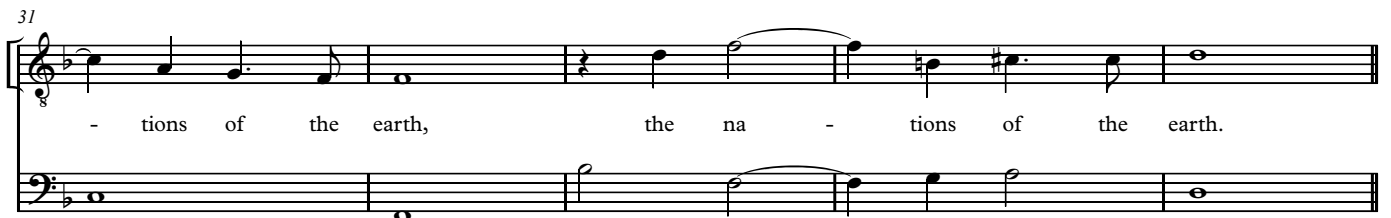
Through - out the world so wide, let all re - jice, let all

26



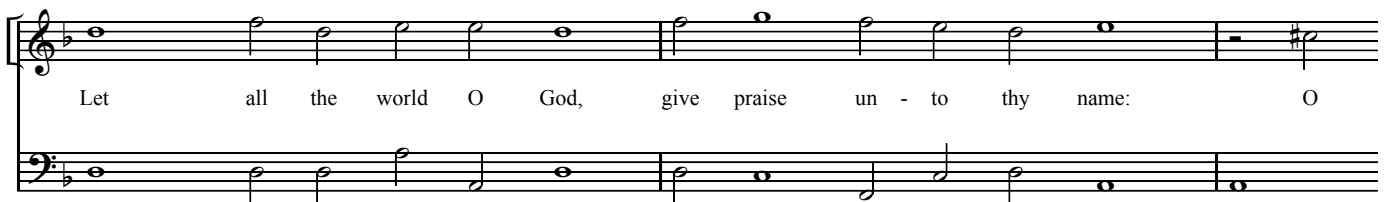
- re - jice with mirth: For thou with truth and right doest guide, the na -

31

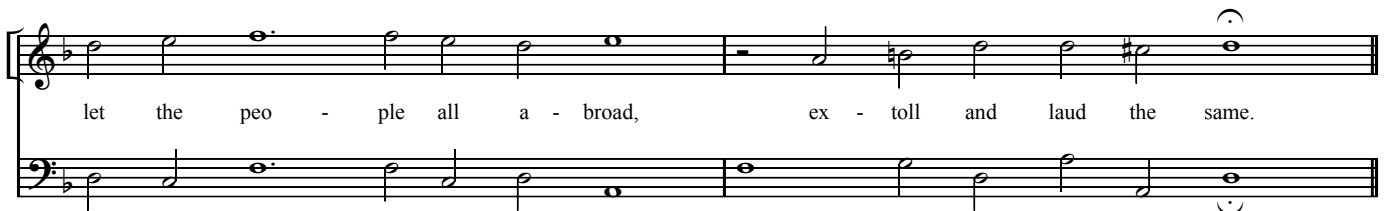


- tions of the earth, the na - tions of the earth.

Chorus: Let all the world [O God]



Let all the world O God, give praise un - to thy name: O



let the peo - ple all a - broad, ex - toll and laud the same.

36

T



Then shall the world in - crease, great store of fruit shall fall:

41




And then our God, the God of peace, shall— bless us eke with all. God shall us bless I

46



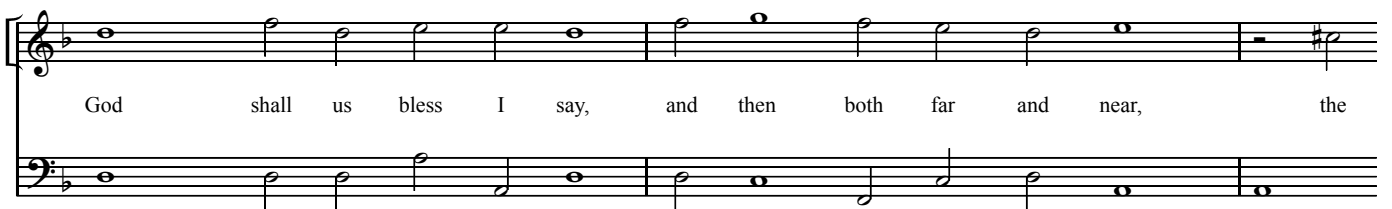
say, and then both far and near, the folk through-out the earth al-way,—

