

III: THE COMPOSERS IN *Ph*

This Chapter contains biographical information about the composers represented in *Ph* that I have collected from published and unpublished sources. Composers' names are given in the forms found in *Ph*; if several forms of a surname occur there they are all given here in alphabetical order and the most frequently occurring form is printed in italics.

Wyllyam *ALEN*, *ALYN*. Possibly the 'Allen' who became a lay-clerk in the chapel choir of Magdalen College, Oxford, at some time between Michaelmas 1539 and Michaelmas 1542 and who is not recorded there after Michaelmas 1543.¹

APPELBY. Probably Thomas Appelby (c. 1505–c. 1563), instructor and organist at Lincoln Cathedral and instructor at Magdalen College, Oxford. The first known reference to Appelby records his appointment as instructor and organist at Lincoln on 23 April 1538;² he was paid for the whole year 1537–8, so he must have taken up his post at the cathedral by Michaelmas 1537.³ He seems to have replaced 'Master Jacquet' as instructor at Magdalen late in 1538,⁴ and he remained there at least until Michaelmas 1541.⁵ He was reappointed at Lincoln on 26 November 1541⁶ and

¹ Most of the information about members of Magdalen College, Oxford included in this chapter comes from documents in the college archive. Extracts from these documents have been published by J. R. Bloxham in *A Register ... of St Mary Magdalene College ...* (Oxford, 1853–85) and by W. D. Macray in *A Register of the Members of St Mary Magdalen College, Oxford, New Series* (Oxford, 1894–1915); Dr Roger Bowers has generously allowed me to make use of his own transcripts from the Magdalen archives. I have, however, checked every reference by examining the original documents themselves, and in the course of doing so I have been able to add further information. The richest material in the Magdalen archive is to be found in the series of annual bursar's accounts collected in the *Libri Computi* (hereafter referred to as *LC*), the first five volumes of which cover the period 1480–1559. In these accounts, the yearly receipts and expenditure are classified under several headings, the most informative of which in the present context are: the *Stipendia* (recording the salaries of the employees of the college); the *Custus Liberatae* (recording outlay on or in place of livery); the *Solutiones Forinsecae* (recording miscellaneous and non-customary payments); and the *Custus Aulae* (recording disbursements to do with the hall). Up to 1535–6 the instructor is often listed among the readers in the *Stipendia Lectorum*, but thereafter he is included among the chapel staff in the *Stipendia Capellanorum et Clericorum* and is almost always referred to by name. The clerk who acted as bible-reader is usually listed by name in the *Custus Aulae*. The *Stipendia Capellanorum ...* also habitually names the two clerks in charge of bell-ringing and the vestry, but often fails to name the others; there were eight clerkships in all, but one or more of the clerks might leave and be replaced in the course of a year, so that more than eight names may be involved. Sometimes the omitted names can be supplied from a complete list given in the *Custus Liberatae*, but frequently this section too lists the clerks simply as 'octo clerici'; consequently there are many years for which the names of all eight clerks cannot be recovered. No accounts at all survive for the years 1527–8, 1531–2 and 1541–2. The years between 1524–5 and 1554–5 for which complete lists of clerks survive are: 1524–5, 1525–6, 1526–7, 1528–9, 1532–3, 1533–4, 1536–7, 1537–8, 1538–9, 1543–4, 1545–6, 1551–2, 1552–3, 1553–4 (in the Journal of Accounts, not in the *Liber Computi*) and 1554–5. Until 1501–2 the financial year at Magdalen ran from Michaelmas to Michaelmas; the next year was extended from Michaelmas 1502 to Martinmas 1503 and thereafter it ran from one Martinmas to the next. Nevertheless, the annual salaries and livery allowances continued to be paid at the customary four quarter days of the year (Christmas, the Annunciation, the Nativity of St John Baptist and Michaelmas); unless otherwise stated all references in this Chapter are to years running from one Michaelmas to another. The nature of the documentation means that one can sometimes do no more than state that an individual clerk entered or left the chapel at some time between two years for which full lists survive. Alen, for example, is named as one of the vestry clerks for 1542–3 (*LC* 1543–59 f. 4^v) but is not included in the full lists for 1538–9 (*LC* 1530–42 f. 137^v) or 1543–4 (*LC* 1530–42 [recte 1530–44] f. 169^v), so he must have joined between Michaelmas 1539 and Michaelmas 1542 (there being no complete lists for 1539–42) and left at Michaelmas 1543.

² R. E. G. Cole, *Chapter acts of the cathedral church of St Mary of Lincoln A.D. 1536–1547*, Lincoln Record Society, vol. 13 (1917), p. 14.

³ Information communicated in a letter from Dr Bowers dated 11 July 1977.

⁴ Oxford, Magdalen College (hereafter referred to as *Omc*), *LC* 1530–42, f. 130^v.

⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 157^r; his salary was paid for the whole year.

⁶ R. E. G. Cole, *Chapter Acts of ... Lincoln A.D. 1536–1547*, pp. 56–7.

he can be traced there continuously until 1550.⁷ Another man, William Moncke, is referred to as master or instructor of the choristers on 23 December 1553,⁸ but a chapter act of 12 February 1558 records the grant to Appelby, ‘skilled in the art of music’, of the office of seneschal or procurator of the house of the choristers when it should next fall vacant;⁹ he was admitted to it on 18 August 1559.¹⁰ The last record of him at Lincoln occurs in February 1563,¹¹ and his successor as master, William Byrd, was admitted ‘in consideration of his services already given’, on 24 April in the same year.¹²

Hugh ASTON, AYSHETON, AYSTON. Hugh Aston (c. 1485–1558), master of the choristers at the college of St Mary Newarke, Leicester, by 1525 until its dissolution in 1548. Tracing Aston’s career involves to an unusual extent the problem of identity; Aston was a common surname in the sixteenth century, particularly in the composer’s Midland environment, where it occurs as a place-name. As a surname it was pronounced and spelt in varied ways; the musician’s name is spelt in diverse ways in various documents. Hugh Aston the musician has to be distinguished from several other Hugh Astons whose names occur in contemporary records. The nature and context of some references make them fairly unequivocal, but others are more ambiguous. The composer definitely cannot be identified with Hugh Ashton, canon of St Stephen’s Chapel in the Palace of Westminster, who died in 1522 after a successful administrative and ecclesiastical career; nor, I think, is he likely to have been the Hugh Astyn who was a fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, during the first decade of the sixteenth century.¹³ On the other hand, the threads of what may be one, two or three lives—those of the musician, a local administrator and politician also active in Leicester, and a recipient of pensions from religious houses in the same Midland area—have yet to be conclusively disentangled.¹⁴

On 20 November 1510 a Hugh Aston successfully supplicated for the degree of B.Mus. at the University of Oxford, submitting a Mass and an antiphon as his test pieces and stating that he had studied music in the university for eight years. This man has sometimes been identified with the Hugh Astyn of All Souls College mentioned in the preceding paragraph. The All Souls man, however, is not known to have had any musical connections, and it seems much more likely that the supplicant for the degree was Hugh Aston the choirmaster and composer. If he had been studying music in the university since 1502, he is likely to have been born no later than about 1487. No further reference to Aston is known until 1520/21, when the Dean and Chapter of the collegiate church of St Mary at Warwick paid his expenses from and back to Coventry when he came to advise them on the purchase of a new organ. The fact that Aston began his journey at Coventry does not constitute proof that he was employed there at the time, but he could have

⁷ Information communicated in Dr Bowers’ letter of 11 July 1977.

⁸ R. E. G. Cole, *Chapter acts of the cathedral church of St Mary of Lincoln A.D. 1547–1559*, Lincoln Record Society, vol. 15 (1920), p. 102.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

¹¹ Information communicated in Dr Bowers’s letter of 11 July 1977.

¹² W. Page (ed.), *The Victoria history of the county of Lincoln*, vol. 2 (London, 1906), p. 437. Works in this series of county histories are hereafter referred to as *VHC* followed by the name of the county.

¹³ The first of these identifications occurs in *DNB*; the second occurs in *Emden Oxford–1500*, pp. 69–70. In earlier versions of this biography I confused Hugh Astyn of All Souls College with Thomas Aston, fellow of Balliol College between 1522 and 1534 (see *Emden*, op. cit., p. 18). See also W. H. G. Flood, *Early Tudor composers; biographical sketches of thirty-two musicians and composers of the period 1485–1555* (London, 1925), pp. 30–3.

¹⁴ N. Sandon, ‘Another Mass by Hugh Aston?’, *EM*, vol. 9 (1981), pp. 184–91, from which most of the biographical information in these paragraphs is taken. During the writing of that article I was advised by more than one specialist in the period that it was inconceivable that a lowly musician like Aston could have aspired to the high public offices of mayor and member of parliament occupied by one of his Leicester namesakes, so I did not pursue the matter in print. I am however interested to see that another writer has recently made a strongly-argued case that the civic office-holder was indeed the composer: see P. Boylan, ‘Hugh Aston (ca. 1485–1558): composer and mayor of Leicester’, *The Leicestershire Historian* (2008), pp. 26–30. How fashions in opinion change!

been, for example as master of the Lady Chapel choir of the cathedral priory or in charge of one of the choirs maintained by the prosperous city guilds and fraternities. The seeking of Aston's opinion by an establishment which itself had a strong musical tradition implies that his reputation must already have been considerable.¹⁵

When John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, made a visitation of the collegiate church of St Mary Newarke at Leicester in 1525 he found Aston in place there as master of the choristers.¹⁶ At the time Longland was recruiting priests and singers for Thomas Wolsey's magnificent new foundation of Cardinal College, Oxford. He was evidently impressed by Aston and proposed him for the prestigious post of master of the choristers in Wolsey's new college, but Aston made difficulties over the financial arrangements and the position was subsequently offered to John Taverner, who was himself initially reluctant to accept it. Aston ascribed his own disinclination to move to his generous salary and permanent appointment at St Mary's. Here he was certainly well paid: his initial annual salary of £10 matched that of the canons; by 1540 it had risen to £12, and he also enjoyed free lodgings.¹⁷ Perhaps he also found the working conditions congenial and stimulating enough to persuade him to stay. The foundation was large and relatively prosperous: the college itself consisted of a dean, twelve canons, thirteen vicars, four clerks and six choristers, while the attached hospital had been set up to house fifty poor men and fifty poor women.¹⁸ As master he would have been responsible not only for teaching the boys singing and other musical skills such as organ playing and vocal improvisation, but also for supervising the liturgical and devotional polyphony sung in and out of quire. Allowing for the likelihood that the vicars, clerks and boys were not always at full strength, he may have had a polyphonic choir numbering between about twelve and twenty singers.

Later references to Hugh Aston the musician are scanty, but it seems that he continued to serve as master of the choristers at St Mary Newarke until the college was dissolved in 1548. On 14 September 1546 he was paid five shillings by the master of the college of St Mary and All Saints at Fotheringhay, Northamptonshire, for travelling there from St Mary Newarke on business and for bringing music with him.¹⁹ By the time of St Mary's dissolution Aston must have been in his early or mid-60s. Perhaps he was content to live in retirement in Leicester on the government pension granted to him as a former employee of a dissolved college; or perhaps he went on to serve the town in a number of important public offices.²⁰ Cardinal Pole's pension roll records the payments at Michaelmas 1555 of the Newarke pension to Hugh Aston, 'syngingeman'²¹ and annuities from the monasteries of Launde, Pipewell and Kenilworth to a Hugh Asheton or Aston for whom no profession is specified.²² Aston's death-date does not appear to be known, but he was buried in St Margaret's parish, Leicester, on 17 November 1558.²³

¹⁵ Bowers, pp. 6067 (fn. 4), 4014–18, 5091–2 and 6068.

¹⁶ 'Hugo Asseton' is described as *magister choristarum* in the record of the visitation; see MMB, pp. 28–30, citing A. H. Thompson, *Visitations in the Diocese of Lincoln*, Lincoln Record Society, 3 vols (1940–7), pp. 3 and 222.

¹⁷ Bowers, pp. 6067–8.

¹⁸ *VHC Leicestershire*, vol. 2, pp. 48–51. A. H. Thompson, *The history of the Hospital and the New College of the Annunciation of St Mary in the Newarke, Leicester* (Leicester, 1937) and MMB. See also C. Rawcliffe, *Medicine for the soul: the life, death and resurrection of an English medieval hospital, St Giles's, Norwich, c. 1249–1550* (Stroud, 1999), concerning another late medieval hospital that was active musically.

¹⁹ See the master of Fotheringhay's accounts for 1545–6 in NA, E/315/301, f. 76^r; Dr Bowers brought this item of information to my attention. Fotheringhay was another musically very active college. Did the music that Aston brought to Fotheringhay include the antiphon *Gaude virgo mater Christi/Gaude mater matris Christi*, which is in the Sadler partbooks, (Obl, MSS Mus. e. 1–5), a set whose contents were probably copied at least partly from Fotheringhay material?

²⁰ P. Boylan, op. cit.

²¹ Lbl, Add. MS 8102 (Cardinal Pole's pension roll), membrane 20^v.

²² *Ibid.*, membranes 20^v, 4^r and 46^r.

²³ G. A. J. Hodgett, *The state of the ex-religious and former chantry priests in the diocese of Lincoln, 1547–1574: from returns in the Exchequer*, Lincoln Record Society, 53 (1959), p. 142.

BRAMSTON. Probably Richard Bramston, *alias* Smyth. He was admitted vicar-choral at Wells Cathedral on 23 January 1507,²⁴ and on 23 July in that year he took over the teaching duties of the aged Richard Hygons.²⁵ He was made a perpetual vicar on 25 January 1508²⁶ but on 4 September 1509 he was warned to take subdeacon's orders by Christmas in order to comply with the requirements of his stall.²⁷ Apparently he did not do so, but left the cathedral in order to become master of the Lady Chapel choir of St Augustine's Abbey, Bristol.²⁸ Early in 1510 he visited Wells in disguise to try to steal one of the cathedral choristers, presumably for his new choir.²⁹ Evidently the authorities at Wells bore him no grudge, because in 1515 he returned to the cathedral and was appointed organist and instructor,³⁰ being collated to a lay stall; his salary was paid out of the revenues of Coombe Quartadecima, the prebend later held by Richard Pygott.³¹ On 31 January 1530 he was appointed clerk of works of the cathedral but he resigned on the same day;³² presumably a legal technicality lay behind this manoeuvre. In 1531 he relinquished the positions of organist and instructor but continued to serve as a vicar-choral until 1554, when he died at a great age.³³ His will is dated 26 May 1554 and was proved on 13 September in the same year. In it he left forty marks to his wife 'Margerie', £60 to each of six nieces and nephews, and nearly £200 in other bequests;³⁴ the total of nearly £600 is very large by mid-sixteenth-century standards, when a choir-master's annual salary might amount to £10 or £12.

John CATCOTT. The only chronologically relevant occurrences of this name that I have found refer to a John Catcott or Catcot who was a servant in the royal household by 1529 until at least 1535.³⁵ Although at least one other Peterhouse composer—Walter Erle—was a member of the secular department of the royal household, serving as a musician in the chamber rather than in the chapel, no other evidence has been discovered to place this John Catcott in a musical context. The name could, perhaps, be a miscopying for John Cobcot, a lay-clerk in the chapel of Magdalen College, Oxford, who joined between Michaelmas 1539 and Michaelmas 1543 and left between Michaelmas 1546 and Michaelmas 1551.³⁶ Bloxham gives the date of his arrival as 1542, but I have not been able to confirm this; he also states that the Cobcot family lived in college property at Horspath (about one mile east of Oxford), where Joan, widow of John, was buried in 1590.³⁷ A John Calcost was a clerk and instructor of the choristers at St Stephen's, Westminster in 1535.³⁸

²⁴ Historical Manuscripts Commission (hereafter referred to as HMC), *Calendar of the manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter of Wells*, vol. 2 (London, 1914), p. 200.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

²⁸ *Bowers*, p. 6045.

²⁹ *Calendar of the manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter of Wells*, vol. 2, p. 220.

³⁰ *Bowers*, p. 6073.

³¹ J. Caley and J. Hunter, *Valor ecclesiasticus temp. Henr. VIII: auctoritate regia institutus* (London, 1810–34), hereafter referred to as *VE*, vol. 1, pp. 133, 134 and 138.

³² *Calendar of the manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter of Wells*, vol. 2, pp. 700–1.

³³ *The New Grove* gives him a birth-date c. 1455, but I do not know the evidence for this.

³⁴ F. W. Weaver, *Somerset medieval wills 1531–1558*, Somerset Record Society, vol. 21 (1905), pp. 153–4.

³⁵ NA, Chancery Certificate C241/282/19, records proceedings held on 10 July 1529 before Thomas Seymour, Mayor of the Staple of Westminster, concerning a debt of £20 owed by John Catcott of Batcombe, Somerset, valet of the King's Wardrobe, to his colleague John Sandford. It must be the same John Catcot, 'valectus camerae regis', who in 1535 received an annual pension of twenty shillings from Sutton Ball, Bath and Wells diocese (see *VE*, vol. 1, p. 206). The only occurrence of Catcott as a place name that I can find is in Somerset, about eleven miles west-south-west of Wells.

³⁶ He is named in the lists for 1543–4 (*LC 1530–42 [sic]*, f. 169^v) and 1545–6 (*LC 1543–59*, f. 28^v) but not in those for 1538–9 (*LC 1530–42*, f. 137^r) or 1551–2 (*LC 1543–59*, f. 133^v).

³⁷ Bloxham, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 6; see the entry on Horspath in *VHC Oxford*, vol. 5, pp. 177–89, where this family's name is spelt 'Copcot'.

³⁸ D. Skinner, *Nicholas Ludford (c. 1490–1557): a biography and critical edition of the antiphons, with a study of the Collegiate Chapel of the Holy Trinity, Arundel, under the Mastership of Edward Higgons, and a history of the Caius and*

Arture [*sic*] CHAMBERLAYNE. Possibly the ‘Chamberleyn’ listed as a chorister of Magdalen College, Oxford, from 36 Michaelmas 1485 to Christmas 1486.³⁹

John DARKE. It has yet to be established which of several musicians surnamed Darke (other spellings are Derke, Dawke and even Drake) was the composer of the Magnificat ascribed to John Darke in *Ph*. Church musicians called Darke with Oxford connections include one, whose first name is unknown, who was *informator chorustarum* at New College in 1484–5,⁴⁰ another, whose first name is also unknown, who was paid 5s. by All Souls College for playing the organ in 1509–10,⁴¹ and a John Darke who supplicated for the degree of B.Mus., on the grounds of eight years study and practice, on 10 November 1511.⁴² While it is possible that the supplicant for the degree in 1511 and the organist paid by All Souls College two years before were the same person, it seems probable that the *informator* at New College a quarter of a century earlier was somebody else.

Nicholas Orme identified the Oxford B.Mus. with a John Derke who was ordained subdeacon, deacon and priest at three consecutive ordinations in Exeter diocese in September and December 1513 and April 1514. His title (a guarantee of financial support, provided by a religious foundation, required of any candidate for ordination) was provided by Exeter Cathedral itself, a rare favour perhaps implying some previous connection with the cathedral. He was admitted priest of the cathedral chantry of Thomas Brantingham during Easter term 1514 and became clerk of the Lady Chapel at an unknown date. He resigned both his chantry and his clerkship on 14 April 1526, being succeeded in the latter by the Exeter composer James Northbroke, who is also represented in *Ph*. On the previous 10 March he had been granted leave of absence to visit the king's court. It may be that during his absence he received an offer of employment that led him to resign from Exeter, but no direct evidence of this is known to exist.

There is no further trace of a church musician called John Darke until the early 1540s. One of this name then became a vicar-choral at Exeter Cathedral at an unknown date between autumn 1541 and summer 1545, and was appointed joint organist there in October 1547; he appears still to have held his vicarship in autumn 1571 but no longer did so by autumn 1577. Could this have been the same John Darke, B.Mus., returning to the cathedral after a lengthy period of employment elsewhere? On the face of it, it seems unlikely: if he had attained the canonical age for ordination to the priesthood—twenty-four—in 1514 he can have been born no later than 1490, which would put him in his early eighties in 1571. But it is not impossible: English records include several examples of church musicians remaining in office until a very advanced age. The discovery of biographical information dating from the later 1520s to the earlier 1540s might resolve the question.⁴³ Ironically, if the composer of this Magnificat was associated with Exeter Cathedral, he probably composed it during another phase of his career. Its style suggests that it is unlikely to have preceded Darke's departure from Exeter in 1526. If my dating of the copying of the set of partbooks that contains it is correct, the piece can have been copied into them no later than 1541, before Darke's name reappears at Exeter. Within these partbooks it is the first in a group of four works excluding trebles; the other three, Jacquet of Mantua's motet *Aspice domine*, the Mass *Surrexit pastor bonus* ascribed to ‘Lupus Italus’ and Christopher Tye's Mass *Sine nomine* or ‘Mean Mass’, may all date from the mid-1530s. Separated from this group by a single intervening composition is the Magnificat by Thomas Appelby (fl. 1536–63), which also gives the top line to mean voices.

Lambeth choirbooks, D.Phil. dissertation (University of Oxford, 1995), p. 40.

³⁹ Omc, Bursary Book 1477–86, ff. 37^v–92^r and 94^v–107^r.

⁴⁰ B. Lee-De Amici, ‘Cum nota solenniter celebret: music in the chapel of All Souls College, Oxford, 1445–1550’, *Renaissance Studies*, vol. 18, no. 2, pp. 193–4. I am grateful to Dr Lee-De Amici for providing me with a copy of this article.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Nicholas Orme, ‘The early musicians of Exeter Cathedral’, *ML*, vol. 59 (1978), pp. 405–7, the source of most of the other biographical information given here.

⁴³ Dr Orme mentions other references to ecclesiastics called John Darke or Derke in Exeter diocese—a canon of Plympton Priory between 1534 and 1539, and a rector of Teigngrace (1570) and Nymet Rowland (1574) who died in 1580—and allows the possibility that one or both of these may be identified with the musician(s).

EDWARD, EDWARDE, ? EDWARDES. There is some doubt about the correct form of this name. The Mean index definitely gives ‘Edward’, the final letter being exactly the same as that of Ludford’s name eight entries earlier, but the Contratenor and Bass indices have a descending loop attached to this letter which resembles the common contraction for ‘es’ or ‘is’; the headings on ff. 23^v and 24^f of the Contratenor book unquestionably read ‘Edwarde’. This composer is sometimes identified with Richard Edwards,⁴⁴ who was born in about 1523 and was a gentleman of the Royal Household Chapel under Mary and Elizabeth; he is chiefly remembered for having produced plays acted by the children of the chapel and for having composed *In going to my naked bed*.⁴⁵ This identification seems most unlikely for several reasons: Richard Edwards is not known to have written any Latin church music; he would have had to be very precocious for his music to figure in a source copied in the early 1540s; and in any case the two unambiguous spellings of the name in *Ph* are ‘Edward’ and ‘Edwarde’. Orme has produced another contender, Stephen Edwards, succentor of Exeter Cathedral in 1492, who took the Oxford MA in 1485 and was dead by the summer of 1501.⁴⁶ This man’s claim, however, also appears to be weak: there is no evidence that he had any knowledge of polyphony, and *Terrenum sitiens* would have been an astonishingly advanced composition for (at the latest) 1501.

The strongest available candidate is probably Edward Hedley, a lay-clerk of Magdalen College, Oxford, who joined the chapel staff between Michaelmas 1529 and Michaelmas 1532 and left between Michaelmas 1540 and Michaelmas 1543;⁴⁷ he was one of the two bell-ringers and vestry clerks in 1534–5⁴⁸ and 1535–6⁴⁹ and bible-reader in 1536–7,⁵⁰ 1537–8,⁵¹ 1538–9⁵² and 1539–40;⁵³ a different man was bible-reader in 1540–1.⁵⁴ Although the college accounts usually refer to him by his surname, on three occasions (in 1532–3, 1534–5 and 1535–6) they call him simply ‘Edwarde’; the 1534–5 entry is typical:

Bull & Edwarde pro pulsacione campanarum & diligentia in vestiario
per totum annum xxvi s. viij d.⁵⁵

Water [*sic*] ERELL, ERLEY. The composer of *Ave vulnus lateris*, one of the last few additions to *Ph*, whose name is spelt ‘Water (*sic*) Erley’ in the Mean and Contratenor partbooks and ‘Water Erell’ in the Bass book, can be identified with Walter Erle, a chamber servant in the households of at least two of Henry VIII’s wives and in those of his children Edward, Mary and Elizabeth during their respective reigns.⁵⁶ Although the exact nature of Erle’s duties is never officially stated, surviving documents strongly imply that his place in the immediate entourage of various members of the royal family owed a great deal to his abilities as a musician, particularly as a keyboard player. His

⁴⁴ See for example J. Kerman, ‘England, c. 1540–1610’, *Music from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance*, ed. F. W. Sternfeld (London, 1973), pp. 315–6, and *The New Grove* (where the incipit of this piece is given as *Terrenum sitiens*).

⁴⁵ For details of Richard Edwards’s career, see *The New Grove*.

⁴⁶ N. Orme, *op. cit.*, p. 403.

⁴⁷ He is not in the lists for 1528–9 (*LC 1510–30*, f. 243^r) and 1543–4 (*LC 1530–42 [sic]*, f. 169^v) but is in those for 1532–3 (*LC 1530–42*, f. 59^v), 1536–7 (*ibid.*, f. 94^r), 1537–8 (*ibid.*, f. 113^r) and 1538–9 (*ibid.*, f. 137^r).

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, f. 72^r.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, f. 90^v.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, f. 96^v.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, f. 114^r.

⁵² *Ibid.*, f. 131^v.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, f. 147^r.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, f. 158^r.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 72^r.

⁵⁶ The name occurs in other spellings including Erle, Earle, Erl and Ele; I have chosen Erle because it is the most common spelling in documents referring to Walter himself. Aspects of Erle’s career have been explored by D. Pinto, ‘Walter Earle and his Successors’, *The Consort*, vol. 49 (1993), pp. 13–16, and by A. Ashbee, ‘Groomed for service: musicians in the Privy Chamber at the English court, c.1495–1558’, *EM*, vol. 25 (1997), pp. 185–97. I have consulted most of the original sources at first hand. Where I have done so I cite the original document first; where I have relied on a modern edition I cite it first.

successful exploitation of his position, and his employers' evident appreciation of his services, are reflected in the numerous grants of property and other perquisites that he received over more than thirty years.

Erle's family were minor gentry living in Devon. A herald's visitation of the county in about 1570 traces his ancestors back through three generations: he was the son of John and Thomasyn Erle of Cullhampton (Cullompton in east Devon); his father John was the son of another John Erle, also of Cullompton; his grandfather John was the second son of yet another John Erle, of Ashburton in west Devon.⁵⁷ The name Erle occurs quite often in the records of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Ashburton but rather less often in those of Cullompton, suggesting that the family's presence there was more transient. No record of Walter's birth has been found, but circumstantial evidence suggests that it may have occurred between about 1515 and 1520.

The first known document to mention Walter Erle is a list, undated but implicitly belonging to the last decade of the reign of Henry VIII, entitled 'The booke of Certayne of the Quenys Ordynary as yet to no place Appoynted', in which Erle is named last among three 'Pagis of the Chamber Ordynary'.⁵⁸ This is a list of 127 above-stairs members of a queen's existing household whose appointment to new positions is envisaged but not completed. The queen in question is not named, so at least as far as the compiler of the list was concerned there was no ambiguity or doubt about her identity; and she is not described as 'late', so she was still alive. In other words, she was the current reigning queen; and her situation had altered in a way likely to entail an extensive redeployment of her servants.

Two of Henry's later wives experienced changes of circumstance that could have caused such a document to be written: Anne of Cleves, who after the annulment on 9 July 1540 of her six-month marriage to the king lived in retirement at Richmond and Bletchingley; and Catherine Howard, whose marital indiscretions led in mid-November 1541 to her sequestration, with a drastically reduced retinue, at the former monastery of Syon. By placing the list among records dating from early January 1540, the editors of *LPH8* implicitly linked it with Anne. However, the membership of the higher ranks of the household named in the list shows such a strong Howard affinity that it is difficult to believe that the household is not that of Catherine.⁵⁹ Assuming that the list was drawn up in full knowledge of current events, we can probably date it to the six weeks between 11 November 1541, when the privy council communicated to Cranmer the king's decision about Catherine's immediate future, and 22 December, when a royal proclamation depriving her of the title of queen was made at Hampton Court.⁶⁰ This does not mean that Erle could not have been at court during the brief marriage of Henry and Anne; but it does mean that his first documented presence there is as a page to Catherine Howard at the time of her downfall in November 1541. Nowadays 'page' generally signifies an attendant servant who is still a child or an adolescent. In the sixteenth century it often had the same implication, but not always; it could also denote a particular, junior grade of servant irrespective of the age of the incumbent. Thus it was possible to serve as a page well into adulthood, even throughout one's career, if advancement did not come.⁶¹ We need not assume that because Erle was a page to the queen late in 1541 he was still a youth, and that he would therefore have had to be a precocious musician for his setting of *Ave vulnus lateris* to have been copied into *Ph* early in the 1540s.

The immediate consequences for Erle of Catherine's fall are unknown, but a reference dating from a few months later implies that a place was found for him either elsewhere in the royal household or with one of the king's leading courtiers. The accounts of John Thynne, steward of the household of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, recording receipts and payments on behalf of his

⁵⁷ Lbl, Harley MS 888, f. 39^v/41^v (dual foliation).

⁵⁸ NA, SP1/157, ff. 12^r-16^v; *LPH8*, vol. 15, p. 21. The three pages—Edward Tanner, Anthony Stoughton and Walter Erle—are named at the foot of f. 15^v of the original document.

⁵⁹ A. Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England* (London, 1841), agrees. See the 1882 edition, vol. 3, pp. 122-3.

⁶⁰ L. B. Smith, *A Tudor Tragedy* (London, 1961), p. 198.

⁶¹ Edward Tanner and Anthony Stoughton, Walter's fellow-pages in this document from 1541, are listed among the pages of the privy chamber under Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth in the mid- and later 1550s: see NA, LC5/31, pp. 46, 86, 123 and 171.

master, include a payment of forty shillings to ‘Water Erley by my ladys comandement for a payre of virginalls’ on 30 June 1542.⁶² This reference is highly significant for several reasons: it is the earliest dated reference to Erle in the orbit of the royal household; it is the earliest to link him with the Seymour family; it is—by several decades—the earliest to place him explicitly in a musical context and to associate him with a keyboard instrument; and it is the only known reference that spells his name in a manner identical with one of the *Ph* spellings. The lady referred to is presumably Edward’s wife Anne Seymour née Stanhope, Countess of Hertford. Edward and Anne had stood high in Henry VIII’s favour for several years: Edward was Queen Jane Seymour’s eldest brother, was made a gentleman of the privy chamber in 1536 and received his earldom in 1537; Anne had been an intimate friend of her sister-in-law and currently enjoyed a similarly close friendship with Princess Mary. The Hertfords were permanently resident at court, so a connection with them would have kept Erle there too. His continued presence at court is also implied by a payment of 40s. made to him by Princess Mary in April 1543, several months before he next appears in an official household document.⁶³

Just as the king’s repudiation of Catherine Howard closed one chapter of Erle’s career, so his marriage to Catherine Parr on 12 July 1543 opened another. This is evident from the final entry in a list of additions to the royal household’s expenditure, the original of which must have dated from the mid-1540s:⁶⁴

‘Item y^e y^e 2nd day of November in y^e 35th yeare [of his reign, that is 1543], y^e Kings pleasure was declared by y^e mouth of Mr Herbert, y^e Walter Earle shoud yearly have y^e Wages of x^{li} in lieu of a Gent Wayter to y^e Queens Grace.’

Here, three and a half months after the marriage of Henry VIII and Catherine Parr, Erle is being allocated an annual salary of £10 in respect of his place as an attendant upon the queen, and is being given the high grade of gentleman.⁶⁵ In this context the phrase ‘in lieu of’ may allow the inference that Erle’s position was slightly anomalous, and that he was regarded as belonging to a particular grade of attendant without being included in the group of that grade formally constituted in the household. This may, however, be an over-interpretation, prompted by hindsight, of a form of words that did not intend such subtlety. There is at least no longer any doubt about whether he is an adult. Erle’s appointment to the queen’s household was accompanied by other awards designed to enhance his status and income. On the very same day, 2 November, letters patent were issued granting him the offices of bailiff and hayward of the manor and hundred of Colyton, Devon, and of keeper of the park and mansion of Colcombe, just north-east of Colyton (all confiscated from the marquis of Exeter on his attainder in 1539), with effect from the previous Michaelmas, with fees of 52s. per year as bailiff and hayward and 2d. per day as keeper.⁶⁶

⁶² Longleat House, SE/VOL. X/9, an account of receipts and payments on behalf of the Earl of Hertford by John Thynne and others, February 1540–October 1543 (ff. 53–93 and 105–115), f. 75.

⁶³ Lbl, Royal MS 17.B.XXVIII, f. 74^r: ‘Item geven to Water Erle xl^s’; F. Madden, *Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary ...* (London, 1831), p. 114. The amount is sometimes misquoted as 15s. A list of gifts made by Mary on New Year’s Day 1544 includes another payment to him, this time of 20s. (*ibid.*, 94^v: ‘Item geven to Water Erle xx^s’; F. Madden, *op. cit.*, p. 146). Again the amount is sometimes misquoted as 15s. Erle is not mentioned in the corresponding list for New Year’s Day 1543 (*ibid.*, 64^r–70^v).

⁶⁴ NA, E36/231, a collection of seventeenth-century copies of earlier royal household ordinances including on ff. 66^r–70^v (pp. 129–38) the cited list entitled ‘The increase of Charges in y^e Household by Commandments Sithence y^e receiveing of y^e Kings booke of y^e ordinarie of his most honourable household’. The published abstract of the entry concerning Erle—the officers of the squillery and woodyard, Walter Earle’ (*LPH8*, vol. 21, part 1, item 969/2)—is misleading and has unfortunately been taken literally by S. E. James, *Kateryn Parr: the Making of a Queen* (Aldershot, 1999), p. 158. ‘Mr Herbert’ is probably William Herbert, husband of Catherine’s sister Anne Parr and himself a gentleman of the king’s privy chamber.

⁶⁵ ‘Gentleman’ here signifies a superior grade of servant; but Erle was also a gentleman (*generosus*) in the social sense, and is usually referred to as such in legal documents.

⁶⁶ NA, C66/735, membrane 6. The warrant for the grant had been issued ten days earlier on 23 October; see C82/815, item 15, and *LPH8*, vol. 18, part 2, item 449/6. The holder of such an office would usually put in a

The substantial gifts received and profitable transactions made by Erle during the rest of Henry's reign show that he exploited skilfully his place near the centre of the royal household—the small group of courtiers having access to the private apartments of the king or his consort.⁶⁷ Members of this group had a rare opportunity to cultivate with their employer and with others high in royal favour an intimacy that could result in almost unlimited advancement and enrichment.⁶⁸ Like many others in the same fortunate position, Erle bought ex-monastic property from the Crown at a moderate price and sold it on or leased or rented it out at a substantial profit. In September 1544 he and two associates, Thomas Strowde and James Paget, spent the huge sum of £2875 12s. 3d. on purchasing through the Court of Augmentations (the Exchequer department administering the estates of dissolved monasteries) large amounts of ex-monastic property situated mainly in the west country.⁶⁹ They at once set about realizing their investment: several licences to alienate (that is, to transfer the ownership of) various parcels of this land were granted to them during the next few months, beginning less than a week later.⁷⁰

Erle was able to exploit his privileged position also in other ways. On 1 July 1546 he received at the queen's request the gift of Colcombe park and the house contained within it, rent-free for forty years, on surrendering the keepership of it and the associated salary that he had been granted in 1543.⁷¹

'Walter Erle to have the commoditie of the grounde and lodge *within* the parc of Colcombe for xl^{ti} yeres rent free in recompence of his office and fee w^{ch} he hadd thereof, reserving alwais at his own chardge certain haie and vi^{xx} dere for *your* mai^{ties} use. Subscribed by M^r Southwell. At the quenes highness sute.'

In November of the same year an official letter was written to one of Walter's relations in support of his intention to marry.⁷² A marriage duly followed, but not for another three years.

The death of Henry VIII and the accession of the nine-year-old Edward VI on 28 January 1547 had a profound effect on Erle's career. In a list of mourning livery issued for Henry's burial his

deputy to carry out the work for a fraction of the fee, and this is presumably what Erle did, although from time to time during the next decade he used Colcombe as a country residence.

⁶⁷ Erle was not yet a member of the privy chamber or innermost group of courtiers attendant upon the sovereign; but his place in the queen's entourage must have given him opportunities for privileged access to her husband.

⁶⁸ See D. Starkey, 'Intimacy and innovation: the rise of the Privy Chamber, 1485–1547', *The English Court: from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* (London, 1987), pp. 71–118.

⁶⁹ NA, C82/829, item 12 (warrant) and C66/745, membranes 14–18 (enrollment, 8 September 1544); *LPH8*, vol. 19, part 2, item 340/10.

⁷⁰ No fewer than nine licences to alienate were issued to them on 12 September (NA, C66/754, membranes 5–7, 21 and 30; *LPH8*, vol. 19, part 2, item 340/60), followed by two more the next day (NA, C66/756, membranes 30–31; *LPH8*, *ibid*). They sold some of this land a mere two days later, on 15 September (see NA, E210/9850).

⁷¹ NA, SP4/1 (a list of documents signed by stamp), no. 92; I am grateful to the conservators of the National Archives for removing a crease in this entry that made it only partly legible. The warrant for the enrollment (C82/854, the fourth item from the end) appears to have been mis-filed among those for the previous regnal year; the enrollment itself (C66/784, membrane 33) is in its correct place. See *LPH8*, vol. 21, part 1, item 1165/92 (listing); vol. 20, part 1, item 1335/4 (warrant); and vol. 21, part 1, item 1383/2 (enrollment). *LPH8* misdates the warrant to 1539.

⁷² NA, SP4/1, no. 114: 'A let[ter] to Nicolas (*sic*) Erle daughter (*sic*) and heire to John Erle deceased in the favour of Walter Erle the quenes servant for mariage preferred by Mr Denny', calendared in *LPH8*, vol. 21, part 2, item 475/114. No copy of the letter itself seems to have survived, and the identity of its recipient is uncertain. Nicholas would have been an unusual name for a daughter, but a heralds' visitation of Devon undertaken in the early seventeenth century records the existence of Nicholoea, daughter and heir of Robert (rather than John) Erle of Ashburton three generations earlier: see F. T. Colby, *The Visitation of the County of Devon in the Year 1620* (London, 1872), p. 201. This Nicholoea and Walter would have been cousins, and a proposed marriage between them might have required an official recommendation.

name is included in a small subgroup of the queen's servants that is unique in having no descriptive title, immediately following her 'Gentilmen Wayters' and 'Sewers for the Chambre'.⁷³ Erle's place in the royal household disappeared when the old king died, and his immediate future at court depended on Catherine Parr, now queen-dowager. After about three months of widowhood Catherine married Thomas, Baron Seymour of Sudeley and Lord Admiral of England, thus bringing to fruition a matrimonial scheme that had already been well advanced when it was temporarily thwarted by Henry's own proposal to her four years earlier. Her new husband was the younger brother of Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset; Jane Seymour had been their sister and thus they were uncles to the young king. Thomas's inordinate ambition and implacable resentment of Somerset's position as guardian of the king and protector of the realm were soon to cause his own downfall. In a letter that Seymour wrote to his wife shortly after their marriage he called Erle 'my old friend'.⁷⁴ While too much significance should not be attached to the words of so unstable and manipulative a man, the terms in which Seymour here referred to Erle imply a lengthy acquaintance and some degree of intimacy. A courtier himself (he had been a gentleman of the king's privy chamber since 1536) Seymour would have been aware of Erle's presence at court, and his own nearness to Catherine Parr might have brought him into closer contact with Erle even while Catherine was queen. Erle and he had already dealt together: two and a half years earlier, on 12 September 1544, Strowde, Erle and Paget had conveyed to Seymour property in Gloucestershire that had been among their purchases from the Crown four days before.⁷⁵ There could even be a remote possibility that Erle's contacts with the Seymour family began considerably earlier: could he have been one of Queen Jane's pages, evidently too young and insignificant to be considered worth naming, to whom Princess Mary paid 40s. for teaching her to play the virginals in December 1536?⁷⁶ Be that as it may, Erle now also had dealings with Edward Seymour, purchasing from him on 16 February 1548, for £30 and a yearly ground rent of 34s. 8d., a twenty-one-year lease on property in Ottery St Mary, Devon, including 'the Wardeynes House', that had belonged to the college recently dissolved there.⁷⁷

Catherine's death from puerperal fever on 7 September 1548 removed whatever restraining influence she may have had over her husband, whose imprudence and recklessness now became increasingly manifest. Erle was a minor figure among the associates whom Thomas Seymour implicated in his designs. Soon after the death of his wife he offered to send Erle to Princess Mary to give her lessons on the virginals.⁷⁸ Shortly before Christmas 1548 Erle carried to her a letter from his master, the compromising contents of which came out during the inquiry that followed the latter's fatally bungled attempt on 16 January 1549 to seize control of the king—a culminating miscalculation that led to the Lord Admiral's execution two months later.⁷⁹

Erle's role in this affair seems to have been wholly innocent, and there is no evidence that he suffered any direct retribution; but within six months death had removed his two chief patrons—Catherine and Thomas—and he had been indirectly involved in an unsuccessful

⁷³ NA, LC2/2, f. 44^r. A. Ashbee, 'Groomed for service ...', p. 196, states that Erle is named as a sewer of the Chamber in this livery list; but he is explicitly not included among the sewers and his livery allowance is smaller than theirs. He received, in fact, the same allowance, and the same allocation for his two servants, as the 'Gent Wayters extra ordynary' (ibid., f. 46^r), but his name was not placed with theirs.

⁷⁴ NA, SP10/1, no. 41, ff. 140^r–141^v, here quoted from C. S. Knighton, *Calendar of state papers domestic series of the reign of Edward VI 1547–1553 preserved in the Public Record Office* (London, 1992), no. 39. Seymour's handwriting is not easy to read.

⁷⁵ NA, C66/754, membrane 6.

⁷⁶ Lbl, Royal MS 17.B.XXVIII, f. 3^v: 'Item geven to the quenes pages for techyng her of the vyrgynals xl^s'.

⁷⁷ NA, E328/212. This lease bears the only example of Erle's signature known to me; he signs himself 'Water Erle'.

⁷⁸ DNB (1908 edition), article on Mary Tudor.

⁷⁹ HMC, *Calendar of the manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquess of Salisbury ... preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire*, vol. 13 (London, 1915), p. 25, quoting a statement made by William Wightman, one of Seymour's servants, on 23 January 1549: 'A little before Christenmass the Lord Admiral wrote a letter to the Lady Mary to learn after what sort the King departed with those jewels that his Highness delivered to the Queen at the Admiral's coming in. This letter was carried by Walter Erle.'

conspiracy. It appears to have taken him almost two years completely to re-establish himself at court. What he did during this interval—whether he managed to maintain a presence near the centre of power by attaching himself to another great man, or whether perhaps he retired to the country until the air had cleared—is obscure. I would guess that he took the opportunity to spend some time in his native county and to consolidate his position there. It was at Colyton, on 22 October 1549, that he married Mary Wyke or Wykes, the third of four daughters who were co-heirs of Richard Wykes of Bindon, Dorset.⁸⁰ Mary brought with her not only the manor of Bindon near Axmouth, three miles south-east of Colcombe, but also a share of her father's larger estate at Charborough in Dorset, some forty miles to the east, which Walter was later to make his main residence having bought it outright from the husband of Mary's elder sister Alice.

By the end of 1550 Erle had resumed his attendance at court. On 9 April 1551 he was appointed a groom of Edward VI's privy chamber at a yearly salary of £20, with effect from the previous Christmas.⁸¹ This was a promotion: even though 'groom' here denotes a chamber attendant of middle rank, above a page and below a gentleman, Erle had now been admitted to a place among the most select entourage of the monarch himself, rather than that of the monarch's consort. The new appointment was followed by the acquisition of more property in east Devon. On 11 July 1552 he was granted the lordship and manor of Axmouth together with its rectory and the advowson of its vicarage, all previously part of the late queen Catherine's property, for which he paid an annual rent of £53 13s. 6d.⁸² On 9 January 1553 he obtained the reversion of leaseholds of other ex-monastic property in the same county (that is, the right of succession to them on the expiry of the current lease).⁸³ When the king died on 6 July 1553 Erle could congratulate himself not merely on having survived the various crises of the reign but with having improved his position. An idea of his increasing affluence is given by the lay subsidy assessments made of him in November 1545 and April 1552: in the former year 22s. at one shilling in the pound on income from land, and in the latter year 50s. at one shilling in the pound on moveable goods.⁸⁴

Erle seems to have kept his membership of the privy chamber on the accession of Queen Mary (19 July 1553, following the abortive *coup d'état* in favour of Lady Jane Grey), although the nature of his position within it at the beginning of her reign is a little unclear. He was no longer counted as one of the grooms although his status seems to have been similar to theirs. The most continuous line of evidence is offered by a series of livery lists specifying the clothing, or commensurate payments in money, that were to be provided for members of Mary's household. One of the earliest of these is dated 4 November 1553; the entry concerning Erle is worth printing in full, since it helps to create a visual image of him:⁸⁵

⁸⁰ Colyton parish register of marriages 1538–1753: 'Walter Erle of Colcome gentleman was weddid unto Marye Weekes one of the daughters and heyre of Byndon the xxij daye of Octobre'. W. Wykes-Finch, 'The Ancient Family of Wyke of North Wyke, Co. Devon', *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, vol. 35 (1903), pp. 389–90, gives the date of the marriage as 22 October 1547, but the register places it definitely and unambiguously among the marriages solemnized during 1549. The Colyton register of burials and baptisms 1538–1812 records the christening of three of their children—Honor and Bridget on 3 August 1555 and 21 June 1558 and a son John (who presumably died young) on 23 January 1557—but does not mention Thomas or Mary, who according to the visitation records appear to have been the eldest son and youngest daughter. No Erle burials are recorded at Colyton.

⁸¹ Lbl, Royal MS 18.C.XXIV (a collection of payment warrants dating from the reign of Edward VI), f. 74^r: 'A warrant to John Ryther coffereer to pay Walter Erle from Christmas last v^{li} quarterly during his life whom the King's Majesty hath appointed oone of the gromes of the privie chambre.'

⁸² NA, C82/950, item 31 (warrant) and C 66/847, membranes 11–12 (enrollment); *CPR E6*, vol. 4, no. 336.

⁸³ I have not traced the original leases, but they are cited in two Elizabethan leases: *CPR Eliz.*, vol. 3, no. 1086 (9 April 1565), and vol. 5, no. 2111 (12 July 1571). The former calls Erle 'then a groom' of the privy chamber, whereas the latter calls him 'then a yeoman' of it. The land included part of Dunkeswell Priory, some eleven and a half miles north-west of Colcombe.

⁸⁴ A. Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music 1485–1558* (Snodland, 1993), pp. 417 and 421.

⁸⁵ NA, E101/427/11, no. 67. The version printed here follows the copy in LC5/49 (a collection of warrants dormant or warrants for recurrent actions that could 'sleep' until needed again), p. 48. 'Booge' or 'budge' was a kind of fur made of lamb's wool, used to trim garments. A list of wardrobe warrants 'signed by the queenes

We woll and Commaunde youe that Imediatly upon the syghte hereof ye deliver or cause to be delivered yerely unto *our* welbelovede *Servvante* Walter Earle oon of *our* prevye Chambre theise percelles Folowinge That is to saye fourtene yardes of good blacke velvett fourtene yardes of good blacke Damaske or Satten to make him a gowne Coate and doblett oon Furre of very good booge for the sayde Gowne price eyghte powndes twoo yardes d' [and a half] of fyne Marble Clothe to make him a winter Cooate two yardes d' [and a half] of Russett velvett to garde the sayde Cooate two yardes d' [and a half] of fyne grene clothe to make him a Sommer Cooate two yardes d' [and a half] of good grene velvett to garde the sayde Cooate withe makinge lyninge sylke buttons and all other necessarie thinges to the sayde gowne Cooate doblett furre and all other the premises in enywyse belonginge or apperteining and theise *our* lettres shalbe youre sufficiente warraunte and dischargde in that behalff yeven undre *our* Signett at *our* palaice of Westminster the fowerthe daye of Novembre in the furste yere of *our* Reigne.

This is precisely the same allotment, in terms of materials and wording, as that specified for four named grooms of the privy chamber on 16 October the same year.⁸⁶ On 26 August 1557, possibly as part of a general economy drive following an analysis of household expenditure made two years earlier, the lengths of cloth provided for Erle were reduced from fourteen yards to twelve and from two and a half to two, and the budge to trim his gown was to cost £6 rather than £8.⁸⁷

By implication, therefore, Erle's status in the privy chamber at the beginning of Mary's reign was that of a groom, as it had been under Edward VI. It is possible, however, that his position at this time was not entirely regular. There may be a hint of this in the designation of him as 'one of our privy chamber' in the document just quoted, in a context where it would have been useful—and, one would have thought, not difficult—to specify his rank. The apparently deliberate vagueness of the description is reminiscent of the phrase 'in lieu of' in the record of his initial appointment as an attendant to Queen Catherine Parr, and of his inclusion in an untitled group of servants at the burial of Henry VIII. It may also be significant that the livery warrants for Mary's coronation place him not among the grooms of the privy chamber but in a group of seventeen men of varied status.⁸⁸ Some of these were men of considerable eminence: Anthony, Edmund and Humphrey Bedingfield, sons of Sir Edmund Bedingfield (who had been head of Catherine of Aragon's household at Kimbolton Castle after her enforced retirement from court); Henry Radcliffe, a son of the Earl of Sussex and himself a future holder of the earldom; Henry Cornwallis, brother of Sir Thomas Cornwallis (a privy councillor and leading supporter of the queen); Henry Carey, a son of Anne Boleyn's sister Mary perhaps by Henry VIII himself. These individuals seem

maiestie' costs this clothing allocation at £41 6s. 10d. (LC5/31, pp. 16–17); Erle is among the servants receiving allowances 'duryng pleasure' rather than 'during lyfe'. The wardrobe accounts for the financial year ending at Michaelmas 1557 show the outlay to have been £39 9s. 8d. (E101/428/5, f. 41^v).

⁸⁶ George Brydman, Stephen Hadnoll, Thomas Lardge and Christopher Morehowse (LC5/49, p. 45). David Vincent, a singer who had been a groom of the privy chamber under Henry VIII and Edward VI, received a similar allowance on 26 September (*ibid.*, p. 57). On 8 December smaller allowances were made to four servants of the chamber—John Temple, Richarde Atkinson, Thomas Kente and William Maperleye—described as 'Sewers of *our* Chambre and owre iiij Ordinarye singers' (*ibid.*, p. 62). On 18 December 1556 three gentlemen of the chamber not described as musicians received larger allocations of cloth: sixteen yards of velvet and twenty of satin or damask (*ibid.*, p. 97).

⁸⁷ *Calendar of state papers domestic series of the reign of Mary I 1553–1558 preserved in the Public Record Office* (London, 1998), no. 234; LC5/49, p. 102; the reduction of the total outlay to £26 'of the new purchase' (*nova empzione*) is confirmed in the wardrobe accounts for the year 1557–8 (E101/428/10, f. 42^v).

⁸⁸ NA, E101/427/5, f. 50^r: 'We woll and commaund you to deliver unto thes persons hereafter foloing according to ther degrees suche sute of apparell as other hertofore have had agaynst *our* Coronacion'. He is not listed among the ordinary grooms of the chamber on f. 15.

to have been grouped together because although they did not hold official appointments at court they were considered important enough to deserve special consideration in the preparations for the forthcoming ceremony.

Other slightly later documents make it clear that Erle was promoted to the rank of gentleman of the privy chamber within a year or so of Mary's accession.⁸⁹ The wording of a patent dated 22 December 1554, confirming him in his Axmouth property and granting the yearly rent back to him (in effect remitting it) in return for a payment of £600, is quite explicit: Erle is now one of the gentlemen of the queen's privy chamber, but had been a groom of King Edward VI's privy chamber at the time of the original award in July 1552.⁹⁰ He is also styled a gentleman of the queen's privy chamber in a patent dated 18 December 1555 prolonging a lease of Newenham Priory (about three miles north east of Colbombe) that had previously been transferred to him from the recently executed father of Lady Jane Grey,⁹¹ and again in another of 3 July 1558 giving him licence to export English wheat to Spain, 'there to sell or distribute the same to his most profit and advantage'.⁹² The traffic was not entirely one-way: on New Year's Day 1556 Erle gave the queen 'a booke covered with blacke vellat of the Comentary of Warre, in Englishe'.⁹³

By the time of Elizabeth's accession in November 1558 Erle must have been at least in his late 30s—well into middle age by contemporary standards. The absence of his name from the wardrobe accounts, warrants and other documents concerning Elizabeth's household suggests that at the beginning of the new reign he gave up full-time attendance at court.⁹⁴ It was as an inhabitant of Colyton that he paid the first instalment of the subsidy voted to Queen Elizabeth by her first parliament.⁹⁵ If this is the case, Erle's withdrawal seems likely to have had more to do with his age and situation than with his character and beliefs. A courtier whose career had prospered despite the political and religious upheavals of the last fifteen years could surely have taken in his stride the relatively smooth transition from Mary to Elizabeth, had he so wished. Whatever the case, the available evidence suggests that although the focus of his activity moved from the court to the Dorset-Devon border where his property lay, he kept the queen's favour and at least a titular position in her household. During the 1560s and 70s there is evidence of him consolidating his position in east Devon and west Dorset, acquiring land in the area and augmenting his influence in the local community. On 8 April 1564 a licence was granted to one Philip Steynnynges to alienate the manor of East Morden and land in East and West Morden, Lytchett and Wareham, Dorset, to him.⁹⁶ Charborough lies in Morden parish, and Lytchett Maltravers, Lytchett Minster and Wareham are close at hand. On 28 June 1578 he requested from the queen the reversion of the parsonage of Morden; a warrant to grant the request, in consideration of his long service, was issued on 5 July; and on 18 November the grant itself was delivered, assigning to 'Walter Erle, of the Queen's privy chamber' the rectory and advowson of Morden, at a yearly rent of £12 3s. 4d., from Lady Day in that year.⁹⁷

⁸⁹ Why, then, is he still placed among the grooms in three wardrobe lists allocating five yards of 'tawny medley' (woollen cloth in various shades of brown) as 'watching livery' to the yeomen, grooms and pages of the chamber in autumn 1556, 1557 and 1558 (NA, LC5/31, p. 46, 30 October 1556; p. 86, 19 November 1557; and p. 123, 19 October 1558)? Perhaps because these lists were drawn up from a dormant warrant dating from a time when Erle was still a groom; since everybody mentioned received the same quantity of cloth irrespective of their rank there would have been no need to bring the warrant up to date.

⁹⁰ NA, C66/888, membranes 22–4; *CPR P&M*, vol. 2, no. 155.

⁹¹ NA, C66/903, membrane 26; *CPR P&M*, vol. 3, no. 183.

⁹² NA, C66/928, membrane 8; *CPR P&M*, vol. 4, no. 225.

⁹³ F. Madden, *op. cit.*, p. 230, quoting an unspecified source.

⁹⁴ He is, for example, not in the list of servants allocated watching livery on 13 October 1559 (NA, LC5/31, p. 171).

⁹⁵ NA, E115/137/25: 'x^{mo} die Novembris anno primo Regine Elyzabeth [1559]. Devonshire in the hundreth of Colyton. Receyvyd the sayde daye by me Jhon Cortney of Walter Erle esquire for the first payment of the subsidie grantyd to our soveraigne Ladie Quene Elyzabeth in the first yere of her reigne the somme of thre poundes fourtene shillinges eight pence'.

⁹⁶ *CPR Eliz.*, vol. 3, no. 543.

⁹⁷ *Calendar of the manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquess of Salisbury ... preserved at Hatfield House*,

He did not long survive this final acquisition. In his will, dated 4 January 1581, he made ample provision for his wife Mary, leaving her £20 in money, the income from the manor and parsonage of Axmouth, the income from four hundred sheep, six cows, six bullocks and six calves, and the use of the house at Bindon and its contents during her life. He left the reversion of these items, and the remainder of his property and possessions, including the Charborough estate and the contents of its house, to his son Thomas, requiring Thomas to pay his two unmarried sisters Bridget and Mary £400 each towards their marriage or maintenance. To the poor people of Morden and to those of Axmouth he made two bequests of 40s. The precise date of his death is unknown, but he was buried at Morden on 8 November 1581.⁹⁸ A commission *post mortem* was issued on 20 November.⁹⁹ Administration was granted to Thomas on 25 November, followed on 21 February 1582 by a licence for him to take up his inheritance.¹⁰⁰

The career of this courtier and country gentleman does not much resemble that of the average English musician of his day. One might doubt that the connection between him and the composer of *Ave vulnus lateris* was anything more than a coincidence of names were it not for four pieces of evidence indicating that Walter Erle of the privy chamber not only had musical interests (he owned at least one musical manuscript) but also possessed musical skills (he was a composer and keyboard player). The first is the payment to him made on behalf of Edward Seymour for a pair of virginals in June 1542.¹⁰¹ The second occurs in a collection of vocal music copied in 1742 by John Immyns, founder of the Madrigal Society, where f. 1^r is annotated ‘The following Seven from a Manuscript written in y^e year 1551 and w^{ch} belonged to Walterus Erle one of the Gentlemen of y^e Bedchamber to K. Henry y^e 8th’.¹⁰² The third is a pavan ascribed to Erle in several later sources of keyboard music.¹⁰³ The fourth occurs in the record of a later court appointment: ‘*Virginalls* Orlando Gibbons to attend in His Highnesses Privy Chamber which was heretofore supplied by Walter Earle deceased at £46 per annum from Michaelmas 1619’.¹⁰⁴ It appears, then, that whatever may have been the other qualities—gentle birth, influential connections, a pleasing countenance, an engaging manner, a quick wit—that helped to gain for Erle his admission to the privy chamber, the attribute that kept him there and assured his success was his musical ability. He was lucky that Henry VIII and his daughters were so fond of music and so generous in their patronage of it.

A significant part of Erle’s contribution to the life of the royal household must have been musical, as a solo keyboard player, a participant in instrumental and vocal consorts, and a composer. Evidence of his musical activity is lacking in official documents presumably because he was not a professional musician to be rewarded solely and explicitly for his musical services. He was unusual and difficult to classify: hence, perhaps, the periphrastic nature of some of the references to him. It is interesting to compare him in this respect with Philip van Wilder, a Flemish lutenist and composer who between the early 1520s and early 1550s had a distinguished career as a court musician, eventually himself becoming a gentleman of the privy chamber. The official records make no bones about calling van Wilder a musician and paying him as one, which they never do in Erle’s case. Where van Wilder deserved his position by virtue of his musical ability; Erle’s deserved his by his status and upbringing, his musical skill being a useful adjunct. As a gentleman whose musicality

Hertfordshire, vol. 13, p. 154; vol. 2, p. 184, no. 541; *CPR Eliz.*, vol. 8, no. 1204.

⁹⁸ Dorset History Centre, Dorchester, microfilm Mic/R/604 (Morden parish register of burials): ‘Walter Earle of Charborowghe Esquire was Buried viijth November [1581]’.

⁹⁹ *CPR Eliz.*, vol. 9, no. 1772.

¹⁰⁰ NA, PROB11/63, p. 339; *CPR Eliz.*, vol. 9, no. 1283.

¹⁰¹ See fn. 62.

¹⁰² Lbl, Add. MS 31406, ff. 1–24, originally numbered as pp. 43–90 of a more extensive manuscript. Three of the seven chansons mentioned are from Jhan Gero, *Il primo libro de madrigali italiani et canzoni francese* for two voices (Venice, 1541), one is by Pierre Certon and three are anonymous. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 30.G.5, is another copy by Immyns of the same material.

¹⁰³ It is entitled *Walter Earles Pavan* in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book (341/2–343/1), *Maister Earles Pavane* in Anthony Holborne’s *The Ciththarn Schoole* (London, 1597), H1^v–H2^f, and *Walter Erles Paven* in Cul, MS Dd.4.23, ff. 2–3.

¹⁰⁴ D. Pinto, op. cit., 13; A. Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music (1603–1625)* (Snodland, 1991), p. 106.

reinforced his credentials for membership of a select group, he embodied very well the ideal courtier depicted by Baldessare Castiglione in *Il Cortegiano* and by Sir Thomas Elyot in *The Boke named The Governour*.¹⁰⁵ It is also interesting to observe the breadth of catchment among the gentlemen of the Tudor privy chamber: a gentleman could be anything from an entertaining companion to a trusted counsellor, even an aspirant to power behind the throne. If Erle survived and prospered, it was at least partly because he was no Thomas Seymour; his ambitions were realistic, and he presented no threat to his masters or to his colleagues.

The earlier and potentially no less interesting phases of Walter Erle's career have still to be investigated. How did this member of an unimportant family of provincial gentry find his way from a market town in Devon to the royal court in London? How, when and where did he acquire the musical skills that sped his career as a courtier? Why should he, whose later musical activity seems to have been exclusively secular and instrumental, have composed a perfectly competent and rather adventurous motet? How did this motet come to be copied into *Ph*? At present such questions can elicit only speculation. Erle may have received a perfectly adequate musical education at or close to home. In the early sixteenth century Devon was by no means a musical desert. Polyphonic church music was certainly sung in Exeter (in the cathedral and perhaps some parish churches), Crediton and Ottery St Mary (in the collegiate parish churches), Ashburton (in the non-collegiate parish church), and Dartmouth (in an unidentified foundation), while the Ritson manuscript may have ended its working life in a parish church or private chapel in the west of the county, perhaps somewhere around Great Torrington. If polyphony could be sung in Ashburton, there is no obvious reason why it could not also have been performed in other prosperous towns such as Tiverton, Honiton and Cullompton, where no vestige of or reference to it now survives.

Erle's introduction into the royal court seems likely to have been contrived by a local acquaintance who already had access to it. A possible candidate is Sir Thomas Denys of Holcombe Burnell near Exeter, a lawyer and administrator who served as sheriff of Devon, recorder of Exeter, chamberlain to Cardinal Wolsey, comptroller to the Princess Mary (1526), a banner-bearer at Jane Seymour's funeral (1537), and chancellor to Anne of Cleves (1540).¹⁰⁶

Presumably Erle composed *Ave vulnus lateris* in response to a specific opportunity or need: he found himself in an environment where such a piece could be accepted for performance. In the religious context of the late 1530s and early 1540s this meditation upon the wound in Jesus' side would have been considerably less controversial than a Marian antiphon, and need not have offended the prejudices of either traditionalists or reformers. The likelihood that much of the *Ph* repertory was collected at Oxford suggests the possibility that Erle was one of the growing number of Tudor gentry who spent time at the university without taking a degree or leaving any other evidence of their presence, and that he either brought the piece with him to Oxford or composed it during his sojourn there.¹⁰⁷ Another possibility is that he composed it during his early years in London and that Thomas Bull came across it there during his move from Oxford to Canterbury. Still another is that somehow it found its way independently to Canterbury.

This sketch of Erle's career illustrates a type of musician of relatively high social rank whose existence and influence in Tudor England have been rather obscured by assumptions about and emphasis upon the humble status of most members of the musical profession.¹⁰⁸ It also offers a salutary reminder that the performance of sacred polyphony was not exclusive to the choral

¹⁰⁵ B. Castiglione, *Il Cortegiano* (Venice, 1528), translated by T. Hoby as *The Courtyer of Count Baldessar Castilio ...* (London, 1561), ed. W. A. Raleigh (London, 1900); Sir T. Elyot, *The boke named The governour* (London, 1531), Everyman's Library, vol. 227 (London, 1907).

¹⁰⁶ See the article on him in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

¹⁰⁷ There is a slight possibility of a connection between Erle and Oxford through Nicholas Tucker, an Exeter musician who received the choirmaster's salary at Magdalen College in 1532–3 (Omc, *LC 1530–42*, f. 42^r: 'Solutum Nicholao Tucker chorustagogo pro stipendio suo hoc anno vij^{li} xiiij^s iiiij^d').

¹⁰⁸ In the 1970s and early 1980s my speculative identifications of *Ph* composers with namesakes of a similar place and date were sometimes dismissed by specialist historians on the grounds that the namesake was too elevated socially to have been a church musician. When I discussed Erle's career with one of these experts in 2008, he still appeared to believe that the composer could not have been the same person as the courtier.

foundations that have been analysed so expertly and single-mindedly since the 1950s; it will be some time before the study of its cultivation by chamber musicians in royal, noble and gentle households can round out the picture.

Doctor R. FAIREFAX, *FAYREFAX*, FAYRFAX.¹⁰⁹ Robert Fayrfax was born on 23 April 1464 at Deeping Gate, Lincolnshire, the sixth of at least twelve children born to William Fayrfax, Esq. (d. 1498) and his second wife, Anne, daughter of Robert Tanfeld, Esq. The Fayrfaxes were typical minor gentry of the period, intermarrying with other armigerous families and creating ties of respect and obligation with their neighbours. The list of god-parents and sponsors chosen by his parents for their children includes local notables such as an abbot of Peterborough, an archdeacon of Leicester, and members of one of the richest mercantile families in the district.¹¹⁰ It also reveals sustained relationships with their landlord, Margaret Beauchamp, dowager-duchess of Somerset, her children, and prominent members of her household, who frequently resided at Maxey castle nearby. When Margaret Beauchamp died in 1482 Maxey passed to her daughter Margaret Beaufort, who had often stayed there during her childhood; three years later, Margaret Beaufort became the first lady of the kingdom through her son's victory at Bosworth and accession as Henry VII. Robert Fayrfax's early career may have owed something to the patronage of Margaret and her relations, whose prestige and influence now greatly increased.

As a younger son in a large brood, Robert had little prospect of playing a leading role within his family; he would have been expected to enter a profession appropriate to the family's status and ambitions, and it is interesting that the life of a professional musician was evidently not regarded as being demeaning. He may have received his musical training at one of the three major collegiate churches in the area: Fotheringhay, about 11 miles south-west of Deeping Gate, founded and lavishly maintained by the House of York; Higham Ferrers, some 16 miles further to the south west; and Tattershall, about 30 miles to the north-east, recently created by Ralph, Baron Cromwell, but destined to pass into the hands of Margaret Beaufort in 1487.

Nothing is known of Fayrfax's early career. When we first meet him, he is already in his mid-30s and among the elite of his profession: letters patent dated 6 December 1497, granting him the chaplaincy of Snodhill Castle, Herefordshire, describe him as a Gentleman of (that is, a singer in) the Royal Household Chapel.¹¹¹ Chaplaincies and other sinecures were often given to royal servants, and seem sometimes to have been traded like other commodities. Fayrfax resigned this chaplaincy after less than a year, and on 16 November 1498 it was reassigned to Robert Cooper or Cowper, Master of the Children in Margaret Beaufort's household chapel. Like other clerks in royal service, Fayrfax was also nominated to receive corrodiés or pensions from religious houses: on 29 March 1498 he was awarded a corrody in the monastery of Selby, Yorkshire;¹¹² on 19 December 1498 he and his colleague Thomas Bladesmyth requested another, with unknown results;¹¹³ on 4 December 1501 he was granted one in the monastery of Stanley, Wiltshire, which he surrendered in favour of another gentleman of the chapel, John Fysshier, on 21 February 1513.¹¹⁴

Several lists of members of the royal household survive from the later years of Henry VII and the reign of Henry VIII, and Fayrfax is listed among the gentlemen of the chapel in all of them until his death. In the earliest list, recording allocations of livery for the funeral of Prince Edmund, third son of Henry VII, who died on 19 June 1500, he is named thirteenth out of fifteen gentlemen;¹¹⁵ in the next, for the funeral of Queen Elizabeth, wife of Henry VII (23 February

¹⁰⁹ This entry quotes extensively from my article on Fayrfax in the *New Dictionary of National Biography*.