51

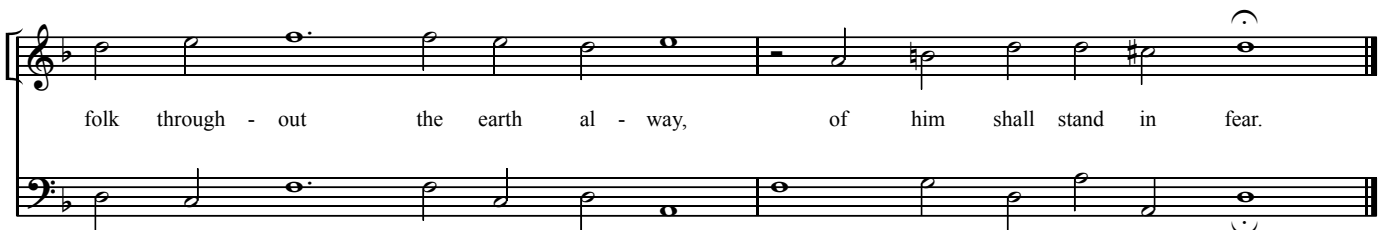


- of him— shall stand in fear, of him— shall stand in fear.

Chorus: God shall us bless [I say]



God shall us bless I say, and then both far and near, the



folk through - out the earth al - way, of him shall stand in fear.

9. Psalm 100: All people that on earth do dwell

Countertenor
Tenor
Throughbase Basso Continuo

I All peo - ple that on earth, on earth do dwell, sing to the Lord,
II All peo - ple that on earth do dwell, sing to the

5

8 sing to the Lord with cheer - ful, with cheer - ful, with cheer - ful voice: Serve him with
8 Lord, sing to the Lord with cheer - ful, with cheer - ful voice: Serve

9

8 fear, his praise forth - tell, his praise forth - tell, come ye be - fore him
8 him with fear, his praise forth - tell, his praise forth - tell, come ye be -

13

8 and re - joice, come ye be - fore him and re - joice, and re - joice.
8 fore him and re - joice, come ye be - fore him and re - joice.

Chorus: The Lord ye know [is God indeed]

The Lord ye know is God in - deed, with - out our aid he did us make:

We are his flock, he doth us feed, and for his sheep he doth us make.

17

O en - ter then his gates with praise, ap - proach with joys his courts al - so:

22

Praise, laud and bless his name al - ways, praise laud and bless his name al - ways, for - it - is -

26

For why? the Lord our God is good, his mer - cy
seem - ly so to do.

31

is for e - ver sure: His truth at all times firm - ly stood, his truth at all times firm - ly stood,

36

and shall from age— to— age en - dure,
His truth at all times firm - ly stood, and shall from

41

his truth at all times firm - ly stood, and shall from age to age en - dure,
age to age en - dure, from age to

46

from age to age, and shall from age to age en - dure.
age, and shall from age to age en - dure.

Chorus: For why? [the Lord our God is good]

For why? the Lord our God is good, his mer - cy is for e - ver sure:

His truth at all times firm - ly stood, and shall from age to age en - dure.

10. The Lamentation: O Lord in thee is all my trust

Countertenor



Bass



Throughbase



Tenor

O Lord in thee is all my trust, give ear un - to my

Bass

Basso continuo

5

woe - ful cry: Re - fuse me not that am un - just, but bow - ing down thy heav'n - ly

10

eye. Be - hold how I do still la - ment my sins where - in I do of - fend:

14

O Lord for them shall I be shent, sith thee to please,

19

sith thee to please, sith thee to please I do, I do in - tend.

24

T

to deal with sin - ners in thy ire:

B

No, no, not so, thy — will is bent, But when in heart

30

8

thou grant'st with speed that they de-sire.

they shall re-pent, To thee there - fore still shall I

35

8

to wash, to wash a - way my sin - ful crime: Thy blood — O Lord is not yet dry,

cry, to wash, to wash a - way my sin - ful crime: Thy blood — O Lord is not yet dry,

41

8

but — that it — may, but — that it may help me, help me in time.

but — that it — may, but — that it may help me in time.