¹¹⁰ Obl, MS Lat. Liturg. e. 10, a fragmentary fifteenth-century book of hours which belonged to Fayrfax's immediate family, records the birth dates of the composer and his siblings and the names of many of their godparents and sponsors.

¹¹¹ *Calendar of the patent rolls ... Henry VII, 1495–1504* (London, 1916), p. 121. He resigned this chaplaincy in favour of his colleague Robert Cooper on 16 November 1498 (*ibid.*, p. 154).

¹¹² Reference

¹¹³ Reference

¹¹⁴ *LPH8*, vol. 1, part 1, grant 1732/11.

¹¹⁵ Reference

1503) he is named ninth out of eighteen;¹¹⁶ in the next, for the funeral of Henry VII himself (9 May 1509) he is named fifth out of eighteen.¹¹⁷ Since existing gentlemen's names move up these lists as names above them drop out, and names of new gentlemen are added at the bottom, the fact Fayrfax's name moves up four places between June 1500 and February 1503 suggests that he cannot have joined the chapel long before the first mention of him in December 1497; otherwise there would probably have been more than two singers below him in 1500. In 1502 he joined the Fraternity of St Nicholas, a guild of London parish clerks which had many professional musicians among its members.¹¹⁸ He is probably the Robert Fairfax who leased property belonging to the chapel of St Thomas, London Bridge, between 1501 and 1506.¹¹⁹

The accession of Henry VIII seems to have brought Fayrfax significant advancement. In the livery list for the new king's coronation (24 June 1509) he is named first among the gentlemen of the chapel, above four senior colleagues (including the new master of the choristers, William Newark) whose names had preceded his in the list for the funeral of the king's father seven weeks earlier.¹²⁰ He also heads the gentlemen in the livery list for the funeral of the infant prince Henry (27 February 1511, when for the first time he is styled 'M. Doctor Farefax')¹²¹ and in the attendance list at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in the summer of 1520.¹²² Between December 1509 and December 1513 he also received payments for the board and teaching of two chapel choristers, William Alderson and Arthur Lovekyn, described as 'the king's scholars'.¹²³

Fayrfax also received considerable financial rewards from Henry VIII. On 20 June 1509, four days before the coronation, he was awarded a lifetime annuity of £9 2s. 6d.;¹²⁴ from 16 November 1513 he shared this annuity with one Robert Bithsey or Blithsee. On 10 September 1514 he was appointed a Poor Knight of the King's Alms at Windsor, receiving 12d. a day for life.¹²⁵ On each New Year's Day from 1516 to 1520 inclusive he gave the king a present and received a generous payment in return: £13 6s. 8d. 'in Reward for a boke';¹²⁶ £20 'for a boke of Antemys';¹²⁷ £20 'for a pricksonge boke';¹²⁸ £20 'for a balet bok lymned';¹²⁹ and £13 6s. 8d. for an unspecified item.¹³⁰ Gifts of this nature and rewards on this scale, worth about double a singing-man's annual salary, suggest that Fayrfax's position at court was not that of a run-of-the-mill chapel musician.

Fayrfax seems to have been the first composer to hold degrees in music from both universities: he graduated B.Mus. at Cambridge in 1501, stating that he had studied and practised music for ten years; he took the Mus.D. there in 1504: and he was incorporated D.Mus. at Oxford in 1511.¹³¹ At this time music degrees were usually awarded in recognition of compositional skill demonstrated in a test-piece. The heading 'Doctor ffeyrfax for his forme in proceadinge to bee Doctor' in one copy of his Mass *O quam glorifica* does not specify the university awarding the degree, but if either doctorate was honorary one would expect it to have been the later one. As

¹¹⁶ Reference

¹¹⁷ *LPH8*, vol. 1, part 1, no. 18.

¹¹⁸ Reference

¹¹⁹ Reference

¹²⁰ *LPH8*, no. 41.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, no. 382.

¹²² *Ibid.*, vol. 3, part 1, no. 245.

¹²³ For example in 1510: *ibid.*, vol. 2, part 2, no. 1448.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, part 1, grant 94/83.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, part 2, grant 3324/10.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, part 2, no. 1469.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, part 2, no. 1473.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, part 2, no. 1476.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, part 2, no. 1533.

¹³⁰ Reference?

¹³¹ A. B. Emden, *A biographical register of the University of Cambridge to 1500* (Cambridge, 1963), hereafter referred to as *Emden Cambridge–1500* (Cambridge, 1963), p. 222. The grace for the Mus.B. was sought on the grounds that ten years study and practice in music sufficed.

mentioned above, the earliest reference to him as Doctor of Music dates from February 1511. His exercise for the Oxford baccalaureate, if he submitted one and it still exists, has not been identified.

For much of his life Fayrfax maintained an association with St Alban's Abbey, the precise nature of which has yet to be established. Anthony à Wood states that he was 'informer chori' there: if this was the case, the choir in question is likely to have been that of the abbey's Lady Chapel rather than that of the monastic community itself, and Fayrfax can hardly have served as a full-time choirmaster at St Albans after joining the Royal Household Chapel. The existence of some kind of long-term relationship involving the composition of music is, however, suggested by the existence of the *Albanus* Mass and the votive antiphon *O Maria deo grata/O Albane deo grate*, and by his burial in the abbey church. The payment of 20s. that he received from Henry VII's queen Elizabeth of York on 28 March 1502, for 'an Anthem of our lady and Saint Elisabeth' (almost certainly the votive antiphon *Aeternae laudis lilium*), has no bearing on his connection with St Alban's, because the payment must have been given and received at Richmond, where the court spent Easter that year, and not, as is sometimes assumed, at St Alban's.

A seventeenth-century sketch of the brass long vanished from his grave-slab shows him standing with his wife above the inscription 'Pray for the soules of Master Robert ffayerfax doctor of music and Agnes his wife the w[hi]ch Robert decessed the xxiiij day of October the yeare Mo. vc. xxi on whose soules Jh[es]u have mercy amen.' Agnes outlived her husband, being granted Letters of Administration of his estate 'while he lived in the parish of St Andrews' on 14 November 1521,¹³² but nothing more is known of her. A grave-slab in the abbey church with indents roughly matching the brasses shown in the sketch of 1643 also has indents for two smaller brasses which probably depicted two sons and two daughters, but there seems to be no other evidence that Robert and Agnes had any children. Although this grave-slab was restored to mark the quatercentenary of Robert's death in 1921, there is no conclusive evidence that it is his.

Robart HUNT. Perhaps the Hunt *alias* 'Stacionar' who was a chorister of Magdalen College, Oxford, between Michaelmas 1486 and July 1493.¹³³ This would imply a birthdate in the mid-to-later 1470s, which suggests that he could have started a career as an adult musician in about 1500. A namesake was chaplain of the chantry of bishop Radulph in Chichester Cathedral in 1535.¹³⁴

[Jacquet of Mantua.] According to *The New Grove* Jacquet of Mantua, *alias* Jacques Colebault (1483–1559), was a French composer who spent most of his career in Italy. By 1519 he was a singer in the household of the Rangoni family in Modena; in 1525 he was working for the Este in Ferrara. In about 1526 he settled in Mantua where he spent most of the rest of his life; from 1534 until his death he was titular *Maestro di Cappella* of the cathedral, in which capacity he was directly responsible to Ercole Cardinal Gonzaga (1505–63), bishop of Mantua and papal legate to Charles V. Jacquet is not named in *Ph*, but the motet *Aspice domine* is by him (it seems to have been his most widely circulated composition); the work is anonymous in the music pages of *Ph* but in the indices it is ascribed to 'Lupus Italus', the composer of the Mass which follows it. It is not clear how this motet found its way into *Ph*, but Lewis Lockwood has rejected the possibility that the version of Lupus's Mass *Surrexit pastor bonus* in *Ph* could have been copied from any of the contemporary printed sources.¹³⁵

The accounts of Magdalen College, Oxford, make several references during the 1530s to a 'Master Jakett' (variously spelt). First mentioned as the recipient of a payment of 20s. for livery in 1535–6,¹³⁶ he is named as instructor of the choristers between Michaelmas 1536 and Michaelmas 1539, receiving the full salary in 1536–7¹³⁷ and 1537–8¹³⁸ and sharing it with 'Master Applebie' in

¹³² Hertford, Hertfordshire County Council, register Walingford, f. 180^v.

¹³³ Omc, Bursary Book 1477–86, ff. 94^v–107^r; Bursary Book 1490–99, ff. ??r–105^r. J. R. Bloxham, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 2, and W. D. Macray, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 176, give Hunt's dates as 1487–94. *BenhamL*, p. 160 gives his first name incorrectly as Richard.

¹³⁴ *VE*, vol. 1, p. 302.

¹³⁵ L. Lockwood, *op. cit.*, p. 345.

¹³⁶ *LC 1530–42*, f. 67^v.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, f. 94^r.

1538–9;¹³⁹ the obvious inference is that he took over from the acting instructor¹⁴⁰ some time before Michaelmas 1536 and that he left without completing the year 1538–9. The ‘lacket’ listed by Thomas Morley among the ‘practicioners’ whose music he had consulted was presumably the same man.¹⁴¹ Could this man possibly have been Jacquet of Mantua? The odds would seem to lie heavily against it, because the documentation of Jacquet’s activity at Mantua scarcely leaves room for so lengthy an absence.¹⁴² Also, such an appointment would have been a remarkable (and momentous) one for an English collegiate foundation to make, and one might expect it to have left more abundant evidence in the form of insular copies of Jacquet’s music. I fear that unless some conclusive supporting evidence does come to light, this tantalising coincidence of names must be regarded as no more than that.

Robart(e) JONYS. Probably Robert Jones or Johns, a gentleman of the Royal Household Chapel. It is possible that he was related to Edward John, Johns or Jones, a gentleman of the chapel who is first mentioned in June 1486 and had died by March 1512, but there is no proof of this. Robert’s name first occurs in a list of gentlemen present at the Field of the Cloth of Gold;¹⁴³ it occurs again in the lay subsidy roll of 1524,¹⁴⁴ and once more in the wages list which is commonly dated to 1525/6 but which must date from about 1533/4.¹⁴⁵ He is not listed among the gentlemen present at the burial of Prince Henry on 27 February 1511¹⁴⁶ or among the members of the royal household in the lay subsidy roll of June 1545.¹⁴⁷ There seems to be no factual basis for Flood’s claim that he was in the chapel as early as 1512/13.¹⁴⁸

Thomas KNYGHT. Probably the lay-vicar and instructor of that name at Salisbury Cathedral from c. 1526 to 1543 or later. He is not mentioned in a Salisbury choir-list for 1549–50.¹⁴⁹

Nicolas [*sic*] LUDFORD(E). Nicholas Ludford (c. 1485–c. 1557), verger of St Stephen’s Chapel, Westminster, from at least 1527 until its dissolution in 1548.¹⁵⁰ The earliest known reference to Ludford records his admission as ‘clericus’ to the Fraternity of St Nicholas in 1521. All St Stephen’s Chapel (or, to give it its official title, the Royal Free Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, f. 113^r.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, f. 130^v.

¹⁴⁰ The *Stipendia Lectorum* for 1534–5 includes this entry: ‘Solutum D. Grenaker informatori chorustarum in musica hoc anno viij^{li}’ (Omc, *LC 1530–42.*, f. 72^r). The *Stipendia Lectorum* for 1535–6 has: ‘Solutum informatoribus chorustarum in musica hoc anno vj^{li} xij^s’ (*ibid.*, f. 90^v).

¹⁴¹ T. Morley, *A plaine and easie introduction to practicall musicke* ... (London, 1597, R/1971), final page.

¹⁴² Professor George Nugent informed me in a letter dated 8 September 1982 that ‘Jacquet’s presence at Mantua is documented, in one way or another, for every year from 1534 to 1539 inclusive ... Although there is no comprehensive or altogether reliable source of information on the career of Ercole Gonzaga, so far I have no indication that he ever visited England.’ I am grateful to Professor Nugent for his help.

¹⁴³ *LPH8*, vol. 3, part 1, no. 245.

¹⁴⁴ NA, E179/69/23.

¹⁴⁵ *LPH8*, vol. 4, part 1, no. 1939/10. The list names Robert Pury and Edward Bekham as gentlemen. Pury was an ex-chorister who lodged with William Crane until April 1531 (see Lbl, Add. MS 20030, a list of privy purse expenses of Henry VIII, f. 64^r: ‘Item the same [first] daye [of April 1531] paied to Robert Pury for his bourde and bourde wages due for one quarter ended as then xliij^s viii^d). Bekham died in November 1540; his will, dated 16 November, in which he left a salt to William Crane, two cups to William’s wife Margaret and a ring of gold to Richard Bramston, was proved on 4 December 1540 (see F. W. Warner, *Somerset Medieval Wills 1531–1558*, p. 63). This list must therefore have been compiled between these dates. By the time that it was written another five gentlemen had joined the chapel after Pury, which in terms of average turnover would suggest that between two and three years had elapsed after Pury’s own entry: hence the dating c. 1533/4.

¹⁴⁶ *LPH8*, vol. 1, part 1, no. 707.

¹⁴⁷ NA, E179/69/36.

¹⁴⁸ W. H. G. Flood, *Early Tudor Composers* (London, 1925), p. 69.

¹⁴⁹ *Bowers*, p. A051; *VE*, vol. 2, pp. 100 and 144.

¹⁵⁰ This entry is indebted to D. Skinner, *Nicholas Ludford (c. 1490–1557): a biography and critical edition of the antiphons, with a study of the Collegiate Chapel of the Holy Trinity, Arundel, under the Mastership of Edward Higgon, and a history of the Caius and Lambeth choirbooks*, D.Phil. dissertation (University of Oxford, 1995).

Stephen the Protomartyr) was a rather more grand institution than its abbreviated name implies. It was a collegiate church attached to the royal palace of Westminster; its dean presided over a community of twelve canons, thirteen vicars choral, four chantry priests, four clerks, seven choristers, four other chapel officers and several 'bedepersons' or almsmen and women. St Stephen's and its identical sister-college, the Chapel of St George in Windsor Castle, had been founded in 1348 by Edward III in order to provide these ancient royal residences with a permanent staff of clergy and singers comparable to the royal household chapel, the religious department of the monarch's personal household. Despite their similar origins these two institutions experienced contrasting fortunes, with the result that one is still prominent in the national consciousness while the other is almost forgotten. Windsor Castle has remained in royal hands, and St George's Chapel in the castle has continued to be a major choral foundation up to the present day. Westminster Palace, however, was abandoned as a residence after the domestic apartments were destroyed by fire in 1512; St Stephen's Chapel was dissolved in 1547 as part of the wholesale closure of collegiate foundations carried out under Edward VI, and the chapel building itself became the regular meeting-place of the House of Commons until 1834, when what was left of the palace, except Westminster Hall together with the cloisters adjoining the chapel and the crypt beneath it, burnt down. The present Houses of Parliament were built on the site of the palace, with St Stephen's Hall, along which visitors pass on their way to the central lobby, lying precisely where the chapel had been; the lofty vaulting of this hall and its imposing length of 95 feet give some idea of the dimensions of the chapel that Ludford would have known, even if they cannot recall the splendour of its furnishings and decoration.¹⁵¹

The evidence for Ludford's association with St Stephen's Chapel comes from documents drawn up at the time of its dissolution in 1547: a list of the former employees of the chapel, compiled so that they could be paid pensions to replace their lost salaries, names him as verger, and a certificate of his pension entitlement includes a copy of the contract that had appointed him verger and organist on 30 September 1527.¹⁵² The contract referred to the 'manifold services in the skill of singing and organ-playing' that he had previously contributed and intended to contribute in the future, implying that these were the skills considered essential to his position, and also that he had already served a period of probation. It may seem rather surprising to find a specialist musician occupying the position of verger; nowadays the word, derived from the *virga* or wand of office that a verger carries when performing some of his duties (for example when leading a procession along its appointed route), denotes a rather lowly position in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. It is however possible that in at least some choral foundations the office of verger had by the later Middle Ages evolved to embrace other duties of greater consequence, of which no formal description survives. Such duties could have been connected with the performance of choral polyphony which, being a fairly new phenomenon, was seldom adequately catered for in the constitutions of older foundations. The notion of musicians carrying wands when supervising performances strikes many chords across the centuries: the rulers or directors of a plainchant choir customarily carried staves; Lully gave himself a fatal wound with the cane with which he beat time; many modern conductors use a baton; and three blows with a stave still signal 'curtain-up' in France. It is noteworthy that in 1457 the position of verger at St Stephen's was occupied by another eminent musician and composer, John Bedyngham, while in the 1460s and 70s yet another composer, John Plummer, was verger of St George's Chapel, Windsor.

If Ludford's vergership gave him charge of the polyphonic music performed in St Stephen's Chapel, he would probably have had to serve a period of probation in order to show his fitness for so important a position. Such probationary terms usually lasted between one and three years, so Ludford could have been in this post on a trial basis as early as 1524. He was in fact probably already a member of the college on 29 July 1524 when, in the company of men who certainly were members, he witnessed the will of one of the canons. He may not yet have been probationary verger; he could have been a vicar choral or lay clerk who subsequently showed himself worthy of

¹⁵¹ See I. Hodgson's conjectural drawing of the chapel in M. Hastings, *Parliament House* (London, 1950).

¹⁵² NA, E301/88 membrane 8^v.

promotion. When his association with St Stephen's began is a matter for speculation. The first known record of him in any context finds him already in Westminster, when in January 1517 he took up the tenancy of lodgings in King Street belonging to Westminster Abbey. In 1521 he joined the Fraternity of St Nicholas, a guild of priests, clerks and lay associates living and working in the City of London and its environs, including Westminster.¹⁵³ Membership was important for a church musician because, like membership of any trade guild, it allowed him freely to exercise his profession. Ludford may have joined the Fraternity because he had recently obtained, or hoped soon to obtain, employment at St Stephen's. At Michaelmas 1522 he gave up the tenancy of his lodgings in King Street; again this could have been connected with an appointment at St Stephen's, for the college lodged many of its employees in properties owned by itself. The copying of his Mass *Lapidaverunt Stephanum* into the Lambeth choirbook no later than the early 1520s strongly implies an existing association with St Stephen's chapel.

It is thus possible to sketch a plausible scenario for Ludford's career at St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, over a period of about twenty-five years: he joins the chapel as a singer in 1521 or 1522, becomes probationary verger and organist in about 1524 or 1525, is confirmed in these posts in 1527, and retains them until the college is dissolved in 1547. Of his previous career nothing is known. It has been suggested that he could for a time have been a member of the royal household chapel, but it seems unlikely that he would voluntarily have relinquished so prestigious and potentially lucrative a position. No membership lists of the royal household chapel exist between those recording attendance at the funeral of the young Prince Henry on 27 February 1511 and at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in the early summer of 1520; Ludford's name is not in either of these, or in any other known document emanating from the royal household. It seems rather more likely that Ludford's career in Westminster began at a somewhat lower level, as a singer in one—or indeed more than one—of the city churches that cultivated polyphony, such as the parish church of St Margaret (with which he had many connections later on), or as a member of the Lady chapel choir of Westminster Abbey, his landlord between 1517 and 1522. Ludford's Mass *Regnum mundi*, which is based on a *cantus firmus* sung in the Use of Salisbury only on the feasts of St Winifred and St Margaret, may even have been composed for his parish church, St Margaret's, Westminster.

If Ludford was appointed verger of St Stephen's in his mid-30s he would have been in his mid-50s when the chapel was dissolved in 1547. There is no evidence that he ever sought or held another musical position: his yearly pension of £12 was equivalent to his previous salary; by the standards of his time he was easily of retirement age; and the policy of Edward VI's government meant that permanent full-time employment as a church musician was virtually unobtainable. The available evidence suggests that he continued to live in Westminster in property that had previously belonged to St Stephen's,¹⁵⁴ and that he interested himself in the affairs of the parish of St Margaret in which he lived. In 1533/4 the churchwardens of St Margaret's paid him 20s. for a book of polyphonic music (perhaps it contained his Mass *Regnum mundi*);¹⁵⁵ he may have been a member of the Guild of the Assumption associated with the church.¹⁵⁶ He was one of the witnesses of the parish churchwardens' accounts in 1537, 1542, 1544, 1547, 1549, 1551 and 1556; he contributed to 'the makyng of seynt kateryn tabernakle' in 1527 and bought 'the foote of the tabernacle that stode in the trynytie chapell' when it was removed in 1551;¹⁵⁷ he himself was one of the churchwardens from May 1552 to May 1554, and thus he had a role to play in providing what was necessary for the reintroduction of the Latin rite following the accession of Queen Mary in 1553.

Ludford's circumstances in his later years thus seem to have been relatively pleasant, in that he had adequate means and was a figure of some standing in the local community. Already on 29 June 1538 he had been granted exemption from jury-service and other civic responsibilities;¹⁵⁸ the

¹⁵³ First noticed by H. Baillie, 'Nicholas Ludford (c. 1485–c. 1557)', *MQ*, vol. 44 (1958), p. 197. The membership roll of the fraternity is MS 4889/PC in the Guildhall Library, London.

¹⁵⁴ *CPR E6 1549–50*, vol. 3, p. 10.

¹⁵⁵ Reference

¹⁵⁶ H. Baillie, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

¹⁵⁷ H. F. Westlake, *St Margaret's Westminster: the church of the House of Commons* (London, 1914), p. 31.

¹⁵⁸ *LPH8*, vol. 13, part 1, grant 1519/4.

reason for this is not clear—failing health has been suggested—but the concession suggests that he was prominent enough to be eligible for responsible duties, and influential enough to be able to avoid them.¹⁵⁹ He was still receiving a government pension in 1555.¹⁶⁰ He signed his will on 4 May 1557, describing himself as ‘hole In bodye and perfyght in Remembraunce’ and declaring his faith in ‘oure lorde Iesu Chryste and ... hys Blessyd mother Sayncte marye and all the holly company of heven’; he was buried in St Margaret’s church on 9 August in the same year. In his will he mentions two wives: Anne, whose burial in the same church had taken place on 9 December 1552; and Helen or Ellen, whom he married in St Margaret’s church on 21 May 1554, who survived him. No children are mentioned in the will, but a Thomas Ludford and an Annis Ludford, whose marriages took place in St Margaret’s church in 1566 and 1579, could have been his son and daughter. Given the scarcity of the name Ludford in the archives of St Margaret’s parish, it seems likely that references in the churchwarden’s accounts to Johanna Ludforde (1461), Thomas Ludford (1476), Anne Ludfford (1520) and Margaret Ludford (1525) were members of the same family. It is also tempting to associate Nicholas with John Ludforde, part of whose Mass *Dame sans pere* survives in a fragment now at Zwickau; a John Ludforde joined the Fraternity of St Nicholas in 1495.

We should not infer from the apparent uneventfulness of Ludford’s career that he was working in a backwater. As a choral foundation directly associated with royal patronage and government, St Stephen’s Chapel would have been expected to keep fully abreast of musical fashion. In a wider context, early-Tudor Westminster witnessed an exceptionally vigorous cultivation of church music.¹⁶¹ It was the home of a number of professional choirs, such as those of St Stephen’s Chapel itself, the parish church of St Margaret and the Abbey’s Lady Chapel, and there is substantial evidence of extensive musical co-operation involving these choirs and that of the royal household chapel. The involvement of the royal household chapel reflects the fact that Westminster was a favourite royal residence, second only to Richmond under Henry VII, and second only to Greenwich under his son. The amount of time spent at Westminster by Henry VIII and his court is particularly impressive because it was essentially crammed into two periods—up to the destruction of the residential quarters of the palace of Westminster in the fire of 1512, and subsequent to the king’s acquisition of York Place (later renamed Whitehall) from Cardinal Wolsey in 1529. Several of the members of Henry VII’s household chapel had connections with Westminster, such as property holdings, commercial interests and positions in the civic hierarchy, and although the seventeen-year hiatus between 1512 and 1529 caused Greenwich to replace Westminster as the preferred environment of Henry VIII’s chapel musicians, many of the old relationships persisted.

LUPUS ITALUS. The current state of confusion about the identities and interrelationships of the various sixteenth-century composers called Lupus is set out in *The New Grove*. It is impossible to state definitely which Lupus wrote the Mass *Surrexit pastor bonus*. Lockwood lists the conflicting attributions made in seven sources:¹⁶² ‘Johannes Lupus’, ‘Luppi’, ‘Lupo’, (Anonymous), ‘Lupus Hellinck’, ‘Lupus’ and (in *Ph*) ‘Lupus Italus’. The fact that neither Lupus Hellinck or Johannes Lupus of Cambrai is known to have worked in Italy cannot be held to rule them out of contention, because we do not know the authority (or even the significance) of the Peterhouse ascription. Nevertheless, an earlier Lupus, for whom a career in Italy has been suggested by Lowinsky,¹⁶³ may be the strongest candidate, particularly in view of this composer’s possible association with Andrea de Silva, on one of whose motets this Mass is based. Lockwood has observed that the Peterhouse copy does not seem to have been made from any of the printed editions.¹⁶⁴ Hofman’s comment

¹⁵⁹ H. Baillie, op. cit., p. 200; see also *The New Grove*.

¹⁶⁰ Lbl, Add. MS 8102, membrane 7^v. Ludford’s name is the twenty-fourth in the right-hand column.

¹⁶¹ The information in this paragraph is mainly drawn from F. Kisby, ‘Music and Musicians of early Tudor Westminster’, *EM*, 23 (1995), 223–40, and *The royal household chapel in early-Tudor London, 1485–1547*, Ph.D. dissertation (University of London, 1996).

¹⁶² L. Lockwood, op. cit., p. 341.

¹⁶³ E. E. Lowinsky, ‘A Newly Discovered Sixteenth Century Motet Manuscript at the Biblioteca Vallicelliana’ in *JAMS*, vol. 3 (1950), pp. 173–232; see also his ‘The Medici Codex, a Document of Music, Art and Politics in the Renaissance’ in *AM*, vol. 5 (1957), pp. 61–178.

¹⁶⁴ L. Lockwood, op. cit., p. 345.

that the inclusion of *Lupus* in *Ph* merely argues a university provenance for the partbooks (where printed books would have been available),¹⁶⁵ should therefore be treated with caution.¹⁶⁶

Edward(e) MARTYN. Possibly the Edward Martyn associated with Magdalen College, Oxford, between about 1485 and 1518. He is first mentioned as a chorister from Michaelmas 1485 to 1 July 1486, when he was elected demy or foundation scholar;¹⁶⁷ he was a Fellow of the college between 1496 and 1504¹⁶⁸ and usher of the school in 1498.¹⁶⁹ In 1503/4 he was paid 8*d.* for beer laid in by him at Witney for students.¹⁷⁰ In 1504/5 he gave books to the college¹⁷¹ and in 1506/7 8*d.* was paid to a man who came to Magdalen bringing ‘cantica’ from him (where Martyn himself was at that time is not stated).¹⁷² On or about 3 June 1518 he and another master called Web were entertained to ‘vino, comfetes, mermeylad, wafrons ... pane et potu’ which cost the college 3*s.*11*d.*¹⁷³ The books of canon and civil law received ‘ex dono Magistro Martyn’ by the college in 1524/5¹⁷⁴ were actually given by Henry Martyn, not by Edward.¹⁷⁵ Edward’s own biography is complicated by the presence at Oxford of a nearly contemporary namesake who was at Corpus Christi College.¹⁷⁶ Hofman gives our Edward Martyn’s dates at Magdalen as 1445–1504, which makes one think that by 1486 he must have been the senior treble by a good many years, and probably the oldest demy on record.¹⁷⁷

John MASON ‘Cicerstensis’. Although the career of the John Mason who contributed four antiphons to the Peterhouse partbooks has been investigated by several writers, some aspects of it remain obscure or controversial.¹⁷⁸ It is not always easy to distinguish him from other bearers of what was not an uncommon name, especially when that name is found in the same context of ecclesiastical preferment. Nor is it always possible to be sure that John Masons occurring in apparently discrete professional environments are not one and the same man.¹⁷⁹ While certain events of our composer’s life can be traced with some confidence, he disappears from view during two lengthy periods between 1510 and 1521 and during the 1530s and early 1540s.

The possibility of confusion between two homonymous members of ecclesiastical choirs arises very early in John Mason’s career. It used to be generally assumed that he could be identified

¹⁶⁵ M. Hofman, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

¹⁶⁶ I do not in any case understand why Dr Hofman thought that printed music should have been more likely to be found at the universities than in private household chapels. Lbl, Harley MS 599, an inventory of Wolsey’s household goods taken in 1530, includes among the contents of the chapel listed on f. 118^r: ‘A masse booke of papir in printe. A priksongbooke in printe. Another grete booke of papir in printe’.

¹⁶⁷ Omc, Bursary Book 1477–86, ff. 37^v–92^r. Macray, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 179, states that Martyn was elected in 1484 aged 17.

¹⁶⁸ J. R. Bloxham, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 1.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 1.

¹⁷⁰ W. D. Macray, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 33.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 34.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 62.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 70.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 126.

¹⁷⁵ *Emden Oxford–1500*, p. 1234. This is unlikely to have been the same man as the Henry Martyn who was instructor at Magdalen in the mid-1490s (*LC 1490–1510*).

¹⁷⁶ Emden mistakes one for another in *Oxford–1500* but corrects the mistake in *A biographical register of the University of Oxford, A.D. 1501–40* (Oxford, 1974), hereafter referred to as *Emden Oxford 1501–40*, p. 383.

¹⁷⁷ M. Hofman, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

¹⁷⁸ See B. Rose, ‘John Mason: a clarification’, *MT*, vol. 113 (1972), p. 1231; *SandonH*, pp. 171–7; and R. Bowers, ‘The cultivation and promotion of music in the household and orbit of Thomas Wolsey’, *Cardinal Wolsey: Church, state and art*, ed. S. J. Gunn and P. G. Lindley (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 178–218. The only mention in Peterhouse of the composer’s priesthood is the ascription ‘*sir* John Mason’ at the end of the bass part of *Ave fuit prima salus* on f. 12^r of MS 474.

¹⁷⁹ An analogous case: one would probably not suspect that Robert Hacomblen or Hacomplaynt the composer was identical with the similarly named provost of Eton College if the name itself were not so very unusual.

with John Mason, lay-clerk at Eton College between June 1501 and December 1506.¹⁸⁰ While nothing is known of this man's age and background one can surmise that he is unlikely to have been born much later than about 1480. Some years ago, however, what appears to be another singer named John Mason came to light: a young man in the household chapel of Lady Margaret Beaufort, mother of Henry VII.¹⁸¹ The first reference to him occurs in 1504 when he was given an exhibition to study with the schoolmaster of Tattershall College, Lincolnshire; in the following year a master was employed to teach him grammar (presumably Latin grammar). It would seem that he was being trained for the priesthood; newly ordained, in 1507 he returned from Tattershall to Margaret's household, where his patron made an offering when he said his first Mass. If he had by then attained the minimum age of twenty-four completed years for ordination to the priesthood he can have been born no later than 1483.

It seems probable that one or other of these two was the John Mason, scholar in the faculty of music, whose supplication to be admitted to the degree of B.Mus. was granted by the University of Oxford on 30 January 1509 on the ground of a year's residence; he was admitted to the degree on 12 February.¹⁸² The fact that the record of admission styles him Dominus John Mason, signifying that he was a priest, suggests that he may have been Lady Margaret's newly ordained ex-chorister, who had proceeded to Oxford to further his studies in music shortly after joining the priesthood. Whatever the case, it must surely have been the same 'Dominus Maason' (*sic*) who was joint instructor of the choristers at Magdalen College, Oxford during the year Michaelmas 1508–9 and then sole instructor there until June 1510.¹⁸³

Given the auspicious beginning to his career, it seems strange that this John Mason should now disappear from view for more than a decade. There is no direct evidence to support the suggestion that he may have joined the royal household chapel.¹⁸⁴ He reappears only in 1521 as a chaplain in Cardinal Wolsey's household chapel: described as 'Sir John Mason' (the 'Sir' indicating membership of the priesthood), he was a member of Wolsey's entourage during the cardinal's embassy to Calais and Bruges in the late summer and autumn of 1521.¹⁸⁵ Wolsey himself had been a prominent member of Magdalen College, and throughout his career he nurtured and exploited collegial relationships formed during his time there. Although Mason did not enter Magdalen until several years after Wolsey's departure, he could have been recommended to him by another member of the college, perhaps some time after the death of Lady Margaret Beaufort on 29 June 1509. It is conceivable that he moved straight from the college to Wolsey's household in 1510. Was he perhaps involved in the creation and training of the household chapel that Wolsey must have been assembling for several years before we first hear of it early in 1518?¹⁸⁶ It may have been Wolsey's elevation to the episcopate as bishop of Lincoln in 1514 that prompted him to form his own chapel; most bishops had one. In 1521 its musical personnel included twenty men (ten chaplains and ten clerks) and ten boys. At its zenith a few years later there were about twenty-eight adult and twelve boy singers, and also 'divers retainers of cunning singing men that came at divers sundry principal feasts'.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁰ Eton College, Audit Rolls 31–4; Audit Book 1, 14 and 38. It is not clear whether this is the same John Mason from whom the college acquired land in 1504; see *CPR H7*, vol. 2, pp. 241–2 and 385.

¹⁸¹ M. K. Jones and M. G. Underwood, *The King's mother: Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 131 and 278.

¹⁸² Obl, Archives of the University, Register of Congregation G (1505–16), ff. 68^v and 70^f. Neither record credits him with any other degree.

¹⁸³ Omc, *LC 1490–1510*, f. 230^f; *LC 1510–30*, unfoliated but f. 5^f. Mason's fellow instructor in 1508–9, who had himself been sole instructor in 1507–8, was [George] Kendall.

¹⁸⁴ B. Rose, loc. cit.

¹⁸⁵ Lbl, Harley MS 620, ff. 14^v, 27^v and 44^v.

¹⁸⁶ The earliest known mention of Wolsey's household chapel choir is the famous occasion early in 1518 when it surpassed the chapel choir of Henry VIII's own household in singing a piece at sight, resulting in the transfer of one of the cardinal's best boy singers into the royal ensemble.: see Bowers, 'The cultivation and promotion of music in the household and orbit of Thomas Wolsey', pp. 191–3.

¹⁸⁷ G. Cavendish, *Thomas Wolsey late cardinal: his life and death*, ed. R. Lockyer (London, 1962), p. 47.

It was probably through Wolsey's patronage that during the 1520s Mason acquired a number of lucrative benefices. These included: the rectory of Pewsey (presented on 26 February 1521 as 'Magister Johannes Mason in musicis bacallarius') which he held until he died;¹⁸⁸ an exceptionally well-paid Mortimer chantry in Chichester cathedral (presented on 21 October 1523; admitted as 'Sir John Mason, B.Mus.' on 1 November 1523; resigned by 17 June 1527);¹⁸⁹ prebends of the cathedrals of Salisbury (Stratford, collated 3 February 1523, vacated for Preston in May 1524)¹⁹⁰ and Hereford (Putson Minor, collated 22 July 1525 and held until his death);¹⁹¹ and the rectory of Warmwell (vacated 6 June 1528).¹⁹² He may also have been the John Mason, clerk, who was presented to livings in the dioceses of Exeter and Lincoln on 8 November 1510 and 20 September 1522 respectively, but this incumbent is not stated to have held a degree.¹⁹³ The John Mason, A.M., presented to the rectory of Kingston on 16 February 1531 and to the canonry and prebend of Thamesbury in Winchester Cathedral on 25 February 1540 was a different man about twenty years younger, previously a king's scholar at Paris, who became French secretary to the king and clerk to the privy council.¹⁹⁴

While Mason could have occupied many of these positions as an absentee and continued to serve in Wolsey's household, there are signs that he did not do so for long. The incumbents of the Mortimer chantries at Chichester were required to reside there, although the rule could be waived for a chantrist with an influential patron.¹⁹⁵ Nevertheless, Mason was present at a visitation of the cathedral on 17 June 1524, but by the time of a later visitation on 17 June 1527 he was no longer in possession.¹⁹⁶ It appears that he had decided to live upon his prebend at Hereford, where on 20 September 1526 he was allocated one of the houses reserved for canons-resident for as long as he continued to qualify for it.¹⁹⁷ The lack of any subsequent record of him in long-term employment elsewhere suggests that he was henceforth based at Hereford. It is possible, however, that he was briefly seconded to Cardinal College in 1529–30 to help it over the difficult period following Wolsey's fall and John Taverner's resignation as informant.¹⁹⁸ He was collated treasurer of Hereford Cathedral on 23 May 1545.¹⁹⁹ The collation of a new treasurer on 2 February 1548 and the admission of a successor at Pewsey 'on account of the death of Mr John Mason, clerk' on 1 May 1548 suggest that he died late in 1547 or early in 1548.²⁰⁰

There is thus some reason to identify the composer represented in *Ph* with a man born in the early 1480s who was a singer in Margaret Beaufort's chapel in 1504, became a priest in 1507, took the B.Mus. at Oxford in 1509, served as choirmaster at Magdalen College in 1509–10, was a member of Thomas Wolsey's household chapel in 1521, acquired several lucrative benefices during

¹⁸⁸ Wiltshire County Record Office, register Audley, f. 84^r.

¹⁸⁹ *LPH8*, vol. 3, part 2, item 3495/21; W. D. Peckham, *The acts of the dean and chapter of the Cathedral Church of Chichester, 1472–1544 (The White Act Book)*, Sussex Record Society, vol. 52 (1951), no. 58. This chantry was worth £13 6s. 8d. yearly, nearly twice as much as any other in the cathedral; see *VE*, vol. 1, p. 297. It is true that the incumbents of the two Mortimer chantries were known as 'king's chaplains', but this means that they were chaplains of his nomination rather than of his household; Wolsey would have been well placed to secure such a nomination for a protégé.

¹⁹⁰ *Fasti 1300–1541*, vol. 3, pp. 88 and 78.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 48. His successor was admitted on 19 April 1548.

¹⁹² Wiltshire County Record Office, register Campeggio, f. 13^v.

¹⁹³ *LPH8*, vol. 1, part 1, grant 632/48; vol. 3, part 2, grant 2587/20.

¹⁹⁴ See for example *LPH8*, vol. 16, p. 884.

¹⁹⁵ It was certainly waived for Mason's successor Thomas Person in 1530 (*LPH8*, vol. 4, part 3, grant 6803/14).

¹⁹⁶ West Sussex Diocesan Record Office, register Shirborn 2 (Ep. I/1/4), ff. 92^v and 98^v.

¹⁹⁷ A. T. Bannister, *Registrum Caroli Bothe, Episcopi Herefordensis, A.D. MDVI–MDXXXV*, Canterbury and York Society, vol. 28 (1921), p. 339.

¹⁹⁸ A college account book for this year divides the choirmaster's salary between Taverner (two terms), 'Domino Tapitor et Mason' (one term) and Benbow (one term): see NA, E36/104, ff. 7v–8r. This may however have been another Mason: no first name or degree is mentioned. He and Tapitor were also chaplains, as was William Whytbroke.

¹⁹⁹ J. Le Neve, *Fasti ecclesiae anglicanae* (Oxford, 1854), vol. 1, p. 490.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*; Wiltshire County Record Office, register Capon, f. 38^r.

the early 1520s, was a canon-resident at Hereford Cathedral in 1526, became treasurer there in 1545 and died in 1547/8.²⁰¹ There are, however, some complicating factors: the occupation of the same Mortimer chantry at Chichester by a namesake in 1539–40; the description of the composer as ‘Mason of Chichester’ in the Peterhouse indices; and the stylistic implications of the antiphons ascribed to him.

On 5 December 1539 a Mr or Sir John Mason who is not recorded as holding a degree was admitted to the Mortimer chantry that Sir John Mason B.Mus. had held in 1523; he resigned on 14 July 1540 and was awarded an annual pension of £4 6s. on 11 September.²⁰² Since pensions were as a rule granted to ex-chorists only in cases of necessity, and since the rector of Pewsey and canon of Hereford can hardly have been seriously in financial need, it seems likely that this later chorist was a different man, but one cannot be wholly sure.

In the contemporary indexes to the mean, tenor and bass partbooks of the Peterhouse set every occurrence of Mason’s name is accompanied by the adjective ‘Cicerstensis’ (sometimes shortened to ‘Cic’) meaning ‘of Chichester’, presumably alluding to the composer’s occupancy of a chantry in the cathedral; no other name is qualified in this way anywhere in the manuscripts. The most obvious reason for giving this additional and exceptional piece of information about a composer would be to distinguish him from another bearer of the name who might otherwise be mistaken for him: in other words, another composer (or at least a musician) named John Mason. But to which of the known occupants of the chantry does the designation apply? If it originated with the Peterhouse scribe or with an exemplar newly prepared for him to work from it must surely refer to the John Mason who held the chantry between December 1539 and September 1540, precisely at the time when the preparation of the partbooks was under way; but although this man was a priest (as a chorist would obviously need to be) there is no independent indication that he was a musician. If the description originated in an exemplar dating from before December 1539 it must just as surely refer to the John Mason who held the chantry between 1523 and about 1526, whose musical credentials are secure. If, despite the improbability, these chorists were one and the same man, the question of the composer’s identity disappears. If they were not, one has to allow the possibility that there were two composers named John Mason; in that case, it seems likely that one was Margaret Beaufort’s ex-protégé and the other was the lay clerk of Eton College. The latter would have been at least in his late fifties by 1539, and having had what was evidently a less remunerative career he seems the better candidate for a chantry soon followed by a pension. By 1539, however, it might have been thought desirable to distinguish between John Mason the composer and his prominent namesake the diplomat; in this case there would be no need to invent a musical double. When Thomas Morley listed a ‘S. Io. Mason’ among his authorities in *A plaine and easie introduction to practycall musicke* in 1597 he apparently saw no danger of ambiguity.²⁰³

Although one might hope that stylistic analysis would help one to put Mason’s works into chronological order and to date them at least roughly, I doubt whether our understanding of musical style under Henry VIII is yet refined and broadly based enough to permit it. Mason’s music shows features both traditional and innovative, and is not stylistically extreme in any way; it is impossible to say either that it could not have been composed by the early 1520s or that it would have been impossibly old fashioned for 1540. The fact that three of his four surviving works are for broken voices increases the problem, for such a dense texture creates its own stylistic constraints and is poorly represented in English music of the time.²⁰⁴ The manuscript evidence is no less equivocal: although Mason’s four antiphons occur in Peterhouse in close proximity to works by

²⁰¹ *VE*, vol. 3, p. 6, describes him as a prebendary and residentiary of Hereford in 1535.

²⁰² W. D. Peckham, *The acts of the dean and chapter of the Cathedral Church of Chichester, 1472–1544 (The White Act Book)*, nos 247, 267, 268 and 269.

²⁰³ To complicate the matter even more, there had been a vicar choral named John Mason at Chichester in the 1470s and 80s (see Peckham, *The White Act Book*, nos 4, 7, 9, 12, 14, 325 and 326), but he can surely be ruled out on grounds of age.

²⁰⁴ Presumably Mason composed for the choral forces available. Could he have been writing for Wolsey’s household chapel choir before it had been enlarged to include boys, or could a male voice ensemble have existed at Chichester?

Catcott, Northbroke, Edward [Hedley?] and Alen, all of whom had connections with Oxford in the 1530s and 40s, they are also near neighbours to music by Taverner and Ludford, who were already active as composers by the early 1520s. In any case, one could as well argue that the probability of much of the Peterhouse music having been copied from sources at Magdalen College strengthens the likelihood that our composer was the John Mason associated with the college as early as 1509–10. One stylistic feature that may be worth mentioning is Mason's fondness—particularly in *Ve nobis miseris*—for mannerisms that also occur prominently in the music of Richard Pygott, master of Thomas Wolsey's chapel choir during the 1520s: chains of dotted semiminims and fusae instead of running semiminims; and section endings on first-inversion rather than root-position chords.

MERBECK(E). Presumably John Merbecke, clerk of St George's Chapel, Windsor, from c. 1531²⁰⁵ until c. 1585. He was organist for much of that time, either by himself or with another, but is never recorded as instructor of the choristers. He is called 'Magister Choristarum' in 1558/9, but at Windsor this title was synonymous with 'Supervisor Choristarum' and denoted the boys' house-master, not their instructor in music (who was called 'Informator' in the usual way).²⁰⁶ In view of Merbecke's protestant sympathies, he may well have been the 'Marbeck' paid by Magdalen College, Oxford, for assistance at a lecture given by Peter Martyr in 1550/1: 'Solutum Marbeck pulsanti ad lectionem domini martyris xx^d'.²⁰⁷ In this context 'pulsanti' probably means 'playing the organ' (in the Magdalen accounts this activity is often described as 'pulsanti organa', 'pulsatione organorum' and the like).

John NORMAN. A shadowy figure. According to an eighteenth-century account of the history of St David's Cathedral, Pembrokeshire, 'Mr John Norman, a skilfull & learned musician was organist & Master of ye Choristers' during the time when Edward Vaughan was bishop (June 1509–1 November 1522).²⁰⁸ Whether this man can be identified with the John Norman who was admitted to the Fraternity of St Nicholas in 1521,²⁰⁹ with the John Norman who was a clerk of St Thomas's Chapel, London Bridge, between 1528 and 1534,²¹⁰ or with the John Norman who was a clerk in the chapel of Eton College from 1534 to 1545,²¹¹ and whether any or all of these was or were the Peterhouse composer, is not clear. Two of the three surviving compositions attributed to John Norman, the antiphon *Euge bone* in *Ph* and the Mass *Resurrexit dominus* in the Forrest-Heyther partbooks,²¹² are almost certainly by the same man; the third, a three-part setting of *Miserere mei domine* in the Ritson manuscript,²¹³ may be by another, although the differences in style could be accounted for by the thinner texture and an earlier date of composition.

Jacobus NORTHBROKE.²¹⁴ Born into an Exeter family, probably in the mid-1490s, he was a secondary of Exeter cathedral by 1512 and still in place in 1517.²¹⁵ His name is absent from the

²⁰⁵ HMC, *Report on MSS in various collections*, vol. 7 (London, 1914), p. 20, an inventory taken on 1 May 1531 by the treasurers of the minor canons and vicars of St George's Chapel, includes 'one sylver sponne wrytyn theron John Merbeke'.

²⁰⁶ As at Tattershall College, King's College and Salisbury Cathedral (see *Bowers*, pp. 6086–6088).

²⁰⁷ *LC 1543–59*, f. 109^f. Mr Petrus Martyr was one of the *Lectores Publici* at Christ Church (see Christ Church, Chapter Register A, f. 3^v).

²⁰⁸ E. Yardley, *Menevia sacra*, ed. F. Green (London, 1927), pp. 85–6. The reference to p. 383 of *Menevia sacra* in *MMB*, p. 16 seems to have nothing to do with Norman.

²⁰⁹ H. Baillie, 'Some Biographical Notes on English church musicians, chiefly working in London (1485–1569)', hereafter referred to as *BaillieB*, *RMARC*, vol. 2 (1962), p. 47.

²¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 47.

²¹¹ *MMB*, p. 460.

²¹² *Obl*, MSS Mus. Sch. c. 376–381, no. 10.

²¹³ *Lbl*, Add. MS 5665, f. 145^f.

²¹⁴ Most of this information comes from Nicholas Orme, 'The early musicians of Exeter Cathedral', *ML*, vol. 59 (1978), pp. 405–6.

²¹⁵ Secondaries were usually ex-choristers showing musical ability who were kept on by the cathedral during their adolescence to assist the clergy in the performance of the divine service until they were old enough to be

cathedral records for the next few years during which, in 1522, he was ordained priest, but he returned to Exeter in 1526 to become clerk of the Lady Chapel and priest of the chantry of Hugh Courtenay. In May 1531 he was granted leave of absence for four weeks in order to visit London; whether he did so is not known, but on 27 June in the same year he supplicated for the degree of B.Mus. at Oxford in regard of twelve years of study and practice, and he was admitted to the degree three days later. If the claim concerning his study and practice was true, it would seem that he left the cathedral in about 1519 in order to increase his musical experience elsewhere. It is not known when he returned to Exeter, but he appears still to have been clerk of the Lady Chapel in January 1535. By November in the same year both the clerkship and the Courtenay chantry had other incumbents. Professor Orme conjectures that this was because Northbroke had died, but it seems also possible that he had simply retired: at Michaelmas 1534 the income of the church of St Mary Arches, Exeter had been leased to him for five years.²¹⁶ He had certainly died by 1543.

W. *PASHE*, *PAYSHE*. William Pashe was a professional church musician active in London during the second to fourth decades of the sixteenth century. He was probably the William Passhe or Pasche who joined the Fraternity of St Nicholas in 1513,²¹⁷ and also the William Passhe who is recorded as one of six lay vicars-choral at St Paul's Cathedral between about 1519 and 1526.²¹⁸ The same man may well have been 'Passhe the clerk' who was employed by St Peter's, West Cheap, in 1527/8, and in all likelihood also the 'Mr Passhe of london' who maintained the organs of Kingston-on-Thames parish church in 1514/15 and 1536/37.²¹⁹ Claims for identity with the composer that have previously been forward on behalf of two namesakes can fairly confidently be dismissed. William Pache of Wells, M.A., who was admitted to a fellowship at New College, Oxford on 14 March 1494 and departed 'promotus' in 1506, disappears thereafter and has no known musical connections.²²⁰ The William Pasche who according to Flood served as a gentleman in the chapel of Anne, Duchess of Exeter, sister of Edward IV and Richard III, in 1476, died in 1525.²²¹ If there were nothing else to rule these two men out of contention, their contemporaneity with Fayrfax would do so: the style of Pashe's surviving music strongly implies that he belonged to the generation of Aston, Ludford and Pygott.

Rycharde *PIGOT*, *PYGGOTT*, *PYGOTT*. Richard Pygott's highly successful career is relatively well documented. He spent the earlier part of it in Thomas Wolsey's household chapel, in which by 1517 or 1518 he already held the post of master of the children. Some time after Wolsey's death in November 1530 he became a gentleman of the royal household chapel, where he remained until shortly before his own death late in 1549. It seems likely that he moved directly from the cardinal's service to that of the king.

It is not known precisely when Pygott entered Wolsey's employment; nor is it clear whether he was initially appointed to take charge of the children or promoted later to this position.²²² He could perhaps have come to the cardinal's notice through the latter's association with Magdalen College Oxford: the college accounts record payments of 8s. to Master Pigot for his livery at Easter 1510 and of 3s. 4d. to Master Richard Pygot 'in regardo mandato presidentis' in 1513/14, but there is no proof that either of these entries refers to the musician.²²³ Pygott appears to

ordained and become vicars-choral. They were expected to take the orders of subdeacon, deacon and priest when they reached the required ages of seventeen, nineteen and twenty-four years.

²¹⁶ *VE*, vol. 2, p. 316: 'Sic dimissa ad firmam Jacobo Northbroke *pro termino* quinque annorum incipiente termino ad festum Sancti Michaelis Archangeli anno regni Regis Henrici Octavi vicesimo sexto.'

²¹⁷ *BaillieB*, pp. 48–9.

²¹⁸ London, Guildhall Library, MS 5872A/1, f. 8 (a reference first noticed by Roger Bowers).

²¹⁹ *BaillieB*, pp. 48–9.

²²⁰ *MMB*, p. 461.

²²¹ W. H. G. Flood, *Early Tudor Composers*, pp. 79–82.

²²² Wolsey's musical interests are studied by R. Bowers, 'The cultivation and promotion of music in the household and orbit of Thomas Wolsey', *Cardinal Wolsey: Church, state and art*, ed. S. J. Gunn and P. G. Lindley (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 178–218.

²²³ *Omc*, *LC 1510–30*, ff. 14^r and 47^r.

have been in Wolsey's employment by the autumn of 1516: on 27 January 1517 Richard Pygot of Westminster, a servant of the Cardinal of York, was pardoned for offences concerning a crossbow and handgun.²²⁴ An inventory of Wolsey's household goods taken in 1530 includes 'a fedderbedde bought for Pygoote maister of the children xj^{mo} Decembris Anno ix^{mo} Regis Henrici viij^{is}' (1517), but does not explicitly state that Pygott already held the mastership at that time.²²⁵ He probably did, however, because the often-quoted correspondence of March/April 1518 between Wolsey and Richard Pace, the king's secretary, concerning the enforced transfer of one of Wolsey's choristers into the royal household chapel shows that Pygott had already been in charge of the boys for long enough to have given them some uncommonly effective training.²²⁶ Pygott, his servant and ten children of Wolsey's chapel were among the cardinal's retinue during his visit to Calais between 29 July and 27 November 1521.²²⁷

It appears that Pygott continued in Wolsey's service until the cardinal's fall. He is listed among the members of Wolsey's household in the lay subsidy roll for 1524; he is, however, not included in that for 1525.²²⁸ Although he is not among the ten named gentlemen of the chapel who accompanied Wolsey in France between 11 July and 24 September 1527, he may perhaps be the 'Mastar Bigotte' whose name appears alongside that of Dr Ducke, dean of Wolsey's chapel, in this document.²²⁹ A royal grant of a pension out of the revenues of Whitby Abbey was made on 1 May 1527 in response to an undated request in which Pygott referred to himself as 'Richard Pigot master of the Children of the Chappel *with* the moost reverend father in god your moost trusty counsaillour the lord legate de latere'.²³⁰ Although the Whitby pension was in the gift of the Crown, Wolsey as archbishop of York would have been favourably placed to secure it for his own nominee. At least two other institutions in the diocese of York paid pensions to a man named Richard Pygott, but in neither case is the recipient's status or profession specified; in view of Wolsey's occupancy of the see, however, it is tempting to identify them with the composer. An annual pension of £5 paid to Richard Pigot out of the revenues of Bridlington Priory is recorded in a return made on 28 February 1526 by Brian Higden, a former member of Magdalen College Oxford (Wolsey's old college) who was dean of York and also Wolsey's vicar-general (he was also a younger brother of John Higden, ex-president of Magdalen and first dean of Wolsey's own foundation, Cardinal College).²³¹ *VE* does not record this pension but does mention the payment of a yearly pension to Richard Pygott, the incumbent of the free chapel of St Mary Magdalene at Bawtry, out of the revenues of Nostell Priory, the owner of the chapel.²³² These pensions could have contributed to the sizeable 'Annuities in the north parte' referred to by Pygott in his will (see below).

It seems probable that Pygott remained in Wolsey's service until the cardinal's household was disbanded, and that he was then lucky enough to be admitted into the royal household chapel

²²⁴ *LPH8*, vol. 2, part 2, item 2838. The offences, which must have been committed several weeks earlier, were probably against an Act of 1514/15 which restricted the use of these weapons to men with an annual income of £200 or more: see A. Luders, T. E. Tomlins, W. E. Taunton and J. Raithby, *The statutes of the realm* (London, 1810–28), vol. 3, pp. 132–3.

²²⁵ Lbl, Harley MS 599, f. 44^r (following the pencil foliation). This entry is made twice in different words and the second copy is cancelled by a marginal comment.

²²⁶ *LPH8*, vol. 2, part 2, items 4023, 4024, 4025, 4043, 4044, 4053 and 4055. The original documents are printed in full in A. Ashbee, *Records of English court music (1485–1558)*, pp. 410–11. See also *Bowers*.

²²⁷ Lbl, Harley MS 620, f. 44^v.

²²⁸ NA, E179/69/9 and E179/69/10.

²²⁹ R. Turpyn, *The chronicle of Calais in the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII, to the year 1540*, ed. J. G. Nichols, Camden Society, old series, 35 (1846), pp. 37–41. Bigotte's name occurs on p. 39. The ten gentlemen named on p. 40 are Master Phelippe, Master Berepe, Mastar Avery, Mastar Burban, John Clifton, Roger Eton, Rowland Renkyn, Nicholas Ruston, Henry Stephenson and David Valens.

²³⁰ NA, C82/588, item 1. The abstract of the grant given in *LPH8*, vol. 4, part 2, grant 3142/1, erroneously describes Pygott as master of the children of the Chapel Royal.

²³¹ *LPH8*, vol. 4, part 1, item 2001; W. Page and others (eds), *The Victoria history of the county of York*, vol. 3, p. 203, fn. 44. For the careers of Brian and John Higden, see *Emden Oxford–1500*, pp. 930–2.

²³² *VE*, vol. 5, pp. 120–6, 63 and 177.

almost at once. There is a very slight possibility that he had some kind of association with Cardinal College for a short period immediately after Wolsey's death: a book of college receipts and disbursements for 1530 records payments to one 'Pigot' for mending choristers' gowns and shoes; but, even allowing that such payments could have been made through the man responsible for the choristers, it is also arguable that the name was that of a local tradesman.²³³ The case against identifying this man with the composer is strengthened by the fact that two other musicians, Tapitor and Mason, are known to have stood in as instructors of the choristers at Cardinal College between Taverner's departure in March and the arrival of the new instructor, John Benbow, in June.²³⁴ The Pygott who was paid 20*d.* for serving as a clerk in the choir of Magdalen College in 1526/7 would also seem unlikely to have been the composer; even if he had been seconded briefly to assist his master's old college during what was evidently a troubled year (when a dozen named clerks and uncounted others served in the choir), one would have expected him to be referred to more respectfully and rewarded more generously.²³⁵

A legal process dating from 1529–32 refers to Pygott as a singing-man and implicitly locates him or at least some members of his family in London.²³⁶ He first appears among the gentlemen of the royal household chapel in an undated list of household wages which can probably be ascribed to the period 1533–4.²³⁷ He may have been admitted some time before this: on 3 October 1532 he was granted a corrody in Coggeshall (Coxall) Priory surrendered by William Coleman, another gentleman of the royal household chapel, and on 24 April 1533 he was presented to a canonry and prebend in the collegiate church of Tamworth.²³⁸ The arrears of the Coggeshall pension were awarded to 'Pygot of the chapel' in March 1538.²³⁹ *VE* also lists him as prebendary of Coombe Quarterdecima in Wells Cathedral, but there seems to be no record of his presentation to the prebend; his last named predecessor had died between 10 September 1526 and 2 March 1527.²⁴⁰ It was probably after joining the royal household chapel that Pygott was allocated property in East Greenwich that had earlier been occupied by William Cornysh, but the date of the grant has not come to light.²⁴¹ The accounts of the Court of Augmentations record payments to Pygott in respect of his various pensions and annuities from 1538/9 onwards.²⁴²

Three documents dating from the autumn of 1545 suggest that Pygott's circumstances were changing or were considered likely to change, perhaps because he retired or considered retiring from active service in the chapel. In September or October the dean and chapter of Wells were instructed to allow him to reside upon his prebend there notwithstanding his laity; on 13 October he resigned and was immediately reappointed to his canonry at Tamworth, perhaps in

²³³ NA, E36/104, f. 21.

²³⁴ NA, E36/104, ff. 7^v and 12^r.

²³⁵ Omc, LC 1510–30, f. 221^r.

²³⁶ NA, C1/607, James Bowbanke, citizen and clothworker of London, *versus* Richard Pygott, singing-man, concerning the marriage portion of the defendant's sister Margery Heryson, widow, whom the complainant has married.

²³⁷ *LPH8*, vol. 4, part 1, item 1939/10, erroneously dated to 1525/6.

²³⁸ *LPH8*, vol. 5, grant 1499/15 and vol. 6, grant 578/30. The prebends of Tamworth seem to have been used to reward royal servants, particularly gentlemen of the chapel: *VE*, vol. 3, p. 148, lists Mr Pygot as prebendary of Wylmecote at £8 yearly, Mr John Fisher as prebendary of Syryscot at £3 6*s.* 8*d.*, Mr Roger Dyingley as prebendary of Wygenton at £10 and Robert Parrot as prebendary of the hospital of St James at £3 6*s.* 8*d.* John Leland states that Tamworth 'churche is collegiate, havynge a dean and 6 prebendaries, and every one of thes hath his substitute there ... The kynge at this tym is taken as patron of the coledge.': see J. Leland, *The itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535–1543*, ed. L. T. Smith (London, 1906–10), vol. 2, p. 104.

²³⁹ *LPH8*, vol. 13, part 1, item 221; vol. 13, part 2, Appendix, item 12.

²⁴⁰ *VE*, vol. 1, 136; *Fasti 1300–1541*, vol. 8, p. 38. The composer Richard Bramston's salary as a vicar-choral of Wells was drawn from the same prebend.

²⁴¹ *LPH8*, vol. 20, part 2, grant 1068/40.

²⁴² See for example *LPH8*, vol. 14, part 1, p. 595; vol. 14, part 2, p. 73; vol. 16, item 745; vol. 17, item 258; vol. 18, part 1, item 436; vol. 18, part 2, item 231; vol. 19, part 1, item 368; vol. 20, part 1, item 557; vol. 21, part 2, p. 444. A. Ashbee, *Records of English court music (1485–1558)*, lists these more fully. The last recorded payment was on 6 November 1549.

order to change the terms upon which he held it; and in December property in Greenwich previously in his tenure and at that time held by Sir Thomas Cawarden was granted to Thomas Thoroughgood and John Foster.²⁴³ However, he is still listed as a member of the royal household in the lay subsidy roll of 1547.²⁴⁴ He seems, in fact, to have decided not to leave London after all; land sold by the Court of Augmentations to John Seymour of London on 18 June 1549 included a messuage called 'the bulleshedde' in St Sepulchre's parish in the tenure of Richard Pygott.²⁴⁵ His will was dated on 24 August 1549, had a codicil added to it on 2 October 1549 and was proved on 12 November the same year.²⁴⁶ The payments to Richard Pigot(t) from the privy purse of Princess Elizabeth in December 1551 and January 1552 noticed by Ashbee (op. cit., p. 382) are apparently either wrongly dated or to another man. There seems to be no doubt about the date of the proving of the composer's will, and he is not listed among the gentlemen of the chapel in the lay subsidy roll dated 30 April 1549 (Ashbee, op. cit., p. 418) or in that dated 1 May 1551 (loc. cit., p. 421).

RASAR. Perhaps the William Rasor who was admitted chorister at St George's Chapel, Windsor, in 1499.²⁴⁷ In the Forrest-Heyther partbooks the Mass *Christe Jesu* is attributed to 'W. Rasar'.²⁴⁸ Between 1493 and 1496 there were two choristers (presumably brothers) surnamed Rasar at King's College, Cambridge, but one had the first name John and the first name of the other is not known.²⁴⁹ William Rasar himself was at King's College as clerk and instructor of the choristers between February 1510 and 1514/5.²⁵⁰

Hugh STURMY. Nothing seems to be known of this composer. The name Sturmie, Sturmei, Sturmy or Sturmyn is a Kentish one, a corruption of Stourmouth.²⁵¹ The villages of East and West Stourmouth lie about eight miles east-north-east of Canterbury; in the early Middle Ages they really were at the mouth of the River Stour, which then emptied into the Wantsum, but the silting of the Wantsum channel joined the Isle of Thanet to the mainland and the two Stourmouths found themselves some seven or eight miles inland, the nearest 'coastal' town being Sandwich, some seven miles east-south-east of them. The name Sturmy occurs in the Sandwich area in the mid-sixteenth century. The will of a John Sturmei was proved in October 1542 and that of a William Sturmy, draper, in April 1543.²⁵² Dr Bowers has even discovered a Hugh Sturmi, at Deopham in Norfolk,²⁵³ since Deopham belonged to Canterbury Cathedral Priory²⁵⁴ it is possible that this man was an official of the monastery sent to look after the estate. Unfortunately, this Hugh Sturmy lived in the later thirteenth century and, to quote Dr Bowers' sage words, he is 'unlikely to be the composer of the St Augustine Antiphon in Peterhouse'.²⁵⁵ The only nearly contemporary occurrence of the name that I have found is the licensing of 'A ballett of the a. b. c. of a preste called Heugh Stourmy' by the Stationers' Company in 1557–8.²⁵⁶

²⁴³ LPH8, vol. 20, part 2, item 909/53; item 706/23; item 707/25; grant 1068/40.

²⁴⁴ NA, E179/69/50. His name comes immediately after that of Richard Bower, master of the children, and he was apparently one of the wealthiest of the gentlemen.

²⁴⁵ CPR E6, vol. 2, pp. 257–8.

²⁴⁶ NA, Register Populwell, 42. The will is printed in its entirety in the introduction to N. Sandon, *Richard Pygott: Missa Veni sancte spiritus*, Antico Edition RCM119 (Newton Abbot, 1993).

²⁴⁷ Windsor, St George's Chapel, Dean and Chapter MS XV.34.71.

²⁴⁸ Obl, MSS Mus. sch. e. 376–381, no. 6.

²⁴⁹ See EECM, vol. 16, p. xi; the entry in MMB, p. 462 should therefore be corrected.

²⁵⁰ EECM, vol. 16, p. xi.

²⁵¹ I. J. Churchill, R. H. Griffin and F. W. Hardman (eds), *Calendar of Kent feet of fines, to the end of Henry III's reign*, Kent Archaeological Society, Records Branch, Kent Records, vol. 15 (1956), p. 476.

²⁵² The text of the will of John Sturmy (Maidstone, Kent County Record Office, PRC 3/10/14) is not complete. The text of William Sturmy's will (PRC 17/22/299) is, but it does not mention Hugh.

²⁵³ Obl, Kent Rolls, 1.

²⁵⁴ VE, vol. 1, p. 15.

²⁵⁵ Quoted from a letter to me dated 21 June 1978.

²⁵⁶ J. P. Collier, *Extracts from the Registers of the Stationers' Company of Works entered for Publication between the Years 1557 and 1570* (London, 1848), p. 10. I have not located a sixteenth-century priest named Hugh Sturmy,

Thomas TALLIS, TALYS, TALLYYS. The earliest known reference to Tallis dates from 1532 and describes him as organist of Dover Priory, a small Benedictine foundation; a minor appointment of this kind would have been appropriate for a musician recently embarked on his career. In 1537 and 1538 Tallis was employed by the church of St Mary-at-Hill, London, a parish church which seems to have been particularly enterprising in its cultivation of music; his position is not stated, but would presumably have been that of organist or singing-man. In about 1538 he moved to the Augustinian abbey of Holy Cross at Waltham, Essex, where he probably had charge of a small professional choir that sang in the Lady Chapel. After the abbey was surrendered on 23 March 1540 he received a cash payment rather than a pension, which suggests that his period of service there had been rather short. He probably moved straight from Waltham Abbey to Canterbury Cathedral, newly refounded as a secular cathedral after the surrender of the Benedictine priory on 4 April 1540. In an undated staff list of the new establishment, evidently drawn up late in the summer of 1540, 'Thomas Talles' is named first among the twelve vicars-choral, immediately after William Selby, the master of the choristers. He seems to have remained at Canterbury throughout 1541 and 1542, but he does not appear on the cathedral payroll for 1543, which may therefore be the year in which he became a gentleman of the royal household chapel. The lay subsidy roll for the year 1543/4 places him some way above the bottom of the list of gentlemen. He spend the rest of his career in the royal household chapel and died at a great age on 23 November 1585. He was one of the overseers of the will of Richard Pygott. Apparently he was already composing elaborate polyphony by the late 1520s; his antiphon *Salve intemerata* is in London, British Library, Harley MS 1709, a source unlikely to be much later than about 1530. His votive antiphon *Ave rosa sine spinis* is not, as stated in *The New Grove*, 'now complete'; a few bars of the treble part are still missing.

John TAVERNOR. John Taverner was born probably in the early 1490s in the neighbourhood of Boston, Lincolnshire. He is first recorded as a lay-clerk at the collegiate church of Tattershall in the same county in 1524. In 1525 he was offered the post of instructor of the choristers in Thomas Wolsey's new foundation of Cardinal College, Oxford, a position which had previously been offered to and declined by Hugh Aston. At first Taverner too refused the offer on the grounds that he was content at Tattershall and might lose an advantageous marriage, but early in 1526 he accepted it, and he spent the summer recruiting singers in preparation for the college's opening in October.

Cardinal College flourished for only three years. In October 1529 Wolsey's failure to obtain for his master a divorce from Catherine of Aragon lost him the king's favour, and his possessions were forfeited to the crown. For a year he strove to rehabilitate himself, but in the autumn of 1530 his foreign correspondence and his efforts to exploit his position as Archbishop of York heightened Henry's suspicion of him; on 4 November he was arrested and summoned to London; he fell ill during the journey and died at Leicester Abbey on 29 November. The fall of Wolsey put Cardinal College under severe pressure; until his death it continued to function, but in a greatly attenuated way. During 1530 several members of the choir resigned, presumably to take up more secure employment elsewhere. Taverner himself left in the spring of 1530; he seems to have become a member—perhaps the director—of the very large professional choir maintained in the parish church of St Botolph, Boston, by the town's Guild of St Mary and financed out of the proceeds of the Guild's sale of the *Scala Coeli* indulgence (which relieved its purchasers of the inconvenience of spending time in purgatory).

It is not clear how long Taverner remained at St Botolph's, but by 1537 he was no longer employed there. The last of the Ten Articles issued by Convocation in the summer of 1536 had modified the concept of purgatory, denied the pope's ability to deliver souls from purgatory through an indulgence, and attacked the *Scala Coeli* indulgence itself:

... it is much necessary that such abuses be clearly put away, which under the name of purgatory hath been advanced to make men believe that through the bishop of Rome's pardon souls might clearly be

delivered out of purgatory, and all the pains of it, or that masses said at *Scala Coeli*, or otherwise... or before any image, might likewise deliver them from all their pain, and send them straight to heaven.²⁵⁷

The huge reduction in the income of the Guild of St Mary caused by this legislation must have required a rapid and substantial scaling-down of the choir of St Botolph's church, probably followed by its dissolution. There is no firm evidence of Taverner having had any further musical employment, although the hints of an association with Christopher Tye and John Sheppard suggested by the three composers' *Western Wind* Masses and their Masses for male voices, and by the setting of *O splendor glorie* ascribed in two sources to Taverner and Tye jointly, imply that he may have continued intermittently to compose. He seems, however, to have spent most of his remaining time in retirement in Boston; he was a man of means and standing, and he played a significant role in the community. His health deteriorated during the summer of 1545, and he died on 18 October the same year.

The tradition that in later life Taverner became a convinced Protestant and repudiated the religious and musical culture that had given him his livelihood is now thought to be largely fantasy. He seems to have shown some interest in Lutheranism while at Cardinal College, but at St Botolph's he continued to work in a thoroughly conventional religious environment. In 1537 he became a member of the Boston Guild of Corpus Christi, which would have been very hard to reconcile with strongly-held Protestant beliefs. In the late 1530s, as an agent of Thomas Cromwell in the local implementation of government policy on religion, Taverner seems to have acted with moderation rather than fanaticism. A letter from him to Thomas Cromwell about the dispossessed religious of Boston speaks eloquently in a spirit of compassion rather than hostility or triumph:

... the priors, with their brethren of the friars Dominics, White, and Austins, hath oft and divers times resorted unto me sore and piteously lamenting their great poverty, knowing no manner of ways how to provide living for them and their poor brethren till such time as their houses be surrendered. For why? the devotion of people is clean gone, their plate and other implements be sold and the money spent, so that in manner there is nothing left to make sale of now but only lead which (if I had not given them contrary commandment) they would likewise have plucked down and sold, to have relieved therewith them and their poor brethren. But in avoiding such spoil, I bade them come to me in mean while at all times when they lacked anything and they should have it of me. Wherefore I humbly beseech your good Lordship that they may know your pleasure and commandment by my servant what they shall do.²⁵⁸

It has been suggested that in his later church music Taverner responded to contemporary changes of attitude towards religion. For example, he seems to have been one of the earliest composers of polyphonic responsories (such as *Dum transisset sabbatum*) and psalm motets (such as *Quemadmodum*, if this was ever intended as a vocal piece): two large-scale forms that have sometimes been thought to have been introduced during the 1530s as alternatives to the votive antiphon. The economy and clarity of some of his works, such as *O Christe Jesu* and the *Western Wind*, *Plainsong* and *Mean* Masses, have also been interpreted as a response to new ideas about the role of music in worship. However, none of Taverner's music in these new forms is included in *Ph* (although this could be because of their nature and function rather than their date of composition), and one cannot tell whether the stylistic developments in his music occurred for musical or other reasons, or whether they were motivated by Taverner's own views or those of his employers.

²⁵⁷ Quoted from Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (London, 1992), p. 393.

²⁵⁸ Dated at Boston on 20 January 1539, this letter is printed here in the modernised version given by Hugh Benham in *The music of John Taverner: a study and assessment*, Ph.D. dissertation (University of Southampton, 1969), p. 20.

Christofer TYE. The earliest references to Christopher Tye find him in Cambridge: he received the degree of B.Mus. there at some time between Michaelmas 1536 and Michaelmas 1537, and in March 1537 he joined the staff of King's College as a lay-clerk.²⁵⁹ The grace or official permission for the conferring of the degree mentions Tye's ten-year study of music and extensive experience as a composer and teacher.²⁶⁰ This suggests that Tye probably began his adult career as a musician in 1526 at the earliest, and that he was born no earlier than about 1505 or two or three years later. It is thus unlikely that he can be identified with the Tye recorded without a first name as a chorister of King's College between 1508 and 1512. He could, however, have been the Tye listed, also by surname alone, among the lay-clerks of King's in 1527–8, although this could also have been the Richard Tye who served the college as a lay-clerk between Christmas 1528 and 1545. Christopher Tye himself left King's at some time between Michaelmas 1537 and Michaelmas 1539; there is a gap in the college accounts for the two years in question. His whereabouts during the next few years are unknown.

Circumstantial evidence suggests that Tye's subsequent career owed much to the patronage of Dr Richard Cox, an influential ecclesiastic strongly sympathetic to Lutheranism.²⁶¹ The two men may have met each other at Cambridge, and Cox may have been responsible for turning Tye towards Protestantism. A gap of six years separates the Cambridge references to Tye from the next known occurrence of his name, at Michaelmas 1543, when Ely Cathedral paid him a year's salary as *Magister choristarum*; it is not known how long he had been there, but it seems probable that Cox introduced him shortly after his own arrival. Nor is it known how long Tye remained at Ely; he was there in 1547, when one of the few surviving treasurer's rolls includes a payment to him, and there still in 1551, when he is named first in a list of eight lay-clerks. He may, however, have been making plans for the future as early as 1545, if his taking the D.Mus. at Cambridge in that year can be interpreted as a sign of professional ambition. Events in the later 1540s may have drawn him to London, again in the wake of Richard Cox. In 1544 Cox became tutor to the young Prince Edward, a position that he held until 1550; it is possible that he was able to procure the appointment of Tye as Edward's music teacher. There is no direct proof of this, but some words put into Edward's mouth in the play *When you see me you know me* (1605) by Samuel Rowley (who may have been Tye's own grandson) could give utterance to an authentic memory. Rowley makes Edward call Tye 'our music's lecturer' and tell him:

I oft have heard my father merrily speake
in your high praise, and this his highnesse saith,
'England one God, one truth, one doctor hath
For musick's art, and that is doctor Tye,
Admired for skill in musick's harmony.'

The title-page of *The Actes of the Apostles*, Tye's English versification and four-part setting of Acts 1–14 published in 1553, describes him as 'one of the Gentylnen of hys graces most honourable Chappell'. Despite this, his name appears in none of the surviving chapel documents of the period. Perhaps he had been promised a place when a vacancy next arose, only for the death of the young king in July 1553 to snatch away this prize. Tye's later career does not concern us here.

WHITBROKE, *WHYTBROKE*. Presumably William Whytbroke, chaplain of Cardinal College, Oxford, in 1529/30²⁶² and a minor canon of St Paul's Cathedral from 1531 to 1535 or later.²⁶³

²⁵⁹ Most of the factual information in these paragraphs is taken from Paul Doe's article 'Tye, Christopher' in *The New Grove*, or from the introduction to his *Christopher Tye: II, Masses*, EECM, vol. 24 (London, 1980).

²⁶⁰ Grace Book Γ, ed. W. G. Searle (Cambridge, 1908), p. 312.

²⁶¹ Cox became a scholar of King's College in 1519, a fellow there in 1522, a canon of Cardinal College, Oxford in 1526, headmaster of Eton in 1530, Archdeacon of Ely in 1540 and First Prebendary of the refounded cathedral in 1541, Dean of Christ Church and Chancellor of Oxford in 1547, a canon of Windsor in 1548, and Dean of Westminster Abbey in 1549. He took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity at Cambridge in 1534/5 and Doctor of Divinity there in 1536/7.

²⁶² NA, E36/104, f. 8^r.

²⁶³ *VE*, vol. 1, p. 365.

IV: THE PROVENANCE, DESTINATION AND INTERPRETATION OF *Ph*

IV—1: THE PROBLEM OF INTERPRETATION

Ph has been something of a puzzle—perhaps even an embarrassment—to students of Tudor church music because its existence has seemed hard to reconcile with certain currently fashionable ideas about the culture of church music in England during the closing years of the reign of Henry VIII. A recent school of thought would see in the repertorial and stylistic evolution of English church music during the 1530s and 40s strong evidence of a deliberate and officially motivated deviation from traditionalism. This idea is itself a deviation from a previously widely held view that major musical changes did not come about until the abandonment of the Latin liturgy in 1547. Recent restatements of the latter view have made it clear that a polarization of opinion on this topic now exists. The existence and nature of *Ph*, the major musical source surviving from the period in question, are crucial to this debate. On one hand, we have the largest surviving source of Tudor pre-Reformation polyphony, which virtually every informed writer on the subject has dated to the period 1540–7. It is a source containing a very mixed repertory in traditional liturgical forms, including about thirty Mary-antiphons and eleven large-scale *cantus firmus* Masses, and exhibiting a huge stylistic range from the concise, unadorned and closely argued (for example Taverner's *Sancte deus* and Tye's Mass *Sine nomine*) to the expansive, highly decorated and discursive (for example Pygott's *Salve regina* and his Mass *Veni sancte spiritus*). On the other hand, we are offered two conflicting views of the development of church music during the period, which have necessarily to interpret *Ph* in different ways. In order to avoid the political implications of such labels as 'left' and 'right' I will call these two views 'saltationist' and 'gradualist'. The first seven of the following quotations are to a greater or lesser extent saltationist, while the next five are essentially gradualist.

1. It is already fairly clear that the large festal Mass disappeared from the scene, at any rate in London, after about 1535; and I would suggest that the same is probably also true of the large votive antiphon.¹
2. [In the second quarter of the sixteenth century] Each of the earlier large forms [the Mass, votive antiphon and Magnificat] remained an identifiable genre, but of steadily decreasing prominence, so that only a handful can be dated after 1540.²
3. The growing hostility to veneration of the Saints in the latter part of Henry VIII's reign led to a decline in the popularity of the votive antiphon ...³
4. The decline of the votive antiphon would indeed have been hard to resist in the face of reforming legislation such as the Ten Articles of 1536, and the First and Second Royal Injunctions of 1536 and 1538.⁴
5. The Festal Mass declined in importance after Taverner. The length and elaboration of such works ... would probably not have been encouraged in the new atmosphere of the 1530s.⁵
6. The votive antiphon of the Virgin Mary ... was strongly cultivated in England up to about 1530, but then largely disappeared with the fall of Wolsey and the pressures for reform exerted by Cromwell

¹ *DoeL*, p. 84.

² P. Doe, *Tallis* (London, 1968), p. 11.

³ *BenhamL*, p. 20.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

and Cranmer. ... The inclination away from the florid composition of the first quarter of the century ... was sharply accentuated late in Henry VIII's reign, probably through the direct influence of Cranmer and the other reformers.⁶

7. ... music written in ... the latter part of [Henry VIII's reign] when reformatory influence was strong ... is likely to have consisted mainly of responds, hymns, shorter masses and psalm-motets (the Marian votive antiphon and festal mass having almost certainly declined by the mid-1530s).⁷
8. It is important that the Reformation in England should be visualised as a gradual change from the Sarum liturgy to the newly-established order of service in the English Church. The overlapping of artistic impulses and the lack of a clearly-defined liturgy over a long period caused a slow change in musical outlook, and that slow change was one of the greatest contributing factors to the continuity of tradition.⁸
9. That this essential repertoire remained very conservative into the last years of Henry VIII's reign appears from ... a set of incomplete partbooks at Peterhouse (c. 1545).⁹
10. Henry VIII, who made the definitive break with Rome in 1534 and suppressed the monasteries during the same decade, was conservative in liturgical matters and allowed florid Latin church music to flourish.¹⁰
11. [An] argument asserts that the reformation in general, and Archbishop Cranmer's contacts with the German Lutherans in particular, had some effect upon the polyphonic settings of the liturgy during the last fifteen years of Henry's reign. ... But this argument is altogether facile and lacks solid musical documentary support. ... the connection between these reforms and stylistic changes in music in the 1530s remains insecurely grounded.¹¹
12. ... perhaps due to Henry's own musical interests, no firm line was taken on the question of an appropriate musical style. The impression we are left with at the end of Henry's reign is of a king who was in favour of certain reforms in principle, but reluctant to admit the practical changes which would effect the desired reforms.¹²

Obviously it is very difficult to find room for *Ph* in the picture painted by the first seven of these quotations, which represent a fairly recent deviation from the more traditional and moderate viewpoint expressed in the last five. One means of accommodating *Ph* was devised unintentionally by Jebb well over a century ago, and nearer our own time Anselm Hughes took a similar line:

⁶ The article on Tallis in *The New Grove*.

⁷ H. Benham, 'Latin Church Music under Edward VI', *MT*, vol. 116 (1975), pp. 477–80

⁸ D. Stevens, *Tudor church music* (London, 1961, 2/1966), p. 21.

⁹ J. Kerman, 'England, c. 1540–1610', *Music from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance*, ed. F. W. Sternfeld (London, 1973), pp. 315–6.

¹⁰ H. M. Brown, *Music in the Renaissance* (New Jersey, 1976), p. 249.

¹¹ D. S. Josephson, *John Taverner: Tudor composer* (Michigan, 1979), pp. 128–9.

¹² M. D. Moroney, *Under Fower Sovereignes: Thomas Tallis and the transformation of English polyphony*, Ph.D. dissertation (University of California, Berkeley, 1980), p. 34.

13. ... these books ... do not appear to have been much used: and it is not unlikely that the new Liturgy was established not long after the volumes were completed.¹³
14. Their date, if taken at about 1540, is entirely consonant with the idea of a set of choir-books [*sic*] being written so soon before the proscription of the Latin services that they were never put into use.¹⁴

In other words, some major change in official religious policy made *Ph* unusable almost as soon as it had been completed. Another explanation of *Ph* has been proposed by one of the few recent writers who has had the courage and initiative to address the problem, and one element implicit in his interpretation has been developed by another commentator:

15. [The partbooks] seem to be a provincial and slightly retrospective anthology, perhaps compiled by a former monastic musician living in retirement just after the dissolution, and ... not representative of musical composition in and around London during the last ten or twelve years of Henry's reign.¹⁵
16. [The above suggestion] would account for the manuscript's obvious lack of use ... and would make it the earliest one surviving to have been compiled for musical or antiquarian reasons, rather than for actual liturgical usage.¹⁶

In other words, *Ph* is irrelevant to an appraisal of musical practice in the contemporary English church because it was not intended for use in a liturgical environment, and because it did not come from London (as if only London mattered). Whatever weaknesses there may be in these various attempts to reconcile the existence of *Ph* with the saltationist view of the culture of church music in the 1530s and 40s, their authors have at least recognized that a fundamental problem exists.

In trying to assess the significance of *Ph* I would take a different approach. The essence of the argument implicit in quotations 1–7 and 13–16 is that: (a) since *Ph* was copied between *c.* 1540 and *c.* 1547, (b) and since *Ph* shows few signs of use, (c) and since much of the music in *Ph* has features currently thought to have been out of favour late in Henry's reign, (d) *Ph* must either have been copied too late to be used for liturgical performance, or never have been intended for this purpose. Statements (a) and (b) are reasonably accurate, but (c) is insubstantial and subjective and leads in (d) to conclusions which I consider forced and far-fetched. I would revise the argument along the following lines: (a) since *Ph* was copied between 1539 and 1541, (b) and since *Ph* shows few signs of use, (c) and since much of the music in *Ph* has features currently thought to have been out of favour late in Henry's reign, (d) we should revise our ideas about music in the late Henrician church to accommodate a more realistic appraisal of the nature and purpose of *Ph*. The crucial point is that *Ph* is a fact, whereas our notions of church music in the last decade of so of Henry's reign may be fanciful, or at any rate vastly over-simplified.

We must, I think, dismiss the idea of *Ph* as the work of a dispossessed 'monastic musician' (I presume that the coiner of this phrase meant the master of a Lady Chapel choir or a singer in one, or a member of whatever polyphonic ensemble the brethren could muster, rather than an ordinary monk whose main musical experience would have consisted of singing plainchant). Where would such a man have found his material? If from his own monastery, why did he bother to copy it again, instead of merely keeping the redundant exemplars? Could he have obtained it from other dissolved monasteries? I suspect not, unless he had the leisure and means to track down books of polyphony and the money to buy them; and again, if he could lay his hands on the originals, why bother to copy them? How many monasteries actually possessed such an extensive repertory of state-of-the-

¹³ J. Jebb, handwritten catalogue, p. 74.

¹⁴ A. Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. ix.

¹⁵ *DoeL*, p. 83.

¹⁶ *BenhamL*, p. 26.

art polyphony? Could our retired monkish musician really have felt nostalgic enough to copy rather more than eight and a half thousand staves of music that he would probably never have the chance to sing or hear?

There is nothing in the character of *Ph* itself to imply such an origin. It is a very large collection (among truly 'antiquarian' collections, only the Baldwin partbooks¹⁷ contain a larger number of compositions) compiled, as I suggested in Chapter II, in a single spate of somewhat feverish activity (whereas Baldwin took between ten and twenty years to assemble his anthology).¹⁸ It contains only complete pieces, not extracts, whereas the reverse tends to be true of the anthology manuscripts of the late Tudor and Jacobean periods. It includes no extraneous material: no jottings, no decorations, no comments on the music or its composers, not even an indication of ownership. It was copied quickly and corrected very carefully, which is exactly opposite to what one would expect of a collection copied by somebody with plenty of spare time and no immediate practical purpose in mind. As a collection it makes complete liturgical sense, providing all of the polyphony in the 'classic' five-part texture that an institution would have needed for Mass, Vespers and the post-Compline devotion, without any of the interesting but inappropriate musical material that an antiquarian anthologist might have felt free to include. I cannot, in fact, think of a source less likely to have been the work of a monastic anthologist passing the days of his retirement.

I am, therefore, convinced that *Ph* was assembled as a working collection for an institution expecting to use the music for the purposes for which it had been composed. Why, then, does the manuscript show few signs of use? Not necessarily, I think, for the reasons suggested by Jebb and Hughes and tacitly accepted by many others. Only a remarkably stupid or stubborn man would have copied so large a collection if he had had any reason to think that in the near future it might become unusable. I can find nothing in the religious legislation of the 1530s and early 1540s that would have brought about a catastrophe, whether foreseeable or unforeseeable, of this kind. There was, in fact, in the parliamentary acts, the royal proclamations, and the royal and other injunctions of Henry's reign nothing to prevent any of this music being sung, given that an institution had the desire and the resources to do so.¹⁹ The Mass, the Canonical Hours, and the traditional occasional services and devotional observances—all in Latin—remained legal up to the introduction of the first *Book of Common Prayer* on Trinity Sunday 1549.²⁰ It may be true that there was in the 1530s 'a new attitude to Saints and images ... , an awareness of the dangers of 'superstition'';²¹ but it is important to try to assess just how widely and influentially held this attitude was. The vociferousness of a small group of enthusiasts can make the opinions that they express disproportionately influential, as the early Protestants, Mussolini's *Fascisti* and more recently the extreme left wing of the Labour Party have been well aware. I will return to these points when I discuss the implications of *Ph* in Section IV—4. Here I will merely repeat my belief that an institution commissioning *Ph* in about 1540 could have continued to use all of the music in it with complete legality for nearly a decade, if it had the will to do so. Such an institution might have been out of step in its religious policy with some at least of its peers, but I doubt that it was seriously at variance with a majority of them: in the closing years of Henry VIII's reign conservatism in religion was hardly a crime.

We must, therefore, look for other reasons why *Ph* shows relatively few signs of wear. It is, of course, possible that a particular event or change of circumstances that we have yet to identify prevented the partbooks being used. The institution for which they were copied could have been dissolved in 1540; or it could have changed its policy on worship in the early 1540s, perhaps under the influence of a new administration; or the books could for a variety of reasons have been diverted from their intended destination. The first of these suggestions is the least attractive, because by 1540 only a few of the great monastic houses of England and Wales remained to be dissolved, and they

¹⁷ Oxford, Christ Church, MSS 979–983. See R. Bray, 'The part-books Oxford, Christ Church, MSS 979–983: an index and commentary', *MD*, vol. 25 (1971), pp. 179–97.

¹⁸ R. Bray, 'John Baldwin', *ML*, vol. 56 (1975), pp. 55–9.

¹⁹ This claim is substantiated in Section IV—4.

²⁰ P. Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549–1660* (London, 1967, R/1978), pp. 1–7; see also H. Benham, 'Latin Church Music under Edward VI', *MT*, vol. 116 (1975) pp. 477–80.

²¹ *BenhamL*, p. 162,

knew very well that their days were numbered; they would hardly have initiated a copying project of this nature. The other two suggestions cannot be dismissed so easily, but neither of them is strongly compelling.

When one considers it, the evidence for *Ph*'s lack of use is not in fact particularly strong. The partbooks have now been handled by musicologists for at least sixty years, and it is no longer possible to distinguish with certainty wear that has occurred in modern times from that which happened in the mid-sixteenth century. The evidence may have been clearer in Jebb's and Hope's day, but we do not know how carefully they examined this aspect of the partbooks' condition. In Section II—9 I challenged the idea that the readings in *Ph* were especially faulty and would have made performance impossible; one might just as well say that since no musical source of the Tudor period is free from uncorrected errors, none of them can ever have been used. One could easily assemble quite an impressive list of manuscripts that lack obvious signs of wear and usage (grubby or folded-over corners, untidy corrections, extra cues and *signa congruentiae*, for example): the Forrest-Heyther partbooks, Lbl Add. MS 34191 and Harley MS 1709, and *UJ* (source 2 listed in Section VII—2) spring immediately to mind.²² But would anybody seriously claim that none of them was used? Perhaps the crucial issue is not so much whether as how they were used.

I think that it is worth considering briefly the possibility that *Ph* and other sources of early Tudor church music were indeed put to their intended use, but that this was not quite the use that is commonly imagined. I suspect, but can produce very little evidence to justify the suspicion, that they were never meant to be sung from at all, but were library copies from which performing copies were prepared as the need arose. Some parchment manuscripts are so richly decorated that it is hard to imagine anybody subjecting them to the rigours of frequent use,²³ while all paper manuscripts would have been very susceptible to wear and tear (there would even have been a danger of them deteriorating beyond the point at which a new copy could still be made from them). As I pointed out in the last paragraph, very few surviving sources show the signs of usage that one would expect to find in manuscripts that were habitually sung from, and all of them contain errors that would have caused musical disasters if the readings had been observed literally in performance; it is difficult to believe that singers simply memorised the correct version of the music without bothering to emend the copy that they were singing from.²⁴

Singing from choirbooks and single sets of partbooks also poses practical difficulties. Even in a good light it is extremely difficult to arrange a choir of more than about six boys and six men around a choirbook—even one as large as Lambeth or Caius—so that everybody can read from it, and I do not see how, in a large choir like that of Magdalen College, Oxford, which included sixteen boys, eight clerks, the instructor and several chaplains capable of singing polyphony,²⁵ it could have been managed at all, particularly if the boys' parts were written at the top of the page. Partbooks of the size of *Ph* are also difficult to share between more than three or four singers. It is remarkable how little we know about how a late medieval English choir was arranged when singing polyphony; just as remarkable is the lack of interest that has been shown in this fundamental question. Did the singers, who might number as many as twenty-five or thirty, stand somewhere in the quire or presbytery grouped round a single choirbook on a lectern²⁶ or holding a single set of partbooks? If they did, how did the instructor manage to direct the choir and follow the music, and how were the plainchant items in the service sung and the required liturgical actions performed? Or was polyphony sung by all the singers in their stalls with a choirbook or a complete set of partbooks on each side?²⁷ Or was polyphony sung from a convenient place by a reduced body of singers while

²² I restrict myself to manuscripts having concordances with *Ph*.

²³ The Eton, Lambeth and Caius choirbooks and Cul, MS Nn.6.46 are obvious examples.

²⁴ P. Fugler, *The unpublished antiphons in the Lambeth choirbook ...*, MA dissertation, (University of Exeter, 1978), p. 27.

²⁵ *Bowers*, pp. 6030–1.

²⁶ I know of no English illustration of singers using on a lectern what is unquestionably a book of *polyphony*. *MMB*, p. 175, quotes a case of a vicar-choral at Southwell Minster being unwilling to sing 'le prycksong ad lectrinum' in 1508.

²⁷ In 1503–4 King's College, Cambridge, paid *Dominus* Jaxson 2s. 6d. 'pro Annotacione Misse pro utraque

the remainder of the choir sang the plainchant from their stalls? I do not mean to suggest that I can answer these questions, or even to imply that any of them has a definite and unique answer. The medieval liturgy, the choral body that performed it and the space in which the performance took place made no provision for any music other than plainchant. The performance of liturgical polyphony involved utilizing space or facilities that had evolved for other reasons and purposes, or (to put it in a more negative way) finding ways of circumventing problems imposed by traditional features of design and disposition. For as long as polyphony remained the preserve of solo singers the problems were probably not too acute, but the development of choral polyphony and the full three-octave choral compass in the second half of the fifteenth century must have increased them enormously. Responses to these developments probably differed from one establishment to another according to local circumstances, in particular the size of the polyphonic choir and the dimensions and furnishings of the building where it sang. Although it would be naive to expect to find precise and consistent answers to the kinds of question that I have posed in this paragraph, it may not be unrealistic to hope that an awareness of the practicalities of performance will throw light on the nature and purpose of a musical source.

One possible solution to the performance problems raised above would have been for those members of the liturgical choir who took part in the singing of polyphony to do so from their places in the stalls, using individual vocal parts copied from the reference manuscripts in the institution's musical collection. Accepting for the moment the possibility that this happened, one could then envisage the possibility that *Ph* and other manuscripts surviving in a relatively pristine state were intended to serve as reference copies from which performing copies would be made as required, rather as we today—however illicitly—make photocopies from printed editions that are too expensive or too unwieldy for practical use. In the absence of any substantial evidence to support it, this hypothesis may seem to be purely fanciful and indicative of my inability to escape from the present rather than my insight into the past. I have to admit that I have never come across a sixteenth-century reference that unquestionably illustrates the conjectural distinction that I am trying to make between working or singing copies and library or reference copies. I know, for example, of no chapel inventory that hints at the existence of singing copies by listing more than one copy of any composition, or listing copies of individual voices from it;²⁸ to some extent this is not surprising, because singing copies, if they ever existed, would probably have tended to be utilitarian if not positively scruffy, would have been considered intrinsically worthless and thus unworthy of inclusion among the valuable material that was recorded in inventories, and might have been regarded as the private property of the singers who used them. I must also concede that I have not found in any set of accounts a record of expenditure explicitly for the production of multiple copies of music already in an institution's repertory;²⁹ but perhaps choir members were required to copy individual parts for themselves at no cost to their employer, which would have been another reason to regard such copies as private rather than institutional property. I would nevertheless feel more secure if some indisputable documentation were to turn up.

The lack of documentary evidence is all the more tantalising in view of the survival of a number of manuscripts and fragments which have characteristics that one would expect to find in performing as opposed to library copies. These sources tend to be small in format and extent; their workmanship is often extremely crude, with freely drawn stave lines, erratic notation and elementary errors in Latin texts; they frequently contain only a single voice of each composition; and they sometimes contain a weird jumble of material, including Mass and Office polyphony,

parte chori' (*MMB*, p. 164) but this could refer to a plainchant Mass.

²⁸ The King's College inventory printed by Harrison (*MMB*, pp. 432–3) lists two or possibly three Masses *Christi Virgo* and two Masses *Regale* but does not say that they are the same or name their composers.

²⁹ It is possible that some of the very large amounts of copying that are mentioned in some sets of accounts, such as *Dominus* Segary's provision of twenty-two books of polyphony for New College in 1540–1 (*MMB*, p. 159) and the twelve books supplied to Magdalen College by John Sheppard in 1547 (*MMB*, p. 166) could refer to multiple copies of small collections. Segary was paid only 43s. 4d. for twenty-two books of polyphony, whereas at King's College in 1503/4 Jaxson had received 8s. for copying just two Masses into a set of six partbooks (*MMB*, p. 164).

chant, faburdens, secular vocal and instrumental pieces, poetry, domestic memoranda, financial records etc. To include detailed studies of such manuscripts here would be to go too far down a side-road, so I will merely list a few early sixteenth-century examples:

- Lbl, MS Royal Appendix 56;³⁰
- Lbl, MS Royal Appendix 58;³¹
- London, Lambeth Palace Library, Printed Book 8.A.2;³²
- Obl, Printed Book Arch.c.10;³³
- Obl, MS Ashmole 1525;³⁴
- Cul, MS Buxton 96;³⁵
- Arundel Castle, MS A430.³⁶

I think that it is indisputable that, whether or not *Ph* ever was put to practical use, it was commissioned and copied with the intention that it should be used, either directly or indirectly, as a source of liturgical and devotional polyphony. The circumstances of its genesis and fate may become a little clearer after the provenance of the music and the destination of the partbooks have been considered in the next two Sections. It should then be possible to discuss with greater confidence the implications of *Ph* with regard to the cultivation of sacred polyphony in England during the final years of Henry VIII.

IV—2: THE PROVENANCE OF THE MUSIC

If, as I have suggested, the scribe of *Ph* completed his task within a fairly short time of having begun it (three months continuous work would probably have been enough), he must either have had access to the music collection of a single establishment able to supply as much material as he needed, or have been able to work from several collections within easy reach of each other. Since *Ph* bears no explicit indication of the provenance of its contents we have to search for one by other means. Fortunately a very promising kind of evidence is available: the unusually large number of composers represented in the manuscript, and the high proportion of little-known or unknown names among them. When one is trying to discover the provenance of a musical source the presence of work by major composers is no great help (although its absence may be revealing), because the music of such men seems to have been ubiquitous. It is the inclusion of compositions by lesser figures, whose music seems not to have travelled beyond a single institution or outside a small radius around it, that is really informative.

Of the composers represented in *Ph*, Aston, Fayrfax, Ludford, Pygott and Taverner can be assigned to the 'first division'; one can tell even from the few surviving pre-Reformation sources that their music circulated widely (I am ignoring Elizabethan and Jacobean sources because these tell one very little about a composer's popularity when his music was actually current). There is no need to say more about these composers at this point, except to emphasise the importance of *Ph* as a

³⁰ A. Hughes-Hughes, *Catalogue of manuscript music in the British Museum* (London, 1906–9), vol. 1, pp. 205 and 460; vol. 3, pp. 79 and 315.

³¹ A. Hughes-Hughes, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 139, 204, 212, 258; vol. 2, pp. 1, 123, 124; vol. 3, pp. 57, 103, 181, 235, 313, 375.

³² Flyleaves in a copy of Jacobi Latomi, *Sacrae Theologiae* ... (Louvain, 1550). I am indebted to Dr John Milsom for this reference.

³³ Leaves inserted in a set of printed law calendars. See *MMB*, pp. 278–80, and N. Sandon, *The Bodleian Year-Books Mass* (Newton Abbot, 1991).

³⁴ Part of a roll containing the bass part of Robert Cotterell's *O rex gloriose* and what may be the mean part of an otherwise unknown setting by Cornysh *Suscipe rosarium virgo deauratum* (the beginning of the rosary).

³⁵ A box of miscellanea, including part of a roll containing a portion of the bass part of the setting of *Stabat mater dolorosa* ascribed to John Browne in the Eton Choirbook, here ascribed to 'John Browne Oxoniensis'.

³⁶ The bass part of an otherwise unknown setting of *Gaude flore virginali* by Nicholas Ludford, written on the back of a single membrane from a fifteenth-century account roll from Arundel. See R. Bowers and W. Summers, 'New sources of English fifteenth- and sixteenth-century polyphony', *EMH*, vol. 4 (1984), pp. 298–304.

source of *unica* and to mention some interesting omissions. *Ph* contains all of Aston's five-part music (including three *unica*) except the antiphon *Te matrem dei/Te deum*;³⁷ it includes all of Fayrfax's later and widely circulated works apart from the Mass *Regali ex progenie*; it has all but two of Ludford's five-part compositions (*Salve regina pudica mater* and the Mass *Lapidaverunt Stephanum* are absent), and five of the seven pieces are *unica*; all of Taverner's five-part music is present (six of the twelve works being *unica*) except for the antiphon *O splendor gloriae*, which may have been written too late to have been available to the scribe,³⁸ and the *Te deum*, which may not be by Taverner at all.³⁹ The rest of the composers in the partbooks make up a 'second division', although some of them must obviously have been better known than others. I include Tallis and Tye in this division because there is no evidence that their music (with the possible exception of Tallis's antiphon *Salve intemerata*⁴⁰) was at all well known by about 1540; *Ph* is the earliest source of Tallis's *Ave rosa sine spinis* and Mass *Salve intemerata* and the unique source of Tye's Mass *Sine nomine*. It will now be useful to summarise what I wrote about the Peterhouse composers in Chapter III.

ALEN. Perhaps 'Allen', lay-clerk, Magdalen College, Oxford, M(ichaelmas) 1539xM 1542–M 1543.

APPELBY. Instructor and organist, Lincoln, 1537–8; instructor, Magdalen, late 1538–41; Lincoln 1541–50 and 1559–63.

ASTON. Oxford B.Mus. 1510; master, St Mary Newarke College, Leicester, by 1525 to 1548.

BRAMSTON. Vicar-choral, Wells, 1507–9; master, St Augustine's Abbey, Bristol, 1509–15; Wells 1515–54.

CATCOTT. Perhaps John Catcot, 'valectus camerae regis' 1529–35; or John Cobcot, lay-clerk, Magdalen, M 1539xM 1543–M 1546xM 1551.

CHAMBERLAYNE. Perhaps 'Chamberleyn', chorister, Magdalen, M 1485–M 1486xM 1490.

DARKE. Supplicated Oxford B.Mus. 1511; clerk, Exeter, c. 1513–26; perhaps vicar-choral, Exeter, 1541–c. 1571.

EDWARDE. Perhaps Edward Hedley, lay-clerk, Magdalen, M 1529xM 1532–M 1540xM 1543.

ERLEY/ERELL. Attendant to Henry VIII, his wives and children by c. 1541 until at least 1558 (d. 1581).

FAYRFAX. Gentleman of Royal Household Chapel by 1497 to 1521; Cambridge Mus.B. 1501, Mus.D. 1504; Oxford D.Mus. 1511.

HUNT. Perhaps Hunt alias 'Stacionar', chorister, Magdalen, M 1486–July 1493.

JACQUET. Modena c. 1519; Ferrara c. 1525; Mantua c. 1526–59.

JONES. Gentleman of Royal Household Chapel by 1520 to c. 1533 or later.

KNYGHT. Lay-vicar and instructor, Salisbury, c. 1526–1543x49.

LUDFORD. Verger, St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster by 1527 to 1548.

LUPUS ITALUS. Possibly at court of Leo X, 1513–?

MARTYN. Perhaps chorister, Magdalen, M 1485–M 1486; Fellow 1496–1504; still in contact with college in 1518.

³⁷ This is even more strange in that *Ph* contains the companion Mass.

³⁸ See H. R. Benham, *The music of John Taverner: a study and assessment*, Ph.D. dissertation (University of Southampton, 1969), p. 235 (where references are given to other pages in the dissertation), and EECM, vol. 25, p. xi. See also J. Milsom's review of EECM, vol. 25 in *EM*, vol. 10 (1982), pp. 543–5.

³⁹ *BenhamL*, p. 156.

⁴⁰ It occurs, not as a later addition, in Lbl, Harley MS 1709, a Mean partbook that cannot be much later than c. 1530.

MASON. Oxford B.Mus. 1509; instructor, Magdalen, 1509–10; chaplain, Wolsey's household, 1520; chantrist, Chichester, 1523–1524x27; canon of Salisbury 1523–1547/8; canon of Hereford 1525–1547/8.

MERBECKE. Clerk, St. George's Chapel, Windsor, by 1531–c. 1585.

NORMAN. perhaps organist and master of the choristers, St. David's, c. 1509–c. 1522; possibly in London 1528–34; possibly clerk, Eton College, 1534–45.

NORTHBROKE. Secondary, Exeter, c. 1512–c. 1517; clerk, Exeter, 1526–31; Oxford B.Mus. 1531; clerk, Exeter, 1535.

PASHE. Singer at various London churches including St Paul's Cathedral c. 1513–c. 1537.

PYGOTT. Master, Wolsey's chapel, c. 1516–1527x1530; gentleman, Royal Household Chapel, c. 1532–1549.

RASAR. Chorister, St. George's Chapel, Windsor, 1499; clerk and instructor, King's College, Cambridge, 1510–15.

STURMY. Nothing known. A Kentish name.

TALLIS. Organist, Dover Priory, 1532; clerk, London, 1537–8; probably master of Lady Chapel choir, Waltham Abbey, c. 1538–40; lay-clerk, Canterbury, 1541–2; gentleman, Royal Household Chapel, c. 1543–85.

TAVERNER. Lay-clerk, Tattershall College, 1524–5; instructor, Cardinal College, Oxford 1526–30; Boston c. 1530–45.

TYE. Cambridge Mus.B. 1536; lay-clerk, King's, 1537–9; master, Ely, 1543–?; Oxford D.Mus. 1545; Cambridge Mus.D. 1548.

WHYTBROKE. Chaplain, Cardinal College, 1529–30; minor canon, St. Paul's, 1531–5 or later.

The information summarised above, particularly that relating to the more obscure figures, points very clearly towards the city of Oxford. Eight of the twenty-nine composers in *Ph*—Alen, Appelby, Catcott, Chamberlayne, Edwarde, Hunt, Martyn and Mason—can plausibly be associated with members of Magdalen College choir between 1485 and 1546. Taverner and Whytbroke were in the chapel of Cardinal College, and Mason and Pygott were in Wolsey's own household chapel. Aston, Mason and Northbroke held the Oxford B.Mus. and Darke supplicated for one, while Fayrfax became the university's first known D.Mus. in 1511 and Tye reportedly incorporated D.Mus. at Oxford in 1548. If the music of the Exeter musicians Darke and Northbroke was not brought to Oxford by its composers, it could have been added to the Magdalen repertory by Nicholas Tucker, a Devon man who was instructor at the college for a year or two from Michaelmas 1532.⁴¹ This leaves thirteen composers with no known or definite Oxford connections: Bramston, Erley/Errell, Jacquet, Jones, Knyght, Ludford, Lupus, Merbecke, Norman, Pashe, Rasar, Sturmy and Tallis. Of these, Ludford would have been likely to figure in any manuscript of the period. Cardinal College had copies of Rasar's Mass *Christe Jesu* and Norman's Mass *Resurrexit dominus* (both of which are in *Ph*).⁴² Until his fall in 1529 Wolsey would probably have been able easily to obtain for his college copies of music by composers in royal service, such as the Mass *Spes nostra* by Robert Jones. After four hundred years one can hardly hope to be able to account specifically for the presence of every work in *Ph*; lay-clerks and vicars-choral tended to move from one job to another every three or four years, and music by Bramston, Erley, Knyght, Merbecke, Sturmy, Pashe, Tallis and Tye (and by almost any of the others) could have been carried to Oxford by musicians going there to take up employment. In Section IV—3 I suggest that the

⁴¹ Omc, LC 1530–42, f. 42^r (undated, but datable to 1532–3): 'Solutum Nicholao Tucker chorustagogo pro stipendio suo hoc anno vij^{li}. xij^s. iij^d.'

⁴² In the Forrest-Heyther partbooks, Obl, MSS Mus. sch. e. 376–81; Norman's Mass is published in EECM, vol. 16. The copies in Forrest-Heyther and *Ph* must have come from different exemplars.

music of Sturmy and Tallis, at least, could have entered the partbooks by a completely different route that did not involve Oxford.

Hofman's statement that 'if there was a connection with Oxford, it was of a more general nature'⁴³ is, I believe, incorrect, although its caution is understandable in view of the limited amount of biographical information available to her. If the connection was a general one we would expect to find in *Ph* music by men from other Oxford colleges, particularly from New College, which had a lively musical tradition;⁴⁴ but no such music has been detected. On the contrary, the information that has so far come to light enables us to focus on only two establishments as likely sources for the Peterhouse music: Cardinal College and Magdalen College. There seem to have been very close links between these two colleges, no doubt largely because the founder of one of them had been a member of the other;⁴⁵ and as two of the most ambitious and influential colleges in the city they must have shared a feeling of friendly rivalry that would perhaps have given a competitive edge to their musical activities. I know of no evidence that any collegiate foundation of this period tried to preserve its musical collection as its own exclusive property; music seems to have passed quite freely from one institution to another, being either taken by men changing jobs or exchanged on a more formal basis. Cardinal College and Magdalen College would surely have co-operated with each other in this way, with the result that anything in the repertory of one would have been likely eventually to find its way into that of the other.

These remarks obviously apply only to the years 1526–30, when Cardinal College had its brief but brilliant existence. The musical history of Wolsey's foundation between the resignation of Taverner in March or April 1530 and its refoundation as a chantry college by Henry VIII in 1532 is extremely obscure;⁴⁶ but it is hard to believe that the formerly imposing musical establishment can have continued to function at anything like full strength throughout the intervening period.⁴⁷ Several members of the college choir, such as Taverner and Whytbroke, found new positions between 1530 and 1532.⁴⁸ This suggests that if we are looking for a provenance for the main corpus of music in *Ph*, we need look no further than Magdalen College itself. Anything in the Cardinal College repertory could have found its way there, but there is no obvious connection between *Ph* and King Henry VIII's college or any other Oxford college. The presence of music that cannot readily be explained in this way (such as that by Erle, Sturmy, Tallis and Tye) is discussed in the next Section.

I have to concede that this argument for a Magdalen provenance rests very heavily on biographical evidence and on identifications which may not all be correct. I have been unable to find in the Magdalen archives any other kind of support for my contention. None of the surviving inventories lists polyphonic compositions with enough precision to enable one to identify the pieces with certainty; the only possibly identifiable work listed in the inventory of *c.* 1524⁴⁹ happens to be a five-part antiphon *Te matrem dei*, which could have been the only antiphon by Aston that is absent from *Ph*! Payments for music copying in the Magdalen accounts do not identify the items

⁴³ M. Hofman, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

⁴⁴ See *MMB*, pp. 157–60.

⁴⁵ A letter from the president and others of Magdalen to Wolsey in response to the cardinal's request for the use of the college's quarries for stone with which to build his own college, is summarised thus in *LPH8*, vol. 4, part 1, item 1755: 'Have received his letters, requesting leave to make use of their stone quarries, (which they would gladly allow, even if they were gold mines,) for his asylum of the Muses. Thank him for the happy result he has caused in quenching all the heart-burnings that formerly existed among them. By appointing a very judicious president, he has prevented the recurrence of the same.'

⁴⁶ See *MMB*, pp. 36–7; W. Page and others (eds), *The Victoria History of the County of Oxford* (London, 1907–), vol. 3, pp. 228–238.

⁴⁷ D. Josephson, *op. cit.*, p. 82, gives a useful table (drawn from figures in NA, E36/104, ff. 3^r–6^v) illustrating the reduction in numbers of chapel staff in 1529–30.

⁴⁸ If one believes that the Forrest–Heyther partbooks originated at Cardinal College, one may infer that William Forrest's signature of them as owner in 1530 indicates that the college was already disposing of at least some of its polyphonic repertory; but there is no proof that the partbooks came from Cardinal College.

⁴⁹ *MMB*, p. 431.

copied. Nevertheless, I think that the evidence so far presented is at least substantial enough to form the basis for further speculation.

If we may for the moment accept that most of the music in *Ph* was copied from exemplars belonging to Magdalen College, Oxford, we can proceed to look for dates within which the copying would have been likely to take place. Here the careers of some of the minor composers in the collection may again prove helpful, because it seems improbable that the music of 'house composers' such as Alen, Catcott/Cobcot, Edwarde and the others should have been in the Magdalen repertory before the composers themselves had begun to work there. The crucial figures in this context are Appelby (who became instructor late in 1538), Alen (who joined between Michaelmas 1539 and Michaelmas 1542) and Catcott/Cobcot (who joined between Michaelmas 1539 and Michaelmas 1543). Chamberlayne, Edwarde, Hunt, Martyn and Mason had been members of the choir in earlier years. Thus the earliest date at which the music of Alen and Catcott (which appears quite early in *Ph*, as nos. 10 and 21) is likely to have been in the Magdalen repertory is Michaelmas 1539, if they both entered the choir then.

To find a date by which the scribe of *Ph* had probably finished copying at Magdalen we have to follow a different line. No reliance can be placed on the dates when composers represented in the partbooks left the college, because the mere fact of their leaving would not have removed their works from the repertory. We have instead to consider the dates of arrival at Magdalen of certain composers whose music is not in *Ph* but surely would have been included had it been in the college repertory when the Peterhouse scribe was accumulating his material. The important names in this respect are those of Thomas Preston, who had been appointed instructor by Michaelmas 1542 (at Michaelmas 1543 he was paid for the whole of the year just ended),⁵⁰ and John Sheppard, who succeeded Preston at Michaelmas 1543.⁵¹ Both of these men were composers, but neither of them has any music in *Ph*. It seems reasonable to suggest, therefore, that the copyist may have finished his work at Magdalen by Michaelmas 1541.

There is thus some evidence that the Peterhouse scribe could have been copying at Magdalen for several months between Michaelmas 1539 and Michaelmas 1541. How do these dates, which have emerged from an almost exclusively biographical enquiry, tally with what is otherwise known about the partbooks? So little is known about them that this is an almost redundant question. When one has said that the date ranges of the watermarks (A 1542–4, B 1533, C 1544 and D 1524–49: see Section II—11) correspond well with a copying date of 1539–41, one has said virtually everything. There is, of course, no doubt that all of this music could have been in existence by 1539, although (as we shall see in the next Section) it may still be possible to date Tallis's Mass *Salve Intemerata* a year or so later. For the time being, 1539–41 will do very well.

IV—3: THE DESTINATION OF THE PARTBOOKS

In the last Section I suggested that in the space of a few months between late 1539 and late 1541 somebody assembled a collection of about seventy pieces of five-part church music, mainly from exemplars belonging to Magdalen College, Oxford, for use at an as yet unidentified choral foundation. Why should he have undertaken such a task? Not, I am sure, for his own amusement; in Section IV—1 I emphasised my conviction that *Ph* was intended to be used either for performance or for the preparation of performing copies. It is conceivable that *Ph* was copied at the behest and for the use of Magdalen College itself, perhaps because some of the chapel's music manuscripts had deteriorated so much that they needed to be recopied, or because it had been decided to modernise the archive by copying music out of choirbooks into partbooks.⁵² There are, however, substantial objections to this theory: a project of this nature would surely have been planned more carefully, allowing the compositions to be presented in a more logical and orderly sequence, and executed with less haste, resulting in fewer mistakes and a more 'copybook' standard of work. Furthermore, the compositions of Alen, Appelby and Catcott would only have been in the

⁵⁰ Omc, *LC 1543–59*, ff. 4^v and 10^v.

⁵¹ Omc, *LC 1530–42* (sic), ff. 167^v and 177^v.

⁵² This is another possible explanation of major copying projects such as those noted in fn. 29.

college repertory for about a year, and the copies could hardly have deteriorated much in so short a time; nor, I imagine, would they have been initially copied into choirbooks. Finally, one would have expected the financial outlay required by such major copying activity to be mentioned in the college accounts, since these mention expenditure on much smaller copying projects. These points make me think that the copyist of *Ph* cannot have been working on behalf of Magdalen College itself, but must have been working for another establishment which for some reason found itself in urgent need of a sizeable five-part repertory.

This conclusion itself prompts a question: why should any establishment have found it necessary to order the copying, apparently in some haste, of a large repertory of five-part church music belonging to another institution? As it happens, the years 1539–41 were precisely those when, for the only time in the history of pre-Reformation England, such a state of affairs suddenly became relatively commonplace. To understand the reason for this we need to turn briefly to English church history during this period.⁵³

The dissolution of the monasteries subject to the English Crown was a comprehensive undertaking from which no monastic foundation was exempt. In 1539–40 the whole sordid business reached its climax with the dissolution of the largest and most eminent monasteries in the kingdom, including all eleven of the monastic cathedrals (Bath, Canterbury, Carlisle,⁵⁴ Coventry, Durham, Ely, Norwich, Rochester, Winchester, Worcester and Christ Church, Dublin⁵⁵). Within a year or so nine of them were refounded as secular cathedrals and three other large Benedictine monasteries (Chester, Gloucester and Peterborough) and one Augustinian house (Bristol) were re-established as the cathedral churches of new dioceses.⁵⁶ In 1542 the diocese of Oxford was created

⁵³ These paragraphs have been particularly influenced by F. M. Powicke, *The Reformation in England* (London, 1941, R/1961); A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (London, 1964); D. Knowles, *The religious orders in England*, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1948–59, R/1979); and J. A. Youings, *The dissolution of the monasteries* (London, 1971).

⁵⁴ To be precise, Carlisle was a house of Augustinian canons ...

⁵⁵ ... and so was Christ Church, Dublin.

⁵⁶ The dates of surrender and of the issuing of the new foundation statutes are given below. Most of the former are taken from *LPH8* and most of the latter are taken from P. Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549–1660* (London, 1967, R/1978), p. 14. Asterisks denote institutions not of cathedral status before being refounded.

Institution	Dissolved	Refounded
Bath	27/1/39 (XIV I 148)	not refounded
Bristol*	9/12/39 (XIV ii 660)	4/6/42
Canterbury	4/4/40 (XV ii 452)	8/4/41
Carlisle	9/1/40 (XV 44)	8/5/41
Chester*	1540 (A)	4/8/41
Coventry	15/1/39 (XIV I 69)	not refounded
Ch. Ch. Dublin	December 1539 (B)	December 1539 (B)
Durham	31/12/39 (XIV ii 772)	12/5/41
Ely	18/11/39 (XIV ii 542)	10/9/41
Gloucester*	2/1/40 (XV 139 iv)	3/9/41
Norwich	6/4/39 (XIV I g 904/5)	2/5/38 (C)
Oxford*	17/11/39 (XIV ii 538)	1/9/41
Peterborough*	29/11/39 (XIV ii 602)	4/9/41
Rochester	8/4/40 (XV 474)	18/6/41
Westminster	16/1/40 (XV 69)	17/12/40
Winchester	14/11/39 (XV 139 i)	28/3/41
Worcester	18/1/40 (XV 81)	10/1/42

A. No date in *LPH8*. See D. Knowles, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 391; David Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses: England and Wales* (London, 1953, R/1971), p. 53.

B. No precise date known; confirmation by letters patent not until 1543. See B. Bradshaw, *The dissolution of the religious orders in Ireland under Henry VIII* (Cambridge, 1974), pp. 118, 124

C. The date of the dissolution of what remained of the monastic establishment which had surrendered in 1538; see D. Knowles, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 390; D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, op. cit., p. 72.

and in 1546 the see was moved from the ex-Augustinian abbey of Oseney to the chapel of Christ Church College. Westminster Abbey was refounded as a secular collegiate church. The cathedrals of the New Foundation all had much the same constitution: a bishop; a dean and a number of prebendary canons; a musical component consisting of minor canons, vicars-choral or lay-clerks, choristers and their master or instructor (who was usually organist as well); and the normal ancillary and domestic staff. The size of each establishment, including its musical component, was decided by the generosity or otherwise of the endowments provided by the Crown: at Gloucester, for example, the musical element was relatively modest (six minor canons, six lay-clerks, a gospeller, an epistoler, eight choristers and a master, a total of twenty-three⁵⁷) whereas Winchester was refounded on a much grander scale (twelve minor canons, twelve lay clerks, a gospeller, an epistoler, twelve choristers and a master, a total of thirty-nine⁵⁸). Canterbury had the same number of men as Winchester but only ten boys.⁵⁹ At least four of these New Foundation cathedrals (Canterbury, Durham, Winchester and Worcester) must have been capable of singing (and were no doubt intended to sing) an extensive repertory of up-to-date polyphony.

There was, however, a problem: at the beginning of their new lives very few of these institutions can have possessed a particularly impressive or widely-ranging polyphonic repertory. If they were lucky, they had probably inherited whatever polyphonic music the previous monastic foundation had owned, but there is little doubt that even the most ambitious monasteries had recently lagged behind the secular institutions in their provision for music. There is, perhaps, a danger of over-stating this: the pre-dissolution Worcester inventory printed by Harrison⁶⁰ contains a surprisingly large amount of polyphony, and music figures quite prominently in the reminiscences of the anonymous author of *The Rites of Durham*;⁶¹ but it seems unlikely that any monastic choir could generate a polyphonic ensemble anything like as large or expert as those normal in wealthy secular churches and colleges and aristocratic household chapels; and surely none of them can have created and consumed new polyphony on the same sort of scale.⁶² In any case, and whatever the nature of its musical inheritance from its predecessor, a New Foundation cathedral would probably have wished to assemble an impressive repertory for itself as quickly as possible.

Thus there suddenly appeared on the scene several prominent institutions which needed to be equipped with sizeable and competent choirs and an appropriate musical repertory. Both their singers and their music would have to be obtained largely from existing foundations. After a time their resident composers might be able to supply them with enough new music to keep an existing repertory up to date, but to create instantly an entirely home-grown repertory would have been out of the question. The obvious solution would have been to acquire a ready-made repertory from somewhere else, and the obvious source would have been an choral foundation noted for its cultivation of polyphony. A number of such foundations spring to mind: a few of the existing secular cathedrals (such as Lincoln and York); some university colleges (such as King's College, Cambridge and Magdalen and New Colleges, Oxford); some other chantry colleges (such as Eton, Tattershall and Winchester); royal chapels (such as St George's, Windsor and St Stephen's, Westminster); and the Royal Household Chapel itself; in addition there were certainly other first-rate musical establishments of which no detailed records are known.

Two possible disadvantages of the Royal Household Chapel as a source of material are that such an élite institution might have been reluctant to grant access to an outsider, and that, since it did not always remain in one place, access for the length of time necessary to carry out a large-scale copying enterprise might have been difficult to arrange; many of the great aristocratic household chapels might have had similar drawbacks. The chapel staff and equipment of sedentary collegiate

⁵⁷ *MMB*, p. 195.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 195; P. Le Huray, *op. cit.*, p. 14, gives the number of boys as ten.

⁵⁹ See the list printed as Table 15 in this Chapter; also P. Le Huray, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

⁶⁰ *MMB*, p. 187.

⁶¹ J. T. Fowler, *Rites of Durham: being a description or brief declaration of all the ancient monuments, rites, & customs belonging or being within the monastical church of Durham before the suppression*, Surtees Society, vol. 107 (1903 for 1902).

⁶² See *Bowers*, chapter six.

foundations, in contrast, stayed in one place, and their musical collections may have been more accessible to outsiders. I have already cited evidence to connect the Peterhouse repertory with Magdalen College, Oxford, and Magdalen is precisely the kind of institution that I would expect any major choral foundation seeking to augment its musical repertory to have approached. As we will see, in 1539–40 a lay-clerk who was also an experienced music copyist moved from Magdalen to a choral foundation that is likely to have had an urgent need of music.

It seems intrinsically likely that *Ph* was copied for one of the cathedrals of the New Foundation. This would explain its comprehensive nature (it contains all of the five-part music that such an establishment would have needed), and also why it was apparently copied in a hurry; on a more basic level, it would explain why it was copied at all. The contents of the collection offer some clues, both positive and negative, as to which cathedral this might have been. To take the negative evidence first: *Ph* contains no music in honour of Sts Cuthbert, Oswald, Swithun, Wulstan, Edward the Martyr, Peter or Edward the Confessor, and no music by any composer known to have worked at Durham, Winchester, Worcester or Westminster. On the other hand, it does contain a work which strongly implies a connection with Canterbury—Hugh Sturmy's *Exultet in hac die*, an antiphon of St Augustine, apostle of the English and first archbishop of Canterbury. After the dissolution of St Augustine's Abbey in 1538, Canterbury Cathedral itself would have been the most appropriate place for the singing of this composition, and in the early 1540s there would have been no reason not to do so; the prestige of Augustine had not suffered during the recent campaign against Becket and other saints but had been maintained and even enhanced by his role as father of the Church in England. There would, as far as I know, have been no reason to sing an antiphon to St Augustine at Magdalen College or, indeed, at many other places.⁶³ This particular antiphon was not in the Use of Salisbury but was in the English Benedictine repertory; perhaps Sturmy's setting originated at Canterbury, at either the cathedral or St Augustiune's Abbey, and was taken into the refounded cathedral's repertory because of its continuing relevance.

If one begins to look at *Ph* with Canterbury Cathedral in mind, the presence of several works by Tallis takes on greater significance. Tallis was one of the twelve lay-clerks appointed to the cathedral choir immediately after the refoundation; his name appears in first place (after that of the master) in a list of the entire cathedral establishment probably compiled in the late summer of 1540, as soon as the numbers were complete.⁶⁴ This may well have been the first time that Tallis had been a member of a large and skilled choir, and *Ave rosa sine spinis* and the Mass *Salve intemerata* (a work surviving in no other source) could have been his response to exciting new opportunities.

Another feature of *Ph* which strengthens the possibility of a Canterbury connection is the third of its watermarks, the Catherine-wheel surmounted by three oak-leaves; as I said in Section II—12, a cathedral document dated 1544 provides a duplicate of this in the same type of paper, and this Canterbury sheet folded twice would produce pages the size of those in *Ph*. Without having searched other archives systematically I cannot say how conclusive the evidence of this watermark is; a selective search in the cathedral library itself has produced no duplicates of any of the other three Peterhouse watermarks, although there are some very close relations to the first of them (the ornate pot) in the pages of MS Misc. Acc. 40, an account book for the years 1541–76.

One of Tallis's fellow lay-clerks in the 1540 Canterbury list mentioned above is a certain Thomas Bull, whose name comes sixth out of twelve. Bull seems to have remained at the cathedral as a lay-clerk throughout the 1540s,⁶⁵ and in an undated document⁶⁶ he is described as 'magister

⁶³ Everything else would have been appropriate at Magdalen College, even Aston's antiphon *O baptista vates Christi*. In 1457 the Oxford hospital of St John the Baptist had been granted to Bishop Waynflete for his new foundation of Magdalen College; although a papal license for the suppression of this hospital was issued on 14 March 1458 it is possible that some memory of it was perpetuated (see *VHC Oxford*, vol. 2, pp. 152–4 and vol. 3, pp. 193–207). In the *Libri Computi* the accounts for the chapel of St John the Baptist were kept separately from those of the main chapel.

⁶⁴ Canterbury, Dean and Chapter Library, MS D.E.164. This lists the full complement except for the Dean, so it must have been compiled before the appointment of Wotton in the spring of 1541.

⁶⁵ He is recorded in the accounts for 1548–9 (Canterbury, Dean and Chapter Library, MS Misc. Acc. 40, unfoliated).

chorustarum'. An inventory taken in Canterbury on 19 May 1553 records the purchase by him of 'a payer of organs out of Seynt Georges Church' for 6s. 8d., and he also bought a share in a cope and some other vestments for 15s.⁶⁷ The *Libri Computi* of Magdalen College, Oxford, record the presence there of a lay-clerk named Thomas Bull between Michaelmas 1528 and Michaelmas 1539,⁶⁸ and it seems extremely likely that this is the same man. At Magdalen Bull was one of the vestry-clerks and bell-ringers in 1532–3 and 1534–9⁶⁹ and bible-reader in 1532–3, 1534–5 and 1535–6⁷⁰ (the *Stipendia* and *Custus Aulae* accounts for 1533–4 are missing). He was also paid for copying administrative and musical documents on many occasions between 1530–1 and 1535–6: the following entries are typical.

Solutum Thoma Bul clerico pro inscriptione obligationis hukwal cum aliis scriptis mandato vicepresidentis 8d. [1530–1]⁷¹

Solutum Bul clerico scribenti diversas indenturas pro vice Roberti Stokkyl ut patet per billam 3s. 4d. [1530–1]⁷²

Solutum Bullo pro diversis expositis ut patet per billam 3s. [1530–1]⁷³

Solutum Bull pro le prykking unam missam et square inscripto gradali ut patet per billam 6s. 4d. [1530–1]⁷⁴

Solutum Bull & Norwych pro prykyng of squaris in 12 gradalibus in capella ut patet per billam 16s. [1530–1]⁷⁵

Solutum Bull & Norwych pro le prykyng xxxj processioners mandato vicepresidentis 3s. 4d. [1530–1]⁷⁶

Solutum Bull pro diversis scriptis ad usum collegii ut patet per billam 2s. [1532–3]⁷⁷

Solutum Bull & Norryshe pro scriptura quorundam canticorum 8d. [1532–3]⁷⁸

Solutum Bull pro ligatura & carta duorum librorum musicalium pro pueris 18d. [1534–5]⁷⁹ (75)

This is obviously highly suggestive: in Thomas Bull we have a lay-clerk, experienced in copying a wide range of documents, who apparently moved from Magdalen to Canterbury at precisely the time when *Ph* seems to have been copied.

⁶⁶ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 120, f. 83^r.

⁶⁷ W. A. S. Robertson, 'Queen Mary's responsibility for parish church goods seized in 1553', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. 14 (1882), pp. 319 and 321.

⁶⁸ He is first mentioned in the *Stipendia* for 1528–9 (*LC 1510–30*, f. 243^v) and last mentioned in the *Custus Liberatae* for 1538–9 (*LC 1530–42*, f. 137^v); he is not mentioned in the next complete list for 1543–4 (*LC 1530–42 (sic)*, f. 169^v) and is not named in any capacity in the years between 1538–9 and 1543–4. He could perhaps have been the 'Buller' listed as a clerk in 1526–7 (*LC 1510–30*, f. 221^r). He was accused in Oxford on 3 April 1539 of having eaten meat in Lent (*LPH8*, vol. 14, part 1, item 684). Could he also have been the Buller who was *informator* at Magdalen in the 1550s?

⁶⁹ *LC 1530–42*, ff. 42^v, 72^r, 90^v, 94^r, 113^r and 130^v.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, ff. 49^r, 73^v and 9^r.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, f. 22^r.

⁷² *Ibid.*, f. 22^v.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, f. 22^v.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, f. 24^r.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 24^r.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, f. 24^r.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, f. 45^r.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, f. 47^r.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, f. 78^r.

I suspect that late in 1539 or early in 1540 Thomas Bull, knowing that he would soon be moving to a new job at Canterbury, spent his last few months at Magdalen copying as much of the college's five-part repertory as he could, choosing such pieces as he had reason to think would be useful. If Bull's journey from Oxford to Canterbury took him by the normal route via London, he would have had the opportunity during his journey to add to his repertory music from London sources. Certainly he made trips from Canterbury to London on other occasions, and these could have involved the acquisition of music.⁸⁰

Whether Bull himself copied *Ph* is, however, open to question. One problem is that the copies of Sturmy's *Exultet in hac die* and Tallis's *Ave rosa sine spinis* and Mass *Salve intemerata* are not placed at the end of the books as an appendix of material added at Canterbury but occur in the body of the collection among works with a strong Magdalen association. Another problem is that none of the Peterhouse watermarks has so far been discovered at Magdalen,⁸¹ whereas the cathedral archive contains an exact duplicate of one of them and a close relation of another. A third and less serious problem is that if the name of the composer of *Trium regum* really was Cobcot, a scribe with a knowledge of the Magdalen chapel would hardly have been likely to miscopy the name of his ex-colleague as Catcott.

The first two of these problems would not occur if Bull had taken to Canterbury with him copies of the Magdalen music which were too flimsy or untidy to form final copies; he could then have recopied them into *Ph* itself, here and there adding other works which came into his hands at the cathedral. This would explain the positioning of the works by Sturmy and Tallis mentioned above, and also account for the presence of two copies of Tallis's antiphon *Salve intemerata*, clearly made from different exemplars: Bull could have brought one copy with him from Magdalen, recopied it at Canterbury and then added another copy given to him by the composer himself, without realising that it was the same work. The aborted second copy of Aston's Mass *Te matrem/Te deum* could have arisen in the same sort of way. Working at Canterbury, Bull would naturally have used locally available paper, which would explain why the duplicate of the Catherine-wheel watermark occurs in a cathedral document in a sequence of pages begun in 1541. The third problem disappears if we, like the copyist of *Ph*, accept that the composer of *Trium regum* really was called John Catcott. It is, of course, also possible that *Ph* itself was not the work of Bull, but of a Canterbury scribe recopying material that Bull brought with him or sent from Oxford in instalments; in this case we could continue to identify Catcott with Cobcot.

This hypothesis is not particularly elegant, and it may well not be correct in all its details, but it explains the existence and character of *Ph* more completely and more rationally than any other that I can devise. Summarised, it is that at some time in 1540 Thomas Bull came from Magdalen to Canterbury, bringing with him copies of a large amount of music that he or another scribe then recopied into the partbooks that constitute *Ph*, interpolating a few compositions available from local sources. I shall now regard this hypothesis as having been essentially established and finish this Section by considering briefly two topics: the dissolution and refounding of Canterbury Cathedral, and the connections between the New Foundation cathedral and the University of Oxford.

A detailed and ambitious scheme for the refounding of Christ Church, Canterbury, as a secular cathedral had been drafted by Cromwell at least six months before the monastery was dissolved.⁸² It envisaged a very large establishment—virtually a university in miniature—consisting of a provost, twelve prebendaries, six preachers, six readers in Greek, Hebrew, Latin (divinity and humanity), 'civill' and 'phisik', twenty students in divinity, sixty scholars with a schoolmaster and usher, a chapel consisting of eight minor canons, twelve lay-clerks, ten choristers, a master, an epistoler, a gospeller, two sacristans, and the necessary household servants. Invited to comment on

⁸⁰ Canterbury Cathedral, Misc. Acc. 40, treasurer's accounts for 1542–3, f. 8^r: 'Item to Tho. Bull for hys costs to London provyding a vycure v^s ix^d.'

⁸¹ I am grateful to Dr C. M. Woolgar for informing me that he does not remember seeing any of the *Ph* watermarks during his work in the Magdalen archive.

⁸² Lbl, MS Cotton Cleopatra E. iv, f. 359. In his reply (see fn. 81) Cranmer says that he received Cromwell's letter on 27 November [1539].

this proposal, Cranmer advised the substitution of a larger number of less highly paid divines and scholars for the prebendaries (whom he regarded as useless),⁸³ but the scheme eventually adopted was closer to Cromwell's than to the archbishop's.

The Commission to suppress the priory was issued on 20 March 1540⁸⁴ and the house was surrendered to the Crown on the following 4 April. A list compiled shortly after the surrender⁸⁵ contains the names of fifty-five monks with details of their former offices and the rewards and pensions that they were to receive; it indicates that twenty-nine of them were to join the new foundation and that the rest were to retire.⁸⁶ This list is given as Table 13. The rewards are omitted from this Table; everybody received £3 except for the prior, who was given £3 6s. 8d. and an extra £10. An asterisk indicates that a reward is not marked as having been paid. The pensions column also contains contemporary annotations regarding the positions that certain men were to occupy in the refounded cathedral.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, ff. 360–1, dated 29 November.