Chorus: No, no, not so [thy will is bent]

No, no, not so, thy will is bent, To deal with sin - ners in thine ire:

But when in heart they shall re - pent, thou grant'st with speed that they de - sire.

To thee there - fore still shall I cry, to wash a - way my sin - ful crime:

Thy blood O Lord is not yet dry, but that it may help me in time.

46

Haste_ thee_ O_ Lord,_ haste_ thee I say, to pour_ on me thy

50

gifts of grace: That when this life shall fleet_ a - way, in heav'n with thee I may have place.

55

T
Where thou dost reign e - ter - nal - ly, with God which once did down thee send:

B
Where an - gels

61

Where an - gels sing con - tin - ual - ly,

8
sing con - tin - ual - ly, to — thee — be praise, to — thee — be —

66

where an - gels sing con - tin - ual - ly, to — thee — be praise world with - out

8
praise, where an - gels sing con - tin - ual - ly, to thee be praise world

71

end, world with - out end, world with - out end.

8
with - out end, — world with - out — end, world with - out end, world with - out end.

Chorus: Haste thee O Lord [haste thee I say]

Haste thee O Lord, haste thee I say, to pour on me thy gifts of grace:

That when this life shall flit a - way, in heav'n with thee I may have place.

Where thou dost reign e - ter - nal - ly, with God which once did down thee send:

Where an - gels sing con - tin - ual - ly, to thee be praise world with - out end.

11. The Humble Suite of a Sinner: O Lord on whom I depend

Countertenor
Tenor
Bass
Throughbase
Basso Continuo

O Lord, O Lord on whom I do de - pend, be - hold my

care - ful heart: And when thy will and plea - sure is, re - lease me of my smart.

Thou see'st my sor - rows what they are, my grief is known -

Thou see'st my sor - rows what they are, my grief is known -

known to thee: And there is none that can re - move, or take the same from me.

- to thee: And there is none that can re - move, or take the same from me.

Chorus: But only thou [whose aid I crave]

But on - ly thou whose aid I crave, whose mer - cy still is pressed:

To ease all those that come to thee, for suc - cour and for rest.

And hast thou seen my rest - less eyes, my tears and grie - vous groan:

At - tend un - to my suite O Lord, mark well my plaint and moan.

22 Verse

I For sin hath so in - clo - sed me, and com - passed me a - bout:

T

II

B For sin hath so in - clo - sed me, and com - passed me a - bout:

27

That I am now re - me - di - less, if mer - cy help not out. for mor - tal man can - not re -

33

But e'en thy Christ my Lord and God, which for - lease, nor mi - - ti - gate this pain: But e'en thy Christ my Lord and God, which for my

38

- my sins was slain. which for - my sins, which for my sins was slain. sins was slain, which - for my sins was slain. Whose

43

blood - y wounds are yet to see, though not with mor - tal eyes: - Yet do the

48

I
T.
II
B

saints be - hold them all, and so I trust shall I. Though

sin doth hin - der me a - while, when thou shalt see it

see it good: I shall en - joy the sight of him, and see his wounds,
good: I shall en - joy the sight of him, and see his wounds,
good: I shall en - joy the sight of him, and see his

and see his wounds, his wounds and blood.
and see his wounds and blood.
wounds, and see his wounds, and see his wounds and blood.

Chorus: And as thine angels [and thy saints]

And as thine an - gels and thy saints, do now be - hold the same:

So trust I to pos - sess that place, with them to praise thy name.

But while I live here in this vale, where sin - ners do fre - quent:

As - sist me e - ver with thy grace, my sins still to la - ment.

69

Lest that I tread in sin - ners trace, and give them my con - sent, and give

Lest that I tread in sin - ners trace, and give them my

Lest that I tread in sin - ners trace, and give them

them_ my_ con - sent: To dwell with them in wick - ed - ness, where -
 con - sent: To dwell with them in wick - ed - ness, where - to na -
 my con - sent: To dwell with them in wick - ed - ness, where -

to na - ture is bent.
 to na - ture is bent. On - ly thy grace must be my stay, lest that I
 to na - ture is bent. On - ly thy grace must be my stay, lest that I

And_ be - ing down then of my -
 fall down flat: And be - ing down, and be - ing
 fall down flat: And be - ing down then of my -

self, can - not re - co - ver that, can - not re - co - ver that.
 self, can - not re - co - ver that, can - not re - co - ver that.
 self, can - not re - co - ver that, can - not re - co - ver that.