⁸⁴ *LPH8*, vol. 15, item 378.

⁸⁵ NA, E315/245, ff. 78^r–79^r. (using the new foliation at the bottom of the leaves), printed in *LPH8*, vol. 15, item 452. Another version of this list is in Canterbury, Dean and Chapter Library, MS D.E.164. A list of c. 1538 gives the names of the monks with their ages (*LPH8*, vol. 12, part 1, item 437).

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 15, item 452; see also Canterbury, Dean and Chapter Library, Register T 2.

**THE NAMES OF THE LATE MONKES OF THE LATE MONASTERY OF
CRYSTCHURCHE IN CANTOURBURIE WITHE THEIR OFFICES REWARDES &
PENCIONS**

Their offices	Their names	Their pencions
Prior	Thomas Goldewell	£80 ⁸⁷
	Johannes Menys	pb
	Nicholaus Clemente	£10
Bartoner	Johannes Garrarde	£8
Granitor	Willelmus Wynchepe	pet c
Camerar	Willelmus Gyllingham	£13 6s. 8d.
Celarer	Johannes Crosse*	£30
Master of the fraytour	Johannes Langdon	£10
Subprior	Willelmus Hadleigh	pb
Thesaurer	Johannes Newbery ⁸⁸	
Thesaurer	Johannes Oxney	£10
Chauntor	Johannes Elphe	pet c, £3 6s. 8d.
Master of the Table	Robertus Boxley	£8
Sexten	Willelmus Lychefilde	pet c, £10
Master of the fermarie	Ricardus Godmershame	£10 ⁸⁹
	Ricardus Bonyngton	£8
Penetenser	Nicholaus Herte	£6 13s. 4d.
Penetenser	Johannes Lamberherste	£6 13s. 4d.
Gardean of the manours	Ricardus Thornden*	pb
	Johannes Sharysburie	pet c
Gardean of Cantorburie Colledge	Willelmus Sandwyche	pb
Master of the Table	Johannes Chartre	petit c
Seconde chauntour	Johannes Cranebroke	pet c
Master of the aversarie	Edward Glastonburie	£6
Chaunclere	Johannes Thoroughley	£8
Chaunclere	Johannes Ambrosse	gosp, 40s.
Quarte prior	Henricus Andrew	pet c
tercius prior	Thomas Ickhame	pet c
Chapleyn	Johannes Chillenden	pb
	Johannes Morton	£6
	Willelmus Causton	£6
	Willelmus Austen	petit
Subsexten	Quintinus Denysse	£6 13s. 4d.
	Willelmus Gregorie	£6
Fraytorar	Thomas Favershame	scoler
	Robertus Anthonye	£6
	Thomas Wylfride	scoler
Subscolares	Willelmus London	£6 13s. 4d.
	Johannes Warhame	pb
	Johannes Crosse	scoler
	Willelmus Goldewell	£6
	Willelmus Cantorburie	£6
tercius cantor	Thomas Anselme	pet c
	Thomas Beckett	scol
	Johannes Stone	£6

⁸⁷ Altered from 200 marks.

⁸⁸ The name *Willelmus Sudbery* and a pension of 20 marks have been substituted and cancelled.

⁸⁹ Altered from £8.

sub chapleyn	Georgius Frevell	scol
	Peter Langley	scol
	Thomas Bouser	epist
	Willelmus Sudburie	scol ⁹¹
	Jacobus Newenham	scol
	Thomas Goldston	£6
	Stephanus Gylis	scol
	Bartholomeus Ottforde	pet c
	Robertus Houghe ⁹⁰	scoler
	Ricardus Marshall	

Table 13: the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, with their offices, pensions and dignities in the new foundation cathedral

(NA, E/315/245, ff. 78^r–79^r)

Immediately after the dissolution life at the cathedral must have continued without any major interruption, the retiring monks departing and the others simply remaining as seculars. In the next few months the numbers would have been built up to whatever level had been decided. An undated list in the cathedral archive⁹² was probably drawn up as soon as this had been done but before the dean had been appointed, perhaps during the late summer of 1540. The first of the prebendaries named in this list (which is given as Table 14), ‘Mr Docter [Richard] Thornden’, seems to have acted as administrator during this interim period.

Prebendaries

Mr Docter Thornden
 Mr Arthure Seyntleger
 Mr Docter Champyon
 Mr Rycherd Parkhust
 Mr Docter Rydley
 Mr John Mynes
 Mr Glaser commissary of Calys
 Mr Wylliam Hunt
 Mr Wylliam Gardener
 Mr John Mylls
 Mr John Danyell
 Mr John Baptyst

Prechers

Sir Robert Sarlys
Sir Lancelot Ryddely
Sir Mychaell Dromme
Sir John Story (John added in margin)
Sir Edmond Shether (Edmond added in body of list)
Sir Thomas Brook (Thomas added in body of list)

Pety Canons

Sir Wylliam Wynchepe
Sir John Nwbery
Sir John Gowge
Sir Wylliam Cox
Sir John Pukkyll
Sir John Charte

⁹⁰ Substituted for Thomas Langley or Odian.

⁹¹ £6 cancelled

⁹² Canterbury, Dean and Chapter Library, MS D.E.164.

Sir Henry Bredkerk

Sir Wylliam Coorte

Sir Thomas Sharlan

Sir Bartillmew (hole in page; surname Ottforde from PRO list)

(hole in page has removed two other names)

gospeller & epistoler

Sir Thomas Ykham gospeller

Sir Thomas Champ epistoler

Vycars

Wylliam Selby master of the queresters

Thomas Talles

Thomas Wood

Wylliam Swyft

John Trappam

John Marden

Thomas Bull

Robert Colman

Henry Turner

Thomas Bredkerk

John Kydder

John Gynkes

Wylliam Ley

The queresters

Robert Baker

Nycholas Roottys

Wylliam Wood

Wylliam Collens

George Mokernes

Robert Trappam

Thomas Foster

Robert Rutter

Jeram Glover

Robert Mantell

The scolemaster of the gramer

John Twyne scolemaster

Wylliam Wellys ussher (Wylliam added in body of list)

The scollers of the gramer scole

Awsten

Wood

Brown

[A]wsten

(a hole has removed two names)

Crayer

Frenche

Gotley

Lachynden

Wellys

Maycott

Stephynson

Bowghton

Lyttlycott

Rogers
 Ely
 Isheley
 Kemp
 Okden
 Sherley
 Sallter
 Badby
 Heron
 Keyse
 Swan
 Glastok
 Loveless
 Scott
 John Horden
 Bayly
 Dawbney
 Lambe
 Body
 Crakenthorp
 Lawrence
 Hyggys
 Culpeper
 Moyle
 Warde
 Clyston
 Horden
 Somey
 Frawncis Robert
 Thwaytis
 Frognall
 Shawe
 Orforde Strawnge
 Fynche
 John Robertes

The Vesterars

Thomas Callow
 Wylliam at Well

The bedmen

John Draper
 Wylliam Stokys
 Thomas Sawlter
 Edwarde Whyte
 John Conyngton
 Jemys Hardys
 Robert Frognoll
 Frawncis Dent
 Alen Frognoll
 Mathew Clerk
 John Brwston
 Martyn Cook
 Robert Alyn

Thomas Clerk
 Hwe Downyng
 John Geolden
 Wylliam Blene
 Thomas Fox

Bell Ryngers

Raffe Allbryght
 John Clark
 John Barten
 Stace Colman
 Robert Absalon
 Robert Danyell

Buttlers

Wylliam Stevyns
 Thomas Chawndeler

The Cater

John Lestyd

Cookes

Roger Mantyll
 Wylliam Ballser

The Porters

Mr Kyllegrwe
 Thomas Johnson

Horskepers

Thomas Callkett
 John Cornforde
 George Mecot
 Wylliam Foster

The scollers of Oxford

Rycherd Masters
 Peter Lymyter
 Thomas Fyssher
 George Gwyllyn
 Wylliam Beste
 Thomas Odyan
 Stevyn Goldwell
 Wylliam Peter
 Edward Markwest
 Pawll Frenche
 Wylliam Chamber
 Antony Kemp

The scollers of Cambrege

Edward Ledes
 Raynolde Loveles
 Thomas Mastall
 Wylliam Bond
 George Cobbam
 Bryan Wade
 Nycholas Murton
 Thomas Cryar

George May
John Stokys
Stevyn Nevynson
John Wyar

Table 14: a list of the staff of the new foundation cathedral at Canterbury compiled when the numbers were complete except for the dean, probably in the late summer of 1540

(CANTERBURY, DEAN AND CHAPTER LIBRARY, MS D.E.164)

A year after the surrender the new foundation was ready to be officially inaugurated; the Charter of Erection,⁹³ the Statutes⁹⁴ and the Letters Patent⁹⁵ were all delivered on 8 April 1541 and Nicholas Wootton was appointed the first Dean.⁹⁶ The main differences between the final arrangement and the original proposal were that the six readerships were not created, and that instead of twenty resident students twelve were maintained at each university. Even so, the establishment was on a large scale: a dean, twelve prebendaries, six preachers, twelve minor canons, thirteen vicars-choral (including the master), ten choristers, a gospeller, an epistoler, fifty scholars, a schoolmaster, an usher, two sacristans, six bell-ringers, eleven domestic officials, eighteen beadsmen and twenty-four university students, making a total of one hundred and sixty nine, plus the usual servants. With twenty-five men and ten boys the choir compared very favourably with that of the Royal Household Chapel itself, which at this time consisted of about ten chaplains, twenty gentlemen and twelve boys.⁹⁷

In the early 1540s there were numerous links between Canterbury Cathedral and the University of Oxford. Since 1363 the cathedral priory had maintained at Oxford a small college called Canterbury College for members of the monastery studying at the university,⁹⁸ and several former monks who joined the new foundation had been members of this college. The new chapter also included men who had been members of other Oxford colleges. Nine of the original twelve prebendaries had connections with Oxford: Richard Thornden *alias* le Stede, DD, was at Canterbury College between *c.* 1514 and 1534, ending his time there as warden;⁹⁹ Arthur Seyntleger, formerly prior of Leeds, may have been at Lincoln College from 1520 to 1522;¹⁰⁰ Richard Champion, DD, was a canon of Cardinal College between 1525 and *c.* 1532;¹⁰¹ Richard Parkhurst was a fellow of Magdalen in 1503 and senior dean of arts there in 1509–11 (he was also a canon of Hereford from 1516 to *c.* 1529 and a canon of Chichester from 1523 until his death in 1558, which could perhaps imply some connection with John Mason's career);¹⁰² Nicholas Ridley,

⁹³ Lbl, Add. MS 32311, f. 91; *LPH8*, vol. 16, item 700.

⁹⁴ Lbl, Harley MS 1197, f. 319; *LPH8*, vol. 16, appendix 4.

⁹⁵ *LPH8*, vol. 16, grant 779/5.

⁹⁶ The former prior, Thomas Goldwell, thus failed to become Dean, 'owing, it appears, to a dislike which archbishop Cranmer had for him' (G. Baskerville, *English monks and the suppression of the monasteries* (London, 1937), p. 250); see also D. Knowles, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 359.

⁹⁷ *MMB*, p. 24. Canterbury, Dean and Chapter Library, MS Misc. Acc. 40, f. 1, lists the salaries of the staff in 1542–3: the Dean received £300 p.a., the prebendaries £40, the preachers £24 2s. 2½d., the minor canons, epistoler and gospeller £10, the master £10 and £33 6s. 8d. for the maintenance of the choristers, the vicars £8, the schoolmaster £20 and the usher £10.

⁹⁸ W. A. Pantin, *Canterbury College, Oxford*, Oxford Historical Society, new series, 6–8, 30 (1947–85). See also *VHC Oxford*, vol. 3, pp. 13, 219, 226–7, 232–5 and 340. Canterbury College stood in Oriel Street, to the east of the New Library of Christ Church, by which college it was absorbed after the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury surrendered to the Crown all their rights in November 1542 (NA, *Deeds of Surrender*, p. 187). College inventories of 1510, 1521 and 1524 mention a book of polyphony: 'liber de fracto cantu fo. 2 filios Israell' (see W. A. Pantin, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 53, 58 and 67).

⁹⁹ *Emden Oxford 1501–40*, pp. 564–5.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 509.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

¹⁰² *Emden Oxford–1500*, pp. 1428–9. John Mason voted as Richard Parkhurst's proxy in the election of a new dean at Hereford on 16 May 1529; see A. T. Bannister, *Registrum Caroli Bothe, Episcopi Herefordensis, A.D. MDVI–MDXXXV*, Canterbury and York Society, 28 (1921), pp. 220–1.

DD, was at University College in 1521;¹⁰³ Hugh Glasyer, BD, was a Franciscan friar in Oxford in 1535;¹⁰⁴ William Hunt alias Hadley, BD, was a member of Canterbury College in 1508–9 and warden in 1521–2;¹⁰⁵ William Gardiner alias Sandwich, DD, was at Canterbury College as early as 1516 and succeeded Thornden as warden in 1534;¹⁰⁶ and John Daniel *alias* Chillenden had been high chaplain of Canterbury College.¹⁰⁷

Only one of the twelve original petty canons is known to have been at Oxford beforehand (John Charte was a fellow of Canterbury College between 1512 and 1522¹⁰⁸), but two of the six preachers had been at the university: Michael Drome was a minor canon of Cardinal College from 1525 and a fellow of Magdalen from 1531 to 1541;¹⁰⁹ and Edmund Shether (who may not have come to Canterbury immediately on his appointment) was a fellow of All Souls College from 1525 to 1541/2.¹¹⁰ John Twyne, first master of the refounded cathedral school, had been admitted B.C.L. at Oxford in 1525 and had been master of the school at St Augustine's Abbey in Canterbury between 1526 and the dissolution.¹¹¹ Nicholas Wotton himself, the first dean, may have studied in Oxford between *c.* 1511 and *c.* 1514.¹¹² In his *De rebus Albionis*, which was not published until 1590, John Twyne examined the history of Britain in an imaginary conversation between Wotton, John Essex *alias* Foche (abbot of St Augustine's) and John Dygon (prior of St Augustine's, and himself a composer) supposed to have taken place in Foche's house at Sturry in about 1530; even though this was written long after the imagined event, it suggests an early link between Wotton and Canterbury. Dygon¹¹³ and Wootton were fellow-students at Leuven in the early 1520s.¹¹⁴ Of the vicars and other adult members of the new establishment, only Thomas Bull is known to have been at Oxford previously.

At least four of these men were noted for their conservatism. Thornden opposed Cranmer's reforms and after Mary's accession became, in Cranmer's words, the 'false, flattering, lieing and dissimulating monke, which caused masse to be sett up there [at Canterbury] without myne advise or Counsell.'¹¹⁵ Champion was sent to Calais in 1538 to preach to the inhabitants and to warn them against heretical opinions.¹¹⁶ According to John Foxe, Drome showed some initial interest in reform but 'afterwards fell away and forsook the truth'.¹¹⁷ Shether too was a member of the group of conservative clergy and aristocracy who in the spring of 1543 took part in a widespread conspiracy against Cranmer on account of the archbishop's reforming activities; indeed, according to Strype, he was 'one of the forwardest in this invidious business against the innocent archbishop.'¹¹⁸ The notes made by Cranmer about heresies encountered in Kent in about 1543 reveal a state of considerable conservatism in the cathedral itself.¹¹⁹ Thus we can not only reinforce the link already forged between Oxford and Canterbury by Thomas Bull, but also postulate a climate of conservative opinion at the cathedral that the contents of *Ph* could well reflect.

¹⁰³ *Emden Oxford 1501–40*, p. 496.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 233–4.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 258.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 504.

¹⁰⁷ *Fasti 1541–1857*, vol. 3, p. 12; W. A. Pantin, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 152.

¹⁰⁸ *Emden Oxford 1501–40*, p. 112.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 515. His first name was added later, which could indicate that he had been appointed but had not yet come to Canterbury.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 582–3. Twyne was also a noted book collector; see A. G. Watson, 'John Twyne of Canterbury (d. 1581) as a Collector of Medieval Manuscripts: a Preliminary Investigation', *The Library*, 6th series, vol. 8 (1986), pp. 133–51.

¹¹² *Emden Oxford 1501–40*, pp. 639–40.

¹¹³ See *The New Grove*.

¹¹⁴ *Emden Oxford 1501–40*, pp. 639–40.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 564–5.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 515.

¹¹⁹ *LPH8*, vol. 18, part 2, item 546.

IV—4: THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE COLLECTION

In this Section I am concerned only with the liturgical and historical implications of *Ph*; the stylistic implications are discussed in Chapter Six. If the hypothesis offered in Section IV—3 is substantially correct, the partbooks were copied in order to equip the new secular establishment at Canterbury with all of the five-part polyphony that it would have needed for High Mass, Vespers and the evening devotion; they also contain antiphons for the aspersion before Mass from Easter to Trinity (*Vidi aquam*), for use with the *Nunc dimittis* from Passion Sunday to the Wednesday in Holy Week (*O rex gloriose*) and for a local saint (*Exultet in hac die*), as well as two items whose functions are obscure (*Terrenum sitiens* and *Aspice domine*). It is, I think, reasonable to assume that the scribe (or whoever gave him his instructions) had a clear idea of what would and would not have been suitable for inclusion, and that everything included could actually have been sung. If this is true, *Ph* provides very valuable information as to the type of repertory that a major cathedral foundation proposed to sing in the early 1540s.

The most surprising feature of the collection, and one that has clearly troubled some commentators, is its conservatism. The thirty-two Mary-antiphons comprise nearly half the total number of compositions and are four times as numerous as the Jesus-antiphons, a proportion that hardly suggests 'the trend, under reformatory pressures, away from devotions of the Virgin'.¹²⁰ They include some of the most enormous settings to have survived, such as Martyn's *Totius mundi domina*, Pygott's *Salve regina* and Fayrfax's *Lauda vivi*, the first two of which are also extremely florid. It is undeniable that *Ph* also contains some much shorter and more simple antiphons, such as nos 1, 2, 15, 18, 21, 25, 36, 37, 64, 65 and 70, which are entirely in *tempus imperfectum* and have what we tend to regard as a more 'advanced' kind of texture; it is also true that nearly half of these, nos 1, 25, 37, 64 and 70, are Jesus-antiphons, and that most of them are by the younger composers represented in the collection. The important point, however, is that these more 'modern' pieces exist side-by-side with the older type of antiphon. Even if one could demonstrate that the traditional extended Mary-antiphon was no longer being composed around 1540 one could not deny that it was still being sung; and in reality the Marian compositions of Tallis and Merbecke (to name only composers included in *Ph*) show that the older type was far from dead. Nearly half of the antiphons in *Ph* are wholly or partly in prose and many of them take scripture as their basis, which suggests that some of the changes in literary and doctrinal fashion which have been discerned in the introduction of other genres such as the psalm motet were already coming about in this more traditional genre; this is discussed further in Section VI—1.

The nineteen Masses in *Ph* prompt similar conclusions. Certainly there are some strikingly innovative examples among them, such as Taverner's and Tye's Masses *Sine nomine*, but these rub shoulders with some of the longest in existence, such as Fayrfax's *O quam glorifica* and *Tecum principium*, and with some of the most ornate, such as Pygott's *Veni sancte spiritus* and the anonymous *Sine nomine* no. 48. Two of these Masses, *O quam glorifica* and Ludford's *Christi virgo*, are on Marian cantus firmi, and Ludford's *Regnum mundi* (on a chant from the Common of Virgins) may have been a Mass for St Margaret written for the composer's parish church, St Margaret's, Westminster; two others, Taverner's *Mater Christi* and Tallis's *Salve intemerata*, are parodies of Mary-antiphons; and Aston's *Te deum/Te matrem* probably started life as a Mary-Mass, although the scribe of *Ph* may have copied it as a Mass of the Trinity. Rasar's and Taverner's Masses *Christe Jesu* (whatever their origins) are likely to have been regarded as Jesus-Masses, as is Fayrfax's *O bone Jesu* and perhaps Ludford's *Inclina cor meum*; Fayrfax's *Albanus* speaks for itself. There are six Masses of the *Temporale*, Jones's *Spes nostra*, Knyght's *Libera nos* and Aston's *Te deum/Te matrem* (Trinity), Fayrfax's *Tecum principium* (Christmas), Lupus's *Surrexit pastor bonus* (Easter) and Pygott's *Veni sancte spiritus* (Pentecost). Taverner's and Tye's Masses *Sine nomine* and the anonymous untitled Mass cannot be assigned to any particular occasion.

It is, however, by no means clear how we should interpret this kind of evidence. There is an obvious temptation to think that once one has made a liturgical identification of the material on which a Mass is based, one has discovered the occasion on which it was meant to be sung. But can

¹²⁰ P. Doe, *Tallis* (London, 1968) p. 15.

we reasonably conclude from this that a work demanding as much effort in composition, rehearsal and performance as, for instance, Fayrfax's *O quam glorifica* or Pygott's *Veni sancte spiritus* could have been performed on only one day in the year? Would its performance on any other day have been considered a solecism? It seems more reasonable to assume that a festal Mass was written so that its first performance would enhance the ceremonial lustre of a particular liturgical occasion, but that thereafter the work would enter the repertory to be used as taste and circumstances suggested. In some cases even this hypothesis will not do, because certain polyphonic settings could not have been performed on the day from which their *cantus firmi* are taken: Merbecke's Mass *Per arma iustitiae*, for example, is on the antiphon at Terce in the first week of Lent¹²¹ and as usual includes a setting of the Gloria, but in England the Gloria was omitted from Mass in Lent.¹²² This fundamental question why composers based their Masses on particular chants and polyphonic models deserves careful study (its neglect is a symptom of our eagerness to savour the icing before we have digested the musicological cake); some of the answers may well lie altogether outside the liturgy.¹²³ In our present state of ignorance on this matter it would be rash to try to see any liturgical significance in the selection of Masses in *Ph*.

The other ritual music in the partbooks does not need extensive comment. Six of the seven Magnificats are on Magnificat tone or faburden tenors (two in the first tone, one in the second, two in the seventh and one in the eighth), while the *cantus firmus* of Darke's setting still eludes identification. Presumably these compositions were enough to allow the canticle to be sung in five-part polyphony on any occasions when this was considered liturgically appropriate.¹²⁴ The absence of settings of the *Nunc dimittis* suggests that at Canterbury there was as yet no tradition of pairing the two evening canticles, although this seems to have begun to happen in other places.¹²⁵ The presence of a *Vidi aquam* and the absence of an *Asperges* implies that the antiphon at the aspersion before Mass was not sung in polyphony (or, at any rate, not in five parts) outside Eastertide, despite the fact that in the mid-fifteenth century the cathedral had possessed polyphonic settings of both texts.¹²⁶ *O rex gloriose* appears to have been set in polyphony only rarely; I know of only one other setting, by Robert Cotterell, of which the end of the bass part alone survives; Cotterell too seems to have incorporated the plainsong, but not monorhythmically as Mason did.¹²⁷ *O rex gloriose* was also sung without its verses as an antiphon of the Name of Jesus, and Benham¹²⁸ has suggested that Mason may have intended his setting to be sung for votive purposes; this seems unlikely, however, because Mason set the antiphon and all three of its verses, with cues back to the antiphon after each verse. It is not certain whether Sturmy's *Exultet in hac die* (which also uses the proper plainsong monorhythmically) would have been sung in a ritual or votive context. If Canterbury followed the Use of Salisbury to the letter the piece can only have been sung in a votive context, because the Office for St Augustine would have been taken from the Common of a Confessor; the local and national standing of the Saint might, however, have permitted an exception to be made, and the setting and the circumstances of its performance could even have been taken over from the previous monastic tradition.

¹²¹ 1519 *Temporale* f. cliij^r.

¹²² W. H. Frere, *The Use of Sarum* (Cambridge, 1898–1901), vol. 1, p. 91.

¹²³ G. Chew, 'The early cyclic mass as an expression of royal and papal supremacy', *ML*, vol. 53 (1972), pp. 254–69, is one of the few attempts to look wider for an explanation of the choice of *cantus firmi*.

¹²⁴ The Magnificat antiphons of some major feasts were not in any of these modes, but it is not clear how precisely the instructions of the *Tonale* were observed.

¹²⁵ The King's College inventory printed in *MMB*, pp. 432–3 lists six settings of 'Exultavit'; four of these are followed by a 'Nunc dimittis' or a 'Quia viderunt', two of which are described as being 'off the same [composer]'. Professor Doe's comments that 'Polyphonic settings of the old Compline *Nunc dimittis* were unknown' and that 'a *Magnificat-Nunc dimittis* 'pair' for the old rite would have been inconceivable' (*Tallis*, p. 38 fn. 2) therefore require modification.

¹²⁶ See N. Sandon, 'Fragments of medieval polyphony at Canterbury Cathedral', *MD*, 30 (1976), 37–53; this article contains a list of all the settings of *Vidi aquam* and *Asperges me* in English sources.

¹²⁷ Obl, MS Ashmole 1525.

¹²⁸ *BenhamL*, pp. 160–1.

No certain function can be assigned to two of the works in *Ph*, Edwarde's *Terrenum sitiens* and Jacquet's *Aspice domine*. The first refers quite unambiguously to the Holy Innocents and is cast in a refrain form that is closer to the carol than to the responsory (because the refrain always takes up at the same place); its text has several phrases in common with Matins responsories for Holy Innocents Day in secular and monastic English Uses¹²⁹ but there is no sign of a plainsong *cantus firmus*. In some medieval continental Uses *Aspice domine quia facta est* was both a Magnificat antiphon and a Matins responsory.¹³⁰ In the Use of Salisbury it was the third responsory at Matins on the first Sunday after the fifth kalends of November.¹³¹ One possibility, which I put forward very tentatively because it is the kind of suggestion that can easily sound glib unless one can produce evidence to support it (which I cannot), is hinted at by the texts of these two compositions (given in full in Chapter Seven). *Terrenum sitiens* describes Herod ordering the destruction of the eternal King, declares that Christ will remain in his kingdom and punish the transgressor, and calls upon the Lord to avenge the blood of his Saints. *Aspice domine* pictures the city filled with riches made desolate and the lady of the tribes sitting in sorrow with none save God to comfort her. Both texts are typical of those set with symbolic significance by composers with strong convictions in times of religious controversy and persecution. The 1530s had their share of martyrs on both sides of the religious debate, and it may be just possible that these works had a special meaning for one party or the other (or even for both) at Magdalen or Canterbury. In such a case, I imagine that a votive or devotional performance would have been the only possibility.

It is worth noting the types of composition that are not included in *Ph*. Some of the omissions are predictable: there is, for example, no music for the Lady Mass or for any other votive Mass, presumably because this music (if it was sung at Canterbury) was written in fewer parts or kept in a different set of books.¹³² More significant, perhaps, is the absence of settings of responsories, hymns and psalms (either complete or in part); these are all genres which it has been suggested may have come into being towards the end of Henry's reign.¹³³ *Ph* may have been a year or two too early to contain any examples; or they may have had their own set of partbooks; or they may not have been favoured by the Dean and Chapter. It is worth noting that *Ph*, which contains every surviving five-part Mass and antiphon by Taverner except for *O splendor gloriae*, has neither of his two responsories.

Canterbury Cathedral has been considered the mother church of England since very early times, and its archbishop has been universally acknowledged senior to York since the late Middle Ages.¹³⁴ Henry's break with Rome gave a new intensity and an even greater significance to this image of Canterbury, and increased the authority of an archbishop who now acted as adviser to the self-declared head of the church.¹³⁵ From soon after Wolsey's fall until the end of the reign Thomas Cranmer was the king's most valued and trusted adviser on religious matters; his role in the gradual creation of an English liturgy during the 1540s and early 1550s can hardly be overestimated.¹³⁶ Cranmer had been Archbishop of Canterbury since 1533, and (although a Dean and Chapter traditionally exercised considerable autonomy in running their cathedral) it seems inconceivable that during these very sensitive years Canterbury would have been allowed to step far out of line with official policy in its own liturgical and musical arrangements. This is what makes *Ph* so

¹²⁹ See, for example, *1519 Temporale* ff. lxxix–lxxx; Worcester, Cathedral Library, MS F. 160, f. 22^r.

¹³⁰ See, for example, the Lucca Antiphonal: Paléographie Musicale, *Antiphonaire monastique, XII^e siècle: le codex 601 de la Bibliothèque capitulaire de Lucques*, series 1, volume 9 (Solesmes, 1906), plates 302 and 308.

¹³¹ F. Procter and C. Wordsworth, *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Sarum* (Cambridge, 1879–86), vol. 1, column mcccclxxvij.

¹³² For examples of this, see *MMB*, pp. 431–3.

¹³³ See, for example, *Doel*, pp. 92–3 and *BenhamL*, p. 163.

¹³⁴ The sole right of the archbishop of Canterbury to the title *primas totius Britanniae* was recognised by John Thoresby, archbishop of York, in the mid-fourteenth century and was acknowledged by his successors. See *VHC York*, vol. 3, p. 39.

¹³⁵ The Act of Supremacy (1534) is printed in *SR*, vol. 3, p. 492.

¹³⁶ J. G. Ridley, *Thomas Cranmer* (Oxford, 1962) remains the most complete and impartial account of the archbishop's life and work.

important: if, as I believe, we may accept that the collection was copied to provide the most influential of the New Foundation cathedrals with all of the five-part polyphony that was likely to be needed in the normal course of events, we are also entitled to accept that this repertory is representative of what major institutions were using with official sanction in the early 1540s; and if we take this last point, we may have to modify our view of church music in England between about 1532 and 1542, perhaps even up to the end of Henry's reign.

As the quotations at the beginning of this Chapter show, an opinion has fairly recently (and despite some opposition) gained ground that during the 1530s and early 1540s the large-scale votive antiphon and festal Mass and the florid style declined in popularity and were replaced by other genres and a plainer style; although no writer commits himself on this point, the implication must be that this applied just as much to the performance and dissemination of old music as it did to the composition of new music (otherwise the existence of *Ph* would not have caused certain writers such discomfort). The Peterhouse repertory, on the other hand, bears witness to the continued currency of music of varying shades of conservatism in its doctrinal implications and musical style, in the company of pieces displaying a variety of more 'modern' characteristics. We can, I think, afford to take a less than cataclysmic view of church music in England during this period. It is undeniable that major developments in style took place (there is ample evidence of them in *Ph* itself, as Chapters V and VI describe), but it is probably more realistic to see these as the fruit of seeds already present in English music than it is to regard them as self-conscious importation or innovation for doctrinal reasons. It is equally undeniable that some examples of new genres such as the choral responsory and psalm-setting must date from Henry's reign, but it would be misguided to give an early date to large quantities of such pieces merely to fill a gap that may not have existed. The element of conservatism may have been considerably larger, more influential and treated with greater tolerance than we tend to believe. It may, in fact, be no more realistic to see a wholesale rejection of the old for the new in the church music of the 1530s and 1540s than it would be to see Henry's repudiation of papal authority as an enthusiastic acceptance of Protestantism.

I cannot, in fact, find any evidence to suggest that the religious policy of Henry's later years, as it was expressed in Acts of Parliament,¹³⁷ proclamations¹³⁸ and injunctions,¹³⁹ would have prevented or inhibited the performance of the music in *Ph*; nor can I infer that the performance of such a repertory would have been at all unusual. The Act of 1536 that took away the Pope's authority in England and Wales explicitly disclaimed any intention to be

in any wise prejudiciall hurtfull or derogatory to the ceremonies uses and other laudable and polytike ordynaunces, for a tranquylitie disciplyne concorde devotion unyte and decent order hertofore in the Church of Englund used instituted taken and accepted, nor to any persone or persones accordyngly usyng the same or any of them.¹⁴⁰

The Ten Articles of the same year removed certain feast days from the calendar but retained all those of Our Lady and many others of saints for whom there was no scriptural authority.¹⁴¹ The king's First Injunctions, also of 1536, still permitted prayer to the saints,¹⁴² and this was not denied in his Second Injunctions of 1538.¹⁴³ A proclamation of 16 November 1538 required the king's subjects to observe and keep

the ceremonies of holy bread, holy water, procession, kneeling and creeping on Good Friday to the Cross, bearing of candles upon the day

¹³⁷ Printed in *SR*, vol. 3.

¹³⁸ P. L. Hughes and J. F. Larkin, *Tudor royal proclamations* (London, 1964–9), vol. 1, hereafter referred to as *TRP*. A royal proclamation had the force of law (see *SR*, vol. 3, pp. 726–8).

¹³⁹ A selection is printed in W. H. Frere and W. P. M. Kennedy, *Visitation articles and injunctions of the period of the Reformation*, Alcuin Club Collections, 14–16 (London, 1910), hereafter referred to as *VA*.

¹⁴⁰ *SR*, vol. 3, pp. 663–6.

¹⁴¹ *VA*, vol. 2, p. 5, fn. 2.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 1–11.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 34–43.

of the Purification of Our Lady, ceremonies used at the purification of women delivered of child, and offering of their chrismos, keeping of the four offering days, payment of tithes according to the old customs of the realm, and all other such like laudable ceremonies heretofore used in the Church of England, which as yet be not abolished nor taken away by the King's highness ... so as they shall use the same without superstition, and esteem them for good and laudable ceremonies, tokens and signs to put us in remembrance of things of higher perfection, and none otherwise, and not to repose any trust of salvation in them, but take them for good instructions until such time as his majesty doth change or abrogate any of them ...¹⁴⁴

On 26 February 1539 another proclamation repeated this in almost exactly the same words and further enjoined observance of the ceremonies of Ash Wednesday and Palm Sunday while emphasising that all of these were

outward signs and tokens whereby we remember Christ and his doctrine, his works and his passion, from whence all good Christian men receive salvation, which is the undoubted truth and the sincere understanding of the catholic doctrine.¹⁴⁵

The Act of the Six Articles of 1539 was thoroughly conservative in its doctrine, accepting transubstantiation, the need for priestly celibacy, the sanctity of vows of widowhood or chastity, the efficacy of private Masses and the expediency of auricular confession, but rejecting the necessity for communion in both kinds.¹⁴⁶ I know of no evidence to suggest that Henry himself ever moved from this position. A proclamation of 22 July 1541 reinstated the feasts of Sts Mark, Luke and Mary Magdalen as holy days because these saints were 'mentioned in plain and manifest Scripture' and confirmed that the feasts of the Invention and Exaltation of the Holy Cross and the vigil and feast of St Lawrence (which did not have scriptural support) were not to be kept as holy days; it also prohibited some customs popularly observed on certain holy days but did not remove these days or any other surviving non-scriptural feasts from the calendar:

whereas heretofore divers and many superstitious and childish observations have been used, and yet to this day are observed and kept in many and sundry parts of this realm, as upon St Nicholas, St Catherine, St Clement, the Holy Innocents, and such like, children be strangely decked and appareled to counterfeit priests, bishops, and women, and so be led with songs and dances from house to house, blessing the people and gathering of money, and boys do sing mass and preach in the pulpit ... the King's majesty ... willeth and commandeth that from henceforth all such superstitious observations be left and clearly extinguished ...¹⁴⁷

The first Chantries Act (37 Henry VIII. c. 4) that passed into law in the autumn of 1545 was designed to secure chantry endowments for the crown rather than to regulate their function and scope, and it provided for dissolution only in cases of financial or legal malpractice, not on religious grounds.¹⁴⁸ Chantries were still being set up even after the passage of the act, one of the latest being at Welsh Newton, Herefordshire, in 1547.¹⁴⁹ It is salutary to realise that for people at the time the future was less easy to foresee than we with the benefit of hindsight sometimes imagine.

¹⁴⁴ *TRP*, vol. 1, no. 186, pp. 273–4.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, no. 188, p. 279.

¹⁴⁶ *SR*, vol. 3, pp. 739–43.

¹⁴⁷ *TRP*, vol. 1, no. 203, pp. 301–2.

¹⁴⁸ *SR*, vol. 3, p. 988–93.

¹⁴⁹ G. H. Cook, *Medieval chantries and chantry chapels* (London, 1947), p. 58.

It is true that none of these foregoing documents bears specifically on the liturgical and musical questions that we have to consider when trying to interpret *Ph*, but the fact that these official pronouncements, whose wording is extremely precise and comprehensive on the points that were at issue, make no mention of liturgical or musical matters, must surely be significant in itself. Taken in conjunction with the conservative character of the doctrinal statements and legislation, the absence of provisions concerning music can only imply the continuation of familiar and accepted practice. Obviously this does not mean that liturgical and musical experiments cannot have been going on in radically-minded institutions, but it does suggest that such innovations were neither common nor particularly welcome.

One set of episcopal Injunctions, Nicholas Heath's second set for Rochester Cathedral issued in 1543, is more forthcoming than usual on musical matters, and it paints a picture that would have been familiar to Henry VII and the Yorkist kings:

5. *Item*, it is ordered that the master of the choristers shall be at Mattins, Mass, and Evensong in all double feasts and ix lessons, and shall himself keep the organs at the same feasts. And also in Commemorations shall by him or by some other at his appointment cause the organs to be kept. And he to cause the choristers to sing an anthem after every Compline in every work-day. And it is referred to the discretion of the Chanter to have the organs played in Commemorations.

6. *Item*, it is ordered that the priests, clerks, and choristers, with the master of the choristers, shall sing every even and day of feasts *duplex*, *minus duplex*, *maius ac duplex et principalis duplex*. And every holy-day in the year an anthem in pricksong immediately that Compline be fully done and ended.

7. *Item*, it is ordered that on work-days the choristers shall sing the Lady mass in pricksong with the organs; and on every holy-day, the priests, clerks, and master of the choristers, and the choristers to sing the Lady mass to sing the Lady mass [*sic*] in pricksong with the organs, except principal feasts of *maius duplex*, and except when high mass is of our Lady, then the Lady mass to be said. And to the intent that our Lady mass shall be sung in pricksong, Prime and Hours to be omitted.

9. *Item*, it is ordered that the two porters shall use and occupy the offices of two vergers, and they to go before the cross in Processions every holy-day and upon feasts principal and *maius duplex*; one of them to go before the Dean and before the prebend [*sic*] when they go to cense the altar at *Magnificat*, *Te deum* and *Benedictus*, when the prebend goeth to the desk to sing the collect, and when they go to high mass and from high mass; and shall go before the cross unto the reading of the Gospel, and before the Epistoler going to read the Epistle, and to return again to the altar with them. And one of them to keep the door next the Dean's stall on every holy-day, and to do other like services as shall be thought convenient by the Dean and prebendaries.

10. *Item*, it is ordered that three of the grammarians shall read by courses the three first lessons at Mattins on holy-days, and one of them to help the Lady mass priest in his surplice upon the holy-days. And that they be in the choir of holydays at Mattins, Processions, Mass and Evensong in their own surplices, and there to continue from the beginning until the ending, and be ready to bear the Cross, Candlesticks, and Censers, on

the holy-days. And it is ordered that the schoolmaster of [the] grammar school shall see this done accordingly.¹⁵⁰

I see no reason to suppose that Rochester, a small and impecunious cathedral immediately under the eye of Canterbury, was in any way out of line in its activities at this time.

If, as I believe, it is reasonable to assume that the early proclamations and injunctions of Edward VI's reign were meant to alter a state of affairs that actually obtained, the situation seems to have remained remarkably conservative throughout the last years of Henry VIII. Edward's first proclamation concerning religious worship (31 July 1547) has much in common with his father's proclamations of 1538 and 1539, although it does contain two important innovations: the Epistle and Gospel were to be read in English, and a New Testament lesson was to be read in English at the end of Matins and Vespers, leaving out the last three lessons of Matins and the responsories and memorials of Vespers in order to make room for it.¹⁵¹ Royal injunctions for Canterbury Cathedral issued in 1547 required the substitution of a sermon or homily for the Lady Mass on holy days, the omission of all sequences, and the singing of all Masses 'by note' within the quire at such times as they had previously been sung in other parts of the church.¹⁵² More radical change becomes evident in the new regime's injunctions for Winchester Cathedral and York Minster issued in the same year: the former forbade the singing of *Regina caeli*, *Salve regina* and 'any suchlike untrue or superstitious anthem';¹⁵³ the latter allowed only one sung Mass a day (in other words, it prohibited the sung Lady Mass), ended the singing of responsories, required antiphons to be sung in English, and directed votive hours to be said and not sung.¹⁵⁴ The often-quoted injunctions for Lincoln Cathedral (1548) took a further step to the left:

Item 25. They shall from henceforth sing or say no anthems of our Lady or other Saints, but only of our Lord, and them not in Latin; but choosing out the best and most sounding to Christian religion they shall turn the same into English, setting thereunto a plain and distinct note for every syllable one: they shall sing them and none other.

Item 28. To the intent the service of this Church called the Lady Matins and Evensong may be used henceforth according to the King's Majesty's proceedings, and to the abolishing of superstition in that behalf, there shall be no more Matins called the Lady Matins, Hours, nor Evensong, nor ferial dirges said in the choir among or after other Divine Service, but every man to use the same privately at their convenient leisure, according as it is purposed and set forth in the King's Primer.¹⁵⁵

If a government hell-bent on religious innovation was having to issue such injunctions in 1547/8, we must surely conclude that seven or eight years earlier, under a monarch whose views on doctrine and worship were decidedly traditional, liturgical and musical practice must have been if anything even more conservative.

What I have proposed in this Chapter is largely based on conjecture and is open to dispute on many different grounds. One objection which may seem to remain particularly damaging, and which I cannot completely answer, is the apparently hardly-used condition of the partbooks. It may be, as I suggested in Section IV—1, that *Ph* was intended as a source collection from which performing copies would be prepared, and not as a performing set in itself. Another possibility is that there was some change in circumstances soon after *Ph* had been completed which made it redundant; but I cannot identify any event on a local or national level which might have had such

¹⁵⁰ *VA*, vol. 2, pp. 95–8.

¹⁵¹ *TRP*, vol. 1, no. 287, pp. 393–403.

¹⁵² *VA*, vol. 2, pp. 140–6.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 150–2.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 153–7.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 166–70.

an effect. Even if something of the kind did happen, we would not be entitled to conclude that the music in *Ph* was already unusable while the partbooks were being copied. I find it impossible to believe that anybody would have started (let alone have carried through) such a project without having formed a very clear idea of what would be useful and permissible; and I can find no evidence that the performance of anything in this repertory would have incurred official displeasure. I remain convinced that *Ph* contains a repertory typical of those sung by large choral foundations in the final years of Henry VIII.

V: RESTORING THE INCOMPLETE COMPOSITIONS

V—1: INTRODUCTION

The major cause of the neglect that *Ph* has suffered from both musicologists and performers is its incompleteness: fifty of the seventy-two compositions lack their tenor part, and eighteen of these fifty also lack all or part of their highest voice.¹ This has denied most of these compositions any chance of performance, except for a few whose authorship by well-known composers has encouraged editors wishing to include them in complete editions to restore them to a performable state. It has also inhibited scholarly study and comment except of a rather generalised—and sometimes rather misleading—nature. This is understandable: the kinds of musical judgement that can safely be based on an incomplete polyphonic texture are limited, and even a judgement based on adequate evidence may be received with suspicion because the musical work in question is less than perfect. While restoration makes performance possible, it does not necessarily encourage a closer examination of the restored work which may, indeed, be dismissed out of hand on the grounds that it has been tampered with. It is true that an inept or careless restoration will seriously distort the original. Even a competent and painstaking restoration can only rarely be guaranteed to be entirely accurate, because in most cases in which only part of the original musical texture survives, there will be a large number of grammatically acceptable ways of completing it. Assuming that the restorer's compositional skill and stylistic awareness are adequate, the quality of the restoration will depend not so much on his or her command of a generic period style,² but on his or her perspicacity regarding the nuances of idiom that make every composer and every composition unique.³ Musical restoration is time-consuming; it demands a high level of skill and intense concentration; it tends not to stimulate much interest in the wider scholarly community; it can arouse the suspicion that one is a 'general practitioner' rather than a 'real scholar'; and, given the reluctance of many performers to countenance music that is unfamiliar, or by a less than well-known composer, or not already acknowledged to be of high quality, or potentially vulnerable to the charge of being spurious, it may not even lead to performance.

Such negative perceptions, which have contributed to the widespread dismissal of musical restoration as a useful activity, are local examples of a wider lack of interest in the practical implications and potential of their scholarly work that I have noticed in many musicologists who are more or less my contemporaries. I find this attitude worrying. I would include the following among the more unsatisfactory features of current early musicology: its obsession with research method *per se*; its fascination with elementary research techniques recently and uncritically taken over from other disciplines; its perfunctory, tentative and superficial approach to musical analysis; its indifference to appropriate and precise analytical terminology; and its lack of technical and stylistic acumen.⁴ These may seem sweeping condemnations, and to illustrate them would occupy more space and create more resentment than would be justified, but at least one scholar has recently expressed similar misgivings

¹ The Introduction to this chapter has been extensively rewritten, more to clarify than to change its meaning, for the addition of the dissertation to DIAMM in 2009; I have found the rewriting difficult because it entails the expression of ideas with which I no longer fully agree. Having spent the best part of another three decades in the kind of musical restoration that I am discussing, I think that I now have a better understanding of what it involves. It is pleasing that the validity and usefulness of such work are today more widely recognised and conceded, and that examples of it are more numerous, even though the general level of craftsmanship may not have greatly improved.

² I am assuming that anybody undertaking such a task will have at least a basic understanding of the linguistic parameters of his material; and yet astonishingly incongruous editorial completions of renaissance music can be found even in musicological series widely regarded as erudite and reliable.

³ In other words, the editorial contribution to a restored composition can include elements that are at one and the same time congruous with generic features of period style and yet unidiomatic to the individual work.

⁴ I wrote this original of this sentence in 1982, and I believe that even at that time my criticism was overstated. Today our discipline is in a healthier state, particularly through the interaction of musicology and performance and the imaginative exploration of ways of engaging with various early musical repertoires.

in print.⁵ A significant proportion of recent editions of medieval and renaissance music—it would be invidious to nominate individual editors and series—contain elementary errors in transcription and interpretation which produce musically incongruous results; and yet, to judge from the scholarly material accompanying these editions—archival and palaeographical studies, isorhythmic analyses, critical editions of the texts, highly detailed and sometimes impenetrable critical commentaries, and so on—the editors consider themselves to be fully-trained musicologists, and are widely accepted as such. For them, it appears, the music has come a very poor second to the ancillary trappings of their trade. There is surely a case for regarding a thorough understanding of musical language, idiom, technique and style, and the ability to express that understanding clearly, as the most important attributes of the musicologist, for only through these can one offer a penetrating and cogent appraisal of the music that one has studied. I by no means deny the usefulness of contextual reference; this dissertation itself depends upon it; but the establishment of a historical context for music can also lay a solid foundation for a more ambitious investigation of the music itself. It is also true that many non-musical lines of enquiry and investigative techniques can be enlightening and informative when brought to bear on a musical topic, but there is perhaps a tendency to concentrate too much on them because they yield satisfyingly definite results and do not demand the kind of imaginative leap that revelatory musical analysis requires.⁶

The unique importance of *Ph* is that it contains a large collection of music composed over a period of about forty years and collected together at a time of particular religious and political tension to be performed for controversial purposes in a symbolically important institution. As well as providing evidence about the culture of church music and the nature and breadth of religious and musical taste, it allows us to survey the compositional technique of the period and to explore the development of musical style. A great deal of information can be recovered from the music even in its incomplete state: one can, for instance, see how expansive or concise the compositions are; one can discover their metrical structure, their modality and (unless the treble is missing) their overall compass; one can estimate how elaborate or plain they were, observe how they were texted, and make deductions about their composers' handling of texture. But there is much that cannot be fully discerned, such as *cantus firmus* treatment (if the *cantus firmus* was in a voice now missing), the amount and treatment of imitation, the interrelationship of the individual vocal ranges; the finer details of textural and contrapuntal treatment; and—given that the highest part and the tenor tend to be more melodically conceived than the others—distinctive features of the composer's melodic style. In these and other cases sympathetic and judicious restoration can be extremely informative. Furthermore, the very act of restoration involves the examination of a work with a thoroughness and concentration that may lead one to remark other details which might otherwise have escaped attention.

The main object of the restorer of any object is to discover what is missing and replace it as faithfully as possible. The extent to which this is feasible in music varies according to the nature and state of the original composition and the acumen, imagination and technical skill of the restorer. Initially I was not particularly adept at restoration: my training in renaissance counterpoint had been perfunctory and my ear was far from acute;⁷ but practice brings improvement. The compositions in *Ph* that can be restored most confidently are those in which, if correct choices are made, the

⁵ P. Brett, 'Facing the Music', *EM*, vol. 10 (1982), pp. 347-50.

⁶ I am even more aware in 2010 that the content of my own dissertation lays me open to the charge of hypocrisy; it is replete with superficial observation and uncritically amassed data, and the musical analysis and comment is nugatory. It should have contributed to a thorough appraisal of the entire musical repertory, but I have yet to produce one. To some extent a broad and detailed musical appraisal is implicit in the commentaries in Chapter Seven and in the revised reconstructions that I have published elsewhere, but these form a poor substitute for a continuous text.

⁷ It could be argued that this was not necessarily a disadvantage. The tuition in renaissance counterpoint, largely based on examples by Palestrina and his contemporaries, that many music students of my generation received did little to equip them for an encounter with English pre-Reformation ecclesiastical polyphony. Our ear-training, consisting almost entirely of taking musical dictation, also had little practical value.

solution simply works itself out, at least in certain sections of the piece. This may entail providing a monorhythmic *cantus firmus* (Mason's *O rex gloriose* and Sturmy's *Exultet in hac die*) or a canonic companion to a surviving voice (Alen's *Gaude virgo mater Christi*); progressively less certain cases involve the restitution of an isorhythmic *cantus firmus* (Fayrfax's *O Maria deo grata*), a motto *cantus firmus* (the Masses *Veni sancte spiritus* and *Inclina cor meum*), a longer but literally quoted *cantus firmus* (the Masses *Spes nostra* and *Regnum mundi*), a decorated *cantus firmus* (the Mass *Libera nos*), and a faburden-based *cantus firmus* (Northbroke's *Sub tuum protectionem* and the Magnificats by Taverner, Jones and Pashe). In three cases in *Ph* the existence of a polyphonic model facilitates the completion of a Mass; in reducing order of certainty these are *Salve intemerata*, *Mater Christi* and *Small devotion*. Antiphonal repetition or voice exchange sometimes allows restoration with a high degree of probability, for instance in Fayrfax's *Lauda vivi* and *O Maria deo grata*.

In compositions which even in their incomplete state show evidence of imitative treatment it is often difficult to decide how much imitation the composer actually employed. This is a major problem in restoring English music of this period, in which imitation was losing its decorative function and gaining a more formal one. I suspect that I have tended to be too ingenious rather than not ingenious enough, contriving more imitation than some composers intended. Even in pieces which are obviously highly imitative it is sometimes possible to make the imitation work in more than one way; compare, for example, my completion of Taverner's *Fac nobis secundum* with that by Hugh Benham in EECM, vol. 25.

In general, the less that survives of the original musical texture, the less confident it is possible to feel about the accuracy of the editorial completion. Although in one sense it is easier to restore two voices out of five than it is to restore a single voice, because there is more scope for adjustment, the larger element of choice itself reduces the likelihood of approaching closely the composer's original. The nature and function of a missing voice also influence the ease or difficulty of restoring it.⁸ Tenor and treble parts can be less problematic than contratenor and mean parts because they tend to be more consistently melodically conceived and to pursue more standardized courses at cadences. If a *cantus firmus* is present, it will usually be in the tenor part, and when it has been recognized and identified the only remaining question may be how to rhythmicize it to carry the text. Contratenor and mean parts can be awkward because of their more erratic character, a legacy of the fifteenth-century concept of them as supplementary voices that is still evident in many English works of the early sixteenth century, even though a gradual and general movement towards greater vocal homogeneity was clearly in progress. One can argue that the subsidiary status of the contratenor and mean voices makes the details of their restoration less important, but it may be that a substantial part of an early Tudor composer's distinctive musical personality lay in his treatment of these ancillary lines that are so easy to overlook. Bass lines have a unique mixture of functions, contributing to the texture melodically and rhythmically like the other voices but also acting as a harmonic foundation. There may also be considerable differences in vocal behaviour between fully-scored and reduced-voice sections.

Editorial completion of a composition is influenced by the quality of the extant music; the more consistent and characterful the style of what remains, the more scope there is for recognising, assimilating and emulating it. In music with a powerful and coherent personality the nature of what is missing can be strongly implicit in or even patent from what survives, whereas music in a more anonymous or eclectic style may leave the restorer little clue as to how to proceed. Some of the most difficult textures to restore are those in which all of the surviving voices seem to do nothing more than 'fill in'; was this to allow one of the missing voices to make a strong musical gesture, or did every voice in the texture have the same sort of anonymous and nondescript character?

⁸ One of the weaknesses of some recently published examples of editorial recomposition is that insufficient cognizance has been taken of the function of a particular vocal line within the texture: a restored tenor may appear impressively lively and interesting to sing because the restorer has unwittingly made it behave more like a contratenor than a tenor.

It is also necessary to resist the temptation to ‘improve’ a composition by completing it in a style that is melodically more elegant, harmonically more suave or contrapuntally more polished than that of the original composer. Edward Lowinsky’s remark that ‘no editor can provide a satisfactory *musica ficta* setting if the composer himself was unable to do so’⁹ can be adapted to this context; to put it as succinctly as possible: ‘no editor should try to restore a composition more deftly than its original creator composed it.’ Putting this principle into practice may involve condoning banality or clumsiness, or imitating quite startling idiosyncrasies where one’s musical training and aesthetic assumptions would prompt a more decorous solution, or committing the sort of solecism (such as parallel perfect intervals) that conventionally trained musicians have learnt to eschew. A certain degree of moral courage can be required to invent music that is bad enough to be stylish. It is, of course, much easier to advocate high standards than to attain them. I am aware that both my first efforts at restoration and my later revisions leave much to be desired, even though I hope that none will be considered totally inept.¹⁰ If nothing else they make possible the performance of an important and hitherto largely inaccessible corpus of music, and I hope that that they will encourage a more searching examination of it.

V—2: NOTES ON THE RESTORATION OF INDIVIDUAL COMPOSITIONS

This Section is based on working notes made during the restoration of the fifty incomplete compositions in *Ph*, with the addition of material from my revised editions published subsequently. These entries are not meant to be exhaustive or cumulative; they refer only to points of particular interest and/or uncertainty and do not attempt to account for every decision that I have made. Brief descriptions of *cantus firmus* treatment and parody technique are given where the understanding of these procedures influences the character of the restoration, and a certain amount of explicit comment on technique and style is included. Taken by itself, none of these notes throws a great deal of light on the problems and processes of restoration in *Ph*, but taken as a whole they may give some idea of what the task involves.

1. *Sancte deus* (Taverner)

2. *Ave Maria* (Taverner)

Their close liturgical association (explored in Section VII—3) makes it appropriate to consider these two pieces together. Since the surviving voices of the two compositions have similar ranges (the low F of the bass in *Sancte deus* is a pedal note used only to increase the sonority of the final chord) the ranges of the treble and tenor lines should probably correspond as well. Both top lines work effectively in the customary treble range about a fifth higher than that of the mean, but I have made the compass of the treble in *Sancte deus* slightly wider than that in *Ave Maria* to suit the more expansive character of the piece. In most of Taverner’s later works, such as *Mater Christi*, *O Christe Jesu* and the *Meane Mass*, the old equal-range tenor-contratenor relationship disappears and the tenor becomes distinctly the lower voice of the pair, acting more like a baritone;¹¹ the tenors of all four of Taverner’s short antiphons unique to *Ph* seem to have worked in this way.

3. *O rex gloriose* (Mason)

Like Mason’s *Vae nobis miseris* and *Quales sumus*, this piece is described in the partbook indexes as being for men. In *Ph* this always denotes compositions for broken voices (at Magdalen—assuming that this is where the copyist found Mason’s compositions—the number of boys in the choir suggests that in the full-compass works both the treble and the mean parts were sung by them). Comparison with Mason’s other two broken-voice works helps to establish approximate ranges for

⁹ E. E. Lowinsky, *The Medici Codex of 1518: a choirbook of motets dedicated to Lorenzo de’ Medici, Duke of Urbino*, *Monuments of Renaissance Music*, vols 3–5 (Chicago, 1968), vol. 3, p. 177.

¹⁰ Some of the revisions now being published by Antico Edition differ quite radically from the versions originally included in Volume Two of this dissertation.

¹¹ The same phenomenon is evident in the music of Ludford and many—but not all—of his contemporaries.

the missing voices: the voices of *Vae nobis miseris* and *Quales sumus* surviving in the Treble partbook have exactly the same range as the mean parts; both lines would have been sung by tenors, and it seems reasonable to conclude that this was the case in *O rex gloriose* as well. The range of the missing tenor part must have been that of the plainchant melody that it sings as a monorhythmic *cantus firmus* (restoring this causes no problems if a single cadential decoration is allowed in bar 71). In the first two verses the chant is paraphrased by the contratenor and mean respectively, and I have supplied a treble paraphrase of it in the third verse.

5. *Stabat mater* (Hunt)

Like most of the large-scale antiphons in *Ph*, this seems to have had the traditional three-octave compass with the tenor and contratenor sharing the same range. The tenor probably did not carry a *cantus firmus*, because in the full sections it is quite often possible to make it state in imitation with the other four voices motives that do not resemble typical chant-based *cantus firmus* material (see for instance bars 234ff, 241ff and 275ff). One cannot always be certain as to which if either of the missing voices sang in particular verses; my aim in this and in similar pieces has been to identify the verses in which for grammatical reasons the treble or tenor must or cannot have been singing, and then to score the remaining verses with reference to these in such a way as to produce as many different scorings as possible (this seems to have been one of the chief criteria by which scoring schemes were planned). Bars 18–24 of this composition are the only place in *Ph* where clairvoyance rather than observation is called for; here originally I simply repeated the music of the preceding bars in a slightly altered form, not because I think that Hunt did so but because I considered it preferable to free invention, but in the revised version I have composed the passage myself. Hunt's fairly sober style, large canvas and fondness for antiphony are a little reminiscent of Fayrfax (particularly the Fayrfax of *Lauda vivi*), although he cannot rival the more famous composer in rhythmic subtlety or contrapuntal polish. The counterpoint is, in fact, unusually dissonant (see for example bars 4, 25 and 76–77) but since this is also true of Hunt's *Ave Maria mater dei* it is probably a feature of the composer rather than a fault of the copy.

6. *Salve regina* (Pygott)

Like his Mass *Veni sancte spiritus* Pygott's *Salve regina* is written in a rather conservative style. Its enormous length—it is one of the longest surviving votive antiphons—results from its extremely melismatic word setting; a melisma on the final stressed syllable of a section may occupy a dozen or more bars of a modern transcription. Pygott requires of his singers outstanding agility as well as exceptional stamina; the vocal lines are profusely decorated and exploit the sprightly dotted rhythms that enliven the music of several composers associated with Cardinal Wolsey. Apart from a certain degree of motivic economy, there is relatively little sign of the innovative spirit that was beginning to inhabit the music of some English composers, notably Taverner and Ludford, during the 1520s. Although Pygott habitually begins sections and subsections imitatively, the character of his motifs and his treatment of them have many precedents in the music of the Eton choirbook, and his use of symmetrical entries in all five voices to tie together the final tutti has an obvious parallel in William Cornysh's *Salve regina*. There seems in fact to be a close relationship between Pygott's and Cornysh's settings of this text.¹² This includes not only particular features such as the harmonic surprise created by the first choral entry (Pygott bar 36, Cornysh bar 33) and the shape of certain motifs (compare especially the 'Et pro nobis ...' sections, Pygott bars 274–307 and Cornysh bars 224–241), but also a strong overall impression that each composer is striving to explore the entire rhetorical range of the current musical idiom. If Pygott did not consciously model his setting upon Cornysh's, he must surely have known it so well as to be unconsciously influenced by it, without however emulating its directness and power.

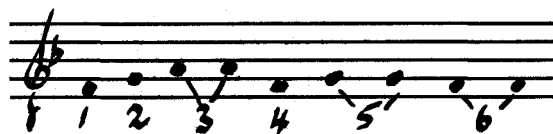
¹² Cornysh's setting is published in MB, vol. 10, pp. 116–23.

I found the completion of this piece unusually difficult. The patent similarity between its final bars and the ending of the Agnus dei of Pygott's *Veni sancte spiritus* Mass suggested the possibility that the antiphon might incorporate the same *cantus firmus*. However, although the first half of the plainchant melody, G-A-F-E-D, would fit quite neatly at the beginning of the 'O pia' tutti (bars 237–239), none of it seems to work happily anywhere else; in the absence of any other sign of a *cantus firmus*, I have concluded that the work is freely composed. I have, however, in the tuttis tried to give the tenor a somewhat more structural and melodically clearly directed role than the contratenor: a pervasive feature of early Tudor style of which some restorers seem to be unaware. The original scoring of the verse sections is not always obvious. While the participation of the tenor in some verses is inevitable because it alone can supply a note indispensable to the texture, the choice between treble, tenor, or even treble-and-tenor in other sections is more open. My decisions result in a high proportion of verses for the top three or bottom three voices; if this seems monotonous, it should be noted that seven of the eight verses of Cornysh's setting are for the same two combinations, with a similar preponderance of low scorings.

One major difficulty in supplying the two voices missing from Pygott's tuttis is that the polyphonic weave seems to have incorporated motivic interplay much less than is the case in music by some of his contemporaries such as Taverner, Ludford and Aston; thus there is less opportunity to derive the missing voices motivically from the surviving ones. Another problem is that sometimes the extant voices simply do not do what one would have expected, ruling out the solution that initially strikes one as obvious. In some places prolonged cogitation and experiment eventually resulted in a completion that I think sounds reasonably idiomatic; in others they produced one that I would at best describe as not incongruous. The 'gementes et flentes' and 'ostende' sections (bars 64–89 and 153–162) proved especially recalcitrant. The little flourish in the treble in bar 330 reflects my wish to avoid total stasis at this point, but it is quite possible that Pygott did intend an undecorated sustained chord here, and performers may therefore wish to prolong the treble D throughout the bar. Adding a single voice to complete a three-part verse was more straightforward, although Pygott's sometimes rather anonymous melodic style can tempt one towards a solution that concentrates on filling in harmonic and rhythmic gaps to the detriment of its own melodic personality. The addition of two voices to the single existing voice—a rather eccentric-looking mean part—of the 'Virgo mater ecclesie' verse (bars 163–189) involved a great deal of guessing.

7. O Maria deo grata (Fayrfax)

The tenor of the first two full sections (bars 84–140 and 226–264) and much of the treble and tenor of the final section (bars 265–289) can be restored with reference to Fayrfax's Mass *Albanus* which is on the same *cantus firmus*. Experiment shows that in the antiphon the 'Albanus' motive is stated twelve times in long notes: thrice in retrograde inversion starting on C, B \flat and A (bars 84–116), thrice in inversion starting on A, B \flat and C (bars 117–140), thrice in retrograde starting on C, D and E (bars 226–243) and thrice in its prime form on E, D and C (bars 244–264); in the final section the prime is stated continuously eleven times in (original) semibreves, five times in the tenor, contratenor, mean, treble and bass on C, F, C, F and B \flat , and then six times in the tenor on F, C, E, C, A and F. The opening anticipatory statement in the contratenor completes a total of twenty-four statements. Each group of long-note statements is isorhythmic but there does not seem to be any connection between the four *taleae*. Counting each of the three cases of repeated pitches in the motto as a single duration, one can express each talea as a sequence of six figures representing the number of (original) semibreves for which each pitch sounded: see Example 4.



Example 4: method of numbering the pitches in the 'Albanus' motive

The four *taleae* and the monorhythmic statements of the *cantus firmus* in the antiphon can then be expressed as shown in Table 15.

I	84–116	RI on C,B \flat ,A	9 + 9 + 3 + 6 + 3 + 3	=	33 x 3	=	99	
II	117–140	I on A,B \flat ,C	3 + 3 + 4 + 2 + 6 + 6	=	24 x 3	=	72	
								144
III	226–243	R on C,D,E	4 + 6 + 2 + 6 + 4 + 2	=	24 x 3	=	72	
IV	244–264	P on E,D,C	2 + 4 + 6 + 2 + 8 + 6	=	28 x 3	=	84	
	265–289	P x 11 on C,F,C,F,B \flat ,F,C,E,C,A,F			9 x 11	=	99	
								426

Table 15: durations of *cantus firmus* statements in *O Maria deo grata*

Some of these figures are closely related to those in the *Albanus* Mass. If we express the statements of the *cantus firmus* in the Mass in the same fashion we obtain the results given in Table 16.

Gloria

I	P		3 + 9 + 9 + 6 + 18 + 9	=			54	
								99
II	R		6 + 12 + 3 + 15 + 6 + 3	=			45	
								165
III	P (= I x $\frac{2}{3}$)		2 + 6 + 6 + 4 + 12 + 6	=			36	
								66
IV	R (= II x $\frac{2}{3}$)		4 + 8 + 2 + 10 + 4 + 2	=			30	
V	P		3 + 6 + 9 + 3 + 12 + 12	=			45	
								210

Credo

VI	I thrice		6 + 6 + 9 + 3 + 12 + 12	=	48 x 3	=	144	
VII	RI thrice		6 + 6 + 2 + 4 + 2 + 2	=	22 x 3	=	66	
VIII	I		9 + 9 + 12 + 6 + 18 + 18	=			72	
								282

Sanctus

IX	I thrice (= I x $\frac{1}{3}$)		1 + 3 + 3 + 2 + 6 + 3	=	18 x 3	=	54	
								99
X	R thrice (= II x $\frac{1}{3}$)		2 + 4 + 1 + 5 + 2 + 1	=	15 x 3	=	45	
XI	RI thrice (= VII)		6 + 6 + 2 + 4 + 2 + 2	=	22 x 3	=	66	
								165

Agnus

XII	R thrice (= X)		2 + 4 + 1 + 5 + 2 + 1	=	15 x 3	=	45	
XIII	RI thrice		4 + 3 + 1 + 2 + 1 + 1	=	12 x 3	=	36	
								84
XIV	I thrice (= VI x $\frac{1}{3}$)		2 + 2 + 3 + 1 + 4 + 4	=	16 x 3	=	48	
	P x 10						90	
								219

Table 16: durations of *cantus firmus* statements in Fayrfax's Mass *Albanus*

Two of the *taleae* in the antiphon can be convincingly related to two of those in the Mass: antiphon *talea* I is two thirds of Mass *talea* VII (and both of them are statements in retrograde inversion); and antiphon *talea* II is one third of Mass *talea* VIII (and both of them are statements in inversion). The other two antiphon *taleae*, however, are more problematic. I can see no means of relating *talea* III to anything in the Mass, and I can relate antiphon *talea* IV to Mass *talea* V only by what is little more than sleight-of-hand:

$$\begin{array}{lcl} \text{Ant.} & \text{IV} & = 2 + 4 + 6 + 2 + 8 + 6 = (2 \times 1) + (2 \times 2) + (2 \times 3) + (2 \times 1) + (2 \times 4) + 2(2 + 1) \\ \text{Mass} & \text{V} & = 3 + 6 + 9 + 3 + 12 + 12 = (3 \times 1) + (3 \times 2) + (3 \times 3) + (3 \times 1) + (3 \times 4) + 3(3 + 1) \end{array}$$

The final sections of the antiphon and the Agnus are obviously related to each other by their monorhythmic treatment of the *cantus firmus* and by their notation of it in plainchant symbols. The first four statements come in the same voices and on the same pitches but thereafter the treatment differs, the antiphon having an extra tenor statement and its last four statements descending by thirds instead of seconds. The works are also related to one another by a shared head-motive, although the common material is not given to the same voices.

Fayrfax may possibly have intended a proportional relationship between the two compositions, although I have been unable to discover an exact and total correspondence between them. The sections of the Mass (excluding the head-motive) in which the *cantus firmus* is stated total 210 (original) semibreves in the Gloria, 282 in the Credo, 165 in the Sanctus and 219 in the Agnus, producing a total of 876 and an average of 219. In the antiphon the *cantus firmus* seems to have sounded for 426 semibreves, excluding the head-motive; half of this (213) is perhaps not close enough to 219 to be considered significant, but if we exclude the 99 semibreves of the non-isorhythmic coda we arrive at a total of 327, two thirds of which is 218; this is as close as Fayrfax could come to 219 without altering the durations of his long-note tenor sections and destroying their symmetry.

There is no conclusive evidence as to which of the two works was written first. It is not easy to perceive the logic of Dr Benham's conclusion¹³ that because in Fayrfax's day it was not usual to base a polyphonic antiphon on a *cantus firmus*, *O Maria deo grata* and *Gaude flore virginali* are likely to have postdated the Masses *Albanus* and *Regali* (whose *cantus firmi* they share); one could just as cogently argue that the exceptional nature of the procedure must itself have made it the composer's first action, subsequently normalised by the composition of a companion Mass. In fact, I suspect that such pairs of works (or trios, if a Magnificat was involved as well) were conceived as a single unit from the beginning and were a common way of commemorating a special day. Enough groups of this kind exist to show that the practice was far from uncommon.¹⁴ Benham's other point,¹⁵ that *O Maria Deo grata* is likely to have been written after the Mass because the tenor statements of the *cantus firmus* begin not with the prime form but with the retrograde inversion, seems no more compelling: the prime of the *cantus firmus* is actually stated with great clarity in the head-motive, and after this the whole antiphon has the effect of working towards the theme, which finally emerges in a series of highly audible equal-note affirmations in the final section. If the Mass had already been sung on the same day, the dramatic point would have been extremely telling.

There do not seem to have been any other connections between the verse sections of the antiphon and the Mass or between their treble lines in the full sections. Restoration of the verses is made easier by Fayrfax's having written an unusually large number of canonic and quasi-canonic passages (see bars 60–72, 140–178 and 179–225). The last two of these sections are perhaps closer to voice-exchange than they are to canon, and they undeniably sound rather stiff. I know nothing else exactly like them in Fayrfax's surviving music; the closest similarities occur in the *Albanus* Mass and in his *Salve regina*. *Salve regina* seems likely to be one of Fayrfax's earliest preserved compositions (it is in the Eton choirbook), and the slightly self-conscious ingenuity of *O Maria deo grata* and the *Albanus* Mass (together with some uncharacteristically jagged and jerky writing) suggests that these two works may also be early.¹⁶ If Fayrfax ever did have a full-time post at St Alban's Abbey, it is most likely to have been before he joined the Royal Household Chapel, hence before the later 1490s. Bars 208–209 of the contratenor-tenor-bass trio pose a problem: elsewhere in this trio the

¹³ BenhamL, p. 123.

¹⁴ N. Sandon, 'Paired and grouped works for the Latin rite by Tudor composers', *MR*, vol. 43 (1983), 8–12. Based on Appendix 2 of the original version of this dissertation.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

¹⁶ E. B. Warren, 'The Masses of Robert Fayrfax', *MD*, vol. 12 (1958), 145–76, and *Life and works of Robert Fayrfax, 1464-1521*, Musicological Studies and Documents, vol. 22 (Rome, 1969), pp. 62–3, comes to the same conclusion for different reasons.

tenor appears consistently to have imitated the contratenor either at pitch or a fifth below, but if the tenor exactly imitates in bar 209 what the contratenor sings in bar 208 a most unlikely dissonance occurs on the last semibreve of the bar. I have made the tenor imitation rhythmically inexact in order to avoid the dissonance, but perhaps I am being too fussy. In bars 212–214 I have allowed the tenor to imitate the contratenor an octave lower rather than at the same pitch; this reduces the range of the tenor by one note so that its highest note is a tone lower than that of the contratenor; Fayrfax's tenors often have a slightly lower compass than his contratenors. On the other hand, if any work by Fayrfax were to have a tenor in the same range as the contratenor, one would expect it to be a relatively early one.

Adding the treble part in the full sections proved unexpectedly difficult, given that the tenor pitches are indisputable. There is a sense of melodic aimlessness about these sections which is the more disconcerting in view of the linear cogency of most of Fayrfax's other music; could this also be an indication that the work is relatively early? One also has to decide how ornate the treble part may have been. I have the impression that it was somewhat less elaborate than its counterpart in the Mass, perhaps becoming somewhat livelier at important cadences and in the final section of the piece.

9. *Salve regina* (Ludford)

Ph is the latest extant source to include music by Ludford, perhaps postdating by more than a decade any other source in which he is represented. Five of Ludford's compositions are unique to these partbooks: the votive antiphons *Ave Maria ancilla trinitatis*, *Domine Jesu Christe* and *Ave cujus conceptio*; and the Masses *Inclina cor meum* and *Regnum mundi*. The absence of these works from earlier sources containing music by Ludford, such as the Lambeth and Caius choirbooks, suggests that they were written after the compilation of those sources, and their relatively advanced musical style supports this hypothesis. Some of their most striking musical features are considerably less prominent in music by Ludford which appears in older manuscripts, but are very much in line with stylistic developments noticeable in music by some other composers, such as Taverner and Tallis, dating from the 1530s. For example, they all to some degree exploit imitation structurally, make rapid changes of scoring (sometimes reinforced by repetition of material), utilise harmonic colour and dissonance as sensuous devices, and show concern for clarity and economy of word-setting. In these works preserved only in Peterhouse we can see Ludford participating significantly in the rejuvenation of English musical style.

This setting of *Salve regina* is a rather different case: it has a concordant source at least ten years older than *Ph*; it appears, as far as one can judge from the three extant voices, to be less advanced in style than Ludford's works unique to *Ph*; and yet it has a most interesting connection with two of these works. The connection is that it is based on the same *cantus firmus* as *Ave Maria ancilla trinitatis* and the Mass *Inclina cor meum*. Thus there are three compositions by Ludford—two votive antiphons and a Mass—based on the same *cantus firmus*: a unique occurrence.¹⁷ It seems that the short responsory *Inclina cor meum deus in testimonia tua* had special significance for Ludford, or for St Stephen's, or for an important personage associated either with the collegiate church or with another choral foundation for which Ludford occasionally provided music. That significance can now only be guessed at. The words 'Inclina cor meum in testimonia tua [et non in avaritiam]' constitute the thirty-sixth verse of Psalm 118 (Vulgate); as a discrete liturgical item, they exist in the Salisbury rite only as the short responsory sung at Terce, during which service the section of the psalm from which they come is chanted. Liturgically they have no specific calendrical application, although they would have been familiar to a religious community that sang the service of Terce every day. It is interesting—although perhaps coincidental—that the words of the twenty-third verse of the same psalm, 'Etenim sederunt principes et adversum me loquebantur: servus autem tuus exercebatur in justificationibus tuis', form part of the introit at Mass on St Stephen's day.

¹⁷ Groups of three interrelated works certainly existed, for example Fayrfax's votive antiphon *O bone Jesu* and the associated Mass and Magnificat, and also his votive antiphon *Gaude flore virginali* and the *Regali* Mass and Magnificat; but these groups involve three distinct liturgical genres.

In *Salve regina* Ludford quotes the *Inclina cor meum* chant three times in the fully-scored sections: once in bars 28–31 and 46–62; again in bars 76–80, 102–108 and 148–154; and again in bars 190–194 and 229–244. Each statement appears to have been unadorned and placed in the tenor part. The chant is also quoted more loosely in the treble part in at least one verse (bars 81–89, treble); there may have been other allusions that I have not noticed. The tenor part of the setting can thus be restored to the tutti sections with some confidence, although the rhythmicization and texting of the chant pitches are of course conjectural; the treble part can then be supplied to complete the five-part texture while preserving its own linear integrity. This can prove more difficult than it sounds, because the surviving counterpoint, sometimes incorporating extremely slow movement in the tenor, occasionally imposes limitations upon the treble that are difficult to deal with elegantly.

Completing the verses can also be challenging, because it is not always clear which voice or voices—treble, tenor, both, or neither—should be supplied, and because Ludford seems to have written the verses in a less disciplined and economical style than he did those of the other two pieces based on this *cantus firmus*. I found the ‘*Virgo mater ecclesie*’ verse (bars 114–147), which I think has to be in four parts because a single added voice cannot without becoming schizophrenic provide all that is necessary harmonically and rhythmically, particularly recalcitrant. Hence I cannot claim to have restored faithfully Ludford’s scoring, still less to have reinvented his original vocal lines. Since it is common for a tenor line incorporating a *cantus firmus* to extend its range when participating in a freely composed section, I have allowed this tenor three more notes at the bottom and one more at the top when it takes part in a verse, giving it an overall compass of a tenth and a tessitura a third below that of the contratenor. This configuration, in which the voice called the tenor moves down into the baritone range while that called the contratenor remains in the tenor range, becomes increasingly common in English five-part polyphony during the second quarter of the sixteenth century. Taking the treble up to the high G just once in the whole piece may seem eccentric, but it seemed both perverse to avoid this note in bar 21 and contrived to drag it in elsewhere.

10. *Trium regum* (Catcott)

Several unusual cadences in which the tenor has to take the lowest note (for example in bars 60, 69 and 154) could imply that this voice was lower in tessitura than the contratenor; but since the contratenor uses all of its wide range quite freely it seems appropriate to let the tenor do the same. Some of Catcott’s limitations as a composer are patent to both eye and ear: a high level of dissonance; unconventional dissonance treatment; melodic and rhythmic clumsiness, particularly in escaping from self-imposed contrapuntal traps; awkward word setting; some over-emphatic musical gestures. Others reveal themselves more fully to sustained listening: a poor control of musical pace and harmonic direction; a weak grasp of overall structure; a sense of inconsistency and aimlessness. There is, however, some quite dextrous vocal interweaving and well-sustained motivic working in the verse sections, and a sense of rhythmic impetus in some of the tuttis.

11. *Ave Maria. Ave fuit prima salus* (Mason)

The indices do not specify that, like Mason’s other compositions, the work is for men (and indeed it could hardly have been in view of the necessary upward transposition), and I now think that the missing top line was intended for trebles. In other words, the composition was for full choir using the standard three-octave compass. I have not completed my revision of it so I will reserve more detailed comment until it is finished.

12. *Mariae virginis* (Bramston)

Stylistically this is an extremely erratic and incoherent work, vacillating between old-fashioned features such as florid display passages comparable with those in Cornysh's and Turges' Magnificats¹⁸ and obsessive syncopation in the style of the 'Amen' of Davy's *Stabat mater*,¹⁹ and more modern characteristics such as note-against-note declamation (bars 32–34 and 90–95) and regularly-spaced imitation (bars 52–58). The criticisms made of Catcott's *Trium regum* above also apply here to an even greater extent, and to them can be added Bramston's immoderate delight in florid vocal embellishment. The original treble takes up in bar 57 and spends almost all of its time in the octave f'–f'', descending to d' only once in bar 89; the mean has a similarly narrow compass, and there is no need for the restored tenor to exceed the nine-note range c–d'. The main question is how active the tenor should be. I have tried to make it emulate Bramston's somewhat frenzied style in the verses, and behave with rather more decorum in the fully-scored sections. A close study of works like *Trium regum* and *Mariae virginis* reveals not only that the music of masters like Taverner and Ludford is immeasurably better, but also that the music of the Catcotts and Bramstons of this world is distinctly below the general level of achievement among the composers in *Ph*; the fact that their work was considered worthy of inclusion in such a collection raises interesting issues of musical taste.

13. *Euge dicta* (Norman)

There are several similarities between this imposing if slightly clumsy antiphon and Norman's Mass *Resurrexit dominus*.²⁰ The unusual procedure of allowing two parts out of three to rest in a verse (as in my restoration of bar 26) can be justified by the example of Norman himself in bar 14 of the Sanctus of the Mass, where he throws in a pair of very exposed fifths for good measure. The material in bars 140–147 of the antiphon is very like that in bars 120–130 in the Sanctus. The part-writing in bars 53–54 and 102–105 is strange and I cannot see any satisfactory line for the tenor. The appearance of the F–G–A–Bb–A motive²¹ on C in bars 167–169 of the contratenor is probably a coincidence. No *cantus firmus* seems to be present. The version of the 'Amen' given in *Ph* must be corrupt; in fact, the copyist has mistakenly 'corrected' the treble part, but fortunately the original version (which is far more convincing) can still be made out and I have reinstated it in my edition; the 'corrected' version is recorded in the Commentary. In the 'Amen' one has to decide whether or not to give the tenor an extra statement of the point in bars 228–229, producing a total of three statements in this voice whereas each of the other voices has only two; I prefer to keep the symmetry despite the consequent loss of impetus.

14. *Ave Maria divae matris* (Aston)

Notable features of *Ave Maria divae matris* include the persistent use of imitation, the unusual antiphonal writing at 'psallentes et omnes' (bars 152–156), and the bass ostinato in the final 'Amen' section. It is not difficult to supply an idiomatic tenor line. The ease with which the tenor can be made to participate in the imitation, not only in the duets and trios but also in the fully-scored sections, suggests that it did not carry a plainchant *cantus firmus*. In some places one has to choose between several possible points of entry. For example, the tenor could enter on F on the fourth minim of bar 35, which would allow it to create stronger continuity with the foregoing musical paragraph by prolonging its previous phrase for another three beats; but the imitation would not be so exact, and it would be uncomfortably close in pitch to the contratenor entry in bar 36. In the next musical paragraph one could place the tenor's 'Ave Mari-' entry on the second minim of bar 42 instead of in bar 40, which would be no less symmetrical; but it is difficult to see where the

¹⁸ EECM, vol. 4, pp. 49 and 65.

¹⁹ MB, vol. 11, p. 83.

²⁰ EECM, vol. 16, p. 73.

²¹ N. Sandon, 'F-G-A-Bb-A: thoughts on a Tudor motive', *EM*, vol. 12 (1984), pp. 56–63. Based on Appendix 1 of the original version of this dissertation.

tenor could satisfactorily pause before this entry. The tenor entry in bar 134 is clearly indicated by a *signum congruentiae* and a verbal cue ‘Tenor’ above the A in the bass part, but if the tenor enters on F and maintains the shape of the point a three-octave F between all four voices occurs on the fourth beat of the bar; I think that it is better to accept this rather unusual sound than to make the tenor’s imitation inexact. I have assumed that, as in all of Aston’s church music that survives complete, the tenor voice did not ascend quite as high as the contratenor.

15. *Ave Maria mater dei* (Hunt)

This apparently freely-composed work exhibits some notably modern features mingled with some more traditional characteristics. It is strongly imitative and confidently exploits phrase-repetition and rapid changes of scoring; but it still shows a fondness for letting the lines continue in melisma after having declaimed each text phrase syllabically. Comparison with William Cornysh’s setting of the same text in the Eton choirbook gives an idea of the stylistic evolution that had taken place during the thirty or so years that separate the two compositions.²² The tenor seems to have pursued a fairly predictable career, although one or two slightly awkward moments (such as bars 51–52 and 59–60) remain.

17. *Terrenum sitiens* (Edward [Hedley])

Terrenum sitiens is a unusual and interesting work, somewhat outside the standard English repertory of votive antiphons, cyclic Masses and ritual settings. Its pentameters recount King Herod’s brutal massacre of the Holy Innocents, stress the futility of the crime in view of Christ’s inevitable triumph, and seek divine retribution for the slaughter of martyrs around the Holy City. The wording of the plea for vengeance—‘Vindica domine sanguinem sanctorum tuorum qui effusus est in circuitu Jerusalem’—takes the form of a direct liturgical quotation: the verse and beginning of the refrain (omitting the closing words ‘et non erat qui sepeliret’) of the responsory *Effuderunt sanguinem sanctorum* sung after the fourth lesson at Matins of the Holy Innocents.²³ Edward treats this plea as a fully-scored musical refrain, each of its three occurrences following a pair of reduced-texture verses all with their own music; in effect he applies the form of the macaronic carol to the medium of the Latin votive antiphon. The choice of text and form are so unusual as to tempt one to suspect some particular reason for them: a special celebration of the Holy Innocents at Magdalen or elsewhere in Oxford, perhaps, or even a topical event which, in the highly-charged religious atmosphere of the later 1530s, invited comment by the relatively safe means of allegory. At first sight it appears a rather surprising choice for inclusion in such a collection as *Ph*. Perhaps it was chosen because of Edward’s association with the copyist Thomas Bull; the two men were clerks together at Magdalen for most of the 1530s and were joint vestry-clerks there in 1534–5.

While Edward has limitations as a composer—there is some unconventional dissonance treatment; some of the lines are remarkably angular; and the imitative vocabulary is rather limited—he has a feeling for the effective gesture, for instance in the showy dotted rhythms of the verse sections and in the highlighting of the triumphant phrase ‘Christus sua regna tenebit’ (bars 161–169). Although most of the bass staves begin with a B♭-E♭ key signature the context suggests that E should often remain natural; I have therefore retained the initial B♭ signature and indicated E♭ where I consider it desirable. Restoration of the tenor part, evidently freely composed, is fairly straightforward, although there are places where it is hard to choose between several solutions. The counterpoint of the three surviving voices in the last two verses (bars 136–180) suggests that the tenor must have contributed to the texture; a four-part verse texture may be a little unusual, but the tenor is certainly needed at the cadence in bars 152–153 and it readily participates in the imitation at ‘praemia digna’.

²² Cornysh’s setting is printed in MB, vol. 12, pp. 57–8.

²³ *Brev. Sar.*, vol. 1, col. ccxxxvi.

18. *Sub tuam protectionem* (Northbroke)

The plainchant intonation, the reference to the next few chant notes at the beginning of the polyphony, and the pitch of the final cadence all suggest reflect the impact of the *Sub tuam protectionem* plainchant upon the composition, although it is not the most significant quotational element in the piece. The bass line throughout quotes a decorated form of the faburden to the chant, and fleeting allusions to the chant melody itself occur in other voices more or less at random. The original faburden setting, which I have conjecturally reconstructed in Example 5, was obviously in triple metre, and I suspect that Northbroke conceived his own setting in triple metre despite the fact that in Peterhouse it is copied under the mensuration sign C with breve rests that are each worth two semibreves rather than three, and with the addition of a dot of augmentation to breves that would not have needed a dot of perfection in triple metre. I have therefore taken the liberty of making my edition in triple metre, not duple. The faburden reconstruction reveals that the last nine breves of the setting, a melisma on 'vir(go)' in Northbroke's version, may originally have been a harmonization of a melodic formula (E-F-E-D-E in this mode) to which 'Amen' was sung after hymns and sequences. The missing tenor part of Northbroke's setting seems to have made only sporadic reference to the chant melody. It is not an easy part to reconstruct, because Northbroke's aimless melodic lines, halting rhythms and clumsy counterpoint often allow a choice between several equally unconvincing alternatives.²⁴

²⁴ I originally failed to notice the presence of the faburden melody; this paragraph has therefore been rewritten.

31
et pro - - pter
et pro - - pter
et pro - - pter

37
hoc ti - - bi psal - - li - -
hoc ti - - bi psal - - li - -
hoc ti - - bi psal - - li - -

43
- - - mus, de - - i ge - -
- - - mus, de - - i ge - -
- - - mus, de - - i ge - -

49
- ni - - trix vir - - go.
- ni - - trix vir - - go.
- ni - - trix vir - - go.

55
[A - - - - - men.]
[A - - - - - men.]
[A - - - - - men.]

Example 5: reconstruction of faburden setting of *Sub tuam protectionem*

19. *Vae nobis miseris* (Mason)

20. *Quales sumus* (Mason)

These two compositions may conveniently be considered together. The indices specify that both of them are for men; in each of them the top two parts have the same clef and range a fifth higher than the bass. In *Quales sumus* the contratenor's clef and range lie exactly between those of the high pair of voices and the bass, a third lower than the former and a third higher than the latter. An extract from

this work in John Baldwin's commonplace book²⁵ includes bars 102–112 of the missing tenor in which this voice has the range c–d' as opposed to the contratenor's c–f'; although there is no proof that the tenor kept to this range throughout the piece, it does seem to work well if given a slightly lower tessitura than the contratenor, allowing it a baritone range. There is some confirmation of this in *Vae nobis miseris*, the scoring of which is obscured by the manner in which the voices have been allocated to the partbooks. As in *Quales sumus*, the top two voices of *Vae nobis miseris* are paired, but they have been copied not into the Treble and Mean books but into the Treble and Contratenor books. The part in the Mean book has the narrower range and baritone tessitura that I envisage for the tenor of *Quales sumus*; this may imply that the missing voice in *Vae nobis miseris* should have a slightly higher tessitura than its partner, as in *Quales sumus*, and this is how I have restored it. The clefs and ranges of the voices in Mason's three compositions for broken voices are set out in Table 17; those marked 'Ed.' are conjectural, and in *Vae nobis miseris* I have ignored one low D that I consider likely to be the result of a copyist's intervention. As in *O rex gloriose*, the density of Mason's textures and a certain anonymity in his melodic style make the restorer's task no easier. *Quales sumus* is perhaps slightly less taxing than *Vae nobis miseris* because it seems to have been a little more imitative.

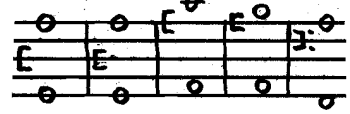


<i>O rex gloriose</i>	<i>Vae nobis miseris</i>	<i>Quales sumus</i>
		
Ed. 472 473 Psg 474	Ed. 471 473 Ed. 472 474	Ed. 471 472 473 Ed. 474

Table 17: clefs and ranges in Mason's broken-voice compositions

Quales sumus is a particularly striking composition—perhaps the most impressive of Mason's surviving works—both for its sustained mood of sombre intensity and for its remarkably complex and resonant text. This text is, indeed, particularly interesting; like all such texts it is anonymous, but one imagines that a well-educated cleric like Mason would have been capable of writing Latin of this quality and would have had at his fingertips the liturgical and scriptural tags in which the poem abounds. On one level the poem can be interpreted simply as a votive antiphon addressed to the Virgin, seeking her intercession in order that sin shall not lead to damnation. But whereas votive antiphon texts typically treat death as an experience to come at some unspecified time in the future, this poem creates a very strong sense of urgency. It is also rich in images of suffering, decay and transition. Could the poem have been written and set to music in response to the death of an important personage? Such a possibility may be strengthened by the bass voice's quotation of the beginning of the plainchant tract from the Mass for the dead at the moment when the words of the poem—'Sicut cervus aquarum fontes'—recall those of the tract—'Sicut cervus desiderat aquarum fontes'—at bars 124–130. But what should one make of the second half of the poem, which refers to an ungodly nation, to the cruel tyranny of Pharaoh and to the sea which will grant safe passage to the virtuous but destroy the wicked? Are these allusions to the escape of Moses and his followers from Egypt anything more than literary ornament? If they are, the most obvious interpretation might be that the redeemed sinner is delivered from the power of Satan and safely conducted into the next world. Or should these lines be read as religious or political polemic, in which Pharaoh is intended to signify an inimical ruler whose realm lies on the other side of the sea? As usual in such cases, it is easier to ask than to answer, but the fact that such questions can be asked in connection with an English composition of this date is in itself remarkable.

Both *Vae nobis miseris* and *Quales sumus* appear to have had freely-composed tenor parts, the restoration of which presents no particular problem.

²⁵ Lbl, MS Royal 24.d.2. See R. Bray, 'British Museum MS Royal 24.d.2 (John Baldwin's commonplace book): an index and commentary', *RMARC*, vol. 12 (1974), p. 137. In 24.d.2 the tenor begins with a semibreve D on the first beat of the bar; I have changed this to a minim rest and minim D to preserve the rhythmic imitation between the voices. These leaves also contain another trio, bars 15–45, but the tenor does not sing in this section.

21. *Gaude virgo mater Christi* (Alen)

The restoration of this brief work is straightforward. The mean and tenor sing only in the full sections, during which they state the F–G–A–B \flat –A motive²⁶ in canon, the tenor following a fifth below.

23. *Mass Mater Christi* (Taverner)

About half of the tenor can be supplied from the antiphon on which the Mass is based. Table 18 sets out the material shared between the two works; I see a little more parody in the Mass than its editor for EECM did.²⁷ There are also one or two cross-quotations between the Mass movements that are not derived from the antiphon; for example, bars 28–32 of the Gloria are the same as bars 15–19 of the Agnus. In the passages not derived from the antiphon it is usually fairly clear where the tenor is essential. The most doubtful passage consists of bars 40–48 of the Sanctus, which could just about stand as a contratenor–bass duet; bars 65–74 of this movement, however, work much better as a duet for this combination, and since it is unlikely that the same duet scoring was used twice in one movement it is probable that the earlier passage was a trio, so I have added the tenor. The range of the tenor in the Mass seems to have been wider than that in the antiphon, ascending nearly as high as the contratenor in a few places, although generally it lies between the contratenor and the bass.

The completion of the *Mass Mater Christi* that I made in 1982, to which the above paragraph refers, had serious defects. The sections based on the parent antiphon caused no problems, because the tenor of the antiphon had simply to be inserted and altered rhythmically to accommodate the text. When writing a tenor line for the freely-composed sections, however, I seldom matched the pithiness of Taverner's melodic style or took sufficient account of the subtleties of his harmonic language and dissonance treatment. The revised edition is, therefore, a radical revision of my original version. The draft of the revision was made independently, but I then had the great advantage of being able to compare it with Dr Hugh Benham's edition.²⁸ It was reassuring to discover that in many instances our versions resembled each other, either in detail or more broadly. However, in several places—notably in bars 21–23, 42–50 and 79–80, 87–88 and 109–112 of the Sanctus and in bars 22–23 and 71–77 of the Agnus—Dr Benham's completion seemed to me to be much more convincing than my own; in these bars my tenor line is (with his permission) now based upon his. I had earlier given him access to all my restorations of music by Taverner, so this has been a pleasant example of mutual co-operation.

This Mass poses editorial problems with regard to accidentals. This mainly concerns the inconsistency with which *Ph* prescribes C# at cadences on D. The first five bars of each movement illustrate the problem: they are all based on the beginning of the antiphon, which they quote literally except for some rhythmic elaboration; yet no two are identical in their provision of accidentals. My editorial accidentals attempt to make the movements fairly consistent with each other, although there is no proof that this was intended. Another problem is that in a few places *Ph* sharpens C and F in contexts where this seems implausible either melodically (for example, Gloria bar 63) or harmonically (Agnus bar 25). In most of my revised editions I have removed such accidentals from the music and recorded them in the Critical Commentary; in the present case I feel less confident about doing this, so I have retained them and added editorial accidentals suggesting a different treatment.

²⁶ See fn. 21.

²⁷ H. Benham, 'The formal design and construction of Taverner's works', *MD*, vol. 26 (1972), pp. 189–209, quoted almost word-for-word from his doctoral dissertation. I assume that the statement that the music to 'nam precibus nitentes tuis' was parodied while that to 'rogare audemus' was not (p. 206) was simply a slip of the pen.

²⁸ H. Benham, *John Taverner: V, Five-part Masses*, EECM, vol. 36 (London, 1990), pp. 1–67.

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Antiphon text	Antiphon	Gloria	Credo	Sanctus	Agnus
Mater Christi sanctissima	1–4 TrM	1–4 TrM	1–4 TrM	1–4 TrM	1–4 Tr M
virgo sacrata Maria (virgo sacrata Maria)	4–5 CTB	4–5 CTB	4–5 CTB	4–5 CTB	4–5 CTB
tuis orationibus (tuis orationibus)	5–6 TrM	5–6 TrM	5–6 TrM	5–6 TrM	5–6 TrM
benignum redde Filium	6–7 CTB		6–7 CTB		6–7 CTB
unica spes nostra Maria	7–9 TrMB		7–9 TrMC	7–9 TrMC	7–9 TrM
nam precibus nitentes tuis	10–12 Full	9–12 Full?	9–12 CTB?	9–14 CTB?	9–12 TrMC?
rogare audemus	12–14 Full				
Filium.	14–15 Full	14–16 Full	29–30 Full		
Ergo Fili decus Patris (ergo Fili decus Patris)	16–17 Full	17–18 Full	31–32 Full		24–25 Full
Jesu	18–19 TrM	19–20 TrM			
fons fecundissime a quo vivae fluunt aquae	20–21 CTB	21–22 CTB			
rigantes fida pectora:	22 Full	23 Full			
O Jesu	23–25 Full		20–22 Full		
vitalis cibus (vitalis cibus)	25–27 Full				19–20 Full
te pure manducantibus (te pure manducantibus):	28 Full	72–73 Full			
salutari potu et cibo pavisti nostra corpora.	29–30 Full	7–9 Full	12–13 Full	49–50 Full	12–13 CTB
Tua pasce animam gratia tibi consecratos spiritu (tibi consecratos spiritu) tuo fove munere.	30–31 TrM	24–25 Full	13–15 Full	103–111 Full	13–15 TrMC
Quin et nostras Jesu bone mentes illustra gratia (quin et nostras Jesu bone mentes illustra gratia)	31–32 CTB	26–27 CTB	59–60 TrM		
et nos pie fac vivere ut dulci ambrosia tuo	32–37 Full	27–28 TrMC	60–61 CTB		
vescamur in palatio. Amen.	38–41 CTB		54–59 Full		
	41–43 TrM				38–41 CTB
	43–50	Full			41–43 TrM
	51–56 TrM				43–50 Full
	56–62 CTB		44–50 CTB		26–33 TrM
	63–66 Full		50–54 Full		31–37 CTB
	66–71 Full	80–84 Full	80–84 Full		81–93 Full

Table 18: material shared between Taverner's antiphon and Mass *Mater Christi*

24. *Exultet in hac die* (Sturmy)

Exultet in hac die is an antiphon of St Augustine of Canterbury, Apostle of the English. The anniversaries of the saint's death on 26 May and his translation on 13 September would presumably have been celebrated with due solemnity both at the monastic cathedral and at the Benedictine abbey on the outskirts of Canterbury that he himself founded, and it seems likely that this setting was composed for one of these institutions not very long before the Reformation. Given the rather conservative nature of the *Ph* repertory, there would seem to have been little or nothing to discourage the copyist from including a composition in honour of a non-scriptural saint with unassailable historical credentials and strong local associations. Indeed, the desire to promote Canterbury as the *fons et origo* of the church in England after the recent repudiation of papal authority could well have encouraged the inclusion of such a piece.

In Salisbury Use Augustine was served from the Common of a Confessor, but some English Benedictine houses gave him his own office; both Canterbury Cathedral and St Augustine's Abbey would surely have done so. In the Worcester antiphonal (to which I had recourse in the absence of a suitable extant chant-book from either the cathedral or the abbey), *Exultet in hac die* is given as the antiphon to the Magnificat at First Vespers on St Augustine's feast in May.²⁹ The missing tenor of Sturmy's setting turns out to be the plainchant itself, quoted literally and mainly monorhythmically in breves, with a few longs where the plainchant has liquescent notes. Sturmy's version of the chant clearly differed from the Worcester reading in some melodic details and also in omitting the repetition of the refrain 'Alleluia consonet plebs anglica' after the verse 'Ave nostrum ...'. When an early Tudor setting of a liturgical text is based upon a monorhythmic treatment of the plainchant associated with the text, it is often taken as a sign that the setting was intended for ritual use, replacing the standard plainchant performance (as for example in Taverner's setting of the responsory *Dum transisset sabbatum*); however, this seems less likely for a Magnificat antiphon than for a ritual antiphon or a responsory, and it seems possible that Sturmy's piece was originally intended as a votive antiphon. Since up to 1549 the refounded cathedral followed Salisbury Use, it is hard to see how *Exultet in hac die* could have been used there in any but a votive context. For most of the time Sturmy weaves the four free parts around the tenor *cantus firmus* quite decorously, only to fall spectacularly from grace with the resounding octaves between treble and mean in bars 84–5.

25. *Sancte deus* (Whybroke)

The foundation statutes of Cardinal College prescribed the singing of the Jesus-antiphon *Sancte deus* during the evening devotion.³⁰ The text of *Sancte deus* was evidently amalgamated, with a few minor changes, from the invocation 'Sanctus deus, sanctus fortis, sanctus et immortalis, miserere nobis' from the *Improperia* on Good Friday, and from the third verse, 'Nunc Christe te petimus ... redemptos' of *Libera me domine*, the ninth responsory at Matins of the dead.³¹ Some composers, including Taverner in his settings of *Ave Maria* and *Sancte deus*, wrote their shorter antiphons in a consistently sober musical style with predominantly syllabic word-setting. Whybroke, on the other hand, was apparently reluctant to abandon the more elaborate idiom and melismatic word-setting typical of the earlier 1520s; in this piece he begins each section in a fairly chaste manner but ends it with an ornate flourish. His attitude to imitation is also inconsistent: some sections are virtually free of it, while others depend on it; he is very fond of making successive entries rise in pitch (as in bars 6–9 and 27–30), a mannerism found in some other more or less contemporary works such as the *Meane Masses* by Taverner and Tye and Tallis's antiphon *Salve intemerata*.

²⁹ Worcester, Chapter Library, MS F.160, f. 223.

³⁰ *Statutes of the colleges of Oxford: with royal patents of foundation, injunctions of visitors, and catalogues of documents relating to the University, preserved in the Public Record Office. Magdalen College. Printed by desire of Her Majesty's Commissioners for inquiring into the state of the University of Oxford* (Oxford and London, 1853), vol. 2, pp. 57–8.

³¹ *Miss. Sar.*, col. 372; *Brev. Sar.*, vol. 2, col. 280.

Recomposition of the tenor is surprisingly difficult, chiefly because of Whytbroke's technical limitations, in particular his cluttered counterpoint, erratic dissonance treatment and weak sense of line. It is hard to imitate a style in which so much seems to happen by accident; since consecutives do not seem to have worried Whytbroke, I have allowed a couple of my own. Many English works of this date have the tenor in a range mid-way between those of the contratenor and bass. Whytbroke's tenor, however, seems to have gone nearly as high as the contratenor, up to high G if the imitative entry in bar 68 is correct, while in bars 39 and 61 the low C seems inescapable. The resultant range of a twelfth is worryingly large in comparison with the ranges of the authentic voices, but I see no way of avoiding it.

27. Mass *Spes nostra* (Jones)

Like most English Masses of the early Tudor period, *Spes nostra* is based upon a plainchant *cantus firmus*, in this case the antiphon to the fifth psalm at Matins on Trinity Sunday. Jones handles this *cantus firmus* in a fairly predictable fashion, quoting it in the tenor part once in the Gloria, once in the Credo, twice in the Sanctus and once in the Agnus, mostly without adornment apart from a couple of modest cadential decorations. The sixty-four notes of the chant divide naturally into four phrases (notes 1–13, 14–28, 29–41 and 42–64: see the Musical Appendix), but Jones often ignores these divisions when laying out the melody. He usually restricts the *cantus firmus* to full sections (except in bars 119–129 of the Sanctus) and he generally confines it to the tenor part (except for the treble head-motive and some anticipations of other phrases). The conservatism of his procedure makes the final section of the Agnus, in which the end of the chant is stated in imitation by all five voices, all the more surprising. Table 19 shows how Jones manipulates the chant.

Movement	bars in which <i>cantus firmus</i> quoted	<i>cantus firmus</i> notes
Gloria	24–46	1–13
	49–59	14–28
	60–74	29–40
	114–150	40–64
Credo	30–49	1–12
	55–75	13–28
	120–156	29–64
Sanctus	26–43	1–28
	82–102	29–64
	119–129	1–28
	151–171	29–64
Agnus	32–49	1–31
	91–110	31–58
	111–143	58–64

Table 19: *cantus firmus* layout in Jones's Mass *Spes nostra*

The restoration of the chant pitches to the fully-scored sections is mainly straightforward, although a few arbitrary decisions have to be taken concerning the duration of pitches and the insertion of rests; the rhythmic division of the chant pitches in order to carry the underlay is, of course, conjectural. A sustained note of the *cantus firmus* will not fit in bars 31–32 of the Gloria; I think that the tenor is more likely to have rested here than to have ornamented the melody. With the exception of the 'qui venit' verse in the Sanctus, all of the tenor quotations occur as usual in fully-scored sections. The anticipation of the chant in the head-motive of each movement is also standard English practice.

Writing a tenor line for the verses in which it is required proved considerably more challenging, and I have radically revised the clumsy attempt that I originally included in Volume Two of this dissertation. The chief problem is that in free composition Jones can be rather unpredictable: he sometimes writes very neat motivically generated counterpoint, but at other times he can be quirky and wayward. He also has other idiosyncrasies: he is unusually tolerant of

dissonance; he is fond of allowing all of the voices to pause simultaneously on held notes during the course of a section; and he sometimes permits two voices to rest at the same moment, even in a trio. These remarks are not meant to be censorious; in fact, of all the *Ph* compositions, this Mass has proved to be one of the most rewarding to restore. It is a work that generously repays close acquaintance, revealing Jones as a composer with a strong musical personality and a fine ear for telling touches of detail.

32. Mass *Veni sancte spiritus* (Pygott)

Despite its brevity this *cantus firmus* is stated only twenty-one times in the whole Mass. Pygott confines it exclusively to the tenor and there is no trace of it in any other part. The total number of statements could perhaps embody references to the sevenfold gifts of the Holy Spirit and the three persons of the Trinity: $7 \times 3 = 21$. Most of the *cantus firmus* statements can be restored with confidence because they are unornamented and in long notes, but one or two are more problematic. At the end of the Credo it is impossible to supply the first half of the *cantus firmus* except in an uncharacteristically short-note version, but the *signum intimationis* and ‘tenor’ cue above the bass G in bar 180 make it imperative to try to bring in the tenor at this point, and there seems to be no other way of stating the complete motive. In bars 116–119 of the Agnus the first five notes of the *cantus firmus* fit neatly in the tenor, but the last six notes can be accommodated only by paraphrasing them in the tenor in bars 122–126. It is conceivable that this was a partial statement of the first half of the melody intended to complete a partial statement of the second half at the end of the Credo, but it would have been very unusual indeed for Pygott to reverse the order of the two half-phrases, and the resulting total of only twenty statements would lack the symbolic virtue of twenty-one. Table 20 shows how Pygott laid out the *cantus firmus*.

Movement	bars in which <i>cantus firmus</i> quoted	<i>cantus firmus</i> notes	
Gloria	26–41	1–11	
	42–59	1–11	
	60–72	1–5	
	82–89	6–11	
	136–143	1–11	
	144–151	1–11	
	152–160	1–11	
	163–174	1–11	
	Credo	25–55	1–11
		56–68	1–5
81–85		6–11	
134–140		1–11	
141–148		1–11	
149–158		1–11	
159–167		1–11	
180–189		1–11	
Sanctus	25–51	1–11	
	91–111	1–11	
Agnus	146–168	1–11	
	32–50	1–11	
	76–88	1–11	
	116–119	1–5	
	122–126	6–11	
	128–146	1–11	

Table 20: *cantus firmus* layout in Pygott’s Mass *Veni sancte spiritus*

The antiphon *Veni sancte spiritus* was sung with the psalm *Benedictus dominus deus meus* at Vespers on the vigil of Pentecost. At 'Benedictus' in the Sanctus of this Mass Pygott quotes in the treble the beginning and end of the tone to which this psalm was sung; this seems to have been no more than a passing allusion and the psalm tone is not evident elsewhere. The cross-reference between the treble parts in bars 131–133 of the Sanctus and bars 92–94 of the Agnus is probably a coincidence.

There are several cases of the recurrence of freely-composed material during the course of the work: for example, bars 60–72 of the Gloria and 56–68 of the Credo are closely related to each other, and varied repetition occurs on a smaller scale within some individual sections. Supplying a tenor in the freely-composed sections presents few particular difficulties; it is generally clear where the tenor is required and where the surviving texture is complete in itself. It is tempting to write a tenor for the 'Pleni sunt celi' section of the Sanctus, where an anticipation of the treble entry works well and a strong line can be created for the next few bars. But the existing three-part texture is complete as it stands, and it becomes increasingly hard to invent a tenor line which sustains its melodic integrity, so I have concluded that here the tenor should be silent. There remains the general problem of reproducing Pygott's showy but rather bland style. Compared with the cogency and drive of Taverner's and Ludford's music, Pygott's may give an impression of relaxation and stasis; but his lines have their own sense of integrity, often characterized by concealed motivic argument. If his music sounds more old-fashioned harmonically than that of many of his contemporaries, this may well increase its attractiveness to today's ears. The occasional contrapuntal roughnesses, such as the parallel fifths between the mean and bass voices in bar 32 of the Gloria, are by no means exceptional in English music of this period.

33. [*Vidi aquam*] *egredientem* (Anonymous)

This setting of a ritual antiphon is clearly based upon the text's plainchant melody, albeit not consistently or systematically. Particularly clear references to the chant occur in the treble and bass at the beginning of the piece and also in the bass throughout the psalm verse *Confitemini domino*, and there are several other places where the bass apparently anticipates the missing tenor's quotation of the melody. Recomposing the tenor is not, however, wholly straightforward. The quotation seldom follows the Salisbury version of the plainchant note for note, and sometimes, for instance at 'et dicunt alleluia', the chant seems to disappear altogether. It occurred to me that the composer might have followed a non-Sarum—perhaps a monastic—version of the melody, but I was unable to find one that fitted into the polyphony any better. Another problem in this piece is the unusually large amount of dissonance. Some dissonances can plausibly be explained and emended as errors in copying, but by no means all of them can be disposed of so neatly, and this makes me wary of bowdlerising what may simply have been an idiosyncratic piece of composition. Editorial intervention has therefore been kept to a minimum, and the recomposed tenor is allowed to create dissonances similar to those caused by the authentic voices.

The performance of this liturgical item prescribed in the Use of Salisbury takes the following form: antiphon; psalm verse; antiphon; *Gloria patri*; second half of antiphon. The final repetition of 'Et omnes ad quod pervenit ...' is clearly indicated in *Ph*, but the central repetition of the antiphon after the psalm verse is not specified, and the direct at the end of the bass stave after the psalm verse gives the pitch of the first note of the *Gloria patri* rather than that of the beginning of the antiphon. Although I have found no evidence for such a procedure, it would appear that a curtailed performance was envisaged: antiphon; psalm verse; *Gloria patri*; second half of antiphon. If one could find this format in a liturgical source it might throw light on the provenance of the setting. Another divergence from the Sarum tradition is the word 'dicunt' instead of the 'dicent' of the printed Salisbury graduals; 'dicunt' is common in earlier liturgical sources.

37. O Christe Jesu (Taverner)
39. Mass Small devotion (Taverner)

The antiphonal writing in *O Christe Jesu* does not greatly facilitate the restoration of the tenor, because Taverner usually transfers the treble and mean material to the contratenor and bass and adds a new tenor to enrich the texture, thus contrasting a high duo with a low trio. The *O Willelme* chant melody does not seem to have been quoted.

As Hugh Benham has pointed out,³² this Mass is far less thoroughly derived from *O Christe Jesu* than Taverner's *Mater Christi* Mass is from its parent antiphon. It is impossible to state just how much parody Taverner actually made because he treated the borrowed material much less literally than he did in *Mater Christi*; the distinction between derivation and free composition is consequently rather blurred. Table 21 sets out the most obvious relationships between the antiphon and the Mass.

Antiphon	Gloria	Credo	Sanctus	Agnus
1–4	1–2			15–16
4–7	3–4			16–18
7–8				25–27 and 37–38
14–16	16–17			
57–68	78–85	92–101	103–119	74–87

**Table 21: material shared between Taverner's antiphon *O Christe Jesu*
and Mass *Small devotion***

In the antiphon and also in the Mass Taverner very often pairs the treble with the mean and the contratenor with the bass and uses these pairs of voices antiphonally. The tenor can be added in two fundamentally different ways: it can either act as a link between the two pairs and bridge the space between their entries, or join the contratenor and bass to create a low trio contrasting with a high duo. In the antiphon and Mass *Mater Christi* the tenor spends much more time in the latter role than in the former, and this seems to have been Taverner's usual procedure in *Christe Jesu* and *Small devotion*. Occasionally, however, the tenor must have taken part in fairly equally-spaced imitation in full sections, as for example at 'Cum sancto spiritu' in the Gloria, 'et vitam venturi' and 'Amen' in the Credo, 'sabaoth' and both settings of 'Osanna' in the Sanctus, and at the end of the Agnus. The tessitura of the tenor in the Mass may have been slightly lower than that of the contratenor, as in all of Taverner's shorter antiphons in *Ph*; in this respect it seems to have differed from the tenor of the *Mater Christi* Mass, which seems to have gone nearly as high as the top of the contratenor range in a few places.

Since the Mass *Small devotion* places much less reliance than the Mass *Mater Christi* upon its model, completing it requires a greater amount of editorial free composition; furthermore, the tenor part of the model has itself to be supplied editorially. The completions of the antiphon and Mass that I made in 1982 took too little cognizance of Taverner's melodic and harmonic style; the present edition therefore changes my original version quite radically. Having drafted the revision independently, I subsequently was fortunate to be able to compare it with Dr Benham's editorial completion.³³ It was reassuring to discover that for much of the time our solutions closely resembled each other. However, in several places—notably in bars 77–79 of the Gloria, 6–9 and 25–29 of the Credo and 29–30 of the Sanctus—Dr Benham's version seemed to me to be preferable to my own; in these places my tenor line now reflects the influence of his.

³² Ibid., pp. 201 and 208.

³³ H. Benham, *John Taverner: V, Five-part Masses*, EECM, vol. 36 (London, 1990), pp. 68–123.

40. Magnificat (Taverner)

One would expect the tenor of a pre-reformation English Magnificat to be based on a *faburden cantus firmus*, and this one undoubtedly is.³⁴ There has been some misapprehension about the identity of the *faburden* that Taverner used. *The New Grove* suggests the *faburden* of the eighth Magnificat tone, but I think that this cannot be right because none of the various endings of this *faburden* (corresponding to the differences of the reciting tone) resembles the probable ending of Taverner's tenor. In fact, even a brief examination of the polyphony makes it perfectly clear that the only possible *faburden* is that of the second Magnificat tone with its first ending³⁵ (following the order in which the differences are printed in 1520); this is actually quoted literally several times. Example 6 presents for comparison the second Magnificat tone with the first difference (taken from 1520), the corresponding *faburden* melody (taken from Lbl, MS Royal Appendix 56) and several quotations from Taverner's setting. Taverner seems to have disguised the *faburden* much less thoroughly than some of his contemporaries did, and it can be traced in all six of the polyphonic verses; in the 'Fecit potentiam' verse it seems even to have been quoted without ornamentation and in equal note values.

Most of the details of Taverner's scoring are fairly clear, because he seems to have followed conventional procedure in setting the even-numbered verses alternately for full choir and reduced forces. There is, however, some doubt about the scoring of the second half of the eighth verse: it seems strange that Taverner should have chosen to set the words 'et divites dimisit inanes' for the very rare reduced texture of four voices, but the tenor does appear to be needed in the opening imitation and to make the supertonic-tonic step in the last cadence. Although the first halves of the last two polyphonic verses, 'Sicut locutus' and 'Sicut erat', could both stand as they are, as contratenor-bass duets, it would be very unusual to find two consecutive polyphonic verses scored identically. I have therefore supplied a tenor for 'Sicut locutus', because this is the thinner-sounding of the two verses, and because the explosive entry of the full choir at the end of the final verse is all the more effective if the verse begins as a duet.

This five-part Magnificat is probably the earliest and arguably the least impressive of Taverner's three surviving compositions of the text, having neither the melodic coherence and well-controlled virtuosity of the six-voice setting nor the rhythmic drive and adroit handling of imitation of that in four voices. Some aspects of the piece could even be called *gauche*: for example, the rather disconcerting interruptions of the rhythmic flow, the occasionally unconventional dissonance treatment (such as the second beat of bar 30), and the awkwardness of some of the melodic lines. Nevertheless, there are portents of the mature Taverner, for instance in the motivic development at the end of the 'Quia fecit' and 'Esurientes' verses, and the imaginative *coup de théâtre* of the final choral entry. It was tempting to write a tenor which would smooth over some of the rougher moments of the piece; in resisting this temptation, I may on the other hand have made the tenor even more plain than Taverner himself did, particularly in the fully-scored verses. I have given the tenor the same compass as the contratenor, which I think is not impossible in a work implicitly dating from very early in the composer's career.

³⁴ Concerning the utilisation of *faburden cantus firmi* in English Magnificats, and the mensural and textural schemes favoured by early Tudor composers, see P. Doe, *Early Tudor Magnificats: I*, EECM, vol. 4 (London, 1962), Introduction and Appendix I.

³⁵ As hinted in *BenhamL*, p. 154.

Plainsong

RA 56

Treble 49-51

Et san-ctum no - men e -

Plainsong

RA 56

Restored tenor

fe - cit po - ten-ti-am in bra - chi - o su -

-o dispersit super - - bos men - te cor-

-dis su - - i.

Plainsong

RA 56

Treble 154-157

e - jus in sae - cu -

Example 6: evidence for the faburden basis of the tenor
in Taverner's five-part Magnificat

41. Magnificat (Darke)

This Magnificat contains an element of mystery: its *cantus firmus*. For some reason—perhaps because he followed his exemplar, or because of the ranges of the voices, or even through simple carelessness—the Peterhouse scribe copied the voice containing what must be a *cantus firmus* into the Contratenor book rather than the Tenor book. The melody is stated in long note values, with some melodic variation, once in each fully-scored verse, and there are also some partial statements in verses in fewer voices. This *cantus firmus* has yet to be identified. It is not a Magnificat faburden or a Magnificat tone, and I have not noticed a close resemblance between it and any plainchant melody in the Salisbury repertory.³⁶ The closest correspondence that I have found is with the intonation of one of the Salisbury melodies for *Gloria in excelsis* on Sundays and on simple feasts and octaves with rulers,³⁷ but this may be coincidental; the match is not perfect, and such a choice of *cantus firmus* would be unprecedented. Darke's reason for departing from convention in his choice of borrowed melody may be revealed when the *cantus firmus* has been securely identified.³⁸

Apart from its choice and treatment of *cantus firmus* and its exclusive employment of duple metre, Darke's Magnificat resembles in its formal aspects most English settings of the period. Only the even-numbered verses are composed in polyphony; the second, sixth, tenth and end of the twelfth verses are scored for the full ensemble, while the fourth, eighth and beginning of the twelfth employ a variety of smaller vocal combinations; complete statements of the *cantus firmus* form the backbone of the fully-scored sections and there are some passing allusions to it elsewhere. Supplying the missing voice poses no crucial problem: the range of my version, A–e' (in terms of the original written pitch), exceeds by one note the range of any of the authentic voices but is no wider than, for example, some inner voices in Appelby's Magnificat and Tye's Mass *Sine nomine*, and the highest and lowest notes are almost inevitable in their context. Since a structural *cantus firmus* is already present in another part, it is probable that the missing part was freely composed, and that it was conceived as a contratenor; I have nonetheless let it quote the beginning of the eighth Magnificat tone at its very first entry. Darke's own tolerance of consecutive perfect intervals encouraged me to create at least one pair myself. In one or two places I found it hard to choose between several possible ways of completing the texture: an experience not uncommon in the context of music that is contrapuntally clumsy and melodically rather anonymous.

44. Mass *Sine nomine* (Tye)

The reticence, evenness and unobtrusive craftsmanship of this Mass tempt one to underestimate it. It is nevertheless a remarkably original and inventive work, written in a style at the time scarcely known in England. Its novel features include: the adoption of imperfect time and minor prolation as the standard metre, with episodes in perfect time and major prolation or under a proportional perfect time signature for variety; rapid changes of scoring, with voices continually entering and quitting the musical texture; free composition, with head- and tail-motives and other occasional cross-quotations interrelating the movements; exploitation of imitative counterpoint as the basic generator of the musical discourse, with brief passages of quasi-homophony for contrast; closely-packed harmony, with a generally rapid rate of chord change, a strong sense of harmonic direction, and omnipresent 6–5 passing notes and 7–6, 6–5 and 4–3 suspensions; highly disciplined melody, with thoroughgoing repetition, sequence (sometimes cumulative) and ingenious motivic

³⁶ In a personal communication, for which I am duly grateful, Dr Beth Lee-De Amici called my attention to the resemblance between its first five pitches—C-B-C-A-G—and the beginning of a melody for the Vespers antiphon *De profundis clamavi ad te domine*: see *The Liber Usualis* (Tournai, 1963) p. 291. But the Salisbury version of this melody begins differently—A-C-B-C-A-G: see W. H. Frere, *Antiphonale Sarisburiense* (London, 1901–24), plate 118; and in any case the resemblance is not sustained.

³⁷ See N. Sandon (ed.), *The Use of Salisbury*, vol. 1 (Newton Abbot, 2/1989), p. 59, Gloria III. The same chant is printed on pp. 43–4 of *The Liber Usualis*, where it is erroneously said to date from the fifteenth century.

³⁸ D. Stevens, *Tudor church music* (London, 1961, 2/1966), p. 39, claims that the *cantus firmus* is a psalm tone but offers no substantiation.

discussion; mainly syllabic texting, with systematic text repetition and with melisma reserved for phrase extension; rather dense vocal textures through the omission of the treble voice from and the addition of the baritone voice to the traditional five-part complex.

It is not clear how and where this style originated; there are English precedents—notably in the music of Taverner—for some of its features, but it is arguable that no earlier English music departs so radically from native tradition. A clue as to a possible source of influence upon Tye may be offered by the Peterhouse partbooks themselves in the shape of the two compositions directly preceding this Mass. These two pieces, a motet *Aspice domine* and a Mass *Surrexit pastor bonus*, are continental. The indexes of the partbooks credit both compositions to ‘Lupus Italus’, whose identity has not been established; the copy of the Mass *Surrexit pastor bonus* is also ascribed to him, but that of *Aspice domine* bears no ascription. *Aspice domine* is probably by the French composer Jacques Colebault (1483–1559), better known as Jacquet of Mantua by virtue of his thirty-year association with that city; it was one of his most widely circulated works. The *Surrexit pastor bonus* Mass has some quite striking similarities to Tye’s, particularly in its contrapuntal style, its treatment of text, and its episodes under a proportional imperfect time signature in the Sanctus and Agnus.³⁹ While there is no proof that Tye knew it—although the juxtaposition of the two Masses in Peterhouse is suggestive—he must surely have known other continental works of the same general type.

Whatever its origins, the style of Tye’s Mass shows a kinship with that of two other roughly contemporary English Mass settings: John Taverner’s *Sine nomine* or Mean Mass, which it resembles so thoroughly that the likeness can hardly be coincidental; and John Sheppard’s *Frenches* Mass, to which it has a less close but still unmistakable affinity.⁴⁰ The interrelations between these three Masses, and also those between the three very unusual *Western Wind* Masses by the same composers,⁴¹ have led to the speculation that during the later 1530s Tye, Taverner and Sheppard, presumably at official behest, collaborated in a project to modernize the idiom of English church music in a way acceptable to the ‘reforming conservatives’: those who did not object to the traditional role of music in the liturgy but would impose upon this music a certain temperance. Nothing is known about Sheppard’s circumstances at this time, but Taverner was living in Boston, Lincolnshire, about fifty miles from Cambridge and forty from Ely. While there is no direct evidence that such a project existed, it would have been appropriate to a period during which debate about religion became intense and the religious policy of Henry VIII and his advisers took a notably erratic and unpredictable course.

There is a theory that Tye’s six-part Mass *Euge bone* may have been written as the exercise for his doctorate in 1545. Could the *Sine nomine* Mass have been his exercise for the baccalaureate eight or nine years earlier? When I first proposed this I mentioned the ‘erudite quality’ of the work, by which I meant features that would impress connoisseurs of musical craftsmanship: inventive handling of melodic repetition; imaginative scoring; ingenious counterpoint; shrewd exploitation of harmonic and melodic tensions; use of recondite mensuration signs; and the quotation, I imagine by way of allusion, of the ‘F-G-A-B♭-A’ motive in the Gloria and an unidentified melody in the Agnus.⁴² Paul Doe has questioned this proposal on the grounds that Tye would have been unlikely to write such a test-piece for a choral ensemble excluding trebles.⁴³ The grace for the degree prescribes that the Mass shall be performed ‘either shortly after the congregation or on that very day on which the arrival of the most serene prince will be observed’.⁴⁴ One can argue that this extremely unusual wording supports the contention that the *Sine nomine* Mass was indeed Tye’s

³⁹ The various proportional time signatures consisting of one or other of the signs for perfect or imperfect time (O, Φ, ⊙, C, ™, ⊕) over the figure ‘3’ all produce the same aural effect: compound time, in which a triple division of the beat replaces the prevailing duple division.

⁴⁰ On the relationship between these three Masses and Tallis’s *Sine nomine* Mass see N. Davison, ‘Structure and unity in four free-composed Tudor Masses’, *MR*, vol. 34 (1973), pp. 328–38.

⁴¹ See N. Davison, ‘The Western Wind Masses’, *MQ*, vol. 57 (1971), pp. 427–43.

⁴² N. Sandon, *John Sheppard: II, Masses*, EECM, vol. 18 (London, 1978), p. 85.

⁴³ EECM, vol. 24, p. xiii.

⁴⁴ ‘... vel paulo post comitia vel eo ipso die quo serenissimi principis observabitur adventus ...’

B.Mus. exercise, that it throws light on when Tye composed it and took his degree, and that it helps to explain certain features of the composition. The argument set out in the next two paragraphs has benefited from discussion with Dr Roger Bowers.

The interpretation of the grace rests upon some crucial words: ‘adventus’, ‘observabitur’ and ‘serenissimi principis’. ‘Adventus’ suggests a physical arrival rather than the anniversary of, say, a birth or an accession; if the latter were intended there should be more precision about the event being remembered, and ‘celebrabitur’ or ‘commemorabitur’ would be more usual than ‘observabitur’. ‘Observabitur’ does not simply mean ‘will be celebrated’, but something more like ‘will be observed or found to have happened (having been awaited)’. The wording also implies that the precise date of the expected event is not known; if it were, it would be stated. Who is the ‘most serene prince’ whose advent is to be signalled? He must, I think, be a prince of this world, not of the next; the terminology is not that customarily used of Jesus or his father, and no reference to the liturgical seasons of Advent or Christmas appears to be intended. Could the ‘serene prince’ be Henry VIII himself? The phrase ‘serenissimus princeps’ was certainly used of Henry, but only in the most formal kind of document designed as a public record, such as a charter or a proclamation. A degree grace, however, was an internal administrative minute, and high-flown language would be foreign to it; if it mentioned the king it would be likely to use a straightforward and familiar phrase such as ‘dominus rex’. For these reasons, and also because there is no evidence that Henry visited Cambridge in 1536 or 1537, he does not seem a strong contender.

There is, in fact, a more plausible candidate: a prince whose arrival was eagerly looked for by Henry and many of his subjects. In the summer of 1537 it became known that Jane Seymour, Henry’s third wife, was pregnant; she began her formal confinement on 16 September; and her son, the future Edward VI, was born on 12 October. It would have made sense to call the unborn child ‘serenissimus princeps’: this would not only emphasize the significance of the impending birth, but also evade the problem of not knowing whether the baby was to be a boy or a girl. The vagueness about the date of the event is understandable because the day of birth could not be accurately predicted. Whenever it occurred, the birth of the prince would have been marked officially, and the university authorities would have been no more than provident if they had taken advantage of a fortuitous opportunity of performing a new composition on this occasion. This could explain Tye’s exclusion of trebles from the scoring of the Mass. He would have known of the requirement to produce a test-piece for the B.Mus., but he would not have known long in advance of submitting it that the university wished it to be performed to mark the birth of the new prince. Given the king’s previous paternal misfortunes, the university itself might not have felt able to make this stipulation until the impending birth was officially and safely acknowledged, when the queen entered upon her confinement. She did so about a month before she expected to parturite, which gave Tye the same length of time in which to finish his work and prepare a performance of it. In these circumstances he would have been wise to score it as he did: a group of experienced choirmen would have been capable of learning it quickly, indeed of singing it more or less at sight, but boy trebles might not have been able to learn it in the time available.

The hypothesis that Tye’s *Sine nomine* Mass was composed in expectation of the birth of a royal child may help to explain some of its musical features. One such feature is the quotation of the ‘F-G-A-B♭-A’ motive as a loose ostinato in bars 55–64 of the Gloria. This motive appears in several pre-Reformation Tudor compositions, including Thomas Ashwell’s Mass *God save King Harry*, Richard Alwood’s Mass *Praise him praiseworthy* and two other works in *Ph*, William Alen’s *Gaude virgo mater Christi* and William Pashe’s *Sancta Maria mater dei*.⁴⁵ The significance of this motive has yet to be established, but it seems to have acquired connotations which led to it being quoted in music intended for a royal or state occasion. Its quotation in this Mass to the words ‘Tu solus sanctus. Tu solus dominus. Tu solus altissimus ...’ could be meant to emphasize the exalted status

⁴⁵ N. Sandon, ‘F-G-A-B♭-A: thoughts on a Tudor motive’, *EM*, vol. 12 (1984), pp. 56–63, based on Appendix 1 of the original version of this dissertation. The motive is treated as an ostinato in all four of these works, and Pashe’s *Sancta Maria mater dei* immediately follows Tye’s Mass in *Ph*.

of the new-born prince. It may be purely coincidental that the verse *Sponsus amat sponsam* of the responsory *Virgo flagellatur* for the feast of St Katherine begins with these same notes;⁴⁶ but if it is not, one might infer that in this context the quotation referred to the love that Henry was reputed to feel for his third queen. The other suspected melodic quotation, in the mean part in bars 34–43 of the *Agnus*, may also be from a chant whose text somehow bears on the intention of the composition, but it has so far resisted identification. The prospect of the Mass being performed in the context of an official celebration of a royal and state event could also help to explain its general musical qualities: showing command of modern international musical techniques, and embodying an enlightened but non-radical concept of the ethos of church music, it would have been an apt offering to a monarch who prided himself on his musical and theological discrimination and his stature as a major European prince.

The main requirements for recomposing the tenor part of Tye's *Sine nomine* Mass are an acute ear and an accurate aural imagination—more acute and accurate than mine were a quarter of a century ago—with which to disentangle and then reassemble the complex of intricate contrapuntal textures, overlapping lines and concentrated harmony that Tye controls so felicitously. In revising my first attempt I have had the advantage of being able to refer to Professor Paul Doe's stylish reconstruction.⁴⁷ I am grateful for his permission to use several of his ideas in my revision.

45. *Sancta Maria mater dei* (Pashe)

This antiphon is built on a double *cantus firmus*, the F–G–A–B♭–A motive (see the previous entry and footnote 44) stated thirty-two times in the mean part, and a litany motive sung during the procession before Mass on Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent (quoted from 1502 as Example 7) stated from time to time in the other voices. Pashe's text begins as a litany but turns into a prose prayer of some complexity; it is in fact a slightly curtailed and adapted version of a prayer found in some contemporary books of hours, the alterations making it suitable for communal rather than individual use.⁴⁸ Pashe's quotation of the litany motif does not appear to have been very orderly—he seems to have brought it in where he noticed that it would fit—but it is useful to have it up one's sleeve when recomposing the tenor.



Example 7: the litany motive used in Pashe's *Sancta Maria*

The process of recomposition itself presents few difficulties. The greatest problem concerns bars 102–124, during which only the treble and bass of the four surviving voices are singing. The bass has a *signum congruentiae* above its second F in bar 115, strongly implying the entry of a new voice, which can only be the tenor. If the tenor enters only at this point it must have been silent hitherto, which means that the preceding bars of duet must be complete as they stand, despite some bareness and a very awkward hiatus in bars 106–107. But how significant is this bass *signum congruentiae*? An equivocal *signum* has already appeared in the *Ph* version of this piece, above the minim rest in bar 22 of the treble, in the course of a self-sufficient trio at a moment where there seems to be no possibility of introducing a fourth voice. (It is relevant to remark at this point that the *Ph* copy of *Sancta Maria* contains a much higher proportion of apparent errors than any other work in the collection.) Having experimented with adding a third voice to the duet from bar 102,

⁴⁶ *Ant. Sar.*, plate Y.

⁴⁷ P. Doe, *Christopher Tye: II, Masses*, EECM, vol. 24 (London, 1980), pp. 47–104.

⁴⁸ See for example *Hore beate marie virginis ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum ...* (Wynkyn de Worde, London, 1502), *Horae* no. 25, p. 120.

I decided that Pashe really had intended it to enter at the *signum* in bar 115, and that the bareness of bars 106–107 was deliberate. This decision receives some support from the fact that the *signum* in bar 115 is also given in a copy of the bass part of this piece in an fragmentary concordance (Lbl, Additional MS 34191). My revised version has a very prominent set of consecutive fifths between the restored tenor and the bass in bar 39; it could be avoided by making the tenor A into a dotted semibreve and completing the bar with a minim G and a semibreve E.

The concordant source Lbl, Add. MS 34191 ascribes *Sancta Maria mater dei* to Thomas Ashwell, the composer of the *God save King Harry* Mass mentioned in the preceding entry. Further twists to the tangle are provided by two facts: the work immediately preceding Ashwell's Mass in its unique source is Pashe's Mass *Christus resurgens*, while another Mass by Ashwell, *Sancte Cuthberte*, employs as an ostinato *cantus firmus* the same litany motive that Pashe combines with the F-G-A-B♭-A motto in *Sancta Maria mater dei*. I am inclined to believe that *Ph*'s attribution of *Sancta Maria mater dei* is correct, and that the work really is by Pashe; in style it resembles other music by him more closely than it does other music by Ashwell, although this judgment is admittedly based on only a small amount of music by either composer. There are unusually numerous discrepancies between the two versions of the bass part, some of them being more substantial than the rhythmic and notational variants which commonly occur between concordances. There are two verbal differences between the two copies: Peterhouse has 'peccantibus' for 34191's 'precantibus', and 'participemus' for the latter's 'percipiamus'; in the first case *Ph* agrees with the book of hours text, and in the second case 34191 does.

46. *Ave dei patris filia* (Merbecke)

Certain features of *Ave dei patris filia* suggest that it may be the earliest of Merbecke's three surviving Latin compositions. Chief among these is its inconsistency, which is manifest in several ways. Firstly there is inconsistency of style, in that the piece explores so many rhetorical devices that it runs the risk of sounding incoherent. It is almost as if Merbecke is determined to show his ability to produce the widest possible range of musical effects: from the imitative treatment of rigorously-developed germinal ideas to the creation of non-imitative and non-motivic counterpoint; from rhythmically differentiated polyphony to almost pure homophony; from conjunct to disjunct melody; from syllabic to melismatic texting; and so on. Secondly, there is inconsistency of technique: much of the three-part writing is very competent, showing a strong sense of line and a deft control of pace; but the five-part sections tend to be less successful because both the sense of line and the control of pace weaken, and a sense of aimlessness sometimes prevails (the 'Amen' section must be excepted from this criticism, because here Merbecke succeeds very well in generating a climactic finale rather reminiscent of Aston). Thirdly, there is inconsistency with prevailing stylistic conventions: for example, Merbecke sometimes allows two voices out of five (or even two out of three) to rest at the same time, and quite often lets two voices sustain the same pitch (as distinct from merely touching it), which many of his English contemporaries seem to have considered to be things best avoided.

I have assumed that the missing tenor part of *Ave dei patris filia* lay, like the tenor parts of Merbecke's *Domine Jesu Christe* and Mass *Per arma justicie*, slightly lower than the contratenor. Inventing a tenor for the three-part sections is generally fairly straightforward, as long as one notices Merbecke's habit of making only two voices out of three participate in imitation. There are awkward moments of transition in some of the verses (see, for example, bars 123–124), and one or two of their perorations ramble in a way that makes the nature of the tenor line far from obvious. One of my principles of editorial recomposition is not to alter the surviving music solely in order to accommodate the recomposed material; the editorial change that I have made to the pitch of one note of the bass line in bar 140 certainly makes it easier to supply a tenor line, but it also removes an unstylish and arbitrary dissonance between the bass part and the mean. The chief difficulty in the fully-scored sections consists in giving the tenor the melodic and structural profile characteristic of tenor lines in this repertory. There are signs, particularly at the beginning of the first five-part section in each half of the piece, that Merbecke conceived the beginning of the tenor as if it were a structural *cantus firmus*, without actually quoting a pre-existing melody; this would have been a

predictable and sensible approach for relatively inexperienced composer to take. Elsewhere, however, this feature is less obvious, and the character of the tenor seems sometimes to have been more like that of the other voices. If the work contained a duet it seems most likely to have been in bars 143–161, because a third voice will integrate into the texture more readily than it will into the other possible passage, bars 118–142.