Chorus: Wherefore this is [yet once again]

Where - fore this is yet once a - gain, my suite and my re - quest:

To grant me par - don for my sins, that I in thee may rest.

Then shall my heart, my tongue and voice, be in - stru - ments of praise:

And in the church and house of saints, sing psalms to thee al - ways.

12. The Lamentation of a Sinner: O Lord, turn not away thy face

Soprano
Countertenor
Tenor
Bass
Throughbase
Basso Continuo

O Lord, O Lord turn

O Lord, O Lord turn not a -

O Lord, O Lord turn

O Lord, O Lord turn

4

not a - way thy face, from him that lyeth pros - trate:

way thy face, from him that lyeth pros - trate: La -

not a - way thy face, from him that lyeth pros - trate:

not a - way thy face, from him that lyeth pros - trate:

8

La - men - ting sore his sin - ful life, be - fore thy

men - ting sore his sin - ful life, be - fore thy

La - men - ting sore his sin - ful life, be - fore thy

La - men - ting sore his sin - ful life, be - fore thy

12

mer - cy gave. Which gate thou op'n - est wide to those that

16

Shut not that gate a -
do la - ment their sin, Shut not that gate a -
- that do la - ment their sin, Shut not that gate a - gainst me

Chorus: And call [me not to mine accounts]

20

gainst me Lord, but let me en - ter in.
gainst me Lord, but let me en - ter in.
Lord, but let me en - ter in.
a - gainst me Lord, but let me en - ter in.

Chorus: And call [me not to mine accounts]

And call me not to mine ac - counts, Now I have li - ved here:

For then I know right - well, O Lord, How vile I shall ap - pear.

I need not to con - fess my life, I am sure thou can'st tell:

What I have been and what I am, I know thou know'st it well.

25 Verse

O Lord thou know'st— what things be past, And eke the things that be:

31

Thou know'st al - so what— is to come, No - thing is hid from thee. Be - fore—

36

— the heav'ns — and earth — were made, Thou know'st what things were

40

then, As all things that have been since, A - mong the sons of

44

men, As all things that have been since, A - mong the sons of men.

49

S And can the things that I have done, be hid - den from thee then?

T. II And can the things that I have done, be hid - den from thee then? Nay,

B And can the things that I have done, be hid - den from thee then?

54

S Nay, nay, thou know'st them all — O Lord, — O Lord where

T. II nay, thou know'st them all O Lord, O Lord where

B Nay, nay, thou know'st them all — O Lord, — O Lord where

they were done and when. Where - fore with tears, where - fore with

they were done and when. Where - fore with tears, where - fore with tears

they were done and when. Where - fore with tears, where - fore with

tears I come to thee, to beg, to beg and to in - treat:

I come to thee, to beg, to beg and to in - treat: Ev'n—

tears I come to thee, to beg and to in - treat:

Ev'n as the child that hath done ill, ——— And fear - eth to be beat.

as the child ——— that hath done ill, And fear - eth to be beat.

Ev'n as the child that hath done ill, ——— And fear - eth to be beat.

74

S So come I to thy mer - cy gate, Where mer - cy doth a - bound:

T. So come I to thy mer - cy gate, Where mer - cy doth a - bound:

II So come I to thy mer - cy gate, Where mer - cy doth a - bound:

B So come I to thy mer - cy gate, Where mer - cy doth a - bound:

80

To

To heal my dead - ly wound,

To heal

Re - qui - ring mer - cy for my sins, To heal my dead - ly

85

heal, to heal my dead - ly wound, to heal my

to heal my dead - ly wound, to heal my

my dead - ly wound, to heal my dead - ly

wound, to heal my dead - ly wound, to

dead - ly wound, to heal my dead - ly wound.

dead - ly wound, to heal my dead - ly wound.

wound, to heal my dead - ly wound.

heal my dead - ly wound, my dead - ly wound.

Chorus: O Lord [I need not to repeat]

O Lord I need not to re - peat, What I do beg or crave:

Thou know'st O Lord be - fore I ask, The thing that I would have.

Mer - cy good Lord, mer - cy I ask, This is the to - tal sum:

For mer - cy Lord is all my suite, Lord let thy mer - cy come.

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