47. Magnificat (Appelby)

In this setting of the Vespers canticle Appelby observes some but by no means all of the conventions typical of the early Tudor Magnificat.⁴⁹ Perhaps this mixture of observance and disregard indicates that conventions about setting the Magnificat were beginning to break down in the later 1530s. For example, he follows tradition by setting only the even-numbered verses in polyphony (leaving the others to be sung in plainchant), and as normal he sets verses two and four in triple metre and verses six and eight in duple; but he avoids the customary return to triple metre for verses ten and twelve. He makes the conventional alternation between verses scored for the full ensemble and verses scored for fewer voices; but as far as I can see he must have scored an unusually large number of the latter for four voices rather than the normal three, and he makes no use at all of duets. Like most English Magnificats of its period, Appelby's setting is written on a *cantus firmus*, but not of the kind traditionally used in a Magnificat setting. Appelby's *cantus firmus* is not a faburden but the first Magnificat tone itself, *solemniter*, with the sixth ending. The tenor anticipates the treble statement in the second verse, makes a full and undecorated monorhythmic statement in the sixth verse and has the end of the chant at 'Amen'. The fourth, eighth and tenth verses quote the beginning of the tone but this soon gives way to free composition; there is also a clear reference to the beginning of the first-tone Magnificat faburden at the start of the fourth verse.

I am not sure that I have everywhere reproduced Appelby's scoring. The tenor must have sung in the second and sixth verses, at 'Abraham' in the tenth and at the end of the twelfth (these were the traditional places for full scoring) but it is not completely clear where else it participated. It certainly did so in the first half of the fourth verse because the counterpoint of the treble and mean is incomplete by itself, but the tenor was probably silent in the second half of this verse because a fourth voice can neither carry the *cantus firmus* nor share in the imitation. The tenor seems also to be needed in the first half of the eighth verse, where it will imitate smoothly and where it can enrich some very bare textures; but it is not essential to the second half of the verse, where a lightening of the texture may be considered appropriate to the words 'and the rich he hath sent empty away'. In the tenth verse the tenor is essential from 'Abraham' to the end in order to avoid fourths above the lowest note (for example, in bars 130, 137, 138 and 141), but it is not indispensable to the first half of this verse; imitations could be contrived in the tenor at 'Sicut' and 'ad patres' but not, as far as I can see, at 'locutus est'. In the last verse the tenor probably entered where the bass falls silent at 'et nunc et semper'; 'Sicut erat in principio' was seldom set in full scoring and I cannot see that the tenor could have imitated either of the points in this section. Table 22 shows my reconstruction of Appelby's scoring; the amount of four-part writing is unusual, but I do not think that it can be avoided.

Verse	scoring of first half	scoring of second half
2	full	full
4	TrMT	MCB
6	full	TrMCB : full
8	MCTB	TrCB
10	TrMB : full	TrMTB
12	TrMCB : TrCT	full

Table 22: possible scorings in Appelby's Magnificat

⁴⁹ Concerning the utilization of faburden *cantus firmi* in English Magnificats, and the mensural and textural schemes favoured by early Tudor composers, see P. Doe, *Early Tudor Magnificats: I*, EECM, vol. 4 (London, 1962), Introduction and Appendix I.

It cannot be said that this Magnificat shows Appelby to have been a particularly polished composer. It contains an unusually large number of parallel fifths and even parallel octaves; some of the part-writing is extremely clumsy; and the melismatic passages tend to lack melodic personality and rhythmic drive. On the other hand, Appelby shows some ingenuity in his imitative writing and tenacity in his handling of motives. There must have been many composers like him: minor talents fulfilling their professional duties and responding as best they could to the stylistic developments taking place around them. Some portions of the missing tenor, for example in the sixth and twelfth verses, where it apparently quoted the Magnificat chant monorhythmically, can be restored with virtual certainty. Elsewhere there is more room for doubt, but the tenor's evident habit of working in imitation with the other voices is helpful. Since every other verse begins with an allusion to the F-G-A progression of the opening of the Magnificat tone, I have made the tenor begin with this progression in verse four, although it would also have been possible to make it begin by introducing the descending scalic idea—itself perhaps an allusion to the first-tone *faburden*—with which the other two voices enter. In view of Appelby's propensity to write parallel fifths I have allowed my tenor to create them in bar 69, where I feel that there is a strong case for doing so. I have given the tenor a range mid-way between those of the contratenor and the bass, as tends to happen in English music of this period in which the top line is for altos rather than trebles.

48. Mass *Sine nomine* (Anonymous)

I have not been able to make a positive identification of the *cantus firmus* of this Mass. It must surely be a plainchant, and it is clearly related to the melodic type of the antiphon *Johannes apostolus et evangelista*, but it is not identical with either the Salisbury or a Benedictine version of this particular chant. Example 8 presents the *cantus firmus* of the Mass and the versions of *Johannes apostolus* in 1519 and the Worcester antiphonal.

Cantus firmus of Ph. 48

WA

AS 1519

Example 8: the *cantus firmus* of Ph no. 48 and two versions of *Johannes apostolus et evangelista*

This *cantus firmus* is stated four times in the Gloria, Credo and Agnus, and (except for the first half of the second statement in the Agnus, which is given to the bass) it is always in the mean part. The Sanctus has the same four statements and an additional fifth statement monorhythmically in the tenor at 'in nomine'; apart from this the tenor seems to have been freely composed. The first four notes of the *cantus firmus* are also used as a motto to begin many subsidiary sections that are not otherwise based on the chant. Each movement begins with the first *cantus firmus* statement and the treble and contratenor have their own head-motives. Stylistically the Mass is rather conservative, showing little evidence of the more modern stylistic traits of the 1530s; its counterpoint may not be very polished (there are several pairs of consecutives, for example in bar 122 of the Gloria, and some examples of fairly crude part-writing, such as the octave leap and unforced dissonance in bars 65–66 of the Credo), but the rhythmic drive is undeniable.

50. *Domine Jesu Christe* (Ludford)

Ludford's votive antiphons *Domine Jesu Christe*, *Ave cujus conceptio* and *Ave Maria ancilla trinitatis* are considerably more advanced than his *Salve regina* in their generally succinct style and assured handling of imitation and antiphony. I have given the tenor of *Domine Jesu Christe* a slightly lower range than the contratenor, as seems to have been usual in English church music of the 1530s and 40s. The tenor seems to have been freely composed; it habitually participates in imitation, some of which involves very non-*cantus-firmus*-like material. Recomposing the missing tenor proved relatively unproblematic; Ludford's style is so cogent and consistent that in many places the missing voice virtually invented itself, which is not to claim that I have invariably reproduced the original.

51. *Magnificat* (Jones)

The motive in the contratenor and treble at the beginning of this setting makes one suspect the presence of the first-tone *Magnificat* faburden, and this does indeed prove to be the *cantus firmus*; it is recognisable in an ornamented form in every verse, usually being in the tenor. There is some doubt as to which ending of the faburden Jones incorporated; of the two strongest candidates, the sixth or eighth, I think that the evidence slightly favours the former.⁵⁰ Example 9 shows the first *Magnificat* tone and its faburden with these two differences, the restored tenor for the first polyphonic verse of Jones's setting, and Jones's bass and the restored tenor at 'mente cordis sui'; the crucial point is the note B marked with an asterisk.

⁵⁰ I number the endings in the order in which they are given in W. H. Frere, *The Use of Sarum* (Cambridge, 1898–1901), vol. 2, p. lxxv. Concerning the utilization of faburden *cantus firmi* in English *Magnificats*, and the mensural and textural schemes favoured by early Tudor composers, see P. Doe, *Early Tudor Magnificats: I*, *EECM*, vol. 4 (London, 1962), Introduction and Appendix I. I am grateful to Professor Doe for reminding me that the first-tone faburden should begin at the unison with the chant.

Plainsong

RA 56 spi - ri - tus

Restored tenor

Et ex-ul - ta - -vit spi-ri -tus me -

me - us

Plainsong (second ending)

men - te cordis su -

RA 56

Bass 72-75

mente cor - dis su - - i

Plainsong (fourth ending)

men - te cor - dis su - - i

RA 56

Example 9: evidence for the faburden basis of Jones's Magnificat

The archaic-sounding doubled-leading-note cadence in bars 125–26 may have arisen from a desire to make the lowest voice refer to the B \natural –A step at the end of the faburden melody; there seems no good reason to reject the source's D \sharp in the mean line here, and I have sharpened the treble G editorially as a leading-note. Whichever ending he chose, Jones treated the faburden much more freely than Taverner did, and it often disappears beneath melodic ornamentation after the first few notes. The setting conforms closely to the standard early Tudor pattern: only the six even-numbered verses are set, the two outer pairs in triple metre and the inner pair in duple, and the verses are scored alternately for full choir and various reduced-voice combinations.

Jones's Magnificat cannot claim to be one of the most polished works of its period; the melodic lines tend to be erratic, the counterpoint is sometimes awkward and the amount of dissonance is unusually large. It is nevertheless a far from negligible work; like the same composer's Mass *Spes nostra* it is unexpectedly effective in performance, evincing an appealing sense of directness and impetus. Certain features of the missing tenor can be reconstructed with some

confidence: it is clear, for example, that it participated in every verse except the tenth, and that it always began with a close reference to the faburden melody. Often, however, it is far from clear how the tenor should continue; the constraints imposed by the surviving voices make it impossible to write the kind of elegant and consistent line that one might wish to attempt. But since stylish recomposition is a matter of trying to imitate the voice of an individual composer, I have tried to write a tenor which is melodically as quirky as Jones's own lines and which creates contrapuntal roughnesses similar to those which Jones himself perpetrates. Users of my revised version may be surprised by some events in the reconstructed passages of music (such as the tonal inconsistency and dissonance of bars 2–4, the octave leap in the tenor at bar 59, and the awkward hiatus in bars 90–91); but analogous events occur in places where the surviving voices are complete as they stand.

52. Magnificat (Pashe)

Pashe's setting of the Magnificat conforms closely to the standard early Tudor pattern: only the six even-numbered verses are set, the two outer pairs in triple metre and the inner pair in duple, and the verses are scored alternately for full choir and various reduced-voice combinations. Like most English settings of its time, it is based on a *cantus firmus*, in this case the faburden to the seventh Magnificat tone, probably with the fifth ending.⁵¹ The *cantus firmus* is present in every polyphonic verse and Pashe always gives it to the mean. The faburden and Pashe's *cantus firmus* are compared in Example 10; the close connection is, I think, irrefragable. However, at least one writer has believed that the *cantus firmus* of Pashe's Mass *Christus resurgens* is also the *cantus firmus* of the present Magnificat.⁵² Example 10 therefore also includes the beginning of the plainchant antiphon *Christus resurgens*, the *cantus firmus* of Pashe's Mass. It will readily be seen that the resemblance between the Magnificat faburden and the Mass *cantus firmus* disappears after the first five pitches. It is interesting, however, that Pashe places the *cantus firmi* of both the Magnificat and the Mass in the mean voice rather than in the tenor (although this could have something to do with the nature of the choir for which he was writing), and that from bar 221 to the end of the Magnificat he notates the *cantus firmus* under the sign C denoting imperfect time with major prolation: this is a rare mensuration in this period, but one which Pashe also uses several times in laying out the *cantus firmus* of the Mass. Perhaps he noticed the coincidental resemblance between the faburden melody and the plainchant antiphon, and used additional means of emphasizing it; or perhaps he really did mean to create a pair of compositions in an ingenious way.

The fact that Pashe allocates the *cantus firmus* to the mean voice gives one no assistance in recomposing the tenor. It is, however, reasonably easy to write a fairly idiomatic tenor, although—as is nearly always the case—there are places where it is difficult to choose between several possible solutions. Pashe's fondness for imitation is often helpful, and the short canon three-in-one between bars 172 and 180 means that at least a few bars can be completed with virtual certainty. I have not taken the tenor as high as the contratenor, even when (as in bars 74 and 191) it was tempting to imitate the contratenor at the same pitch rather than an octave lower. The low A (B in the transposed version) in bar 125 of the tenor seems unavoidable because of the counterpoint of the other voices.

⁵¹ See fn. 50.

⁵² M. Hofman, *The survival of Latin sacred music by English composers, 1485–1610*, D.Phil. dissertation (University of Oxford, 1977), vol. 2, pp. 275–6.

Faburden (RA 56 ff. 28v-29r.)

Et exultavit spiritus meus in deo salutario

Pashe's cantus firmus

Et exultavit etc.

Quia fecit etc.

Fecit potentiam etc.

Esurientes etc.

Sicut locutus etc.

Sicut erat etc.

♯. Christus resurgens
1519 Temporale f. ccxviii^f.

Christus re - sur - gens ex mor - tu - is jam non

mo - ri - tur: mors il - li ul - tra non do - mi -

-na - -bi - tur. quod e - - nim vi - vit vi - -vit

de - o al - -le - lu - ya al - le - lu - ya.

Example 10: evidence for the faburden basis of Pashe's Magnificat,
and the antiphon *Christus resurgens*

56. *Lauda vivi alpha* (Fayrfax)

Lauda vivi alpha resembles most of Fayrfax's other surviving antiphons not only in its sobriety but also in some technical aspects, such as the imitative and motivic interplay of the voices in both reduced and full textures, the predominantly syllabic word-setting (melisma being reserved mainly for the ends of the text phrases), and the habit of breaking up the long tutti sections with brief

passages in fewer voices. The reference to ‘rege nostro ... Henrico octavo’ allows the work to be dated to the period between the king’s accession in 1509 and the composer’s death in 1521.⁵³ Even without this evidence, one would surely have concluded that this was a late work because of its close similarities to the Mass *Tecum principium* (notably in the fondness for melodic sequence) and the antiphon *Maria plena virtute* (especially in the predominantly careful declamation, the audaciously austere duet writing and several characteristic turns of melodic phrase). A strong indication of this antiphon’s modernity is its experimentation with rapid contrast between the two highest voices and the three lowest, in which the latter repeat more or less literally the music of the former with an added third part. This kind of writing, which may have been suggested to Fayrfax by the alternation of high and low duets favoured by Josquin and his contemporaries, is much more characteristic of the next generation of English composers, such as Taverner, Ludford and Aston.

Lauda vivi alpha seems, like all of Fayrfax’s antiphons except *O Maria deo grata*, to have been freely composed. At any rate, I have been unable to find a chant melody which will fit into the texture; furthermore, there are places (such as bars 207–208 and 281–289) where the missing tenor seems to have participated in the imitative treatment of material which does not resemble chant. In some other places, however, the tenor appears to have behaved as though it were based on chant, moving by step and falling from supertonic to tonic at the main cadences. The experience of revising my restoration has led me to disown my original opinion that ‘composing a tenor for this piece poses remarkably few problems’. In fact, several passages proved amenable to such a variety of solutions that they caused prolonged deliberation and several changes of mind. I am still less than happy with some portions of the recomposed tenor. In particular, the oscillation between F and G (G and A in the transposed version) in bars 98–103 is weak melodically; the silence in bar 206 creates a moment of striking bareness; in bars 217–222 the line lacks a strong sense of direction; and the tenor’s literal imitation of the treble in bars 281–289 results in some unusually harsh dissonance.

The text of *Lauda vivi alpha*, which is known only from Fayrfax’s setting, appears to have been modelled on that of the more widely-known antiphon *Ave dei patris*, but is considerably more ambitious and enterprising. Both texts begin with a series of four-line stanzas celebrating Mary as daughter of the Father, mother of the Son, bride of the Spirit and servant of the Trinity. Both conclude with passages of rhymed prose, but the style and content of these prose conclusions differ significantly: *Ave dei patris* ends with a series of brief and well-worn phrases praising Mary (‘feta ut sol ... sicut luna ... stella maris’) and includes a rather perfunctory reference to her intercessory role (‘esto nobis via recta’); but *Lauda vivi alpha* ends with longer phrases praising her in less familiar terms and includes a more specific and extended request for her intervention. The grandiloquence of the poem, the inclusion of a lengthy prayer for the king and the huge scale of the musical setting suggest that the work was intended for a major state event, perhaps even to mark a coronation.

The unusually large amount of disagreement between the surviving sources of *Lauda vivi alpha* suggests that the piece caused its copyists some trouble. Most of the discrepancies involve coloration, ligatures, note values and textual readings; very few are to do with pitch. Variance involving coloration and ligatures is very common in English sources of this period; copyists seem to have taken a fairly free hand in these respects, just as contemporary composers did when setting up type. The amount of rhythmic and textual variance is, however, exceptional. To the limited extent that it is possible to compare the minor sources with each other (a direct comparison is possible only between the bass book 1464 and the bass book of the *UJ* set), they seem generally to agree with each other and disagree with *Ph*. It may be that the *Ph* version of *Lauda vivi alpha* represents a deliberate ‘tidying-up’ of a work which for a variety of reasons—such as its prodigious length, its somewhat occasional character, and its fondness for unusual words and verbal constructions—may have been rarely performed and unusually susceptible to miscopying. It is, for instance, noticeable that some of the *Ph*’s unexceptionable readings, such as ‘optanda’, ‘immarcessibile’, ‘deigena’ and ‘trine’, and the passive ‘dari’ instead of the active ‘dare’, are

⁵³ The perfect match between word and music accent in the setting of ‘octavo’ removes the possibility that the reference was originally to Henry VII.

habitually garbled in the other sources. One textual variant is particularly interesting: for *Ph*'s 'O precatrix et adjutrix' all of the other sources have 'O redemptrix ac [or 'et'] salvatrix': a view of Mary that would have become extremely controversial by 1540. If the copyist of *Ph* corrected and revised the text of *Lauda vivi alpha*, perhaps he also attempted to modernise the underlay; this might explain some of the rhythmic variants.

57. *Ave cujus conceptio* (Ludford)

As in *Domine Jesu Christe* the tenor of this antiphon seems to have had a slightly lower tessitura than the contratenor. The thoroughness of the imitative treatment is striking and the tenor must have taken a major role in it. Although I suspected that the work was freely composed, I investigated the possibility that *Ave cujus conceptio* might be based on the same *cantus firmus* as Ludford's Mass *Regnum mundi* (both works are written in high clefs and share the same tonality; and Ludford's *Ave Maria ancilla trinitatis* and *Salve regina* are written on the same *cantus firmus* as his Mass *Inclina cor meum*), but I found no evidence that any pre-existing material was present. I am not sure that I have recreated the original sequence of textures. My revised version includes two extended duets (bars 25–39 and 81–100), which is rare in a work of this period, and one voice (the treble) participates in both of them, which is even more unusual. However, these two duets are musically complete and very effective as they stand, so I decided to leave well alone.

58. *Ave Maria ancilla trinitatis* (Ludford)

60. *Mass Inclina cor meum* (Ludford)

Ave Maria ancilla trinitatis is one of only two surviving votive antiphons by Ludford to incorporate a *cantus firmus*; the other, his *Salve regina* (*Ph* no. 9), is on the very same plainchant melody, the short responsory *Inclina cor meum deus in testimonia tua* sung at Terce on Sundays throughout the year. A third work by Ludford on this *cantus firmus* is his Mass *Inclina cor meum* (*Ph* no. 60). *Ave Maria ancilla trinitatis* and the Mass *Inclina cor meum* are copied in close proximity to each other in *Ph*, being separated only by Fayrfax's Mass *O bone Jesu*. It seems reasonable to suppose that they formed a pair of works intended for a particular purpose.⁵⁴ Despite being written on the same *cantus firmus*, *Salve regina* does not give the impression of being closely associated with them: it is copied near the beginning of the collection, not near the end, and it seems to be less mature in style, perhaps being meant for the same purpose but on an earlier occasion. The choice of a *cantus firmus* not associated with a particular feast is certainly unusual but need not imply that these compositions had a non-festal purpose; the text of the responsory could have been the motto of a person influential at St Stephen's, Westminster, or at another institution for which Ludford provided music, or have been significant or topical for some other reason. In all three compositions Ludford quotes only the melody of the responsory itself, not that of its verse or *Gloria patri*. In the two antiphons Ludford keeps the *cantus firmus* in the tenor voice (except for one brief reference in the treble in each work), but in the Mass he frequently quotes it in voices other than the tenor. Table 23 sets out my conjectures about Ludford's use of the *cantus firmus* in these works.

Recomposing the missing tenor of *Ave Maria ancilla trinitatis* poses relatively few problems, but some of them are quite severe; my revision departs from my first attempt in several ways. The five-part sections are straightforward, for the *cantus firmus* fits into the texture without alteration or ornamentation, although the rhythmic division of the chant pitches to accommodate the text is, of course, conjectural. It was tempting to interrupt the delivery of the *cantus firmus* in bars 55 and 156 in order to avoid a strong dissonance with another voice, but such dissonances occur elsewhere in Ludford's music, and in this antiphon and the associated Mass he usually breaks the *cantus firmus* only after 'Inclina' or after 'deus'. The tenor's range in its freely-composed sections must have exceeded its compass when quoting the plainchant. Taking it as high as the contratenor would have

⁵⁴ N. Sandon, 'Paired and grouped works for the Latin rite by Tudor composers', *MR*, vol. 43 (1983), pp. 8–12. Based on Appendix 2 of the original version of this dissertation.

made it easier to write a showy line (a dangerous temptation for the restorer), but would have gone against Ludford's habit, shared by many but not all of his contemporaries, of keeping the tenor slightly lower than the contratenor, and would thus have risked distorting his textures. The pithiness of Ludford's style aids completion of the verses in which the tenor must have taken part, although a few passages, notably bars 31–36 and 138–140, proved recalcitrant.

The opening of *Ave Maria ancilla trinitatis* is problematic because it is not clear whether it should be left as a duet or turned into a trio; if the latter course is chosen, the moment and manner of the tenor's entry are by no means obvious. Cross-reference with the Mass *Inclina cor meum* is not very helpful, because although the antiphon and Mass have the same head-motive as well as the same *cantus firmus*, the opening sections of the movements diverge after the first few bars and vary in length. Eventually I decided to bring in the tenor in imitation of the mean's 'trinitatis' point in bar 6; Ludford often begins a work with a duet and adds the third voice after six or seven bars, for example in *Ave cujus conceptio* and in every movement of the Mass *Lapidaverunt Stephanum*. The second verses of the Gloria (bars 9–20) and Credo (bars 13–25) also work well as a duet expanding into a trio, although it is unusual for Ludford to build an increase of voices into two successive verses. The sequence of scorings—a trio, a duet and a different trio—in the reconstructed verse 'et in hora mortis nostrae ...' (bars 158–173) must also be conceded to be unusual. It seemed to me that the two surviving voices needed a companion at the beginning of the verse (particularly to overcome the hiatus in bar 161) but became self-sufficient in the middle, while Ludford's contratenor provides a third voice at the end of the verse and makes the tenor unnecessary.

Recomposing the missing tenor of the Mass *Inclina cor meum* is less straightforward than in many comparable works, because Ludford's treatment of his *cantus firmus* is rather unusual. Most English festal Masses confine their *cantus firmus* to the tenor part, restrict it mainly to the fully-scored sections, state it always in its entirety, and quote it literally. In this work, however, Ludford allocates the *cantus firmus* to every voice except the mean, incorporates it into several verse sections as well as into the tuttis, appears to make some additional references to individual phrases of the *cantus firmus* (for example, in the contratenor in bars 59–61 of the Sanctus), and sometimes paraphrases it (for example, in the contratenor in bars 24–43 of the Agnus). Tenor statements of the *cantus firmus* can be restored to the fully-scored sections without much difficulty, since they seem always to have been literal; the subdivision of chant pitches to carry the Mass text is, of course, conjectural. A tenor line based on the chant pitches makes a good fit in some of the verse sections. In some of these (for example, bars 80–83 of the Agnus) literal quotation is possible, which does not necessarily mean that paraphrase did not occur. In others places (for example, bars 61–67 of the Sanctus) the quotation appears to have involved paraphrase. In yet others a *cantus firmus* statement seems to start unequivocally enough in the tenor, only to peter out: in bars 56–73 of the Agnus, for instance, the chant at first fits very well in the tenor; after eight bars it apparently migrates into the bass for a further two bars; and then it disappears altogether. In still others the tenor can be made to allude to phrases of the chant, perhaps reflecting Ludford's unconscious memory of it rather than his conscious intention. There may well have been more instances of tenor quotation than I have noticed.

In the portions of the fully-scored sections where another voice carries the *cantus firmus*, the tenor seems to have behaved more like a contratenor, taking on a more utilitarian aspect and responding to the varying contrapuntal exigencies of the moment; many different solutions are possible, and it is often difficult to choose between them. Occasionally (as in bars 119–122 of the Credo) the surviving voices seem to leave little or nothing for the tenor to do, and it is hard to invent anything that does not sound forced. In the verses where the tenor is necessary and evidently freely-composed the economy and consistency of Ludford's style tend to assist restoration, although here too there are problems. As in *Ave Maria ancilla trinitatis*, the tenor's range when freely composed must have exceeded its compass when quoting the *cantus firmus*.

The Mass *Inclina cor meum* stands a little apart from Ludford's other works in its rather more prominent dissonance and occasionally slightly laboured counterpoint. I would not infer that it is an immature work; on the contrary, its boldness, resourcefulness and strong personality imply that it is a thoroughly mature composition. Its stylistic peculiarities may have more to do with the character and treatment of its *cantus firmus*: by exploiting so thoroughly such an unpromising chant melody

and placing it now and then in voices that do not usually carry *cantus firmi*, Ludford subjected his compositional skill to a searching examination. The difficulties that he created for himself are particularly evident where the plainchant is at the top or bottom of the texture and the tenor has to carry out something other than its normal function. It is not surprising that there should sometimes be a slight feeling of strain; what is remarkable is the prevailing suppleness.

	Voice bearing <i>cantus firmus</i>	Number of statements
Antiphon		
48–73	tenor	
75–88	tenor	
143–158	tenor	
175–194		
194–203		5
Gloria		
20–33	tenor	
34–44	treble	
45–61	contratenor	
62–72	treble	
73–80	paraphrased in contratenor?	
87–95	bass and mean	
96–108	tenor	
109–117	treble	
118–131	tenor	8 or 9
Credo		
14–20	treble	
25–38	tenor	
38–49	treble	
49–56	contratenor	
56–70	bass and treble	
102–113	tenor	
113–122	contratenor	
142–153	tenor	
153–163	tenor	
163–170	tenor	10
Sanctus		
13–25	paraphrased in tenor?	
26–43	tenor	
44–59	first half in bass	
61–68	second half paraphrased in tenor?	
85–110	tenor	
159–178	tenor	3½, 4, 4½ or 5
Agnus		
26–42	bass and contratenor	
56–73	paraphrased in tenor?	
74–89	tenor	
93–107	tenor	3 or 4

**Table 23: *cantus firmus* statements in
Ludford's *Ave maria ancilla trinitatis* and *Mass Inclina cor meum***

61. *Ave gratia plena Maria* (Chamberlayne)

I originally concluded that no *cantus firmus* was present, but now I am not so sure. Chamberlayne's scoring is sometimes difficult to reconstruct. The tenor may have sung in bars 175–192, where the three surviving parts sometimes sound a little thin; nevertheless the tenor is not indispensable at this point and in view of the rarity of four-part verse writing in this older style I have left it out. If Chamberlayne included an extended duet it can hardly have been anywhere else than between bars 114 and 135. In the last three bars the tenor could have a pedal, but allowing it to imitate the motive sung by the treble and contratenor creates a stronger and more decisive ending.

62. *Mass Salve intemerata* (Tallis)

The Peterhouse partbooks are the unique source of Tallis's *Mass Salve intemerata*, and the unique or earliest source of several other Masses which also differ markedly from the traditional festal Mass in their scale and method of construction. Whereas the festal Masses of Fayrfax, Taverner, Ludford and their contemporaries were usually expansive, melismatic and based on a plainchant *cantus firmus*, these new-style Masses are concise, largely syllabic and either freely composed (as in Taverner's *Meane Mass* and Tye's *Mass Sine nomine*) or derived from a polyphonic model (as in Taverner's *Masses Mater Christi* and *Small devotion*).

In this Mass Tallis quotes extensively from his votive antiphon *Salve intemerata*, especially in the Gloria, which contains hardly any new material. There is less quotation in the other movements, and least of all in the Agnus. In the borrowed sections the tenor can be restored with confidence. Table 24 lists all of the borrowings that I can find, but there may be others. My own analysis of the relationship between the two works differs in a few details from those made by Frank Harrison⁵⁵ and Paul Doe,⁵⁶ both of whom suggest that (apart from the opening) Tallis used no section of the antiphon more than once in the Mass, and that he used all of the antiphon except for bars 94–141. But I cannot find bars 30–47 or 142–147 of the antiphon in the Mass, and I am sure that at least two other sections are quoted twice or more. Bars 226–229 of the antiphon appear as bars 71–75 of the Gloria and as bars 43–45 of the Agnus, while bars 23–25 of the antiphon are quoted literally in bars 10–12 of the Gloria and in bars 11–13 of the Credo and they also provide the material for bars 53–57 of the Credo, an association probably suggested to Tallis by the similarities between the antiphon and Mass texts at this point (see Example 11). Where the tenor part of the Mass has to be recomposed, the often imitative and always disciplined nature of Tallis's writing is helpful in restricting the range of possibilities.⁵⁷

The text underlay of the Mass is generally uncontroversial, partly because the setting is so concise and syllabic, partly because Tallis's matching of word and line seems generally very assured, and partly because the existence of the work in a unique source prevents the editor agonising over conflicting text placement. In several places, for example Credo bars 60 and 64 (treble) and bars 40, 59 and 66 (contratenor), I have followed *Ph*'s apparently deliberate and unequivocal placing of a change of syllable under an anticipatory semiminim with no further syllable change on the note of the same pitch which follows; this looks rather strange because it is not a common procedure either with editors or with performers, but experiment suggests that it is if anything easier to sing than a change of syllable on the second occurrence of the pitch. There are also some implicit instances of this kind of syllable change in the parent antiphon, for example in the treble in bar 31 and in the mean in bar 66.

The tenor of the Mass can easily be kept to the range of the tenor in the antiphon, but in the restoration I have allowed it to go one note higher at a climax in bar 77 of the Sanctus. The resulting range of a thirteenth is admittedly unusually wide, and the first nine notes of this phrase may be taken down an octave if desired.

⁵⁵ *MMB*, pp. 287–8.

⁵⁶ P. Doe, *Tallis* (London, 1968), p. 17.

⁵⁷ I am grateful to Professor Paul Doe for suggesting and allowing me to incorporate a better solution than my own to bars 60–61 of the Sanctus.

Antiphon	Gloria	Credo	Sanctus	Agnus
1–6	1–6	1–6	1–6	1–6
6–18			[29–36]	
18–23	6–10	6–11	6–9	6–9
		53–57		
24–25	11–12	12–13		
26–27	13–14	14–15	[10–13]	
28–30		16–18	[10–13]	
30–47				not used
47–79		20–52		
79–93			36–51	
94–141				not used
142–147				not used
147–152			13–20	
153–161	15–25			
162–168		57–63		
168–176			69–77	
176–186	28–42			
187–197	43–53			
198–203	61–65			
203–210	54–60			
211–216				13–20
215–221		75–80		
221–226	67–71			
226–229	71–75			43–45
229–237				45–54

Table 24: material shared between Tallis's antiphon and Mass *Salve intemerata*

Antiphon contratenor

sic a Spi-ri-tu San-cto tum san-cti-fica-ta

Credo treble

Et incarna-tus est de Spi-ri-tu San-cto

Example 11: bars 23–25 of Tallis's antiphon *Salve intemerata* compared with bars 53–57 of the Credo of his Mass *Salve intemerata*

63. Mass *Regnum mundi* (Ludford)

The Mass *Regnum mundi* has as its *cantus firmus* the plainchant *Regnum mundi et omnem ornatum seculi contempsi*, the ninth responsory at Matins from the Common of virgin martyrs (that is, the items used on feasts of saints of this kind which do not have their own proper material). The Salisbury calendar includes only two feasts of virgin martyrs with nine lessons at Matins whose responsories are taken from the Common: the feasts of St Margaret (20 July) and St Winifred (3 November). In view of Ludford's known associations with St Margaret's parish, Westminster, it seems quite probable that he composed this Mass for performance in the parish church on the patronal festival.

Ludford's handling of his *cantus firmus* appears to have followed standard English practice with some ingenious variations. The plainchant melody is unusually long, so he quotes it only once in each movement; and it was probably its length that led him to include its beginning, rather than just anticipating its opening notes, in the head-motive in every movement. The head-motive itself

is much longer than usual, lasting for fifteen bars, and is the only place where the chant is stated in anything less than a fully-scored section. He divides the chant into five segments and gives it always to the tenor, and in every movement the division between the parts stated in *tempus perfectum* and *tempus imperfectum* comes at the same point, at the beginning of the fourth segment (D). He does not ornament the chant melodically, but he gives it a different rhythmic configuration each time.⁵⁸ This summary hardly does justice to the remarkable synthesis that he achieves between clarity of layout and variety of rhythmic and harmonic treatment. There are some other allusions to the chant melody—especially to its opening triadic motive—here and there. Example 12 gives the melodic version of the chant that Ludford appears to have known, and Table 25 shows how he lays it out.

Example 12: the *cantus firmus* of Ludford's Mass *Regnum mundi*

	Gloria	Credo	Sanctus	Agnus
Phrase A	2–6	2–6	2–6	2–6
Phrase B	26–43	32–51	24–60	27–36
Phrase C	43–49 and 62–71	51–65	82–109	55–64
Phrase D	100–108	96–104	169–179	87–92
Phrase E	136–146	135–140	181–188	96–101

Table 25: *cantus firmus* layout in Ludford's Mass *Regnum mundi*

The tenor part of the Mass can thus be restored to the tutti sections with some confidence, although the rhythmicization and texting of the chant pitches remain conjectural; the treble part can then be supplied to complete the texture while preserving its own linear integrity. The survival of the treble in the Gloria and at the beginning of the Credo gives useful clues to how to proceed elsewhere. Restoring the incomplete verses is not always straightforward, because it is sometimes unclear which voice or voices—treble, tenor, both, or neither—should be supplied, and also because, apart from the constraints imposed by the existing voices, one is dealing with free composition in a sometimes rather daring style. Since it is common for a tenor line incorporating a *cantus firmus* to extend its range when singing in a freely-composed section, I have allowed this tenor two more notes at the bottom and one

⁵⁸ Ludford's version of the chant was evidently slightly different from the standard Salisbury version in having AGF instead of ABGF on '[a]ma[vi]'; see for example Agnus bar 92.

more at the top when it takes part in a verse, giving it an overall compass of an eleventh and a tessitura a third below that of the contratenor. This configuration, in which the voice called the tenor moves down into the baritone range while that called the contratenor remains in the tenor range, becomes more common in English five-part polyphony during the second quarter of the sixteenth century.

While restoring even a mediocre composition offers the satisfaction of solving an intellectual problem, completing what turns out to be an outstanding work brings a much greater reward: one appreciates the original composer's skill and inventiveness, and one warms to the imaginative touches that transcend craftsmanship; one aspires, even if vainly, to comparable levels of skill and invention; and one has the pleasure of making a major work once again accessible to a wider public. When I first worked on the *Regnum mundi* Mass some twenty-five years ago I did not realise quite how good it was. Revising my first version has made me aware of its exceptional quality: few English works of its time can match its boldness, melodic lucidity, textural variety, harmonic richness, and formal control.

64. *Fac nobis secundum* (Taverner)

One can argue that *Fac nobis secundum* is in some ways the easiest to restore of Taverner's shorter antiphons, because it is by far the most imitative; if one can locate the entries one can then fill in the remaining holes fairly methodically. On the other hand, it is sometimes possible to contrive entries in more than one place, as a comparison of my and Hugh Benham's versions shows.⁵⁹ The melodic style is remarkably jagged for Taverner. The rapid declamation, close imitation and melodic angularity make this piece sound more like a work of the next generation, and I imagine that it could be one of Taverner's very latest surviving compositions. As in all of Taverner's shorter antiphons, the tenor seems to have had a lower tessitura than the contratenor. It is a mystery why the piece is notated at this pitch and in high clefs, rather than in the normal F–f' range with a key signature of one flat.

65. *Sub tuum praesidium* (Taverner)

The tenor states the plainchant monorhythmically, first in (original) breves and then in semibreves. Taverner's version must have been close to that of Obrecht's Mass *Sub tuum praesidium* and also to that used by Benedictus de Opiitiis in his setting.⁶⁰ Example 13 gives four versions: Taverner's (restored), Obrecht's, Benedictus's (paraphrased) and that from *Processionale Monasticum*.⁶¹

⁵⁹ H. Benham, *John Taverner: II, Votive Antiphons*, EECM, vol. 25 (London, 1981), pp. 95–109.

⁶⁰ See A. Parsons and N. Sandon, *The Crowned Rose: Motets for Henry VIII from London, British Library, Royal MS 11 E. XI*, (Newton Abbot, 2005), pp. 14–16.

⁶¹ *Processionale monasticum ad usum congregationis Gallicae ordinis Sancti Benedicti* (Solesmes, 1893), p. 287.

(a) (b) (c) (d)

(Tenor) (Treble)

Sub tu - um prae - si - di - um con - fu - - gi - mus San -

-cta De - i ge - ni - trix: nostras depreca - ti -

-o - nes ne de - spi - ci - as in ne - ces - si -

-ta - - ti - bus: sed a periculis cunctis libera nos

semper virgo gloriosa et be - ne - di - cta.

Example 13: four versions of the *Sub tuum praesidium* chant melody
 (a) = Taverner; (b) = Obrecht; (c) = Benedictus; (d) = *Processionale Monasticum*

66. *Ave rosa sine spinis* (Tallis)

Ave rosa sine spinis is one of five surviving votive antiphons by Tallis, the others being the Mary-antiphons *Ave dei patris* (also incomplete), *Gaude gloriosa* and *Salve intemerata*, and the Jesus-antiphon *Sancte deus*. Like the other three Mary-antiphons, *Ave rosa* adopts the traditional formal scheme of such works, with first and second halves in triple and duple metre, and each half divided into subsections in varied scorings. The chronology of these compositions is far from clear. There are good grounds for believing that *Salve intemerata* may date from as early as the late 1520s, when Tallis himself can have been no older than about 25.⁶² *Ave rosa* seems in some ways slightly rougher in technique than *Salve intemerata*, although this could be no more than a reflection of its more vigorous and compelling style. On the other hand, some of the musical ideas in *Ave rosa* bear a striking resemblance to material in *Gaude gloriosa*, a work whose music has many echoes of the later 1530s but whose text has sometimes been thought to celebrate Queen Mary. It is possible that Tallis himself, newly arrived at Canterbury, gave *Ave rosa* and the Mass *Salve intemerata* to the copyist of *Ph* during the final phase of the compilation of the partbooks.

Ph is the earliest known source of *Ave rosa*. Some of the later sources, all of which are Elizabethan or Jacobean and either fragmentary or incomplete, appear to preserve a lightly revised version of the work, in which (among other things) the subsections in different scorings were separated from each other by strokes through the staff rather than running into one another. I have mainly followed the *Ph* version, even when (as in bars 84–85) a later reading is rather more polished. The missing tenor voice and most of the treble can be supplied from these late sources. However, a partbook which ought to contain all of the treble turns out to lack bars 112–133 of this voice, and these bars therefore have to be restored.⁶³ I am grateful to Professor Paul Doe for letting me see his completion of this section, as a result of which I have made some changes to my version.

67. *Ave Maria ancilla trinitatis* (Aston)

Aston's setting of *Ave Maria ancilla trinitatis* is ambitious not only in its scale and in the vocal virtuosity that it demands, but also, as far as one can judge from the surviving material, in its variety. The formal design—two halves, one in triple metre and one in duple, each consisting of a mixture of duets, trios and fully-scored sections—is typical of the early Tudor votive antiphon; so is the predominantly ornate melodic and rhythmic style. There are, however, several less predictable features. For example, the scoring sometimes changes more rapidly than usual, particularly in the second half, where several sections are varied within themselves by voices dropping out and re-entering; Aston also experiments with echo effects between subsections of the choir; and the beginning of the concluding petition ('Mecum sis in omnibus', bars 160–171) seems to have been in four voices, a texture whose rare occurrence in five-part music tends to coincide with moments of particular intensity, for instance at 'Dixit Jesus dilectionis' in Fayrfax's *Maria plena virtute*. The word setting itself is discriminating, melisma being largely associated with Mary's name or with the superlatives applied to her; melodic, rhythmic and verbal stresses coincide to a marked degree; and Aston seems to have made an effort to achieve verbal clarity. The feeling of exuberance created by the profuse decoration is tempered by a strong sense of discipline engendered by a predilection for imitative writing and for motivic cross-reference. Even the 'Amen' section, which Aston composes in a highly animated style reminiscent of some of the finales in the Eton choirbook (for instance that of Davy's *Stabat mater dolorosa*), is imbued with a sense of logic by the discussion and development of pregnant musical ideas. Overall the work has a pleasing shapeliness, as if Aston planned his musical changes with an awareness of their cumulative effect. These features combine to suggest that *Ave Maria ancilla trinitatis* is a rather late composition.

⁶² N. Sandon, 'The manuscript London, British Library, Harley 1709', *Music in the medieval English liturgy*, ed. D. Hiley and S. Rankin (London, 1993), pp. 355–79.

⁶³ M. Hofman, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 336, and P. Doe, *The New Grove*, may have followed *TCM*, Appendix, p. 23 in assuming that the treble part in *Lbl*, Add. MS 34049 was complete.

Some of the qualities that make Aston's music his own, such as his idiosyncratic attitude to dissonance and the niceties of part-writing, and his occasionally awkward melodic style, increase the difficulty of completing *Ave Maria ancilla trinitatis*. As far as I can tell, the setting was freely composed; some hints of plainchant, or at least of its melodic idiom, may however have crept into the restored tenor line. I have allowed the tenor to rise as high as F, duplicating the range of the surviving contratenor; while this is unusual in English music of the 1530s, Aston's own tenor lines do tend to be rather higher in relation to the contratenor than those of many of his contemporaries; the tenor in this reconstruction is identical in range with the surviving tenor of *Gaude mater matris Christi*. I have set the 'Mecum sis in omnibus' section in four parts rather than five because the three surviving parts are insufficient in themselves and I found it impossible to invent more than one other coherent line. In bar 156, where simultaneous rests in the remaining voices produce an unusual hiatus, I have resisted the temptation to paste over the crack by adding a phrase in one of the missing parts, because I think that Aston may have meant thus to prepare for the following entries on 'promptissima'. In a few places I have created dissonances similar to those created by Aston himself: compare for instance bars 20 (Aston) and 200 (editorial), and 171 (Aston) and 205 (editorial). I have tried above all to produce the strong sense of impetus that typifies Aston's music.

This was the first Peterhouse composition that I restored, about thirty years ago. I recall the delight of hearing my first effort being performed by an ad-hoc choir made up of a galaxy of musicologists during a music research conference at Exeter University in the late 1970s. Somewhat to my surprise, several elements of that original gauche version have found their way into my revision, at least in essence. I have a great affection for this piece, not only on account of its inventiveness and drive, but also because it was for me the means of entry into the luxuriant forest of early Tudor music.

68. *O baptista vates Christi* (Aston)

John the Baptist was a very popular saint in late medieval England. Nearly five hundred churches were dedicated to him; he was frequently adopted as a patron by guilds and fraternities; he was a favourite subject with the alabaster carvers of Nottingham; and suffrages to him were included in many books of hours. The great scarcity of polyphonic music addressed or even referring to him is thus all the more surprising.⁶⁴ I am at a loss to explain this discrepancy; perhaps it merely reflects the fortuitous manner in which musical sources of the period have survived or been lost. One reason for Aston to compose a piece in honour of St John could have been the association between St Mary Newarke, Leicester, and a small hospital in the same city dedicated jointly to St John the Baptist and St John the Evangelist, for which St Mary's had assumed responsibility in 1479.⁶⁵ 1529 would have been the fiftieth anniversary of the association between the two institutions, but I know of no evidence that the anniversary was celebrated in any special way. Magdalen College itself could have had a use for a composition honouring St John the Baptist, because a hospital dedicated to the saint had previously stood where Magdalen College now stands; the college had acquired the site in 1457 when it was seeking to move from its previous location in the High Street.⁶⁶ St John's scriptural credentials would presumably have made him *persona grata* in the refounded cathedral at Canterbury.

⁶⁴ I have not made a thorough search, but from the fifteenth century I can think only of Dunstable's motet *Preco preheminentie* and the anonymous Mass *Fuit homo missus*, while for the sixteenth century Aston's *O baptista vates Christi* is apparently unique.

⁶⁵ D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses: England and Wales* (London, 1953, R/1971), pp. 324 and 369; *VHC Leicester*, vol. 2, p. 40.

⁶⁶ D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *op. cit.*, pp. 383–4. A papal license for the suppression of the hospital was issued on 14 March 1458 (see *VHC Oxford*, vol. 2, pp. 152–4 and vol. 3, pp. 193–207). In the Magdalen College account books the accounts for the chapel of St John the Baptist were kept separately from those of the main chapel.

O baptista is an example of the extended votive antiphon widely cultivated under Henry VII and Henry VIII. Like many such pieces, it sets a lengthy Latin poem cast in the favourite sequence form and metre. Conceived on a very large scale, Aston's setting follows the metrical plan common in such pieces, beginning in triple metre and ending in duple. Usually each metrical section of such a work is continuous, but in this piece Aston makes a complete halt within each section, after the short opening tutti of the triple metre and about half-way through the duple. As usual, changes of vocal scoring are employed as a subsidiary structural device. Each main section ends with a tutti, and each tutti is preceded by several differently scored sections in a smaller number of parts; the changes of scoring coincide with the stanzaic structure of the poem. Rhythmically the work is rather less elaborate than the most florid English music of the period, and the melodic idiom is slightly more sober. A striking feature, found also in some of Aston's other compositions, is the large amount of imitative writing. In the reduced-voice sections or verses nearly every line of the poem is set to its own melodic idea which is then used imitatively in two or more of the participating voices. Imitation is also prominent in the tuttis, where this technique was traditionally used rather less.

Since only three out of five voices of *O baptista* survive the details of the scoring of the verses are not immediately obvious. My assumptions about the scoring are based on Aston's practice in other works and on general conventions of the period. In five-part music of this era a verse section will almost always be a trio or duet, or it may expand from duet to trio during its course. If one verse section directly follows another, the second of them will normally include every voice that did not sing in the first. Some of Aston's scorings can be deduced with a fair degree of confidence, for example when it is clear that the tenor must have participated in a reduced section because the texture does not make contrapuntal sense without it. Sometimes, however, either the tenor or the treble could have been singing. There can even be doubt as to whether a particular section was a duet, or a trio, or changed from one to the other as it proceeded.

Before recomposing the tenor one has to decide whether or not it carried a *cantus firmus*. Most of the votive antiphons by Aston's contemporaries are freely composed, and of the other antiphon settings by Aston himself only *Te matrem dei laudamus* is known to incorporate a *cantus firmus* in the tenor or in any other voice. Nevertheless, certain features of the tuttis in *O baptista*, particularly the fact that for long stretches the nature of the counterpoint makes it possible to write a tenor line moving mainly by step in breves and longs, prompted me to search the Salisbury antiphonal for a suitable *cantus firmus*. I could not find one that would fit all the way through the piece; but when, working backwards from the end of Aston's setting, I discovered that the final melodic phrase of the verse *Fuit homo missus* of the responsory *Elizabeth Zacharie* could be made to fit the ends of the last two tuttis almost perfectly if transposed down a fifth, I thought that I had found the answer.⁶⁷ I was, however, unable to incorporate the melody of the entire plainchant verse into Aston's polyphony, and I eventually decided that the correspondence that I had initially observed must be no more than coincidence. Nevertheless, I still wonder about it: this final phrase of plainchant sets the single word 'Johannes', and I suppose that it is not inconceivable that Aston should have wished to quote in his music the name of the saint from time to time. At any rate, I have allowed my tenor to allude to this plainchant melody here and there.

⁶⁷ *Ant. Sar.*, p. 433. *Elizabeth Zacharie* is the sixth responsory at Matins for the Nativity of St John the Baptist.

70. *Ave vulnus lateris* (Erley/Errell)

The Jesus antiphon *Ave vulnus lateris* was a standard constituent of English books of hours, in which it was often introduced by such words as the following, ‘Innocentius papa secundus concessit cuilibet *hanc* orationem sequentem devote dicenti, quattuorginta annorum indulgentiarum’ (‘Pope Innocent II granted forty years of indulgence to anybody devoutly reciting the following prayer’), and usually followed by *Paternoster*, *Ave Maria* and the Apostles’ Creed.⁶⁸ Perhaps it is fanciful to relate the choice of text to Erle’s repeated reference to Jesus in his will some forty years later.⁶⁹ His freely-composed setting is fluent and remarkably enterprising, if rather erratic in pace and style and sometimes a little rough in technique. The imitative writing is surprisingly thorough and adventurous: almost every phrase of text is given its own imitated point, and Erley seems to have experimented with entries at various intervals, and a few points—for example ‘esto nunc doloris’ in bars 18–21 and ‘fiat mens jocunda’ in bars 88–92—are given repeated statements complete with text-repetition. Texturally, however, the work is not particularly forward-looking; the contratenor and tenor appear to have had the same range, and the scoring is still conceived in extended blocks. Melodically there is an obvious and rather uncomfortable tension between the old florid style and a more succinct one. The busy rhythmic patterning and melodic sequences of the verse sections are reminiscent not so much of Eton-style vocal decoration as of some of the figuration in the chansons of the 1530s and 40s in the collection that Erle owned in 1551. Editorial completion poses no especial problems, although fact that two voices are missing makes the original scoring harder to reconstruct, and the task of interpreting the Peterhouse copyist’s accidentals is not always straightforward. The high A in the editorial treble in bars 100–101 and bar 111 may be justified by analogy with a genuine high A in the treble in the ‘Amen’ section of Tallis’s *Ave rosa sine spinis*.

71. *Totius mundi domina* (Martyn)

It is frustrating not yet to have completed the restoration of this astonishing piece, but the fact that so much of it can be restored with virtual certainty makes me reluctant to finish the task by guesswork, lest by doing so I obscure the correct solution. Every verse that I have managed to restore has turned out to be a canon two-in-one or three-in-one, the intervals of the canons and the distances of the entries changing from one verse to another. The two verses for which only the mean survives (bars 144–171 and 215–243) may well have had canons between the missing treble and tenor, but I so far have been unable to invent canons that will combine with the mean. I am not sure what happened in the full sections, whose surviving voices are strongly imitative but not canonic; I cannot see that either of the missing voices was canonic, and I wonder whether Martyn may have had a long-note *cantus firmus* in the tenor with the other four voices weaving an independently imitative texture around it. Table 26 sets out what I have so far discovered about the setting. The existence of such a work necessitates revision of the idea that early Tudor composers were not interested or skilled in canonic writing.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Quoted from *This Prymer of Salisbury use ...* (Rouen, Nicolas le Roux for Jacques Cousin, 1537), f. cxxxviii^r. See *Horae*, pp. 47 and 152.

⁶⁹ The will is printed in my revised edition, AE, vol. RCM112 (Newton Abbot, 2008), p. xv.

⁷⁰ See, for example, *BenhamL*, p. 149: ‘Strict canon, neglected by English composers after Nesbett and Horwood ...’.

bars	suggested scoring	comments
1–21	CTB	TC canon at the second at six (original) semibreves
22–43	TrMB	MBTr canon at the unison and fifth at four and twelve semibreves
43–80	full	
80–97	TrMT	TMTr canon at the fourth and seventh at two and four semibreves
97–109	MCB	BM canon at the seventh at three semibreves
109–122	full	
123–143	MCB	BCM canon at the fifth and second at eight and sixteen semibreves
144–171	TrMT?	TrT canon?
171–190	CB?	BC canon at the sixth at five semibreves
190–215	full	
215–241	TrMT	TrT canon?
241–269	MCB (+TrT?)	entry of point in T in 244
267–288	MCTB (+Tr?)	T(or Tr)CB canon at the unison and fourth at six and twelve semibreves; a fourth loosely canonic part can enter after eighteen semibreves
288–313	full	


Table 26: conjectural outline of Martyn's *Totius mundi domina*

72. Mass *Libera nos* (Knyght)

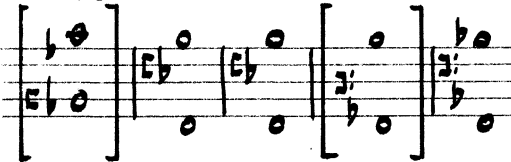
This is another composition that I have yet to restore completely. Knyght's treatment of the *cantus firmus* presents unexpected difficulties. He states it in an unornamented and monorhythmic form in bars 68–86 of the Sanctus, and this at least makes it possible to reconstruct the version of the chant that he used (it is exactly the same as that of 1520; see the Musical Appendix); in these bars of the Sanctus the chant must have been in the treble, because if it had been in the tenor fourths would have been created between the two lowest voices in bars 74 and 82. In bars 124–136 of this movement the chant is stated in a nearly monorhythmic form, and again it has to be in the treble to avoid fourths between tenor and bass; this statement is divided into four phrases following the syntax of the plainsong text. The end of another monorhythmic statement can be detected in bars 127–134 of the Gloria, and this too can only have been in the treble. It is, in fact, possible that the structural statements of the *cantus firmus* were largely or entirely confined to the treble, although there seems to have been some imitative treatment of the chant from time to time, for instance in the head-motive of each movement. The chant cannot always have been unadorned and monorhythmic; the fact that all of the examples quoted above are, simply indicates that this kind of manipulation is the most easy to detect. What makes the *cantus firmus* so difficult to trace elsewhere is that Knyght seems to have given it an unusually varied treatment; for much of the time it must have been decorated, and in some places (such as 'dona nobis pacem') he may have broken it up into phrases used as imitative points, a technique more characteristic of continental composers (although Jones did the same thing at 'dona nobis pacem' in his Mass *Spes nostra*). It looks as though there may have been two full statements in each movement, one in *tempus perfectum* and one in *tempus imperfectum*. I have supplied the *cantus firmus* where I am sure of what happened, and have also sketched a restoration of the head motive and bars 63–82 of the Credo and the final bars of the Agnus.

Knyght gave his mean and contratenor the same clef and range a fifth above the bass; from this and from the tessitura of the *cantus firmus* when placed in the treble I deduce that the treble was actually intended to be sung by means and that the tenor lay in the baritone range about a third above the bass. This would reproduce the scoring of Tye's Mass *Sine nomine*; the clefs and ranges of the voices in these two compositions are offered for comparison in Table 27 (conjectures are placed within [square brackets]).

Tye



Knyght



The image displays two musical staves side-by-side. The left staff is labeled 'Tye' and the right staff is labeled 'Knyght'. Both staves show a sequence of notes and rests on a five-line staff. The notation includes various clefs (soprano, alto, tenor, bass) and key signatures (one flat). The notes are mostly quarter and half notes. The Tye staff has a more complex rhythmic structure with some notes beamed together. The Knyght staff has a simpler, more regular rhythmic structure. Both staves end with a double bar line.

Table 27: clefs and ranges in Tye's *Mass Sine nomine* and Knyght's *Mass Libera nos*

VI: LATIN TEXTS AND ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

VI—1: INTRODUCTION

The texts of the majority of compositions in *Ph* are either liturgical (the Mass and Office items) or devotional (the votive antiphons). One or two are perhaps best described as being of uncertain function. Very few of them are exclusively scriptural, though some quote passages of Scripture or allude to them.

Mass Ordinary texts

The English composers in *Ph* set the usual four items from the Ordinary of the Mass: the Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus; the foreign composer Lupus sets the Kyrie as well. Several of the Masses omit phrases from the Credo text, presumably in order to prevent this movement from becoming too long when set in the customary melismatic style; the practice probably derived from the earlier habit of telescoping the texts of the Gloria and Credo, but the dearth of English Masses from the late fifteenth century makes it impossible to be sure.¹ If the Credo text is divided into nineteen numbered sections the portions set by the composers in *Ph* can be shown as in Table 28. The tendency of individual composers to be fairly consistent will be noticed, as will the existence of a couple of groupings: a ‘modern’ trio of Taverner (*Meane Mass*), Tye and Tallis, and a pairing of Jones and Knyght. The only composers consistently to set the entire text are Rasar and Ludford; whether this was a personal or institutional decision is unknown. The intonation, of course, is never set.

1. Credo in unum deum.
2. Patrem omnipotentem factorem caeli et terrae visibilium omnium et invisibilium.
3. Et in unum dominum Jesum Christum filium dei unigenitum.
4. Et ex patre natum ante omnia saecula.
5. Deum de deo. Lumen de lumine. Deum verum de deo vero.
6. Genitum non factum consubstantialem patri: per quem omnia facta sunt.
7. Qui propter nos homines et propter nostram salutem descendit de caelis.
8. Et incarnatus est de spiritu sancto ex Maria virgine: et homo factus est.
9. Crucifixus etiam pro nobis: sub Pontio Pilato passus et sepultus est.
10. Et resurrexit tertia die secundum scripturas.
11. Et ascendit in caelum: sedet ad dexteram patris.
12. Et iterum venturus est cum gloria judicare vivos et mortuos: cujus regni non erit finis.
13. Et in spiritum sanctum dominum et vivificantem: qui ex patre filioque procedit.
14. Qui cum patre et filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur: qui locutus est per prophetas.
15. Et unam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam.
16. Confiteor unum baptisma in remissionem peccatorum.
17. Et exspecto resurrectionem mortuorum.
18. Et vitam venturi saeculi.
19. Amen.

¹ See *BenhamL*, pp. 12–13. See also G. R. K. Curtis, *The English Masses of Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, ms 5557*, Ph.D. dissertation, (University of Manchester, 1979). The consternation that these omissions have sometimes caused is surprising in view of the fact that the complete Credo text was always said at the altar by the celebrant and his assistants, so that the requirements of the liturgy were satisfied.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	
Rasar <i>Christe Jesu</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Ludford <i>Christi virgo</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Ludford <i>Inclinacor meum</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Ludford <i>Regnum mundi</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Lupus <i>Surrexit pastor</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Pygott <i>Veni sancte spiritus</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X					X	X	X	X	X	
Fayrfax <i>Albanus</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X							X	X	X
Taverner <i>Mater Christi</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X							X	X	X
Taverner <i>Small devotion</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X							X	X	X
Aston <i>Te deum</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X								X	X
Anonymous <i>Sine nomine</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X								X	X
Fayrfax <i>O quam glorifica</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X								X	X
Fayrfax <i>O bone Jesu</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X									X
Fayrfax <i>Tecum principium</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X									X
Jones <i>Spes nostra</i>	X	X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X								X
Knyght <i>Libera nos</i>	X	X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X								X
Taverner <i>Meane Mass</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X							X	X	X
Tallis <i>Salve intemerata</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X							X	X	X
Tye <i>Sine nomine</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X							X	X	X

Table 28: omissions in the Credo settings in *Ph*

Other liturgical items

The other liturgical item well represented in *Ph* is the Magnificat, the New Testament canticle sung at the evening service of Vespers. All of the seven settings observe to a greater or lesser extent the musical conventions affecting polyphonic composition of the text that had grown up over at least a century: *alternatim* performance, the odd-numbered verses being sung in plainchant (or perhaps performed in an organ arrangement of the chant) and the even-numbered verses being sung in polyphony; a tripartite mensural design, the first pair of polyphonic verses being in triple metre, the second pair in duple and the third in triple again; composition upon a *cantus firmus*, usually the faburden of the Magnificat tone in the mode congruent with that of the antiphon sung with the canticle on a particular day; various details of scoring and musical gesture and material.²

² See P. Doe, *Early Tudor Magnificats*, EECM, vol. 4 (London, 1962), Introduction. His and my generalisations gloss over some troublesome detail, especially concerning discrepancies between the modes of surviving Magnificat settings and the modes of Magnificat antiphons on days when one would expect a polyphonic setting to have been sung. As far as I know, Dr Paul Fugler's important paper 'Conflicting evidence of faburden and antiphon modes in the early Tudor Magnificat?', read at the eighth annual Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Music at Westfield College, London on 1 August 1980, has never been published.

Ph contains at least two other ritual items: John Mason's *O rex gloriose* (no. 3) and the anonymous [*Vidi aquam*] *egredientem de templo* (no. 33). *O rex gloriose* was sung as the antiphon to the canticle *Nunc dimittis* at Compline during the eleven-day period from Passion Sunday to Wednesday in Holy Week,³ and also sung without its verses as the antiphon to the *Nunc dimittis* on the feast of the Name of Jesus.⁴ Mason's setting includes the verses, so it was evidently intended for the former function. The text also appears as a private devotion in books of hours,⁵ but Mason's incorporation of the plainchant melody as a literal monorhythmic *cantus firmus* in the antiphon and as a paraphrased *cantus firmus* in the verses may imply ritual usage. *Vidi aquam* was sung at the aspersion before Mass from Easter to Trinity and can hardly have had any other function than its ritual one.⁶ One other composition, *Exultet in hac die* (no. 24), deserves mention in this context, not least to counterbalance the assumption that literal and monorhythmic *cantus firmus* quotation always implies a ritual function. This anonymous setting of an antiphon to St Augustine of Canterbury, sung as the antiphon to the Magnificat at First Vespers of St Augustine in some Benedictine Uses such as that of Worcester,⁷ employs its own chant melody as a monorhythmic *cantus firmus*, but I know of no other example of a Magnificat antiphon being sung in polyphony in its liturgical environment, so I would suspect this setting to have been intended for a votive context. This would surely have been its function in the New Foundation cathedral at Canterbury, which observed the Use of Salisbury, in which St Augustine is served from the Common of a Confessor.⁸

The votive antiphons

Textually the forty-one votive antiphons in *Ph* form a very heterogeneous group. Thirty-two of them are addressed to Mary; eight are addressed to Jesus (one of these is an antiphon of the Name of Jesus and another is from a cycle of antiphons of the Five Wounds); and the other is addressed to John the Baptist, a saint with impeccable scriptural credentials.⁹ One text (*Ave dei patris filia*) is set thrice, four (*Ave Maria ancilla trinitatis*, *Gaude virgo mater Christi*, *Salve regina* and *Sancte deus*) are set twice and the other twenty-nine are set once each (there are two copies of Tallis's *Salve intemerata*). Only two of these texts are liturgical in origin: *Ave Maria* (a devotion to be said in quire before the services of the Divine Office¹⁰) and *Sub tuam protectionem* (an antiphon at First Vespers of the Conception¹¹ and the Nativity¹² of the Virgin). *Sancta Maria mater dei* begins like a litany but quickly changes its character. *Salve regina* was apparently the only one of the four ancient Mary-antiphons that was still set polyphonically in England;¹³ settings of *Alma redemptoris mater*,¹⁴ *Ave regina caelorum*¹⁵ and *Regina caeli laetare*¹⁶ are extremely rare after the middle of the fifteenth century, perhaps because at least in the élite choral foundations of the day these texts were considered hackneyed.

Salve regina and about half of the other votive antiphon texts set by the composers in *Ph* can be found in manuscript and printed books of hours of the later fifteenth and earlier sixteenth centuries, which is presumably where the composers themselves, or the officials who gave them their instructions, found them. Many of these texts were the staple fare of the public and private

³ 1519, *Temporale*, f. clxxix^v.

⁴ 1520, *Sanctorale*, f. lxxv^r.

⁵ *Horae*, p. 112 (no. 7, 1494).

⁶ 1528, *Temporale*, f. cx^r.

⁷ *WA*, f. 223^r

⁸ 1519, *Sanctorale*, f. lxxv.

⁹ The cathedral had two altars dedicated to him and for centuries possessed one of his numerous heads. See N. Sandon, 'Fragments of medieval polyphony at Canterbury Cathedral', *MD*, vol. 30 (1976), p. 42.

¹⁰ 1519, *Temporale*, ff. ij r. and iiij r.

¹¹ 1519, *Sanctorale*, f. xvi r.

¹² 1520, *Sanctorale*, f. cv r.

¹³ See *MMB*, pp. 81–2.

¹⁴ Sturton's *Gaude virgo mater Christi* in the Eton choirbook uses *Alma redemptoris* as its *cantus firmus*.

¹⁵ There is an early-sixteenth-century setting of this text in Cambridge, University Library, MS Nn.6.46, by a composer whose name is concealed in a cryptic sentence in the manuscript. R. Dart's ascription of it to John Lloyd (see *MMB*, pp. 267–8) is not secure, having arisen from his misreading of this statement of authorship.

¹⁶ The latest setting known to me is Richard Mower's in Lbl, Add. MS 5665.

devotional repertory and occur in one manuscript or printed book of hours after another: this is the case with *Ave Maria*, *Ave dei patris*, *Stabat mater*, *Salve regina*, *Trium regum*, *Gaude virgo* and *O rex gloriose* (but, as argued above, Mason's setting of this last text was probably not intended to be sung in a votive context). Other texts are found much less frequently: these include *Sancte deus*, *Ave fuit prima salus*, *Salve intemerata*, *O Willelme pastor bone* (the original text of *O Christe Jesu*¹⁷), *Sancta Maria*, *Ave cujus conceptio*, *Ave Maria ancilla trinitatis*, *Ave rosa sine spinis* and *Ave vulnus lateris*. The only instances in which the first appearance of an antiphon text in a printed book might possibly give a clue as to the date of a particular setting are *Salve intemerata* and *Sancte deus*, which were first printed in 1527 and 1528 respectively.¹⁸ All of the other texts appeared in print long before the settings in *Ph* are likely to have been composed. I have not found *Sub tuam protectionem* in any printed book of hours, but it does occur as a late-fifteenth-century addition to a mid-fifteenth-century manuscript book.¹⁹ Table 29 lists all of the antiphon texts in *Ph* which were included in printed hours of Salisbury or York Use, and gives the date of the earliest known edition in each case; the editions are identified by the numbers given to them by Hoskins,²⁰ on whose work the list is based. I have not been able to check personally every printed edition listed by Hoskins, or to make a thorough search of manuscript books of hours, and it is possible that some of these texts were more common and in circulation earlier than this incomplete survey suggests.

Hoskins 7(1494):	<i>Ave Maria</i> , <i>Gaude virgo</i> , <i>O rex gloriose</i> , <i>Salve regina</i> , <i>Trium regum</i>
Hoskins 15(1497):	<i>Ave cujus conceptio</i>
Hoskins 23(1501):	<i>Stabat mater</i>
Hoskins 25(1502):	<i>Ave vulnus lateris</i> , <i>Sancta Maria mater dei</i>
Hoskins 37(1510):	<i>Ave Maria ancilla trinitatis</i> , <i>Ave rosa sine spinis</i> , <i>O Willelme</i>
Hoskins 42(1513):	<i>Ave dei patris</i> , <i>Ave fuit prima salus</i>
Hoskins 79(1527):	<i>Salve intemerata</i>
Hoskins 83(1528):	<i>Sancte deus</i>

Table 29: votive antiphon texts in printed books of hours

About twenty of the votive antiphon texts in *Ph* are not known to have been set by other composers; these include *Ave Maria gratia plena*, *O Maria deo grata*, *Maria plena virtute*, *Trium regum*, *Mariae virginis*, *Euge dicta*, *Ave Maria divae matris*, *Vae nobis miseris*, *Quales sumus*, *Salve intemerata*, *O Christe Jesu*, *Gaude plurimum*, *Aeternae laudis lilium*, *Lauda vivi*, *Ave gratia plena*, *Fac nobis secundum*, *Ave rosa sine spinis*, *O baptista vates Christi*, *Ave vulnus lateris* and *Totius mundi domina*. Some of them, particularly the ones found in devotional books and a few of the shorter and simpler of the other verse texts (such as *Mariae virginis*) may well have been common property, other settings of which have not survived. There are, however, several texts which for various reasons give the impression of having been 'one-off' efforts, written specially for the setting that survives in *Ph*, either by an institutional colleague of the composer or even by the composer himself. *Vae nobis miseris* and *Totius mundi domina*, for example, are enormous and (as far as I can judge) quite polished prose texts whose levels of thought and means of expression are distinctly higher than those of the average votive antiphon; the literary style of *Totius mundi* does, in fact, seem to set out to match the compositional virtuosity that Martyn exhibits in setting it. Some of the otherwise unknown verse texts are a great deal more ambitious in their structure and style than most of the more common texts such as *Gaude virgo mater Christi* (with its jog-trotting sequence metre) and *Ave dei patris filia* and *Ave Maria ancilla trinitatis* (with their well-worn array of superlatives). For example, *Maria plena virtute* uses an irregular stanza form with many very short lines; *Euge dicta* is written in a mixture of dactylic and iambic tetrameters; *Terrenum sitiens* is cast in irregular pentameters; and *Quales sumus* is perhaps best

¹⁷ See *MMB*, p. 341 and *EECM*, vol. 25, pp. xij, 181 and 188.

¹⁸ *BenhamL*, p. 177.

¹⁹ *Cul*, MS Dd. b. 1, f.144^v.

²⁰ E. Hoskins, *Horae beatæ Mariæ virginis or Sarum and York primers with kindred books and primers of the reformed Roman use ...* (London, 1901), hereafter referred to as *Horae*.

described as rhyming prose that fits into six-line stanzas. A few verse texts change to a different meter and/or stanza form for the last few lines, or even break into prose: *Ave dei patris* and *Lauda vivi* (closely related texts) are examples of the former type, and *Mariae virginis*, *Ave Maria ancilla trinitatis* and Aston's setting of *Gaude virgo mater Christi* are examples of the latter. As I remarked in Chapter V, such a division in a text is sometimes the occasion for a striking change of musical style.

At least three of the antiphons in *Ph* probably began life with different texts. Aston's *Gaude virgo mater Christi* also exists with a paraphrase text *Gaude mater matris Christi* in honour of St Anne.²¹ In this case I would assume that the widely dispersed Marian poem was at some stage converted into one honouring Mary's mother; I also suspect that St Anne was the original dedicatee of Aston's composition, and that this was later converted into a more widely useful Marian piece. Taverner's *O Christe Jesu* is now generally accepted to have originated as an antiphon to St William of York beginning *O Willelme pastor bone* and concluding with a prayer for Cardinal Wolsey. Fayrfax's *O Maria deo grata* is a very interesting case; based on the same *cantus firmus* as his *Albanus* Mass (with which, as I demonstrated in Chapter V, it has certain other links), it is entitled 'O Maria deo grata or Albanus' in one source.²² I would infer that the composition was originally votive to St Alban and that its usefulness was later extended by the substitution of a Marian version of the text. Although no surviving source of the music has the textual version honouring St Alban, what is in all probability a copy of it survives on the penultimate of twelve handwritten leaves added at the end of a Salisbury hymnal printed in 1528.²³ Comparison of the two texts (see Section VI—2) shows clearly that one is based on the other; the literary evidence (for example the epithet 'spes anglorum' clumsily applied to Mary) suggests that the St Alban version was the original one, despite the omission of the final stanza from this particular copy. If Fayrfax did originally set *O Albane deo grata*, he must have set the same number of stanzas as there are in *O Maria deo grata*; if the missing final stanza had 'Quaeso vitae vanae' and 'O sancte Albane' as its third and sixth lines it would have kept the rhyme scheme consistent, which the Marian version fails to do.

At least five of the antiphon texts (*Ave dei patris*, *Ave fuit prima salus*, *Ave Maria divae matris*, *Ave Maria ancilla trinitatis* and *Ave rosa sine spinis*) are tropes of the *Ave Maria*, and *Ave gratia plena Maria* also quotes from this prototypical Marian text. The methods of troping vary greatly. The most primitive technique is to be found in *Ave dei patris*, in which the first two words of the angelic salutation become the first and last words of the poem, and are separated by a gigantic insertion in which Mary is apostrophised as the daughter of God, the mother of Christ and the bride of the Holy Spirit. *Ave Maria ancilla trinitatis* and *Ave Maria divae matris* are also meditations on the phrase 'Ave Maria', the former addressing the Virgin in terms similar to those of *Ave dei patris* and the latter recounting the chief events in the childhood of her Son. *Ave fuit prima salus* and *Ave rosa sine spinis* incorporate the complete text of the *Ave Maria*; in *Ave fuit* the individual words of the salutation are used in the right order to begin successive stanzas of the poem, while in *Ave rosa* greater conciseness is achieved by using in this way whole phrases and clauses rather than single words.

Four of the antiphon texts take as their subject the Five Corporal Joys of the Virgin: the Conception, Nativity, Resurrection and Ascension of her Son and her own Assumption. This theme receives the simplest treatment in *Gaude virgo mater Christi* and *Ave cujus conceptio*, both of which are known in other settings.²⁴ It is treated much more elaborately in *Gaude plurimum* and *Totius mundi domina*, neither of which is known to have been set by other composers. *Gaude plurimum* can perhaps be regarded as an elaboration of *Gaude virgo* but *Totius mundi* is a completely independent and highly ambitious creation. The only other thematically related texts are *Stabat mater dolorosa* and *Maria plena virtute*. Although both of these deal with the Crucifixion there are essential differences between them: one was a very popular (and frequently set) poem concentrating in direct language on Mary's role in the event; the other is otherwise unknown (it could perhaps

²¹ Obl, MSS Mus. sch. e. 1–5, no. 12.

²² Obl, Tenbury MS 1464, ff. 17^v and 20^r.

²³ Lbl, C.52.b.21, *Hymnorum cum notis opusculum ad usum Sarfisburyensis* (Christophorus Ruremundum 1528), f. 199.

²⁴ *Gaude virgo* was set by William Horwood and Sturton (perhaps William or Edmund) in the Eton choirbook and by an anonymous composer in the Ritson manuscript; *Ave cujus conceptio* was set by Fayrfax.

have been written specifically to be set by Fayrfax) and meditates on the Passion from several points of view in language which is both vivid and dignified.

Sixteen of the antiphon texts in *Ph* are entirely in prose and a further three have final sections in prose. Leaving aside all doctrinal considerations, I think that it is justifiable to see in the repertory of antiphon texts itself substantial evidence for the change in literary taste that was to encourage settings of scriptural and non-scriptural Latin prose texts under the later Tudor monarchs. When we also remember the existence of the Jesus-antiphon and consider as well that a sizeable number of the Mary-antiphons in *Ph* are based on material which is either wholly scriptural (the *Salutatio Angelica*) or largely so (the Five Corporal Joys²⁵) we may begin to wonder whether there really was any inherent reason why the votive antiphon could not have accommodated itself to changing doctrinal attitudes. It is arguable that we have defined the votive antiphon too narrowly and failed to appreciate how extensive and heterogeneous the repertory of such texts actually was. This may have contributed to the assumption that because the traditional antiphon ‘must have’ been swept away by religious developments in the 1530s, certain kinds of Latin-texted composition that appeared a little later ‘must have’ represented something new devised to fill the resulting gap. It may also have contributed to a confusion in terminology. Thus, for example, Paul Doe²⁶ describes Ludford’s *Domine Jesu Christe* (a prose prayer to Christ) as ‘one of the latest of the votive antiphons in the Peterhouse books’ while Hugh Benham²⁷ cites Tye’s *Domine deus caelestis* and Wood’s *Exsurge domine* (prose prayers to God) as examples of ‘non-liturgical, non-scriptural motets’ which may have replaced votive antiphons! I think that it would probably be more realistic to regard this kind of piece not as a new category suddenly appearing in the 1540s or 1550s but as a survival and development of one of the votive-antiphon types of the 1530s; alternatively we could begin to call such pieces as *Domine Jesu Christe* and *Vae nobis miseris* by a different name.

Texts with an uncertain function

Ph contains settings of only two—perhaps three—of these, but they are of considerable interest. The first is *Terrenum sitiens regnum*, ascribed to ‘Edwarde’, probably Edward Hedley, a clerk at Magdalen College, Oxford during the 1530s. The text consists of three verses which describe King Herod’s murderous assault upon the Holy Innocents and assert its inevitable failure; each verse is followed by a refrain calling down divine vengeance upon the impious tyrant. The words of the refrain, ‘Vindica domine sanguinem sanctorum tuorum qui effusus est in circuitu Jerusalem’, quote the verse and the beginning of the respond (omitting the closing words ‘et non erat qui sepeliret’) of the responsory *Effuderunt sanguinem sanctorum* sung in the Use of Salisbury after the fourth lesson at Matins of the Holy Innocents.²⁸ Although the composition draws upon a liturgical text and shares with the liturgical responsory the feature of having a refrain, most of its text is not liturgical and it does not have the curtailed repetition structure of a standard responsory; formally it is more like a carol. What could have been the function of such a piece? A votive performance on the feast of the Holy Innocents (28 December) is not inconceivable, and perhaps the presence at Magdalen College of a sizeable number of boys as choristers and pupils in the school may have encouraged such an observance; the cathedral of the New Foundation at Canterbury also had boy choristers and a grammar school, and this might have prompted the inclusion of the piece in *Ph*. Another reading of the text would see the futile shedding of innocent blood by a sanguinary tyrant as a comment on the contemporary religious climate, in which anybody who persistently deviated from the king’s current policy on religion did so at their mortal peril. But perhaps this is an anachronistic interpretation: could a protest of this kind really have been conceived in the religious circumstances of the 1530s?

The question is relevant to a discussion of the second *Ph* composition which does not fit neatly into a familiar functional slot, the setting of *Aspice domine* ascribed to ‘Lupus Italus’ but

²⁵ The Assumption has no directly scriptural authority, but I know of no evidence that the doctrine (which was not made dogma by the Roman church until 1950) was ever officially rejected in Henry’s reign.

²⁶ *DoeL*, p. 83.

²⁷ *BenhamL*, p. 163.

²⁸ *Brev. Sar.*, vol. 1, col. ccxxxvi.

actually by Jacquet of Mantua. Its text is ‘Aspice domine quia facta est desolata civitas plena divitiis: sedet in tristitia domina gentium: non est qui consoletur eam nisi tu deus noster’. This does not quote Scripture literally but draws on the first two verses of Lamentations 1.²⁹ Leaving aside the usage and significance of this composition, which circulated widely in its continental homeland, how could it have been used in England? In the Use of Salisbury the text was sung as the third responsory at Matins on the Sunday after the fifth kalends of November,³⁰ but this was not an occasion on which polyphony was usually sung, no setting of or cue to the verse is provided, and the *Ph* copy makes no provision for the repetition structure that responsorial performance would entail. It seems difficult to escape the conclusion that some kind of extra-liturgical performance was envisaged, in a context which made the desolate and forlorn imagery of the text apt, but which we cannot at present reconstruct.

To these two I tentatively add Taverner’s *Mater Christi*, on account of its unusual if not unique references to communion (‘O Jesu, vitalis cibus te pure manducantibus: salutari potu et cibo pavisti nostra corpora ...’). Could this be an early (in English terms) example of what, if it were by a continental composer, we would have no qualms about calling a communion motet?

VI—2: TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

I claim no literary merit for the following translations, which are intended merely to reproduce the literal meaning of the Latin with as little distortion as I can manage. I have translated the Latin second person singular as “thou” with the appropriate English verb form, even though the results are rather stilted. The Latin is here punctuated more sparingly than it is in the musical editions, because there it seemed sensible to give singers as much guidance as possible about the syntax and meaning of the texts. The spelling has been standardised and reference has been made to a standard dictionary of classical Latin and to a dictionary of medieval Latin.³¹

1. *Sancte deus* (Taverner)

Sancte Deus: sancte fortis: sancte et
immortalis: miserere nobis. Nunc Christe te
petimus: miserere quaesumus qui venisti
redimere perditos. Noli damnare redemptos
quia per crucem tuam redemisti mundum.
Amen.

O holy God, holy and mighty, holy and immortal,
have mercy upon us. Now, O Christ, we beseech
thee; we beg thee to have mercy, who camest to
save the forsaken. Do not condemn the redeemed,
for by thy Cross thou didst redeem the world.
Amen.

2. *Ave Maria* (Taverner)

Ave Maria: ave gratia plena: dominus tecum:
benedicta tu in mulieribus: et benedictus
fructus ventris tui Jesus.

Hail, Mary; hail, thou filled with grace; the Lord is
with thee. Blessed art thou among women, and
blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus.

²⁹ ‘Quomodo sedit sola civitas plena populo facta est quasi vidua domina gentium princeps provinciarum facta est sub tributo. Plorans ploravit in nocte et lacrimae eius in maxillis eius non est qui consoletur eam ex omnibus caris eius omnes amici eius spreverunt eam et facti sunt ei inimici.’ (Vulgate).

³⁰ *Brev. Sar.*, vol. 1, col. mcccclxxvii.

³¹ C. T. Lewis, *An elementary Latin dictionary* (Oxford, 1966 edition); R. E. Latham, *Revised medieval Latin word-list from British and Irish sources* (London, 1965). In my revised musical editions I have printed the Latin in early-sixteenth-century spelling in the hope that this will encourage singers to pronounce it as the composers would have expected.

3. *O rex gloriose (Mason)*

O rex gloriose inter sanctos tuos qui semper
es laudabilis et tamen ineffabilis: tu in nobis es
domine et nomen sanctum tuum invocatum
est super nos ne derelinquas nos deus noster
ut in die iudicii nos collocare digneris inter
sanctos et electos tuos rex benedicte.

Nunc dimittis servum tuum domine:
secundum verbum tuum in pace.

Quia viderunt oculi mei: salutare tuum.

Quod parasti ante faciem: omnium
populorum.

Lumen ad revelationem gentium: et gloriam
plebis tuae Israel.

Gloria patri et filio: et spiritui sancto.

Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper: et in
saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Rex benedicte tuos per prospera dirige servos
inter sanctos et electos tuos rex benedicte ut
tergant miseras pia per jejunia culpa rex
benedicte atque colant pure sollemnia mystica
paschae inter sanctos et electos tuos rex
benedicte.

O King, glorious among thy saints, who art ever
praiseworthy and also inexpressible: thou art in us,
O Lord, and thy holy name has been called down
upon us lest thou, our God, abandon us, so that on
the day of judgement thou shalt deign to set us
among thy saints and chosen ones, O blessed King.

O Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in
peace: according to thy word.

For mine eyes have seen: thy salvation.

Which thou hast prepared: before the face of all
people.

To be a light to lighten the gentiles: and to be the
glory of thy people Israel.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son: and to the
Holy Ghost.

As it was in the beginning, is now and ever shall
be: world without end. Amen.³²

O blessed King, guide thy servants through
prosperous ways to stand among thy saints and
chosen ones, O blessed King; that they may cast
off all contemptible sins by holy fasting, O blessed
King; and may virtuously revere the solemn
mystery of Easter among thy saints and chosen
ones, O blessed King.

³² Translation of the *Nunc dimittis* from J. W. Legg (ed.), *The Clerk's Book of 1549* (London, 1903), p. 25, with modernised spelling.

4. *Ave dei patris* (Taverner)

Ave dei patris filia nobilissima	Hail, most noble daughter of God the Father,
Dei fili mater dignissima	Most worthy mother of God the Son,
Dei spiritus sponsa venustissima	Most comely bride of God the Spirit,
Dei unius et trini ancilla subjectissima.	Most humble handmaid of the one and threefold God.
Ave summae aeternitatis filia clementissima	Hail, most merciful daughter of the most high Eternity,
Summae veritatis mater piissima	Most dutiful mother of the most high Truth,
Summae bonitatis sponsa benignissima	Most bounteous bride of the most high Goodness,
Summae trinitatis ancilla mitissima.	Most mild handmaid of the most high Trinity.
Ave aeternae caritatis filia desideratissima	Hail, most desired daughter of eternal Love,
Aeternae sapientiae mater gratissima	Most graceful mother of eternal Wisdom,
Aeternae spirationis sponsa sacratissima	Most holy bride of the eternal Spirit,
Coaeternae majestatis ancilla sincerissima.	Most pure handmaid of the coeternal Majesty.
Ave Jesu tui filii dulcis filia	Hail, sweet daughter of Jesus, thy Son,
Christi dei tui mater alma	Kind mother of Christ, thy God,
Sponsi sponsa sine ulla macula	Bride of the Bridegroom, without any stain,
Deitatis ancilla sessioni proxima.	Handmaid closest to the seat of the godhead.
Ave domini filia singulariter generosa	Hail, uniquely noble daughter of the Lord,
Domini mater singulariter gloriosa	Uniquely glorious mother of the Lord,
Domini sponsa singulariter speciosa	Uniquely beautiful bride of the Lord,
Domini ancilla singulariter obsequiosa.	Uniquely obedient handmaid of the Lord.
Ave plena gratia poli regina	Hail, queen of heaven, full of grace,
Misericordiae mater meritis praeclara	Mother of mercy, famous for merits,
Mundi domina a patriachis praesignata	Lady of the world, foreshadowed by the patriarchs,
Imperatrix inferni a prophetis praeconizata.	Empress of hell, foretold by the prophets.
Ave virgo feta	Hail, fruitful virgin,
Ut sol praelecta	Excellent as the sun,
Mater intacta	Virginal mother,
Sicut luna perpulchra	Comely as the moon.
Salve parens inclita	Hail, illustrious parent,
Enixa puerpera	Excelling in childbirth,
Stella maris praefulgida	Shining star of the sea,
Felix caeli porta.	Fortunate gateway to heaven.
Esto nobis via recta	Be to us a straight road
Ad aeterna gaudia	To eternal joys,
Ubi pax est et gloria	Where peace is, and glory,
O gloriosissima	O most glorious,
Semper virgo Maria.	Ever virgin Mary.
Amen.	Amen.

5. *Stabat mater* (Hunt)

<p>Stabat mater dolorosa Juxta crucem lacrimosa Dum pendebat filius Cujus animam gementem Contristantem et dolentem Pertransivit gladius.</p> <p>O quam tristis et afflicta Fuit illa benedicta Mater unigeniti Quae maerebat et dolebat Dum videbat et gerebat Poenas nati incliti.</p> <p>Quis est homo qui non fleret Matrem Christi si videret In tanto supplicio? Quis non potest contristari Matrem Christi contemplari Dolentem cum filio?</p> <p>Eia mater fons amoris Me sentire vim doloris Fac ut tecum lugeam: Fac ut ardeat cor meum In amando Christum deum Ut illi complaceam.</p> <p>Stabat mater rubens rosa Juxta crucem lacrimosa Videns ferre criminosa Nullo reum crimine Et dum stetit generosa Juxta natum dolorosa Plebs tunc clamat clamorosa Crucifige crucifige.</p> <p>O quam gravis illa poena Tibi virgo poenae plena Commemorans praemoena Jam versa in maestitiam. Color rosae non est inventus In te mater dum detentus Stabat natus sic contentus Ad debellandum Sathanam.</p> <p>Per haec nata praeamata Natum tuum qui peccata Dele cuncta perpetrata Deprecare dulciflue Ut nostra tergens ingrata In nobis plantet firme grata Per quem dando praelibata Praestet aeterna requie.</p> <p>Amen.</p>	<p>A grieving mother stood in tears by the Cross while her Son hung there; a sword pierced her weeping soul, afflicted and lamenting.</p> <p>Oh, how sad and wretched was that blessed mother of the Only-begotten, she who lamented and deplored while she saw and experienced the sufferings of the illustrious Son.</p> <p>Who is the man who would not weep if he saw the mother of Christ in such great torment? Who could not be saddened to witness the mother of Christ grieving with her Son?</p> <p>O mother, fount of love, make me feel the force of sorrow that I may weep with thee; make my heart burn in loving Christ, the God, that I may please him.</p> <p>Blushing red, the mother stood by the Cross, seeing it shamefully bear one guilty of no crime; and while the noble woman stood in tears by her Son the people cried out aloud, ‘Crucify, crucify’.</p> <p>Oh, how sharp was that pain to thee, O maiden filled with anguish, remembering happiness now turned to tragedy. The colour of the rose was not found in thee, O mother, while the Son stood fixed there, content thus to vanquish Satan.</p> <p>Therefore, O beloved daughter, sweetly beg thy Son that he will cancel all sins committed, so that cleansing us of our sin he may plant grace firmly within us; having thus freed us, may he grant us eternal rest.</p> <p>Amen.</p>
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6. *Salve regina* (Pygott)

Salve regina mater misericordiae vita dulcedo et
 spes nostra salve. Ad te clamamus exsules filii
 Evae. Ad te suspiramus gementes et flentes in
 hac lacrimarum valle. Eia ergo advocata nostra
 illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte et
 Jesum benedictum fructum ventris tui nobis
 post hoc exsilium ostende.

Virgo mater ecclesiae
 Aeterna porta gloriae
 Esto nobis refugium
 Apud patrem et filium.

O clemens:

Virgo clemens virgo pia
 Virgo dulcis O Maria
 Exaudi preces omnium
 Ad te pie clamantium.

O pia:

Funde preces tuo nato
 Crucifixo vulnerato
 Et pro nobis flagellato
 Spinis puncto felle potato.

O dulcis Maria salve.

Hail, O queen, mother of mercy, our life,
 sweetness and hope, hail. Exiled children of
 Eve, we cry to thee: we sigh to thee, wailing and
 weeping in this vale of tears. Therefore, our
 advocate, turn thy merciful eyes towards us, and
 after this exile show us Jesus, the blessed fruit of
 thy womb.

Virgin mother of the church,
 eternal gateway to glory,
 be to us a refuge
 with the Father and Son.

O merciful one:

Merciful virgin, dutiful virgin,
 sweet virgin, O Mary,
 hear the prayers of all
 crying devoutly to thee.

O obedient one:

Pour out prayers to thy Son,
 crucified, wounded
 and beaten for us,
 pierced with thorns, given gall to drink.

O sweet Mary, hail.

7. O Maria deo grata / O Albane deo grate (Fayrfax)

Marian version

O Maria deo grata
Mater Christi praesignata
Mihi tuo famulo
Clemens esto supplicanti
Et succurre deprecanti
Ut sic in hoc saeculo

Christo possim militare
Ne a cultu deviare
Videar justitiae
Isto mundo consummato
Et antiquo debellato
Principe malitiae.

Te Maria mihi duce
Regnum dei plenum luce
Introire valeam
Ubi sanctam trinitatem
Ejusdemque majestatem
Sine fine videam.

O Maria mater bona
Virgo vera et sincera
Me juvare propera
Ut adversa non me laedant
Sed ut prosperis succedant
Mihi semper prospera.

O Maria preces meas
Audi et tu offer eas
Ante regem gloriae
Ut post cursum hujus vitae
Gloriari possim rite
Corona laetitiae.

O Maria mater dei
Miserere precor mei
Peccatoris miseri
Roga fontem pietatis
Ut me solvat a peccatis
Et a poenis inferi.

O Maria spes Anglorum
Nunc cohaeres angelorum
Mihi posce veniam
A delictis quibus premor
Apud Christum mei memor
Ut ejus per gratiam

O Mary, pleasing to God,
preordained mother of Christ,
be merciful to me,
thy supplicant and servant,
and help him who prays to thee,
so that in this world

I may fight for Christ,
lest I be seen to stray
from the worship of righteousness
when this world is consumed
and the ancient prince of malice
is vanquished.

With thee to guide me, Mary,
may I be worthy to enter
the kingdom of God, filled with light,
where may I ever behold
the Holy Trinity
and the majesty of the same.

O Mary, kind mother,
true and honest maiden,
hasten to help me,
so that ill fortune shall not harm me
but good fortune
always befall me.

O Mary, hear my prayers
and bring them
before the King of Glory,
so that after the course of this life
I may deservedly be adorned
with a crown of joy.

O Mary, mother of God,
I implore thee to be merciful to me,
a miserable sinner;
beg the fount of compassion
that he will release me from my sins
and the torments of hell.

O Mary, the hope of the English,
now a co-heir of the angels,
seek absolution for me
from the offences that weigh me down,
and make Christ mindful of me
so that by his grace

Illi digne deservire
 Possim hic et hinc transire
 Ad caelestem patriam
 Ubi tecum gratulari
 Merear et contemplari
 Divinam praesentiam.

O Maria pro me deum
 Ora ne me damnet reum
 In die novissimo
 Sed mundatum a peccatis
 Me colloceat cum beatis
 In regno clarissimo

Ubi cum sanctis congaudes
 Dignas reddens deo laudes.
 Quaeso vitae vanae
 Mundi fac me culpas flere
 Meque tecum congaudere
 O sancta Maria.

I may worthily deserve
 to pass hence thither,
 to the realm of heaven,
 where may I be worthy
 to rejoice with thee
 and to contemplate the divine presence.

O Mary, pray God for me
 lest he condemn me as a criminal
 on the last day;
 rather let him place me,
 washed clean of sins, with the blessed
 in the most famous kingdom

Where thou rejoicest with the saints,
 offering due praises to God.
 I beg thee to make me weep
 for the sins of the transitory life of the world,
 and to make me rejoice with thee,
 O holy Mary.

Version to St Alban

O Albane deo grate
 Coram tua sanctitate
 Mihi tuo servulo
 Clemens esto supplicanti
 [Et succurre deprecanti]
 Ut sic in hoc saeculo

Christo possim militare
 Ne a cultu deviare
 Videar justitiae
 Isto mundo consummato
 Et antiquo debellato
 Principe militiae [sic].

Te rectore teque duce
 Regnum dei plenum luce
 Introire valeam
 Ubi sanctam trinitatem
 Ejusdemque majestatem
 Sine fine videam.

Martyr pie martyr bone
 Pie pater et patrone
 Me juvare propera
 Ut adversa me non laedant
 Sed ut prosperis succedant
 Mihi semper prospera.

Audi preces quaeso meas
 Et clementer offer eas
 Ante regem gloriae
 Pro quo mortem amplexatus
 Nunc refulges laureatus
 Corona victoriae.

O Alban, pleasing to God,
 be merciful to me,
 thy little servant,
 praying before thy holiness,
 and help thy supplicant,
 so that in this world

I may fight for Christ,
 lest I be seen to stray
 from the worship of righteousness
 when this world is consumed
 and the ancient prince of malice
 is vanquished.

Lead me with thee as my guide
 to enter the kingdom of God,
 filled with light,
 where may I ever behold
 the Holy Trinity
 and the majesty of the same.

O obedient martyr, righteous martyr,
 loving father and champion,
 hasten to help me,
 so that ill fortune shall not harm me
 but good fortune
 always befall me.

I beg thee to hear my prayers
 and mercifully bring them
 before the King of Glory,
 for whom thou didst embrace death;
 now thou shinest resplendent,
 crowned with the bays of victory.

Gloriose martyr dei
 Miserere peto mei
 Peccatoris miseri
 Roga fontem pietatis
 Ut me salvet a peccatis
 Et [a] poenis inferi.

[O] martyrum flos Anglorum
 Et cohaeres angelorum
 Mihi posce veniam
 A delictis quibus premor
 Apud Christum mei memor
 Ejus ut per gratiam

Sibi digne deservire
 Possim hinc [*sic*] et hinc transire
 Ad caelestem patriam
 Ubi tecum gratulari
 Merere et contemplari
 Divinam praesentiam.

Ora martyr pro me deum
 Ne me damnet tamquam reum
 In die novissimo
 Sed mundatum a peccatis
 Me collocet cum beatis
 In regno clarissimo

[Ubi cum sanctis congaudes
 Dignas reddens deo laudes.
 Quaeso vitae vanae
 Mundi fac me culpas flere
 Meque tecum congaudere
 O sancte Albane.]

O glorious martyr of God,
 I beg thee to be merciful to me,
 a miserable sinner;
 entreat the fount of compassion
 that he will release me from my sins
 and from the torments of hell.

O flower of English martyrs,
 now a co-heir of the angels,
 seek absolution for me
 from the offences that weigh me down,
 and make Christ mindful of me so
 that by his grace

I may worthily deserve
 to pass hence to the realm of heaven,
 where may I be worthy
 to rejoice with thee
 and to contemplate
 the divine presence.

O martyr, pray God for me,
 lest he condemn me as some criminal
 on the last day;
 but let him place me,
 washed clean of sins, with the blessed
 in the most illustrious kingdom

Where thou rejoicest with the saints,
 offering due praises to God.
 I beg thee to make me weep
 for the sins of the transitory life of the world,
 and to make me rejoice with thee,
 O holy Alban.

8. *Maria plena virtute* (Fayrfax)

Maria plena virtute
 Pietatis gratiae
 Mater misericordiae
 Tu nos ab hoste protege.
 Clementissime Maria vitae
 Per merita compassionis tuae
 Pro nobis preces effunde
 Et de peccatis meis erue.

Sicut tuus filius
 Petiit pro crucifigentibus
 Pater dimitte ignorantibus
 Magna pietate.
 Pendens in latronibus
 Dixit uni ex hominibus
 In paradiso cum patribus
 Mecum eris hodie.

Mary, filled with the strength
 of holy grace,
 mother of mercy,
 protect us from the enemy.
 O most merciful Mary,
 through the merits of thy life of compassion
 pour out prayers on our behalf
 and take away my sins,

Just as thy Son spoke
 with great magnanimity
 on behalf of those crucifying him:
 'Father, forgive the ignorant'.
 Hanging between thieves
 he said to one of the men,
 'Today thou shalt be in paradise
 with me and with thy forefathers.'

Mater dolorosa Plena lacrimosa Videns ruinosa Filium in cruce: Cum voce raucosa Dixit speciosa Mulier clamorosa Filium tuum ecce.	The grieving mother, filled with tears, was watching her Son on the murderous Cross; with a hoarse voice he said the memorable words, 'Grieving woman, behold thy Son.'
Vertens ad discipulum Sic fuit mandatam: Matrem fuisse per spatium Et ipsam consolare. Et sicut decebat filium Servum paratissimum Custodivit praeceptum Omnino servire.	Turning to the disciple, this was the command: to be a mother for a while and console her. And as it behoved a son, a most willing servant, he kept the commandment to serve in every way.
Dixit Jesus dilectionis Sitio salutem generis: Audi orationibus nostris Tuae misericordiae. O Jesu rex amabilis Quid sustulisti pro nobis: Per merita tuae passionis Peto veniam a te.	Of his love Jesus said, 'I thirst for the salvation of mankind'; of thy mercy, hear our prayers. O Jesus, beloved King, what thou didst bear for us! I seek forgiveness from thee by the merits of thy passion.
Jesu dicens clamasti Deus meus quid me dereliquisti: Per acetum quod gustasti Ne derelinquas me. Consummatum dixisti: O Jesu fili dei In hora exitus mei Animam meam suscipe.	Crying out, O Jesus, thou didst say, 'My God, why hast thou forsaken me?' By the vinegar that thou didst taste, do not forsake me. Thou didst say, 'It is finished.' O Jesus, Son of God, in the hour of my decease take up my soul.
Tunc spiritum emisit Et matrem gladius pertransivit. Aqua et sanguis exivit Ex delicato corpore. Post ab Aramatha rogavit Et Jesum sepelivit Et Nicodemus venit Ferens mixturam myrrhae.	Then he gave up the ghost and the sword pierced the mother. Water and blood flowed forth from the tender body. Afterwards the Aramathean asked for and buried Jesus, and Nicodemus came, bearing a mixture of myrrh.
O dolorosa mater Christi Quales poenas tu vidisti. Corde tenus habuisti Fidem totius ecclesiae. Ora pro me regina caeli Filium tuum dicens fili In hora mortis servi tui Peccatis suis indulge. Amen.	O sorrowful mother of Christ, what anguish thou didst witness! Thou hadst filling thy heart the Faith of the whole church. O queen of heaven, pray thy Son for me, saying, 'My Son, in the hour of the death of thy servant, forgive him his sins.' Amen.

9. *Salve regina* (Ludford)

See no. 6.

10. *Trium regum* (Catcott)

Trium regum trinum munus: Christus homo deus unus Unus in essentia.	The threefold tribute of the three kings: the one Christ is man and God, one in essence.
Trina dona tres signantur: Rex in auro deus thure Myrrha mortalitas.	Three things are shown by the three gifts: a king in the gold; a god in the incense; mortality in the myrrh.
Colunt reges propter regem: Summi regis servent legem Coloni coloniae.	The kings pay reverence because of the king; the cultivators of the demesne of the high king observe the law.
Nos in fide sumus rivi: Hi sunt fontes primitivi Gentium primitiae.	We are rivulets in the faith; they are the primeval springs, the first-fruits of the gentiles.
Tu nos in hac Christe valle Duc ad vitam recto calle Per horum suffragia	O Christ, lead us in this vale towards life by a straight path through their intercessory prayers,
Ubi patris ubi nati tui Et amoris sacri frui Mereamur in gloria. Amen.	And there let us deserve to enjoy in glory the company of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Amen.

11. *Ave fuit prima salus* (Mason)

Ave Maria:	Hail, Mary:
Ave fuit prima salus Qua vincitur hostis malus. Remordet culpa noxia: Juva nos. Ave Maria.	Hail was the first salutation whereby the enemy's evil was conquered. loathsome sin torments [us]; help us. Hail, Mary.
Maria dum salutaris Ab angelo sic vocaris: Nomen tuum demonia Reppellit. Ave Maria.	When thou art greeted by the angel thou art called Mary; thy name puts demons to flight. Hail, Mary.
Gratia sancti spiritus Fecundavit tu penitus Gratiarum nunc praemia Da nobis. Ave Maria.	The grace of the Holy Spirit made thee entirely fruitful; give us now the gift of grace. Hail, Mary.
Plena tu es virtutibus Prae cunctis caeli civibus: Virtutes et auxilia Praesta nunc. Ave Maria.	Thou art more filled with strength than all the citizens of heaven; assure [us] now strength and support. Hail, Mary
Dominus ab initio Destinavit te filio: Tu es mater et filia Praefelix. Ave Maria.	From the beginning the Lord destined thee with a Son; thou art a most happy mother and daughter. Hail, Mary.
Tecum laetantur angeli Et exultant archangeli Caeli caelorum curia O dulcis. Ave Maria.	With thee angels rejoice and archangels exult: the courtiers of the heaven of heavens, O sweet one. Hail, Mary.
Benedicta semper eris In terris et in superis Tibi nullus in gloria Compar est. Ave Maria.	Thou wilt ever be blessed on earth and in heaven; none is equal to thee in glory. Hail, Mary.
Tu cum deo coronaris Et veniam servis paris: Fac nobis detur venia Precibus. Ave Maria.	Thou art crowned with God and thou preparest pardon for thy servants; obtain that pardon be granted to us by thy prayers. Hail, Mary.
In gentes movent praelia Mundus caro et demonia: Sed defende nos O pia O clemens. Ave Maria.	Strife, worldly distractions, the flesh and demons assail mankind; but defend us, O dutiful one, O merciful one. Hail, Mary.
Mulieribus omnibus Repleris summi opibus: Reple nos tua gratia Ave Maria. Ave Maria.	Above all other women thou art filled with supreme gifts; fill us with thy grace. Hail, Mary. Hail, Mary.
Et post partum velut prius Virgo manens et filius Descendit sicut pluvia In vellus. Ave Maria.	And after the birth as before remaining a virgin, and the Son came down like dew upon a fleece. Hail, Mary.

Benedictus sit filius Adjutor et propitius: Adjutrix et propitia Sis nobis. Ave Maria.	Blessed be the Son, a ready helper; be [thou] a ready helper to us. Hail, Mary.
Fructus tuus tam amavit Quod in te nos desponsavit Ut parentum obprobria Deleteret. Ave Maria.	Thy offspring loved so much that in thee he espoused us so that he might wipe away the fault of [our] forefathers. Hail, Mary.
Ventris claustrum bajulavit Jesum qui nos sorde lavit: Hunc exores voce pia Pro nobis. Ave Maria.	The cloister of the womb bore Jesus who washed us clean of sin; may thou beseech him with a dutiful voice on our behalf. Hail, Mary.
Tui ventris speculum Clarifica hoc saeculum: Vitiorum flagitia Purga nos. Ave Maria.	May the mirror of thy womb reflect light upon this world; cleanse us of the shameful of sins. Hail, Mary.
Jesus salvator filius Perducat nos superius Ubi regnat in gloria Meritibus. Ave Maria.	May Jesus, the Son, the Saviour, lead us on high where he reigns in glory. through [his] merits. Hail, Mary.
Amen est finis salutis. Vocem aperiens mitis Caeli portas et gaudia Aperi nos. Ave Maria.	Amen is the end of the salutation; opening thy gentle speech, open the gates and delights of heaven to us. Hail, Mary.

12. *Mariae virginis* (Bramston)

Mariae virginis fecunda viscera: Viscera flaminis non carnis opera Carens originis labe puerpera Dei et hominis dans nova foedera.	The fruitful womb of the maiden Mary, a womb animated by a flame and not by flesh, bringing forth without original sin, making a new alliance of God and man.
Ardere cernitur ardenti radio Rubus nec uritur igni incendio: Sic nec corrumpitur suscepto filio Virgo nec labitur in puerperio.	The bush was seen to burn, kindled by a ray, but it was not consumed by the burning of the fire; thus she was not corrupted by conceiving the child, and the virgin did not sin in bringing him forth.
Miratur ratio deo et homine: Suscepto filio de matre virgine. Non fiat quaestio de tanto numine Fides fit ratio virtus pro semine.	The mingling of God and man is wondrous: a son formed of a virgin mother. Let there be no question about so great a power: faith becomes the reason with a miracle as the seed.
O tu stella maris cunctis solamina Donans nos tibi devotos solita Pietate misellos defende nitidos Ducete dans scandere caelos.	O thou star of the sea, bringing comfort to all, defend us wretches, faithful to thee, with thy customary goodness: lead us, made clean, and permit us to scale the heavens.
Amen.	Amen.

13. *Euge dicta* (Norman)

<p>Euge dicta sanctis oraculis Nata visu prophetico: Euge fulgens multis mysteriis Ab ipsius mundi primordio. Tu fons Jacob et Aaron virgula Manna rubus anguis in eremo Petra Jordanis et David cythara Templum vellus in rore madido.</p> <p>Salve nata splendens miraculis Jubare novo illustrans saeculum: Salve casta carens illecebris Virgo feta ignorans masculum. Te plenam gratiae salutat angelus Ave decantans florens ut lilium: Tecum jam habitat omnium dominus Casta concipies et dabis filium.</p> <p>Gaude gaude gaude Maria Dum virgo manens lactasti sobolem Sed magis gaude namque tu pia Simul enixa es deum et hominem. Hinc tibi gaudium hinc gloria Nam castam dominus respexit humilem. Gaude O virgo gaude propterea Ave gaude non habens similem.</p> <p>Euge salve gaude per omnia Radix virgo mater almifice: Euge salve gaude sanctissima Gratiae virginum misericordiae. Salve tibi gaudentes hodie Corde et voce psallentes gloria Laus et honor tibi cum sobole Mundi futura per saecula.</p> <p>Amen.</p>	<p>Praise to thee, foretold by holy oracles, born of prophetic sight; praise to thee, shining in many mysteries from the beginning of the world itself. Thou art the well of Jacob and Aaron's staff, the manna, the bush, the serpent in the desert, the stone of Jordan, the lyre of David, the temple, the fleece moistened by the dew.</p> <p>Hail to thee, born resplendent with miracles, illuminating the world with a new radiance; hail to thee, chaste, uncorrupted, a fruitful maiden innocent of man. The angel greets thee as one full of grace: 'Hail' he says, 'thou who dost flower like a lily; the Lord of all is now with thee; thou shalt chastely conceive and bring forth a son.'</p> <p>Rejoice, rejoice, rejoice, O Mary; while remaining a virgin thou didst suckle a child; but rejoice more greatly because thou, obedient and zealous, gavest birth to God and man. Hence joy and glory are due to thee, for the Lord rewarded thy meek chastity. Rejoice, O maiden; rejoice on account of that 'Hail'; rejoice, O thou having no equal.</p> <p>Praise to thee, hail to thee, rejoice in all things, O thou rootstock, thou maiden, thou loving mother. Praise to thee, hail to thee, rejoice, O most holy of virgins, in grace and mercy. Hail to thee; those rejoicing today, singing with heart and voice, cry, 'Glory, praise and honour be to thee with the Son in the world to come for ever.'</p> <p>Amen.</p>
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14. Ave Maria divae matris (Aston)

Ave Maria divae matris Annae filia unica.	Hail, Mary, only daughter of the blessed mother Anne.
Ave Maria quae peperisti puerum virili sine semine.	Hail, Mary, who didst bring forth a child without the seed of man.
Ave Maria Jesum tuum filium lactasti sacro ubere.	Hail, Mary; thou didst nourish Jesus thy Son at thy sacred breast.
Ave Maria ipsum alluisti tua super genua.	Hail, Mary; thou didst wash him in thy lap.
Ave Maria tres vidisti magos offerentes munera.	Hail, Mary; thou didst see three wise men bringing gifts.
Ave Maria Aegyptum fugiens petisti angeli per monita.	Hail, Mary; fleeing, thou didst set out for Egypt through the angel's warning.
Ave Maria quaesisti tuam sobolem magna cum maestitia.	Hail, Mary; thou didst seek thy child with great sorrow.
Ave Maria in templo reperisti docentem evangelia.	Hail, Mary; thou didst find him in the temple expounding the Gospels
Conserva tuos famulos haec per tua merita	Through these thy merits preserve thy servants
Et perduc eos ad caelos cum caelesti gloria	And lead them to the heavens with celestial glory,
Psallentes et omnes hoc Ave Maria. Amen.	All of them singing this 'Hail, Mary.' Amen.

15. Ave Maria mater dei (Hunt)

Ave Maria mater dei regina caeli domina mundi imperatrix inferni.	Hail, Mary, mother of God, queen of heaven, lady of the world, empress of hell.
Miserere nostri et totius populi christiani.	Have mercy of us and of all Christian people.
Et ne permittas nos mortaliter peccare sed tuam sanctissimam voluntatem adimplere.	And allow us not to commit mortal sin, but to accomplish thy most holy will.
Amen.	Amen.

16. Mass *Te deum* (Aston)

Gloria

Gloria in excelsis deo. Et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis. Laudamus te. Adoramus te. Benedicimus te. Glorificamus te. Gratias agimus tibi propter magnam gloriam tuam. Domine deus rex caelestis deus pater omnipotens. Domine fili unigenite Jesu Christe. Domine deus agnus dei filius patris. Qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis. Qui tollis peccata mundi suscipe deprecationem nostram. Qui sedes ad dexteram patris miserere nobis. Quoniam tu solus sanctus. Tu solus dominus. Tu solus altissimus Jesu Christe cum sancto spiritu in gloria dei patris. Amen.

Credo

Credo in unum deum. Patrem omnipotentem factorem caeli et terrae visibilium omnium et invisibilium. Et in unum dominum Jesum Christum filium dei unigenitum. Et ex patre natum ante omnia saecula. Deum de deo. Lumen de lumine. Deum verum de deo vero. Genitum non factum consubstantialem patri: per quem omnia facta sunt. Qui propter nos homines et propter nostram salutem descendit de caelis. Et incarnatus est de spiritu sancto ex Maria virgine: et homo factus est. Crucifixus etiam pro nobis: sub Pontio Pilato passus et sepultus est. Et resurrexit tertia die secundum scripturas. Et ascendit in caelum: sedet ad dexteram patris. Et iterum venturus est cum gloria judicare vivos et mortuos: cujus regni non erit finis. Et in spiritum sanctum dominum et vivificantem: qui ex patre filioque procedit. Qui cum patre et filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur: qui locutus est per prophetas. Et unam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam. Confiteor unum baptisma in remissionem peccatorum. Et exspecto resurrectionem mortuorum. Et vitam venturi saeculi. Amen.

Sanctus

Sanctus sanctus sanctus dominus deus sabaoth. Pleni sunt caeli et terra gloria tua. Osanna in excelsis. Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini. Osanna in excelsis.

Agnus

Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis.
Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis.
Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi dona nobis pacem.

Glory be to God in the highest. And on earth peace to men of good will. We praise thee. We bless thee. We worship thee. We glorify thee. We give thee thanks for thy great glory. O Lord God, heavenly King, God the Father almighty. O Lord, the only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ. O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father. O thou who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. O thou who takest away the sins of the world, receive our prayer. O thou who sittest at the right hand of the Father, have mercy upon us. For thou alone art holy. Thou alone art Lord. Thou alone art most high, O Jesus Christ, with the Holy Spirit in the glory of God the Father. Amen.

I believe in one God. The Father almighty, maker of heaven and earth and of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ the only-begotten Son of God, born of the Father before all ages. God of God. Light of Light. True God of True God. Begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father, by whom all things were made. Who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven. And was incarnate by the Holy Spirit of the virgin Mary, and was made man. Crucified also for us, he suffered under Pontius Pilate and was buried. And he rose again on the third day, according to the Scriptures. And he ascended into heaven, and sits at the right hand of the Father. And he shall come again with glory to judge the living and the dead: whose kingdom shall have no end. And in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and giver of life, who came from the Father and the Son. Who with the Father and the Son is at the same time worshipped and glorified: who spoke through the prophets. And in one holy catholic and apostolic church. I acknowledge one baptism for the forgiveness of sins. And I wait for the resurrection of the dead and the life of the world to come. Amen.

Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts. Heaven and earth are full of thy glory. Hosanna in the highest. Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.

O Lamb of God, who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us.
O Lamb of God, who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us.
O Lamb of God, who takest away the sins of the world, grant us peace.

17. *Terrenum sitiens* (Edwarde)

<p>Terrenum sitiens regnum crudelis Herodes Aeterni regis praeeparat interitum Ut que suum posset citius complere furorem Infantes Bethleem sternere jubet.</p>	<p>Athirst for an earthly kingdom, cruel Herod plots the destruction of the eternal King. To gratify his rage the more quickly he gives orders to kill the children of Bethlehem.</p>
<p>Vindica domine sanguinem sanctorum tuorum Qui effusus est in circuitu Jerusalem.</p>	<p>Avenge, O Lord, the blood of thy saints which is shed about Jerusalem.</p>
<p>Indignum facinus: ludens ad pectora matris Parvulus atroci vulnere caesus erat. Lictor excernit subridens inscia turba Et sine delectu fuste perempta ruit.</p>	<p>An unworthy crime! Playing at its mother's breast, the little child was killed by a dreadful wound. Grinning, the executioner picks out one of the innocent throng and without delay despatches it with a murderous club.</p>
<p>Vindica domine sanguinem sanctorum tuorum Qui effusus est in circuitu Jerusalem.</p>	<p>Avenge, O Lord, the blood of thy saints which is shed about Jerusalem.</p>
<p>Infantes mactas cupiens extinguere Christum At illi nil fuerat gratius obsequium. Nil agis infelix: Christus sua regna tenebit Et tibi pro meritis praemia digna dabit.</p>	<p>Thou slaughtertest the children, seeking to destroy Christ, but to him no obedience had been more acceptable. Wretch, thou achievest nothing; Christ will keep his kingdoms and give thee rewards worthy of thy merits.</p>
<p>Vindica domine sanguinem sanctorum tuorum Qui effusus est in circuitu Jerusalem.</p>	<p>Avenge, O Lord, the blood of thy saints which is shed about Jerusalem.</p>

18. *Sub tuam protectionem* (Northbroke)

<p>Sub tuam protectionem confugimus, ubi infirmi acceperunt virtutem: et propter hoc tibi psallimus dei genitrix virgo.</p>	<p>We take refuge under thy protection, where the weak have received strength; and for this reason we sing praises to thee, O virgin mother of God.</p>
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19. *Vae nobis miseris (Mason)*

Vae nobis miseris quia cum ad peccata commissa inspicimus et supplicia intelligimus quae pro his pati debemus non parvum timorem habemus. Quid ergo? Remanebimus quasi desperati sine consilio sine adiutorio? Non! Sed ad te fontem pietatis et misericordiae Jesu Christe currimus et festinamus in quo jam tot et tantos peccatores absolutos vidimus et agnoscimus. Obsecramus te igitur domine deus noster da nobis gratiam tuam ut a vitiis et a morte animae resurgentes in virtutibus semper floreamus et in soliditate fidei ambulemus ut quae sursum sunt quaeramus et sapiamus non quae super terram. Tibi gratias agimus bone Jesu pro inceptis in nobis gratiae tuae donis quae deprecamur ut misericorditer perficias nosque in viam salutis dirigas. Per tuae claritatis virtutem purga animas nostras a tenebris peccatorum et per eandem virtutem in die universalis resurrectionis caro nostra resurgat ad gloriam. Ut in futura resurrectione delicatam tuam invocationem gaudenter cum electis tuis audiamus te dicente: venite benedicti patris mei: percipite regnum meum quod vobis paratum est ab origine mundi. Amen.

Woe to us wretches, for when we consider the sins that we have committed and understand the punishments that we must suffer for them, we feel no small fear. What then? Shall we remain like desperate men, without counsel, without help? No! Instead we run and hasten to thee, Jesus Christ, the fount of pity and mercy, in whom we have already seen and understand so many and such great sins to be forgiven. Therefore we beseech thee, O Lord our God; give us thy grace, so that rising above our sins and the death of the soul we may always flourish in virtues and walk in firmness of faith, that we may seek and comprehend those things which are in heaven, not those upon earth. We give thee thanks, O good Jesus, for the gifts of thy grace begun in us, which we beg thee mercifully to perfect, and to direct us in the way of salvation. Through the strength of thy brightness purge our souls of the darkness of sins, and by the same strength let our flesh ascend to glory on the day of the universal resurrection, so that in the resurrection to come, rejoicing with thine elect we may hear thy loving summons as thou sayest, 'Come, ye blessed creatures of my Father; receive my kingdom which has been made ready for you since the beginning of the world.' Amen.

20. *Quales sumus (Mason)*

Quales sumus O miseri
 Properantes ad portas inferi
 Quadriduani fetentes
 Ut te laudare praesumamus
 O Maria cum sciamus
 Non audiri delinquentes?

Sed in arcto constituti
 In labore lateris et luti
 Insudantes gemiscimus
 Consolatricem miserorum
 Et refectricem laborum
 Te deposcimus

Ut oculos misericordes
 Ad nos convertas et sordes
 Peccatorum amoveas
 Scelerumque soluto vecte
 Jesum sequentes recte
 Vermiculos ne despicias.

What are we, O wretches, that,
 hurrying to the gates of hell,
 stinking within four days,
 we dare to praise thee,
 O Mary, since we know
 that offenders are not fit to be heard?

But, closely confined,
 toiling with bricks and clay,
 we groan, sweating.
 We beg thee, the comforter
 of the wretched
 and refresher of labours,

That thou wilt turn thy merciful eyes
 towards us and remove
 the stains of sinners,
 and not despise the worms
 rightly following Jesus
 when the bolt of sins has been shot.

Israel caelum non respicit
 Nam terrena pulvis perficit
 Hinc desperans confunditur
 Quare pro nobis deprecare
 Ad hunc qui lapides mutare
 In Abraham filios dicitur

Ut Israel oculos erigat
 Ad caelum et deum sitiatis
 Sicut cervus aquarum fontes
 Ut de pharaonis imperio
 Erepti tandem durissimo
 Mare transeamus insontes

Et licet hostes saeviant
 Hos maria non operiant
 [lacuna] O domina
 Sed saevitiam removeant
 Ut ereptos hos deleant
 Claustra tunc infernalium

Et sic virtutibus fecundi
 Ad caelestia mente mundi
 Properemus O Maria
 Ut post finem vitae jocundi
 Christo juncto laetabundi
 Una cantemus alleluia.

Israel does not look towards heaven,
 and (since dust is the fate of earthly things)
 it is thrown into despair.

Intercede therefore with him
 who is said to turn stones
 into sons of Abraham,

So that Israel may raise her eyes
 to heaven and thirst for God
 'as the hart pants after the water-brooks',
 and so that we, snatched at last
 from the most cruel tyranny of Pharaoh,
 may cross the sea without harm.

And although enemies rage,
 let the seas not conceal them,
 O Lady,
 but wash away their fury,
 so that then the confines of hell
 may destroy these plunderers.

And thus, rich in virtue,
 O Mary, may we hasten to heaven
 with a pure mind,
 so that after life's end,
 happily united with Christ,
 we as one may sing 'Alleluia'.

21. *Gaude virgo mater Christi (Alen)*

Gaude virgo mater Christi
 Quae per aurem concepisti
 Gabriele nuntio.

Gaude quia deo plena
 Peperisti sine poena
 Cum pudoris lilio.

Gaude quia tui nati
 Quem dolebas mortem pati
 Fulget resurrectio.

Gaude Christo ascendente
 Et in caelum te vidente
 Motu fertur proprio.

Gaude quod post ipsum scandis
 Et est honor tibi grandis
 In caeli palatio

Ubi fructus ventris tui
 Per te detur nobis frui
 In perhenni gaudio.

Amen.

Rejoice, O virgin mother of Christ,
 who didst conceive aurally,
 Gabriel being the messenger.

Rejoice, for being filled with God
 thou didst bring forth without travail,
 with the lily of chastity.

Rejoice, for there shines forth
 the resurrection of thy Son,
 whom thou didst mourn to suffer death.

Rejoice, Christ having ascended,
 and thou having seen him in heaven,
 moved, it is said, by his own will.

Rejoice, for after this thou didst ascend,
 and great honour is paid to thee
 in the palace of heaven

Where the fruit of thy womb
 through thee is given to us to enjoy
 in everlasting felicity.

Amen.

22. *Mass Sine nomine (Taverner)*

23. Mass Mater Christi (Taverner)

See no. 16.

24. Exultet in hac die (Sturmy)

Exultet in hac die fidelium ecclesia In qua angelis est laetitia. Alleluia consonet plebs anglica.	Let the church of the faithful rejoice on this day on which the angels are joyful. Let Englishmen together sing 'Alleluia'.
Augustinus en transivit Et cum Christo semper vivit. Alleluia consonet plebs anglica.	Behold, Augustine has made the crossing and lives with Christ for ever. Let Englishmen together sing 'Alleluia'.
Jam beatus audit: euge Super pauca fidelissime. Alleluia consonet plebs anglica.	Now the blessed one hears: 'Well done, [thou] most faithful over small things.' ³³ Let Englishmen together sing 'Alleluia'.
Ave nostrum ave dulce desiderium: Pro servis tuis ora dominum. Alleluia.	Hail, O thou our sweet desire; pray God on behalf of thy servants. Alleluia.

25. Sancte deus (Whytbroke)

See no. 1.

26. Ave dei patris (Fayrfax)

See no. 4. There are no differences between Taverner's and Fayrfax's versions of the text.

27. Mass Spes nostra (Jones)

See no. 16.

28. Mass Christe Jesu (Rasar)

See no. 16.

29. Mass O quam glorifica (Fayrfax)

See no. 16.

30. Mass Tecum principium (Fayrfax)

See no. 16.

31. Mass Albanus (Fayrfax)

See no. 16.

32. Mass Veni sancte spiritus (Pygott)

See no. 16.

³³ Matthew, 25:21.

33. *Vidi aquam egredientem* (Anonymous)

Vidi aquam egredientem de templo a latere dextro alleluia. Et omnes ad quos pervenit aqua ista salvi facti sunt et dicent alleluia alleluia.

I saw water coming out of the temple on the right side, alleluia. And all to whom that water came were saved and say alleluia, alleluia.

Confitemini domino quoniam bonus: quoniam in saeculum misericordia ejus.

I will confess unto the Lord for he is good; for his mercy endures for ever.

Vidi aquam egredientem de templo a latere dextro alleluia. Et omnes ad quos pervenit aqua ista salvi facti sunt et dicent alleluia alleluia.

I saw water coming out of the temple on the right side, alleluia. And all to whom that water came were saved and say alleluia, alleluia.

Gloria patri et filio: et spiritui sancto. Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper: et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit. As it was in the beginning, is now and ever shall be, world without end. Amen.

Et omnes ad quos pervenit aqua ista salvi facti sunt et dicent alleluia alleluia.

And all to whom that water came were saved and say alleluia, alleluia.

34. *Mass Christi virgo* (Ludford)

See no. 16.

35. *Salve intemerata* (Tallis)

Salve intemerata virgo Maria filii dei genitrix prae ceteris electa virginibus: quad ex utero tuae matris Annae mulieris sanctissimae sic a spiritu sancto tum sanctificata tum illuminata fuisti munitaque tantopere dei omnipotentis gratia: ut usque ad conceptum filii tui domini nostri Jesu Christi et dum conciperes ac usque ad partum et dum eum pareres semperque post partum virgo omnium quae natae sunt castissima incorruptissima et immaculatissima et corpore et anima tota vita permanseris. Tu nimirum universas alias longe superasti virgines sincera mentis impollutae conscientia quotquot vel adhuc fuerunt ab ipso mundi primordio vel unquam futurae sunt usque in finem mundi. Per haec nos praecellentissima gratiae caelestis dona tibi virgo et mater Maria prae ceteris omnibus mulieribus et virginibus a deo singulariter infusa: te precamur quae miseris mortalibus misericors patrona es ut pro peccatis nostris nobis condonandis intercedere digneris apud deum patrem omnipotentem ejusque filium Jesum Christum secundum divinitatem quidem ex patre ante omnia saecula genitum secundum humanitatem autem ex te natum atque apud spiritum sanctum: ut peccatorum nostrorum maculis tua abstersis intercessione tecum sancta virgo semper congaudere teque in regno caelorum sine fine laudare mereamur. Amen.

Hail, chaste virgin Mary, mother of the Son of God, chosen before other virgins, who from the womb of thy mother Anne, a most holy woman, wast thus both sanctified and enlightened by the Holy Spirit, and so greatly strengthened by the grace of almighty God, that up to the conception of thy son, our Lord Jesus Christ, and while thou wast conceiving him, and until the birth, and while thou wast bringing him forth, and after the birth continually for thy whole life, thou didst remain in body and soul the most chaste, uncorrupted and immaculate virgin of all who have ever been born. Beyond any doubt thou hast surpassed in true innocence of a pure mind all other virgins who have lived since the beginning of the world itself and all those who will live until the ending of the world. On account of these most excellent gifts of heavenly grace given to thee, O maiden and mother Mary, uniquely impregnated by God in preference to all other women and maidens, we beg thee, who art the merciful protector of wretched mortals, that thou wilt deign to intercede for the forgiveness of our sins before God the Father almighty and his Son Jesus Christ (who in his divinity was born of the Father before all ages and in his humanity was born of thee) and before the Holy Spirit: so that, the stains of our sins having been washed away by thy intercession, we may deserve to rejoice with thee and sing praises without end in the kingdom of heaven. Amen.

36. *Mater Christi* (Taverner)

<p>Mater Christi sanctissima virgo sacrata Maria: tuis orationibus benignum redde filium unica spes nostra Maria nam precibus nitentes tuis rogare audemus filium. Ergo fili decus patris Jesu fons fecundissime a quo vivae fluunt aquae rigantes fida pectora: O Jesu vitalis cibus te pure manducantibus: salutari potu et cibo pavisti nostra corpora. Tua pasce animam gratia tibi consecratos spiritu tuo fove munere. Quin et nostras Jesu bone mentes illustra gratia et nos pie fac vivere ut dulci ambrosia tuo vescamur in palatio. Amen.</p>	<p>O most holy mother of Christ, O blessed virgin Mary, by thy prayers make the Son merciful, O Mary, our only hope, for it is by relying on thy prayers that we dare to beseech him. Therefore, O Son, jewel of the Father, O Jesus, most abundant spring whence flow living waters, refreshing faithful hearts: O Jesus, food of life to those who eat thee with a pure spirit, thou hast nourished our bodies with the drink and food of salvation. Feed the soul with thy grace; cherish with thy gift those dedicated to thee in spirit. And also, good Jesus, illuminate our minds with thy grace and make us live virtuously, so that upon sweet ambrosia we may feed in thy palace. Amen.</p>
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37. *O Christe Jesu / O Willelme* (Taverner)

<p>O Christe Jesu pastor bone Cleri fautor et patrone Semper nobis in agone Confer opem et depone Vitae sordes et coronae Caelestis da gloriam. Fundatorem specialem Et ecclesiam piorum Tuae arae custos horum Et utrumque fac vitalem Aeternae vitae praemium.</p>	<p>O Jesus Christ, good shepherd, patron and protector of the clergy, in time of trouble always give us help and remove the impurities of life, and bestow the glory of a heavenly crown. Preserve our particular founder and [this] community of faithful people, the guardian of thine altar, and make both of them long-lived with the prize of eternal life.</p>
<p>O Willelme pastor bone Cleri pater et patrone Mundi nobis in agone Confer opem et depone Vitae sordes et coronae Caelestis da gaudia[m]. Serva Thoma cardinalem Et ecclesiam piorum Tuae arae custos horum Et utrumque fac vitalem Aeternae vitae praemium.</p>	<p>O William, good shepherd, father and protector of the clergy, amid the trouble of the world give us help and remove the impurities of life, and bestow the joy of a heavenly crown. Preserve Thomas the cardinal and [this] community of faithful people, the guardian of thine altar, and make both of them long-lived with the prize of eternal life.</p>

38. *Gaude plurimum* (Taverner)

Gaude plurimum salvatoris nostri mater
femina quae vixerunt omnium felicissima sola
virgo prae ceteris quae naturali partu sed
conceptione caelesti mediam divinae trinitatis
personem verum deum sempiterni patris
sempiternum filium quo nos a perpetua morte
servaremur benignius hominem edidisti.

Gaude Maria virgo divinitus hanc tibi
praestitam gratiam ut ipsa praeter ceteras
omnes unica sis mortalis femina quae
Christum Jesum utero gesseris gravida ederis
enixum materno foveris gremio immortalem
sobolem.

Gaude sacratissima virgo illum non minus tibi
quam ceteris hominibus immortalem filium
peperisse qui caelica sua potestate inferni
debellavit tyrannidem cruentes mortis
aeternae principis vires fregit vitamque
humano generi perpetuam restituit.

Gaude Maria Jesu mater talem te genuisse
filium qui divina sua resurrectione futurae
nostrae in gloria resurrectionis spem certam
tradidit ad deumque patrem ascenderat est
deus et homo misericordia plenus in caelum
quoque reditus omnibus pollicetur.

Gaudeamus itaque et nos omnes nobis et tuae
beatitudini Maria Jesu mater gratias habentes
gratulamur quae supernam adeptam gratiam ad
perhennem quoque in caelum gloriam
assumpta es. Eundem itaque Jesum tuum
filium supplices deprecamur ut qui indigni
qui exaudiamur assequi non valemus tuis
benignissimis precibus impetrare possimus
eamdem tecum caelestem gloriam. Amen.

Rejoice exceedingly, O mother of our Saviour,
the happiest woman of all who have lived, the only
virgin before the rest, who by a natural birth but a
divine conception didst so lovingly bring forth as
man the central person of the divine Trinity, the
eternal Son of the eternal Father, so that through
him we might be saved from perpetual death.

Rejoice, O virgin Mary, in this outstanding favour
shown to thee by heaven, that thou alone above all
others shouldst be the only mortal woman who
carried Christ Jesus in the womb, who (being
great with child) didst bring him forth, who didst
nurse the immortal child in thy lap.

Rejoice, O most holy maiden, that thou didst bear
him who is an immortal Son no less to thee than
to the rest of mankind, who with his celestial
might vanquished the tyranny of hell, shattered
the bloody power of the prince of endless death
and restored everlasting life to the human race.

Rejoice, O Mary, mother of Jesus, that thou didst
bring forth such a Son, who by his resurrection
gave a sure hope of our future resurrection in
glory, and who ascended to God the Father; who
is God and man, full of mercy; and a return to
heaven is promised to all.

Therefore we rejoice, and we all congratulate
ourselves, giving thanks also to thy blessedness, O
Mary, mother of Jesus, who hast gained divine
grace and hast been taken up into eternal glory in
heaven. Therefore we as supplicants beseech the
same Jesus, thy Son, that we who are unworthy,
who are not fit to gain audience, may by thy most
kind prayers be able to obtain heavenly glory with
thee. Amen.

39. *Mass Small Devotion* (Taverner)

See no. 16.

40. Magnificat (Taverner)

Magnificat anima mea dominum.	My soul doth magnify the Lord. ³⁴
Et exultavit spiritus meus: in deo salutari meo.	And my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour.
Quia respexit humilitatem ancillae suae: ecce enim ex hoc beatam me dicent omnes generationes.	For he hath regarded the lowliness of his handmaiden: for behold from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed.
Quia fecit mihi magna qui potens est: et sanctum nomen ejus.	For he that is mighty hath magnified me: and holy is his name.
Et misericordia ejus a progenie in progenies: timentibus eum.	And his mercy is on them that fear him throughout all generations.
Fecit potentiam in brachio suo: dispersit superbos mente cordis sui.	He hath showed strength with his arm; he hath scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts.
Deposuit potentes de sede: et exaltavit humiles.	He hath put down the mighty from their seat, and hath exalted the humble and meek.
Esurientes implevit bonis: et divites dimisit inanes.	He hath filled the hungry with good things, and the rich he hath sent empty away.
Suscepit Israel puerum suum: recordatus misericordiae suae.	He remembering his mercy hath holpen his servant Israel:
Sicut locutus est ad patres nostros: Abraham et semini ejus in saecula.	As he promised to our forefathers, Abraham and his seed for ever.
Gloria patri et filio: et spiritui sancto.	Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.
Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper: et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.	As it was in the beginning, is now and ever shall be, world without end. Amen.

41. Magnificat (Darke)

See no. 40.

42. Aspice domine (Jacquet of Mantua)

Aspice domine quia facta est desolata civitas plena divitiis: sedet in tristitia domina gentium: non est qui consoletur eam nisi tu deus noster.	Behold, O Lord, for the city filled with riches is made desolate; the lady of the nations sits in sadness; there is none to comfort her save thou, our God.
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43. Mass Surrexit pastor bonus (Lupus Italus)**Kyrie**

Kyrie eleison. Kyrie eleison. Kyrie eleison.	Lord have mercy. (<i>Thrice</i>)
Christe eleison. Christe eleison. Christe eleison.	Christ have mercy. (<i>Thrice</i>)
Kyrie eleison. Kyrie eleison. Kyrie eleison.	Lord have mercy. (<i>Thrice</i>)

For the texts and translations of the other movements, see no. 16.

44. Mass Sine nomine (Tye)

See no. 16.

³⁴ Translation from J. W. Legg (ed.), *The Clerk's Book of 1549*, pp. 24–5, with modernised spelling and punctuation.

45. Sancta Maria (Pashe)

Sancta Maria mater dei ora pro nobis.	Holy Mary, mother of God, pray for us.
Sancta Maria regina caeli ora pro nobis.	Holy Mary, queen of heaven, pray for us.
Sancta Maria domina angelorum ora pro nobis.	Holy Mary, lady of the angels, pray for us.
Sancta Maria laus omnium sanctorum ora pro nobis.	Holy Mary, praise of all the saints, pray for us.
Sancta Maria refugium miserorum ora pro nobis.	Holy Mary, haven of sinners, pray for us.
O clemens O benigna domina sancta et incomparabilis virgo Maria pulchra ut luna electa ut sol demonibus terribilis hominibus amabilis porta paradisi mater Jesu Christi: te domina invocamus peccatores ne nos despicias quae soles omnium misereri. Tu es enim gratia plena dulcis clemens virgo fecunda et inter mulieres semper benedicta quae thronum regalem ideo conscendisti ut sis advocata peccantibus. Rogamus te veneranda rerum omnium imperatrix et potens regina per illa beata ubera quae lactaverunt puerum Jesum per tuum quoque gaudium ineffabile quae creaturis omnibus praelata esse meruisti: ne nos derelinquas sine adjutorio sed nunc et in hora mortis nostrae sicut scis et vis nos miseros consolare ut te sequentes regnum filii tui participemus. Amen.	O merciful one, O benevolent one, holy and incomparable lady, virgin Mary, comely as the moon, excellent as the sun, terrible to demons, loving to mankind, gateway to paradise, mother of Jesus Christ: we beseech thee, O Lady, who art accustomed to take pity on all, do not spurn us sinners. For thou art full of grace, sweet, merciful, a fruitful virgin and ever blessed among women, who hast therefore ascended a royal throne to be an advocate for sinners. We beg thee, O worshipful one, empress of all things and mighty queen, by those blessed breasts which nourished the child Jesus, and by thine ineffable joy, O thou who hast deserved to be preferred before all creatures: do not abandon us without assistance, but now and in the hour of our death console us wretches with wisdom and strength, so that following thee we may share in the kingdom of thy Son. Amen.

46. Ave dei patris (Merbecke)

See no. 4. There are three variants:

(line 3)	Dei spiritus sancti sponsa venustissima	Most pleasing bride of the Holy Spirit
(line 13)	Ave Jesu tui filii filia	Hail, daughter of thy Son Jesus
(line 19)	Domini mater singulariter speciosa	Uniquely beautiful mother of the Lord

47. Magnificat (Appelby)

See no. 40.

48. Mass Sine nomine (Anonymous)

See no. 16.

49. Salve intemerata (Tallis)

See no. 35.

50. Domine Jesu Christe (Ludford)

Domine Jesu Christe splendor et imago patris
salus nostra ac vita aeterna cui cum
omnipotente patre et spiritu sanctissimo
aequalis est honor gloria eadem sempiterna
majestas ac demum substantia una: te
invocamus te adoramus. Tibi magnas gratias
agimus pro immensa tua in humanum genus
pietate ac clementia obsecrantes ut igniminosae
crucis tuae passionem quam nostra causa ultro
pertulisti amarissimam interponas tremendo
judicio tuo et animabus nostris non solummodo
dum hostis ille noster antiquus nobis undique
insidiatur quaerens quos devoret sed
potissimum tunc cum mortis institerit hora ne
peccatorum pondere obruti in Gehennae ignem
nunquam extinguendum praecipitemur
impartiri quae digneris ecclesiae tuae sanctae:
dei pacem quae omnem exuberat sensum
concordiam mutuam peccatorum omnium
veniam et tuae deitatis suavissimam fruitionem
gloriamque sempiternam. Amen.

O Lord Jesus Christ, splendour and similitude of
the Father, our salvation and eternal life, who
with the almighty Father and the most Holy
Spirit hast equal honour, the same glory, eternal
majesty and also one substance: we call upon
thee, we worship thee. We give thee great
thanks for thy endless kindness and mercy
towards mankind, praying that by the most bitter
passion of thy shameful Cross, which thou didst
endure to the end, thou shalt interpose thy dread
judgement and (lest we, borne down by the
weight of our sins, be cast down into the
unquenchable fire of Gehenna) that (not only
while that ancient enemy of ours creeps in
everywhere, seeking whom he can devour, but
most of all when the hour of death shall strike) to
our souls shall be imparted whatever befits thy
holy church: the peace of God which passes all
understanding, mutual concord, the forgiveness
of all sins and the most sweet enjoyment and
eternal glory of thy godhead. Amen.

51. Magnificat (Jones)

See no. 40.

52. Magnificat (Pashe)

See no. 40.

53. Magnificat Regale (Fayrfax)

See no. 40.

54. *Aeternae laudis lilium* (Fayrfax)

Aeternae laudis lilium O dulcis Maria
Te laudat vox angelica nutrix Christi pia:
Jure prolis gloriae detur harmonia
Salus nostrae memoriae omni agonia.

Ave radix flos virginum O sanctificata
Benedicta: in utero materno creata
Eras sancta puerpera et inviolata
Tuo ex Jesu Filio virgo praeamata.

Honestis caeli precibus virgo veneraris:
Regis excelsi filii visu jocundaris:
Ejus divino lumine tu nusquam privaris:
Gaude sole splendidior virgo singularis.

Isachar quoque Nazaphat necnon Ismaria
Nati ex Jesse stipite qua venit Maria
Atque Maria Cleophae sancto Zacharia
A quo patre Elizabeth matre Sapharia³⁵

Natus est dei gratia Johannes baptista:
Gaudebat clauso domino in matrice cista.
Lineae ex hoc genere est evangelista
Johannes. Annae filia ex Maria ista

Est Jesus dei filius natus in hunc mundum
Cujus cruoris tumulo mundatur mundum.
Conferat nos in gaudium in aevum jocundum
Qui cum patre et spiritu coregnat in unum.
Amen.

O lily of eternal praise, O gentle Mary, O dutiful
mother of Christ, an angelic voice praises thee; let
music fittingly be sung of the glory of thy Son,
our Saviour, our hope in every tribulation.

Hail, O root-stock, flower of maidens, O holy
and blessed one; thou wast formed in the womb
of thy mother by a holy and chaste conception
out of thy Son Jesus, O most beloved virgin.

O virgin, thou art honoured by the sincere
prayers of heaven; thou art made joyful by the
sight of the Son of the most high King; thou art
never deprived of the divine light; rejoice in one
brighter than the sun, O unique maiden.

Isachar and Nazaphat and Ismaria were born of the
stock of Jesse: from which came Mary and Mary
the wife of Cleophas: from which, of the holy
father Zachary and the wise mother Elizabeth of
Saphir

Was born by the grace of God John the Baptist:
he rejoiced, enclosed by the Lord in the maternal
womb. John the Evangelist is of this line of
descent. From that Mary, the daughter of Anne,

Was born into this world Jesus, the Son of God,
by the sacrifice of whose blood the world was
washed clean. May he who with the Father and
Spirit reigns together as one bring us into joy,
into an era of happiness. Amen.

55. *Magnificat O Bone Jesu* (Fayrfax)

See no. 40.

³⁵ ‘Sophonia’—‘Zephaniah’ in every source, but ‘Sapharia’—‘of Saphir’ makes better sense and fits the rhyme scheme.

56. *Lauda vivi alpha* (Fayrfax)

Lauda vivi alpha et Ω filia supermissima
Vivique verbi mater splendidissima
Vivique flaminis sponsa immaculatissima
Vivaeque trinitatis et unitatis ancilla
exaltatissima.

Give praise, O most high daughter of the living
alpha and omega, and most illustrious mother of
the living word, and most chaste bride of the
living flame, and most exalted handmaid of the
living three and one.

Lauda fortis spirantis filia devotissima
Fortisque conspirantis mater mansuetissima
Fortisque conspirantis sponsa praemundissima
Fortisque concordis voluntatis ancilla
glorificatissima.

Give praise, O most devoted daughter of the
mighty spirit, and most gentle mother of the
mighty fellowship, and most spotless bride of
the mighty fellowship, and most glorified
handmaid of the mighty harmony of will.

Lauda immortalis productoris filia sacratissima
Immortalisque producti mater complacentissima
Immortalis procedentis sponsa inviolatissima
Immortalis celsique tonantis ancilla
praeulgidissima.

Give praise, O most blessed daughter of the
immortal creator, and most pleasing mother of
the immortal creation, most pure bride of the
immortal proceeding, and most resplendent
handmaid of the immortal and lofty thunderer.

Lauda admirabilis gignentis filia innocentissima
Admirabilis fecundantis mater mellifluissima
Admirabilis obumbrantis sponsa intemeratissima
Admirabilis et trinae potestatis ancilla
incomparabilissima.

Give praise, O most innocent daughter of the
wondrous begetter, most mellifluous mother of
the wondrous fertility, most chaste bride of the
wondrous defender and most incomparable
handmaid of the wondrous and threefold power.

Lauda perhennis retributoris filia
praeamantissima
Perhennis restitutoris mater illuminatissima
Perhennisque infusoris sponsa jocundatissima
Perhennis uniusque essentiae ancilla
praeaudatissima.

Give praise, O most beloved daughter of the
everlasting judge, most enlightened mother of
the everlasting restorer, most joyful bride of the
everlasting progenitor and most venerated
handmaid of the everlasting and unique essence.

O rosa gratiae redolentissima:
O virga Jesse efflorentissima:
Jesum praedulcem natum
pro rege nostro ora
Henrico octavo inclito ac implora
Optanda illi semper dari gaudia
Nunc et tandem immarcessibili gloria
Nosque tuos pios servulos salvifica
O precatrix et adjutrix benedicta:
O deipara:
O deigena:
O virgo Maria.
Amen.

O most fragrant rose of grace,
O most fertile offspring of Jesse,
beseech thy most gentle Son Jesus
on behalf of our king,
the noble Henry the Eighth, and ask
that he be always given happiness
in the present and at length imperishable glory;
and save us, thy dutiful servants,
O blessed mediator and helper,
O bearer of God,
O mother of God,
O virgin Mary.
Amen.

57. Ave cujus conceptio (Ludford)

Ave cujus conceptio Solemni plena gaudio Caelestia terrestria Nova replet laetitia.	Hail, O thou whose conception, marked by joyful solemnity, fills heaven and earth with a new gladness.
Ave cujus nativitas Nostra fuit solemnitas Ut lucifer lux oriens Ipsium solem praeveniens.	Hail, O thou like the morning star, a dawning light preceding the sun, whose birth was our celebration.
Ave pia humilitas Sine viro fecunditas Cujus annuntiatio Nostra fuit redemptio.	Hail, O thou obedient humility, fertile without man's intervention, whose annunciation was our redemption.
Ave vera virginitas Immaculata castitas Cujus purificatio Nostra fuit purgatio.	Hail, O thou true virginity and immaculate chastity, whose purification was our purgation.
Ave plena in omnibus Angelicis virtutibus Cujus fuit assumptio Nostra glorificatio.	Hail, O thou full of all angelic virtues, whose assumption was our glorification.

58. Ave Maria ancilla trinitatis (Ludford)

Ave Maria ancilla trinitatis humillima.	Hail, Mary, most humble handmaid of the Trinity.
Ave Maria praelecta dei patris filia sublimissima.	Hail, Mary, most exalted chosen daughter of God the Father.
Ave Maria sponsa spiritus sancti amabilissima.	Hail, Mary, most loving bride of the Holy Spirit.
Ave Maria mater domini nostri Jesu Christi dignissima	Hail, Mary, most worthy mother of our Lord Jesus Christ.
Ave Maria soror angelorum pulcherrima.	Hail, Mary, most comely sister of the angels.
Ave Maria promissio prophetarum desideratissima.	Hail, Mary, most longed-for promise of the prophets.
Ave Maria regina patriarcharum gloriosissima.	Hail, Mary, most glorious queen of the patriarchs.
Ave Maria doctrix apostolorum sapientissima.	Hail, Mary, most wise teacher of the apostles.
Ave Maria confortatrix martyrum validissima.	Hail, Mary, most potent comforter of martyrs.
Ave Maria fons et plenitudo confessorum suavissima.	Hail, Mary, sweetest fount and source of plenty for confessors.
Ave Maria honor et festivitas virginum jocundissima.	Hail, Mary, most joyful reward and object of celebration for virgins.
Ave Maria consolatrix vivorum et mortuorum promptissima.	Hail, Mary, most ready consoler of the living and dead.
Nobiscum sis in omnibus temptationibus tribulationibus necessitatibus angustiis et infirmis nostris: et in hora mortis nostrae suscipe animas nostras et offer illas dulcissimo filio tuo Jesu: et impetra nobis omnium peccatorum nostrorum veniam et caelestis patriae gloriam. Amen.	Be with us in all our temptations, troubles, needs, perils and weaknesses, and in the hour of our death receive our souls and present them to thy dearest Son, Jesus, and obtain for us forgiveness of all our sins and the glory of the heavenly fatherland. Amen.

59. Mass *O bone Jesu* (Fayrfax)

See no. 16.

60. Mass *Inclina cor meum* (Ludford)

See no. 16.

61. *Ave gratia plena Maria* (Chamberlayne)

Ave gratia plena Maria: tecum dominus. Partu laudes tibi ubique: in te thalamum puritatis effecit trinitas. Tanti praedicta es honoris excellens virtute benedicta inter mulieres sicque tuus laudabitur fructus Jesus regum rex immortalis. De te cecinere prophetae et dominum ex te nasciturum: laus nam tua erit indeficiens et corona virtutum perpetua. Tu mater es et nutrix piissimi servatoris optima nostrae miseriae consolatrix: tibi nunquam desinemus dicere spes nostra salve.

Et quae tuis sanctis indigemus precibus ad te clamamus assiduus calamitatibus obruti O benignissima Maria: et hinc ad te confugimus spes nostra et adiutrix nam qui te invocant hos non soles ipsa omnis criminis expers tuo solamine destitutos relinquere. Nihil est enim quod a carissimo filio nequeas impetrare et idcirco ad te clamamus jure spes nostra salve.

O summa O pura O super angelos omnes excellens creatura: laus honor et decus sempiternum tibi omnium mulierum gemma. Angelorum chori una cum sanctis reliquis tuam admirantur sanctimoniam cum quibus nos quoque justissime clamamus singuli spes nostra salve.

Hail, Mary, full of grace; the Lord is with thee. Praise to thee in thy motherhood; in thee the Trinity created a chamber of purity. Thy greatness was foretold, O thou blessed among women, pre-eminent in dignity, in that thy Son Jesus will be praised as the immortal king of kings. Prophets sing of thee and the Lord who is to be born of thee; for thy praise will be unending and thy crown of virtues everlasting. Thou art the mother and nurse of the most holy Saviour, O best comforter of our wretchedness; we shall never cease to say: 'Hail, our hope.'

And because we, cast down by misfortunes, need thy holy prayers, O most merciful Mary, we cry continually to thee, and hence we fly to thee, our hope and helper, for thou who art devoid of all sin art by thy mercy unaccustomed to leave destitute those who call upon thee. For there is nothing that thou canst not ask thy most dear Son, and therefore we fittingly cry to thee: 'Hail, our hope.'

O thou most high and pure being, excelling all the angels: praise, honour and eternal glory be to thee, O thou jewel of all women. The choirs of angels together with the other saints marvel at thy chastity, and with them we all most justly all cry: 'Hail, our hope.'

62. Mass *Salve intemerata* (Tallis)

See no. 16.

63. Mass *Regnum mundi* (Ludford)

See no. 16.

64. *Fac nobis secundum* (Taverner)

Fac nobis secundum hoc nomen suave et delectabile et confortans nos peccatores. Quid est Jesus nisi salvator? Ergo Jesu propter temetipsum esto nobis Jesus: qui nos plasmasti ne pereamus: qui redemisti ne condemnes: qui nos creasti tua bonitate ne pereat opus tuum nostra iniquitate. Recognosce quod tuum est Jesu: miserere dum tempus est miserendi ne damnes tempore judicandi. Admitte nos Jesu in te gloriari cum illis qui diligunt nomen sanctum tuum.

Treat us according to this sweet and delightful name that comforts us sinners. What is Jesus if not the Saviour? Therefore, O Jesus, on account of thyself be Jesus to us: O thou who gavest us life, do not let us perish; O thou who didst redeem us, do not condemn us; O thou who didst create us by thy goodness, do not let thy work perish through our wrong-doing. Remember, O Jesus, that which is thine: to be merciful while there is time for mercy, lest thou shalt condemn at the time of judgement. Permit us, O Jesus, to glory in thee with those who love thy holy name.

65. *Sub tuum praesidium* (Taverner)

Sub tuum praesidium confugimus sancta dei genitrix: nostras deprecationes ne despicias in necessitatibus sed a periculis cunctis libera nos semper virgo benedicta.

We take refuge under thy protection, O holy mother of God; do not reject our prayers in our need, but free us from all dangers, O ever-blessed virgin.

66. *Ave rosa sine spinis* (Tallis)

Ave rosa sine spinis	Hail, O rose without thorns,
Tu quam pater in divinis	thou whom the Father set on high
Majestate sublimavit	in the heavens in majesty
Et ab omni ve purgavit.	and made free from all sorrow.
Maria stella dicta maris	Mary, called the star of the sea,
Tuo nato illustraris	thou art enlightened by thy Son
Luce clara deitatis	with the bright light of divinity,
Qua praeferulges cunctis datis.	wherefore thou shinest with every virtue.
Gratia plena: te perfecit	Full of grace the Holy Spirit
Spiritus sanctus dum te fecit	did instil thee while he made thee
Vas divinae bonitatis	the vessel of divine goodness
Et totius pietatis.	and complete obedience.
Dominus tecum miro pacto:	The Lord is with thee in a marvellous way:
Verbo vitae carne facto	the Word of life made flesh
Opere trini conditoris:	by the deed of the triune Creator:
O quam dulce vas amoris.	Oh, how sweet a vessel of love.
Benedicta tu in mulieribus:	Blessed art thou among women:
Hoc testatur omnibus tribus	this is acknowledged by all nations;
Caeli fantur te beatam	the heavens confess thee blessed,
Super omnes exaltatam.	raised high above all.
Et benedictus fructus ventris tui	And blessed is the fruit of thy womb,
Quo nos dona semper frui	a gift for us always to enjoy
Per praegustum hic internum	here as an inner foretaste
Et post mortem in aeternum.	and after death in perpetuity.
Hunc virgo salutis sensum	O merciful virgin Mary,
Tuae laudis gratum pensum	take up into the holy refuge of thy heart
Corde tuo sinu pia	this perception of salvation,
Clemens sume O Maria.	the grateful object of thy prayers.
Amen.	Amen.

67. Ave Maria ancilla trinitatis (Aston)

Ave Maria ancilla trinitatis humillima.	Hail, Mary, most humble handmaid of the Trinity.
Ave Maria praelecta dei patris filia sublimissima.	Hail, Mary, most exalted chosen daughter of God the Father.
Ave Maria sponsa spiritus sancti amabilissima.	Hail, Mary, most loving bride of the Holy Spirit.
Ave Maria mater domini nostri Jesu Christi dignissima.	Hail, Mary, most worthy mother of our Lord Jesus Christ.
Ave Maria soror angelorum pulcherrima.	Hail, Mary, most comely sister of the angels.
Ave Maria promissa prophetarum desideratissima.	Hail, Mary, most longed-for promise of the prophets.
Ave Maria regina patriarcharum gloriosissima.	Hail, Mary, most glorious queen of the patriarchs.
Ave Maria magistra evangelistarum veracissima.	Hail, Mary, most truthful lady of the evangelists.
Ave Maria doctrix apostolorum sapientissima.	Hail, Mary, most wise teacher of the apostles.
Ave Maria confortatrix martyrum validissima.	Hail, Mary, most potent comforter of martyrs.
Ave Maria fons et plenitudo confessorum suavissima.	Hail, Mary, sweetest fount and source of plenty for confessors.
Ave Maria honor et festivitas virginum jocundissima.	Hail, Mary, most joyful reward and object of celebration for virgins.
Ave Maria consolatrix vivorum et mortuorum promptissima.	Hail, Mary, most ready consoler of the living and dead.
Mecum sis in omnibus tribulationibus et angustiis meis materna pietate et in hora mortis meae suscipe animam meam et offer illam dulcissimo filio tuo Jesu cum omnibus qui se nostris commendaverunt orationibus. Amen.	Be with me in all my troubles and perils with thy motherly affection, and in the hour of my death receive my soul and present it to thy dearest Son, Jesus, with all who have commended themselves to our prayers. Amen.

68. *O baptista vates Christi (Aston)*

O baptista vates Christi Qui inter natos surrexisti Mulierum maximus: Sis pro nobis tua plebe Quem pulsamus in hac aede Consonoris vocibus.	O baptist, prophet of Christ, who didst arise greatest of those born of women, act on our behalf, thy people, O thou whom we entreat in this temple with concordant voices.
Tu defende chorum istum Cujus caput es post Christum Et patronus optimus Cujus quoque membra sumus Ne nos laedat irae fumus: Adsit amor cordibus.	Protect this choir, whose master and best patron thou art after Christ, and whose members we are, lest the smoke of anger harm us; let love be in our hearts.
Nihil non cum Deo vales Qui te inter tot mortales Praeelegit unicum Ut sis testis nostrae spei Verus praeco verbi Dei Monstrans Dei Filium.	Thou art not negligible with God, who chose thee alone from among so many men to be a witness to our hope, the true herald of the word of God, pointing out the Son of God.
Mirus tui notat ortus Quod sis testis spei portus Ac praecursor Domini: Quando Gabriel nuntiavit Atque patri assignavit Nomen sui filii.	Thy wondrous birth shows that thou art a witness to the portal of hope and the precursor of the Lord. When Gabriel announced and gave the father the name of his son
Mater curva senectute Mira concepit virtute Impar onus utero: Dempta patris est loquela Cujus eras tu medela Nato Dei nuntio.	The mother, bent by age, conceived with amazing vigour a burden hardly apt for her womb; the father was deprived of speech, whose cure thou wast when born as the messenger of God.
Quem [Cum?] Maria in montana Salutatam voce plena Matrem tuam adiit: Adhuc matris clausus claustro Infans exultavit gaudio Tantum quantum potuit.	When Mary on the mountain approached thy mother with a loud greeting, at that moment the child, closed in the mother's womb, leaped with joy as hard as he could.
Natus heremum petisti Paenitere docuisti Homines per monita: Esse putant te Messiam Quia docuisti viam Qua itur ad caelestia.	Born, thou didst seek to be a hermit; by thy warnings thou didst teach men to repent; they took thee for the Messiah because thou didst teach the way that leads to heaven.

Dixisti³⁶ non sum ego Christus
Sed ab illo quidem missus
Mundi in hac miseriam:
Post me certe veniet agnus
Cujus non sum ego dignus
Solvere corrigiam.

Post hoc Christum baptizasti
Digitoque demonstrasti
In Jordane flumine:
Patris vocem exaudisti
Sanctum spiritumque vidisti
Columbina specie.

Jam cum tuo vivis Christo:
Choro sis defensor isto:
Fac per tua merita
Ut post hujus vitae cursum
Te sequamur ubi sursum
Vehamur ad gaudia.

Amen.

Thou saidst 'I am not the Christ,
but am sent from him
to the world in this misery;
after me will surely come the Lamb,
of whom I am unworthy
to unfasten the sandal.'

After this thou didst baptise Christ
and didst sign him with thy finger
in the river Jordan;
thou didst hear the voice of the Father
and didst see the Holy Spirit
in the shape of a dove.

Now thou livest with thy Christ.
Be a protector to this choir;
by thy merits obtain that
after the course of this life
we may follow thee where on high
we may be carried to joy.

Amen.

69. *Gaude virgo mater Christi / Gaude mater matris Christi (Aston)*

Marian version

Gaude virgo mater Christi
Quae per aurem concepisti
Gabriele nuntio.

Gaude quia deo plena
Peperisti sine poena
Cum pudoris lilio.

Gaude quia tui nati
Quem videbas mortem pati
Fulget resurrectio.

Gaude Christo ascendente
Et in caelum te vidente
Motu fertur proprio.

Gaude quod post ipsum scandis
Et est honor tibi grandis
In caeli palatio

Ubi fructus ventris tui
Per te detur nobis frui
In perhenni gaudio.

O Maria virgo mater redemptoris nostri:
O Maria virgo nobilissima quae jam
regnas cum angelis coronata in gloria: ibi
nostri memor esto. O virgo sanctissima:
funde preces tu pro nobis ut possimus
illic tuo sociari collegio. Amen.

Rejoice, O virgin mother of Christ,
who didst conceive aurally,
Gabriel being the messenger.

Rejoice, for being filled with God
thou didst bring forth without travail,
with the lily of chastity.

Rejoice, for there shines forth
the resurrection of thy Son,
whom thou didst see suffer death.

Rejoice, Christ having ascended,
and thou having seen him in heaven,
moved, it is said, by his own will.

Rejoice, for after this thou didst ascend,
and great honour is paid to thee
in the palace of heaven

Where the fruit of thy womb
through thee is given to us to enjoy
in everlasting felicity.

O Mary, virgin mother of our Saviour,
O Mary, most noble virgin who now dost reign
with the angels, crowned in glory: be mindful of
us there. O most holy virgin, pour out thy
prayers for us so that we may be able to join thy
company in that place. Amen.

³⁶ *Ph* (unique source) has 'Dixi' ('I said').

Version to St Anne

Gaude mater matris Christi
 Quae per aurem concepisti
 Dei patris nuntio.

Gaude quia concepisti
 Sterilisque tu fuisti
 Joachim conjugio.

Gaude quia tua nata
 In te clausa sit mundata
 Paritali vitio.

Gaude quia vas virtutis
 Peperisti et salutis
 Castitatis lilio.

Gaude quia mundi stellam
 Atque summi regis cellam
 Lactasti cum gaudio.

Per quam late vultus tui
 Semper nobis detur frui
 In caeli palatio.

O Anna mater matris redemptoris nostri:
 O Anna matrona nobilissima quae jam
 regnas cum angelis coronata in gloria: ibi
 nostri memor esto. O Anna sanctissima:
 funde preces tu pro nobis ut possimus
 illic tuo sociari collegio. Amen.

Rejoice, O mother of the mother of Christ,
 thou who didst conceive aurally,
 God the Father being the messenger.

Rejoice, for thou didst conceive,
 and thou hadst been barren
 in marriage with Joachim.

Rejoice, for thy child
 enclosed within thee has been made clean
 of the stain of childbirth.

Rejoice, for thou gavest birth to
 the vessel of virtues and salvation,
 the lily of chastity.

Rejoice, for the star of the world
 and the sanctuary of the highest King
 thou hast nourished with joy,

Through whom let us, far and wide,
 always be enabled to enjoy thy countenance
 in the palace of heaven.

O Anne, mother of the mother of our Saviour,
 O Anne, most noble woman, who now reignest
 with the angels, crowned in glory: be mindful of
 us there. O most holy Anne, pour out thy
 prayers for us, so that we may be able to join thy
 company in that place. Amen.

70. Ave vulnus lateris (Erley/Errell)

Ave vulnus lateris
 Nostri Salvatoris
 Ex quo fluxit fluminis
 Fonsque cruoris.
 Medicina miseris
 Esto nunc doloris
 Sana simul criminis
 Plagam et erroris.

Ave plaga lateris
 Larga et fecunda:
 Lava multitudinis
 Sordes et emunda.
 Ne laedat inferius
 Tuos mors secunda
 Sed in visu numinis
 Fiat mens jocunda.

Amen.

Hail, O wounded side
 of our Saviour,
 from which flowed a spring
 of water and blood.
 Be now a medicine
 for the wretched,
 and heal the wound
 of grief, sin and error.

Hail, O wounded side,
 generous and fruitful;
 wash and make clean
 the filth of the multitude.
 Do not let a second death
 afflict thy people on earth,
 but let the soul be pleasing
 in the sight of God.

Amen.

71. *Totius mundi domina (Martyn)*

Totius mundi domina imperatrix virginum
felix decus atque splendor gemma virtutum
recolenda summi filia regis: hera applaude
humilis digna reperta eras quae tandem
fieres sacrum habitaculum tanti depositi
vocem ut ad angeli verum conciperes deum.

O patris ingeniti castissima sponsa
gratiaeque praecelsa mater prorsus absque
labe tu geniti thalamus sanctissimus
omniumque divum patrum priorum
terminus doloris munditiae speculum:
laetare quod absque dolore verum
hominemque deum peperisti et tamen in
partu post antequam pura remansit virginitas
tibi et inviolata.

Angligenum patrona singularis siderei pervia
porta Olympi virgula sacra Jesse omnibus
vita meritis anteferenda digne spes nostra:
gaude nam tibi Filius a morte surgens
vincula fregerat mortis polum vitaeque vivens
jam tenet haud moriturus ultra.

Veniae fons vitiorum medicina specialis
bonitatum reparatrix fuga ditis mediatrix
hominum vera deique: usquequaque
gaudeas superna filius nam ad astra scandit
dextera patris sedens ibique regnat gloria
perhenni.

Verbi diva parens imperium cujus ad inferos
et sedes supera tendit ubi gloria laus honor
virtus pax bonitas vera salus continua et
quies ac perfectus amor semper erant nescia
limitis: laetare angelicos sumpta super
choros cum nato resides non sine gaudio
votis omnia cujus ultro semper obediunt.

Columba sancta te precamur hanc tibi
dictatam musam exaudias eam canentibus
supernaque impetres in arce caeli gaudia.
Ingemines regi charisque suis et in omnes
populoque universo fata secunda diu functa
et cum fuerit vita illis te duce caeli cum
civibus fac gaudeant sedibus aethereis.
Amen.

O lady of all the world, empress of virgins, fortunate
in comeliness and excellence, jewel of virtues, meet
to be celebrated, daughter of the most high King:
O mistress, give thanks that thou wast found
humble and worthy, so that in the fullness of time
thou didst become the sacred dwelling-place of so
great a trust, when at the angel's words thou didst
conceive the true God.

O most chaste bride of the unbegotten Father, and
exalted mother of grace, completely without fault,
O thou the most holy chamber of the begotten and
worship of all previous fathers, the end of sorrow
and mirror of cleanliness, rejoice that without
sorrow thou madest ready true man and God, and
that nevertheless, before, during, and after the birth,
thou didst retain thy pure and uncorrupted
virginity.

O incomparable patroness of the English race,
pathway to glory, gateway of Olympus, sacred
offspring of Jesse, rightly preferred as our hope
before all others who have led virtuous lives, rejoice
because the Son rising from death broke the chains
of death and, now living, keeps heaven by no means
beyond the reach of those about to die.

Source of forgiveness, special remedy for sins,
restorer of virtues, true mediator of men and God:
thou rejoicest on every possible occasion, because
the Son ascended to the heavenly stars, and there on
the right hand of the Father he reigns in perpetual
glory.

O noble parent of the Word, whose empire extends
to the infernal regions and to heaven, where are
glory, praise, honour, might, peace, goodness, true
salvation, continual repose and perfect love, always
and without limit, rejoice that thou art raised up
above the angel choirs, where not without joy thou
livest with the Son, whose cult all observe to the
utmost.

O holy dove, we pray thee to hear this poem said in
thy honour, and to obtain joy in the vault of heaven
on high for those singing it. Redouble for the king,
for those dear to him and for the whole realm the
good fortune in all their affairs that they have already
long enjoyed, and when life shall be at an end cause
them, led by thee, to rejoice with the citizens of
heaven on celestial thrones. Amen.

72. *Mass Libera nos (Knyght)*

See no. 16.

VII: CRITICAL COMMENTARY

VII—1: INTRODUCTION

The information relating to each composition is set out under the following alphabetic headings:

- A. The number of the piece; its title or the incipit of its text; and the name of its composer (using the fullest form and spelling of the name occurring in *Ph*).
- B. Its location in *Ph*.
- C. Its location in concordant sources, identified by the numbers applied to them in Section VII—2.
- D. The function and source of the text. When a text occurs in books of hours or primers of Salisbury or York Use the first printed edition to include it is cited using the numbering adopted by Edgar Hoskins in *Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis ...* (London, 1901).
- E. The presence and treatment of pre-existing material.
- F. Commentary on the reading in *Ph*.
- G. Commentary on the readings in concordant sources.
- H. Modern printed editions.

Information under headings **F** and **G** is provided only for compositions included in Volume Two.¹

VII—2: LIST OF CONCORDANT SOURCES

This list of musical manuscripts containing complete or partial concordances with *Ph* is arranged alphabetically by present location.² The numbers here given to these sources are used to identify them elsewhere in this dissertation. No distinction is made between sources containing complete compositions and those containing extracts or fragmentary copies.

Cambridge, King's College, Rowe Music Library:

1. MS 316. The Mean partbook from a set of five copied in the late sixteenth century and containing antiphons and psalm motets, some with English substitutes for the original Latin texts. Contains 36 and 38, both with English words.

Cambridge, St. John's College:

2. MS K.31 (formerly MS 234). The Bass partbook from the set to which the following manuscript belonged. See M. R. James, *A descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts in the library of St John's College Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1913), pp. 273–4. Contains 4, 16, 26, 38, 53, 54, 56, 59.

Cambridge, University Library:

2. MS Dd.xij.27. The Contratenor partbook from a set of five copied in about 1530. See C. Hardwick and H. R. Luard, *A catalogue of the manuscripts preserved in the library of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1856–67), p. 515. Contains 4, 16, 26, 38, 53, 54, 56, 59.
3. Gonville and Caius College MS 667. A choirbook copied in about 1520. See M. R. James, *A descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts in the library of Gonville and Caius College*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1908), p. 663; G. Chew, 'The provenance and date of the Caius and Lambeth choir-books', *ML*, vol. 51 (1970), pp. 107–17; P. Fugler, *The unpublished antiphons in the Lambeth choirbook ...*, MA dissertation, (University of Exeter, 1978), *passim*; P. Fugler, 'The Lambeth and Caius Choirbooks', *JPMMS*, vol. 6 (1983), pp. 15–25; D. Skinner, *Nicholas Ludford (c. 1490–1557): a biography and critical edition of the antiphons, with a study of the Collegiate Chapel of the Holy Trinity, Arundel, under the*

¹ This information has been removed from the copy of the dissertation available from DIAMM; since the musical editions are not included there it would be of little use. Full critical information is provided in the revised musical editions in course of publication by Antico Edition.

² The manuscripts listed under Tenbury in 1983 have been left under that heading despite their subsequent transference to the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Mastership of Edward Higgons, and a history of the Caius and Lambeth choirbooks, D.Phil. dissertation (University of Oxford, 1995). Contains 29, 30, 31, 34, 53, 59. This manuscript has now (2009) returned to Gonville and Caius College.

4. Peterhouse MSS 485–91 and 493 (formerly MSS 44, 42, 35, 37, 45, 43, 36 and 46), known as the ‘Latter Set’. A miscellany of pages from several sets of partbooks copied between about 1540 and 1640, mainly during the last decade of this period. See A. Hughes, *Catalogue of the musical manuscripts at Peterhouse, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1953); J. Morehen, *The sources of English cathedral music, c. 1617–c. 1644*, Ph.D. dissertation (University of Cambridge, 1969). MSS 485, 487, 488 and 490 contain 22.

Chelmsford, Essex Record Office:

5. D/DP.Z.6/1. The Bass partbook from a set of five copied late in the sixteenth century. See P. Brett, ‘Edward Paston (1550–1630): a Norfolk gentleman and his musical collection’, *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, vol. 4 (1964–8), pp. 58 and 69; *TCM*, Appendix (London, 1948), pp. 6–7. Contains 22, 26, 35, 36, 38, 49, 55, 66.

Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland:

6. Adv. MS 5.1.15. A choirbook compiled during the first half of the sixteenth century. See D. Stevens, ‘The manuscript Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Adv. MS 5.1.15’, *MD*, vol. 13 (1959), pp. 155–67; K. Elliott, ‘The Carver choir-book’, *ML*, vol. 41 (1960), pp. 349–57. Contains 26, 54.

Eton, Eton College Library:

7. MS 178. A choirbook compiled during the first decade of the sixteenth century. See F. Ll. Harrison, ‘The Eton choirbook: its background and contents (Eton College Library MS 178)’, *AM*, vol. 1 (1953) 151–75 and *MB*, vols 10–12; M. Williamson, *The Eton choirbook: its institutional and historical background*, D.Phil. dissertation (University of Oxford, 1997). Contained 53 (now lost).

London, British Library:

8. Add. MS 4900. Lute arrangements of vocal music copied c. 1600. See A. Hughes-Hughes, *Catalogue of manuscript music in the British Museum* (London, 1906–9), vol. 1, pp. 425–6. Contains 35.

9. Add. MS 11586. Transcriptions by Dr Charles Burney of Tudor, Jacobean and later music. See A. Hughes-Hughes, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 71, 145, 209, 223, 314. Contains 31.

10. Add. MSS 18936–9. Four partbooks dating from the early seventeenth century. See A. Hughes-Hughes, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 279–80; Brett, op. cit., p. 60. Contain 35, 38, 49.

11. Add. MS 29246. Lute music, chiefly transcriptions of vocal music with the top part omitted, copied c. 1611. See A. Hughes-Hughes, op. cit., vol. 3, pp. 59–61; P. Brett, op. cit., pp. 57 and 69. Contains 4, 22, 26, 35, 38, 49, 55, 66.

12. Add. MS 30513. A collection of organ music, including transcriptions of vocal pieces, compiled in the mid-sixteenth century. See A. Hughes-Hughes, op. cit., vol. 3, pp. 44 and 77; D. Stevens, *The Mulliner book: a commentary* (London, 1952) and *MB*, vol. 1. Contains 35, 49.

13. Add. MS 31922. An early seventeenth-century collection of lute music, including arrangements of vocal pieces. See A. Hughes-Hughes, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 63. Contains 42.

14. Add. MS 34049. An early seventeenth-century Treble partbook. See A. Hughes-Hughes, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 278; P. Brett, op. cit., p. 69. Contains 26, 35, 36, 38, 49, 55, 66.

15. Add. MS 34191. A Bass partbook from a set of five copied in about 1530, with additions of about 1549. See A. Hughes-Hughes, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 261. Contains 7, 27, 32, 38, 45, 53, 69.

16. Add. MSS 41156–8. Three partbooks copied *c.* 1610 and containing chiefly extracts from vocal compositions. See P. J. Willetts, *Handlist of music manuscripts acquired 1908–1967* (London, 1970), p. 13; P. Brett, *op. cit.*, p. 69. Contain 35, 38, 49.

17. Harley MS 1709. The Mean partbook from a set of five copied in about 1530. See A. Hughes-Hughes, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 266; N. Sandon, 'The manuscript London, British Library, Harley 1709', *Music in the medieval English liturgy*, ed. D. Hiley and S. Rankin (London, 1993), pp. 355–79. Contains 6, 9, 26, 35, 38, 49, 56, 69.

18. MS Royal 24.d.2. A musical miscellany, consisting chiefly of extracts from vocal compositions, compiled between *c.* 1586 and *c.* 1600. See R. W. Bray, 'British Museum MS Royal 24.d.2 (John Baldwin's commonplace book): an index and commentary', *RMARC*, vol. 12 (1974), pp. 137–51. Contains 8, 20, 26, 35, 38, 49, 59.

19. Royal Music 24.h.11. Scorings of Tudor and Jacobean music in an eighteenth-century hand. Contains 26, 35, 49, 55, 66.

London, Lambeth Palace Library:

20. MS 1. A choirbook copied in about 1520. See M. R. James and C. Jenkins, *A descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts in the library of Lambeth Palace*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1930), p. 1; W. H. Frere, *Bibliotheca musico-liturgica: a descriptive hand list of the musical and Latin-liturgical MSS of the Middle Ages, preserved in the libraries of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 1 (London, 1901), p. 4; G. Chew, *op. cit.*; P. Fugler, *opp. cit.*; D. Skinner, *op. cit.* Contains 29, 30, 31, 53, 54, 55, 59.

London, Royal College of Music:

21. MS 2035. Three partbooks copied early in the seventeenth century and containing extracts from vocal works. See P. Brett, *op. cit.*, p. 69. Contain 4, 22, 26, 35, 38, 49, 55, 66.

22. MS 2036. Contains 22.

Oxford, All Souls College:

23. SR. 59.b.13. A guard-book of manuscript fragments, the eighteenth of which is a leaf from an early sixteenth-century choirbook. Contains 29.

Oxford, Bodleian Library:

24. MS Lat.liturg.a.9. Two leaves from a late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century choirbook. See A. Hughes, *Medieval polyphony in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford, 1951), pp. 31–2. Contains 53.

25. MSS Mus. e. 1–5. A set of five partbooks copied between about 1568 and 1585. See H. Benham, *John Taverner: II, Votive Antiphons*, EECM, vol. 25 (London, 1981), pp. xiv–xv; F. W. Madan and others, *A summary catalogue of Western manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford which have not hitherto been catalogued in the quarto series: with references to the Oriental and other manuscripts*, vol. 5 (Oxford, 1905), pp. 649–50; D. G. Mateer, 'John Sadler and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Mus. e. 1–5', *ML*, vol. 60 (1979), pp. 281–95. Contain 4, 8, 26, 35, 36, 38, 49, 69.

26. MSS Mus. sch. e. 376–81. A set of six partbooks begun in about 1526, continued probably between 1553 and 1558 and completed late in the sixteenth century. See J. D. Bergsagel, 'The date and provenance of the Forrest-Heyther collection of Tudor Masses', *ML*, vol. 44 (1963), pp. 240–8; F. W. Madan, *op. cit.*, vol. 5, pp. 210–1. Contain 16, 28, 30, 31, 59.

27. MSS Mus. sch. e. 420–2. Three partbooks from a set of four copied during the reign of Edward VI, the Tenor book being lost. See P. Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549–1660* (London, 1967, R/1978), pp. 172–81; F. W. Madan, *op. cit.*, vol. 5, pp. 235–6. Contain 22 and 39 with English words.

28. MS Mus. sch. e. 423. The Contratenor partbook from a set of five copied in the second half of the sixteenth century. See F. W. Madan, *op. cit.*, vol. 5, p. 236. Contains 4, 35, 36, 38, 49.

Oxford, Christ Church:

29. MSS 979–83. Five partbooks from a set of six copied late in the sixteenth century, the Tenor book being lost. See H. Benham, *op. cit.*, pp. xv–xvj; R. Bray, ‘The part-books Oxford, Christ Church, MSS 979–983: an index and commentary’, *MD*, vol. 25 (1971), pp. 179–97; R. Bray, ‘John Baldwin’, *ML*, vol. 56 (1975), pp. 55–9. Contain 4, 26, 35, 36, 37, 38, 49.

Oxford, Merton College:

30. Printed Book 62.f.8. The front flyleaf is part of the index from a lost early sixteenth-century Treble partbook. The tops of two columns remain, listing the first six antiphons and the first five Masses in the collection. These were ‘Maria plena feirfax’ (f. 1), ‘Altissimi potencia cornysh’ (f. 2), ‘Stabat hunt’ (f. 2), ‘lauda vivi feirfax’ (f. 3), ‘eterne laudis feyrfax’ (f. 5), ‘virgo templum Davy’ (f. 6); and the Masses ‘Tecum principium ludford’ (f. 17), ‘Requiem eternam ludford’ (f. 19), ‘God save kyng harry’ (f. 22), ‘Salve festa dies’ (f. 29) and ‘Sermone blando ludford’ (f. 32). May have contained 5, 8, 54, 56.

Spetchley Park, Worcestershire:

31. MS in a private collection. ‘The Wilmott manuscript’, the Mean partbook from the set of five to which Tenbury MS 1486 belonged (see below). Copied late in the sixteenth century. Tenbury MS 1474 is a modern copy of this MS. See *TCM*, Appendix, pp. 5–6. Contains 35, 38, 49, 66.

Tenbury, St. Michael’s College (now in Oxford, Bodleian Library):

32. MSS 341–4. Four partbooks from a set of five copied *c.* 1600. See P. Brett, *op. cit.*, pp. 57–8 and 69; E. H. Fellowes, *The catalogue of manuscripts in the library of St Michael’s College (Tenbury, Worcestershire)* (Paris, 1934), pp. 56–9. Contain 35, 36, 38, 39, 49, 55, 66.

33. MSS 354–8. A set of five partbooks copied early in the seventeenth century. Now in the Bodleian Library. See P. Brett, *op. cit.*, and 69; Fellowes, *op. cit.*, pp. 61–2. Contain 22, 26, 35, 36, 38, 49, 55, 66.

34. MSS 807–11. Five partbooks from a set of six copied early in the seventeenth century. See E. H. Fellowes, *op. cit.*, pp. 168–9. Now in the Bodleian Library. Contain 35, 49.

35. MS 1464. The Bass partbook from a set of five copied in the second half of the sixteenth century. See *TCM*, Appendix, p. 8. Now in the Bodleian Library. Contains 4, 7, 8, 22, 26, 35, 36, 38, 39, 49, 54, 56, 62.

36. MSS 1469–71. Three partbooks from a set of five copied *c.* 1600, the Contratenor and Tenor books being lost. See P. Brett, *op. cit.*, p. 69; *TCM*, Appendix, pp. 8–9. Now in the Bodleian Library. Contain 26, 35, 38, 49, 55.

37. MSS 1486 and 1474. The Tenor partbook and E. H. Fellowes’s copy of the Mean partbook from a set of five dating from the late sixteenth century. See *TCM*, Appendix, pp. 5–6. See also Spetchley Park, above. Now in the Bodleian Library. Contain 35, 38, 49, 66.

Concordances noticed after 1983:

38. Jena, Universitätsbibliothek, 9. Contains 59.

VII—3: COMMENTARY

- A. 1. Sancte deus Tavernor**
- B.** Tr missing; M f. 1^r; Ct f. 1^r; T missing; B f. 1^r.
- C.** None
- D.** Jesus-antiphon. Amalgamated (with minor changes) from the invocation ‘Sanctus deus sanctus fortis sanctus et immortalis miserere nobis’ from the Good Friday *Improperia* (*Miss. Sar.*, col. 237) and the third verse ‘Nunc Christe ... mundum. Amen.’ of *Libera me Domine*, the ninth responsory at Matins of the Dead (*Brev. Sar.*, vol. 2, col. 280). The first nine words in the form set by Taverner occur in *Enchiridion preclare ecclesie Sarum ...* (Paris, 1528); see *Horae*, no. 83 and p. 135. Prescribed to be sung during the evening devotions at Cardinal College, Oxford; see the foundation statutes of 1525 printed in *Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford, printed by desire of H.M. Commissioners for inquiring into the State of the University of Oxford II* (London, 1853) pp. 57–8. The revised statutes of 1527 specified that it was to be sung after *Ave Maria* (*ibid.*, pp. 164–5). When in 1532 King Henry VIII’s College replaced Cardinal College its foundation statutes required *Ave Maria* to be sung after *Sancte deus* (*ibid.*, pp. 188–9); this appears to be reflected in the ordering of *Ph* nos 1 and 2, which (except in the Bass book) are copied as a single composition, with *Sancte deus* coming first.
- E.** No pre-existing material has been detected.
- F.**
- G.** No concordances.
- H.** *TCM*, vol. 3, p. 139; *EECM*, vol. 25, p. 131; *AE*, vol. RCM101, pp. 1–3.

- A. 2. Ave Maria Tavernor**
- B.** Missing; 1^r; 1^r; missing; verso of strip facing 1^r.
- C.** None.
- D.** Mary-antiphon. Part of the *Salutatio Angelica* (*Brev. Sar.*, vol. 2, col. 2). *Horae*, p. 108 (no. 7, 1494). Introduced as an evening devotion in the revised statutes of Cardinal College in 1527 and retained in the foundation statutes of King Henry VIII’s College in 1532 (see above under no. 1). In *Ph* copied as a single piece with *Sancte deus* and not mentioned separately in the indexes.
- E.** No pre-existing material has been detected.
- F.**
- G.** No concordances.
- H.** *TCM*, vol. 3, p. 134; *EECM*, vol. 25, p. 92; *AE*, vol. RCM101, pp. 4–5.

- A. 3. O rex gloriose John Mason Cicerstensis**
- B.** Missing; 1^r-2^r; 1^r-2^r; missing; 1^r-2^r.
- C.** None.
- D.** Antiphon to canticle *Nunc dimittis* at Compline from Passion Sunday to Wednesday in Holy Week (1519, *Temporale*, f. clxxix^v). Used without its verses as the antiphon to *Nunc dimittis* on the feast of the Name of Jesus (1520, *Sanctorale*, f. lxxv^r). Also appears as a private devotion in books of hours: see *Horae*, p. 112 (no. 7, 1494).
- E.** The melody of the antiphon and its verses is used as a *cantus firmus*, either monorhythmically in the tenor or paraphrased in another voice. In the edition this and the tone for the canticle have been supplied from 1519 and 1520. Annotated 'men' in indices.
- F.**
- G.** No concordances.
- H.** AE, vol. RCM102, pp. 1-9.

- A. 4. Ave dei patris John Tavernor**
- B.** Missing; 2^r-3^r; 2^r-3^v; missing; 2^r-3^r.
- C.** 2, 12^r-13^v; 11^r-12^r; / 11, 7^r / 21, 2^v and 22^r / 25, no. 9 / 28, no. 23 / 29, no. 49 / 35, 31^v-33^v.
- D.** Mary-antiphon. In *Horae*, no. 42 (c. 1513) it is entitled 'Septem salutationes ad beatam Mariam virginem nostram mediatricem efficacissimam'; see *Horae*, p. 128.
- E.** Uses as a tenor *cantus firmus* phrases of the hymn *Te deum* ('Te deum laudamus. Te dominum confitemur. Te aeternum patrem omnis terra veneratur. ... Sanctus dominus deus sabaoth. ... Tu rex gloriae Christe. In te domine speravi: non confundar in aeternum.') plus the *neuma* of the fourth mode.
- F.** Not included in the edition.
- G.** Not collated.
- H.** TCM, vol. 3, p. 61; EECM, vol. 25, p. 1.

- A. 5. Stabat mater Robert Hunt**
- B.** Missing; 3^r–4^r; 3^v–5^r; missing; 3^r–4^v.
- C.** 30.
- D.** Mary-antiphon. U. Chevalier, *Repertorium hymnologicum: catalogue des chants, hymnes, proses, séquences, tropes en usage dans l'église latine depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours* (Louvain, 1892–1921), hereafter referred to as *Chev.*, no. 19416. In *Horae*, no. 23 (1501) it is entitled 'Devota contemplatio beatae Mariae virginis juxta crucem filii sui lachrymantis: et ad compassionem Salvatoris singulos invitantis'; see *Horae*, p. 119. In *Horae*, no. 79 (1527) it has the following introduction: 'Our holy father the pope Bonifacius hath graunted to all them that devoutly say thys lamentable contemplacyon of our blessyd lady standing under the crosse wepyng et havynge compassion with her swete sone iesus vij. yers of pardon and xl. lentes. And also pope Jhon the xxij. hath graunted thre hondred days of pardon.'
- E.** No pre-existing material has been detected.
- F.**
- G.** No concordances with music.
- H.** AE, vol. RCM103, forthcoming.

- A. 6. Salve regina R. Pyggott**
- B.** Missing; 4^r–5^v; 5^v–7^r; missing; 4^v–6^r.
- C.** 17 26^r–28^v.
- D.** Mary-antiphon. *Chev.*, no. 18148. *Horae*, p. 110 (no. 7, 1494).
- E.** No pre-existing material has been detected.
- F.**
- G.**
- H.** AE, vol. RCM104, pp. 1–24.

- A. 7. O Maria deo grata R. Fayrefax**
- B.** Missing; 5^v–7^r; 7^v–9^v; missing; 6^r–7^v.
- C.** 15, ff. 28^v–31^r / 35, ff. 17^v–20^r.
- D.** Mary-antiphon; the text is otherwise unknown. In 35 the composition is entitled 'O Maria deo grata or Albanus'; this, together with the fact that it is on the same *cantus firmus* as Fayrefax's Mass *Albanus*, suggests that it may originally have set a text in honour of St Alban. The antiphon to St Alban *O Albane deo grate* in Lbl, C.52.b.21 f. 199 (*Chev.*, no. 30191) may well have been the original text; see the juxtaposed texts in Section VI—2.
- E.** The *cantus firmus* is the phrase of melody to which the name 'Albanus' is sung in the antiphon *Primus in anglorum* from a rhymed Office of St Alban, *Inclita martyrii recolentes* (see MB, vol. 8, p. 189). As in Fayrefax's Mass *Albanus*, the *cantus firmus* is mainly restricted to the tenor but appears in the other voices towards the end of the piece.
- F.**
- G.**
- H.** CMM, vol. 17, part 3, p. 42 (uncompleted); AE, vol. RCM105, pp. 1–18.

- A. 8. Maria plena virtute Fayrefax**
- B.** Missing; 7^r-8^r; 9^v-11^r; missing; 7^v-9^r.
- C.** 18, ff. 146^v-147^r / 25, no. 20 / 30 / 35, ff. 24^r-27^r.
- D.** Mary-antiphon; the text is otherwise unknown.
- E.** No pre-existing material has been detected.
- F.** Not included in the edition.
- G.** Not collated.
- H.** CMM, vol. 17, part 2, p. 59; AE, vol. RCM25, pp. 1-19.

- A. 9. Salve regina Nicolas Ludford**
- B.** Missing; 8^r-9^v; 11^r-12^v; missing; 9^r-10^r.
- C.** 17, ff. 49^v-51^v.
- D.** Mary-antiphon. *Chev.*, no. 18148. *Horae*, p. 110 (no. 7, 1494).
- E.** On the same *cantus firmus*, a short responsory at Terce, as Ludford's votive antiphon *Ave Maria ancilla trinitatis* (no. 57) and his Mass *Inclina cor meum deus in testimonia tua* (no. 60); see 1519, *Psalterium*, ff. li^v-lij^r.
- F.**
- G.**
- H.** AE, vol. RCM106, pp. 1-16.

- A. 10. Trium regum John Catcott**
- B.** Missing; 9^v-10^v; 12^v-13^v; missing; 10^r-10^v.
- C.** None.
- D.** Jesus-antiphon. *Horae*, p. 111 (no. 7, 1494). In *Horae*, no. 79 (1527) it is entitled 'An other prayer to the iij. kynges of colen.'
- E.** No pre-existing material has been detected.
- F.**
- G.** No concordances.
- H.** AE, vol. RCM107, pp. 1-13.

- A. 11. Ave Maria. Ave fuit prima salus John Mason Cicerstensis**
- B.** Missing; 10^v–12^r; 13^v–15^v; missing; 10^v–12^r.
- C.** None.
- D.** Mary-antiphon. *Chev.*, no. 1801. *Horae*, p. 128 (no. 42, c. 1513).
- E.** No pre-existing material has been detected.
- F.**
- G.** No concordances.
- H.** AE, vol. RCM108, forthcoming.
-
- A. 12. Mariae virginis Bramston**
- B.** ?–13^v; 12^r–13^r; 15^v–16^v; missing; 12^v–13^r.
- C.** None.
- D.** Mary-antiphon; text not otherwise known, but related to *Chev.*, no. 11167.
- E.** No pre-existing material has been detected.
- F.**
- G.** No concordances.
- H.** AE, vol. RCM107, p. 14–25.
-
- A. 13. Euge dicta sanctis oraculis John Norman**
- B.** 13^v–15^r; 13^r–14^r; 16^v–18^r; missing; 13^r–14^v.
- C.** None.
- D.** Mary-antiphon; text otherwise unknown.
- E.** No pre-existing material has been detected.
- F.**
- G.** No concordances.
- H.** AE, vol. RCM109, forthcoming.
-
- A. 14. Ave Maria divae matris Hugh Aysheton**
- B.** 15^r–16^r; 14^r–15^r; 18^r–19^r; missing; 14^v–15^v.
- C.** None
- D.** Mary-antiphon; text otherwise unknown.
- E.** No pre-existing material has been detected.
- F.**
- G.** No concordances.
- H.** *TCM*, vol. 10, p. 127 (uncompleted); AE, vol. RCM110, pp. 1–13.

- A. 15. Ave Maria mater dei Robert Hunt**
- B.** 16^r–16^v; 15^v; 19^r–19^v; missing; 16^r.
- C.** None.
- D.** Mary-antiphon; text also set by William Cornysh (see MB, vol. 12, p. 57) but not otherwise known. *Chev.*, no. 35590.
- E.** No pre-existing material has been detected.
- F.**
- G.** No concordances.
- H.** AE, vol. RCM111, pp. 1–6.

- A. 16. Mass *Te deum* Heugh Aston**
- B.** 16^v–20^r; 16^r–19^r; 20^r–23^v; missing; 16^r–19^r.
- C.** 2, ff. 24^r–27^r; 25^r–27^v. / 26 ff. 53^r–60^v; 48^r–55^r; 54^r–62^v; 42^v–49^r; 45^r–51^r.
- D.** Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus of Mass. Text omissions in Credo. Also known as Mass *Te matrem dei*; the scribe of *Ph* began copying it again under this title in the Treble book on ff. 36^v–37^r but realized that it was the same piece and stopped.
- E.** On material from the hymn *Te deum*, particularly the melody of the second verse ('Te aeternum Patrem omnis terra veneratur'). It shares this *cantus firmus* and some freely-composed material with Aston's Mary-antiphon *Te matrem dei laudamus* (which also survives with a paraphrastic text *Te deum laudamus* in honour of the Trinity). The two works were probably conceived as a pair, perhaps being written for Aston's B.Mus. exercise at Oxford in 1510.
- F.** Not included in the edition.
- G.** Not collated.
- H.** *TCM*, vol. 10, p. 1; AE, vol. RCM27, pp. 1–48.

- A. 17. Terrenum sitiens Edwarde**
- B.** 20^r–2^r; 19^r–20^r; 23^v–24^v; missing; 19^r–20^r.
- C.** None.
- D.** The text refers to the Holy Innocents and resembles a responsory or a Latin carol with three verses and a refrain. The refrain ‘Vindica Domine sanguinem sanctorum tuorum qui effusus est in circuitu Jerusalem’ combines the verse and partial repeat of the fourth responsory at Matins of the Holy Innocents in Salisbury Use: R. Effuderunt sanguinem sanctorum velut aquam in circuitu Hierusalem et non erat qui sepeliret. V. Vindica Domine sanguinem sanctorum tuorum qui effusus est. R. In circuitu ... (1519, *Temporale*, ff. lxxix^v–lxxx^r). This is also the second Matins responsory in the Benedictine Use of Worcester (*WA*, f. 22^r). Nevertheless the composition does not seem to be ritual; the refrain form may owe something to the carol, as in Pygott’s *Quid petis O fili*.
- E.** No pre-existing material has been detected.
- F.**
- G.** No concordances.
- H.** AE, vol. RCM112, pp. 1–17.

- A. 18. Sub tuam protectionem Jacobus Northbroke**
- B.** 2^r–21^v; 20^r–20^v; 24^v–25^r; missing; 20^r–20^v.
- C.** None.
- D.** Antiphon to the fourth psalm at First Vespers of the Conception (1519, *Sanctorale*, f. xvi^r) and the Nativity (1520, *Sanctorale*, f. cv^r) of the Blessed Virgin. Also used as an antiphon in private devotions (see for example Cul, MS Dd.b.1, a fifteenth-century book of hours in which this text has been added to f. 144^v in a hand of c. 1500).
- E.** The faburden to the chant (for which see 1520, *Sanctorale*, f. cv^r) is used as a *cantus firmus* in the bass part. This fact and the presence in the Bass book of the plainchant intonation suggest that the piece may have been used ritually.
- F.**
- G.** No concordances.
- H.** AE, vol. RCM111, pp. 7–14.

- A. 19. Vae nobis miseris John Mason Cicerstensis**
- B.** 21^v–22^v; 20^v–21^v; 25^r–26^v; missing; 20^v–21^v.
- C.** None.
- D.** Jesus-antiphon; the text is not otherwise known.
- E.** No pre-existing material has been detected. Annotated ‘men’ in indices.
- F.**
- G.** No concordances.
- H.** AE, vol. RCM113, forthcoming.

- A. 20. Quales sumus John Mason Cicerstensis**
- B.** 23^r–24^r; 21^v–23^r; 26^v–28^r; missing; 21^v–22^v.
- C.** 18, ff. 153^v–154^r (bars 15–45 and 102–12 only).
- D.** Mary-antiphon; the text is otherwise unknown.
- E.** In bars 124–30 the bass part quotes the beginning of the tract *Sicut cervus desiderat aquarum fontes* when these words occur in the text. In Salisbury Use this was a tract sung in Masses for the dead (1528, *Commune Sanctorum*, ff. xlv^v–xlvi^r). No other preexisting material has been detected. Annotated ‘men’ in indices.
- F.**
- G.**
- H.** AE, vol. RCM114, pp. 1–14.

- A. 21. Gaude virgo mater Christi Wylliam Alen**
- B.** 24^v–25^r; 23^r; 28^r–29^r; missing; 23^r–23^v.
- C.** None.
- D.** Mary-antiphon, on the Five Corporal Joys of Our Lady. *Chev.*, no. 7016. *Horae*, p. 110 (no. 7, 1494). In *Horae*, no. 79 (1527) it is introduced thus: ‘The rygth reverent father in god Laurence bysshop of asseven hath graunted xl. days of pardon to all them that devoutly say thys prayer in the worship of our blessyd lady beyng penitent et trewly confessed of all theyr synnes.’
- E.** On an ostinato *cantus firmus*, the five notes F–G–A–B \flat –A, sung in canon by the mean and tenor (for a discussion of this motive see N. Sandon, ‘F–G–A–B \flat –A: thoughts on a Tudor motive’, *EM*, vol. 12 (1984), pp. 56–63, based on the original Appendix 1 of this dissertation). Excluding fermatas the piece is 400 (original) semibreves long, which may refer to the 40 days of pardon mentioned above. Annotated ‘men’ in indices.
- F.**
- G.** No concordances.
- H.** AE, vol. RCM115, pp. 1–8.

A. 22. Mass *Sine nomine* John Tavernor

- B.** 25^r–27^v; 23^v–25^v; 29^r–31^r; missing; 24^r–26^r.
- C.** 4, MS 485, ff.03 and 04 (treble); MS 487, ff. 02 and 03 (mean); MS 487, ff. 05 and 06 (contratenor); MS 490, ff. G3 and G4 (tenor); MS 488, f. M4 and following un-numbered folio (bass) / 5, ff. 12^r–14^r / 11, ff. 10^v–11^r / 21, f. 13^v / 22, f. 7^r / 27, ff. 99^v–103^v (mean); 101^v–108^r (contratenor on verso and treble on recto); 100^r–104^v (bass) / 33, f. 6^v / 35, ff. 51^v–54^v.
- D.** Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus of Mass. Text omissions in Credo.
- E.** No pre-existing material has been detected but material is shared between the movements. Apparently this Mass formed a model for Masses by several later composers including Tye, Sheppard, Tallis and Byrd (see N. Davison, ‘Structure and Unity in four free-composed Tudor Masses’ in *MR*, vol. 34 (1973), pp. 328–38 and Philip Brett, ‘Homage to Taverner in Byrd’s Masses’ in *EM*, vol. 9 (1981), pp. 169–76). See also H. Benham, *The music of John Taverner: a study and assessment*, Ph.D. dissertation (University of Southampton, 1969), especially pp. 54–69.
- F.** Not included in the edition.
- G.** Not collated.
- H.** EECM, vol. 36; *TCM*, vol. 1, p. 50. English adaptation in *TCM*, vol. 1, p. 143; AE, vol. RCM24, pp. 1–23.

A. 23. Mass *Mater Christi* John Tavernor

- B.** 27^v–30^v; 25^v–28^v; 31^v–34^v; missing; 26^r–29^r.
- C.** None.
- D.** Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus of Mass. Text omissions in Credo. Its derivation from Taverner’s Mary-antiphon *Mater Christi* suggests that it may have been intended for feasts of Our Lord or Our Lady.
- E.** Based on Taverner’s Mary-antiphon *Mater Christi*, which itself appears to be freely composed. In the Bass book (f. 29^r) it is annotated ‘apon the antyme mater christi’.
- F.**
- G.** No concordances.
- H.** EECM, vol. 36; *TCM*, vol. 1, p. 99; AE, vol. RCM116, pp. 1–32.

- A. 24. Exultet in hac die Hugh Sturmy**
- B.** 30^v–31^r; 28^v–29^r; 34^v–35^r; missing; 29^r–29^v.
- C.** None.
- D.** Antiphon of St Augustine, Apostle of the English. Antiphon to the Magnificat at First Vespers of St Augustine in the Benedictine Use of Worcester (*WA*, f. 223^r). In Salisbury Use St Augustine was served from the Common of a Confessor (1519, *Sanctorale*, f. lxxv). This composition is therefore likely to have come from an institution in which St Augustine had his own Office. St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury and Canterbury Cathedral Priory itself are obvious candidates.
- E.** The melody of the antiphon is used as a monorhythmic *cantus firmus* in the tenor.
- F.**
- G.** No concordances.
- H.** AE, vol. RCM117, pp. 1–7.
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- A. 25. Sancte deus Whitbroke**
- B.** 3^r–31^v; 29^r–29^v; 35^r–36^r; missing; 29^v–30^r.
- C.** None.
- D.** Jesus-antiphon. See the Commentary to no. 1. Whytbroke's composition is not associated with a setting of *Ave Maria* and may therefore date from before Wolsey's revised statutes of 1527.
- E.** No pre-existing material has been detected.
- F.**
- G.** No concordances.
- H.** AE, vol. RCM117, pp. 8–13.
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- A. 26. Ave dei patris Doctor Fayrefax**
- B.** 31^v–32^v; 29^v–3^r; 36^r–37^r; missing; 30^r–31^r.
- C.** 2, ff. 1^r–2^r; 1^r–2^r / 5, ff. 2^r–3^v / 6, ff. 155^v–157^v and 160^r–161^v / 11, ff. 2^v–3^r / 14, ff. 22^v–23^r / 17, ff. 33^r–35^r / 18, ff. 156^v–157^r / 19, p. 222 / 21, f. 21^v / 25, no. 7 / 29, no. 47 / 33, f. 25^r / 35, ff. 28^r–29^v / 36, f. 2^r.
- D.** Mary-antiphon. In *Horae*, no. 42 (c. 1513) it is entitled 'Septem salutationes ad beatam Mariam virginem nostram mediatricem efficacissimam'; see *Horae*, p. 128.
- E.** No pre-existing material has been detected.
- F.** Not included in the edition.
- G.** Not collated.
- H.** CMM, vol. 17, part 2, p. 36.

- A. 27. Mass *Spes nostra* Robarte Jonys**
- B.** 32^v–36^r; 3^r–34^v; 37^r–41^r; missing; 3^r–34^r.
- C.** 15, ff. 1^r–4^r (taking up at the D in bar 83 of the Credo).
- D.** Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus of Mass. Text omissions in Credo. For Trinity Sunday?
- E.** The *cantus firmus* is the fifth antiphon at Matins on Trinity Sunday (1520, *Temporale*, f. iiij). There is a textless five-part setting of this *cantus firmus* by Osbert Parsley (see MB, vol. 44, p. 79).
- F.**
- G.**
- H.** AE, vol. RCM118, pp. 1–43.

- A. 28. Mass *Christe Jesu* Rasar**
- B.** 37^v–40^v; 34^v–38^r; 41^r–44^r; missing; 34^r–36^v.
- C.** 26, ff. 45^v–52^v; 40^r–48^r; 47^r–54^r; 36^v–42^v; 40^r–45^r.
- D.** Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus of Mass. Sets complete Credo text. A Jesus-Mass, perhaps originally a Mass of St William of York (see E below and Commentaries to nos 37 and 39).
- E.** No pre-existing material has been identified, but the title and the cross-quotations between the movements imply that the Mass is based on a now lost polyphonic antiphon; this is supported by the annotation ‘apon the close’ above bar 21 of the Agnus in the Bass book of 26. The model could perhaps have been a setting of the same *O Christe Jesu* text that Taverner set.
- F.** Not included in the edition.
- G.** Not collated.
- H.** EECM, vol. 16, p. 140. This edition should be corrected with reference to my review in *EM*, vol. 4 (1976), pp. 325–9.

- A. 29. Mass *O quam glorifica* Fayrefax**
- B.** 40^v–45^r; 38^r–42^r; 44^v–49^v; missing; 37^r–41^r.
- C.** 3, pp. 96–111 / 20, pp. 17–33 / 23, f. 18.
- D.** Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus of Mass. Text omissions in Credo. A Mary-Mass (for the Assumption?).
- E.** The *cantus firmus* is the hymn at First Vespers of the Assumption (1520, *Sanctorale*, ff. xc^v–xci^r).
- F.** Not included in the edition.
- G.** Not collated.
- H.** CMM, vol. 17, part 1, p. 64.

- A. 30. Mass *Tecum principium* Fayrefax**
- B.** 45^v–49^r; 42^r–45^v; 49^v–54^v; missing; 41^r–44^r.
- C.** 3, pp. 142–157 / 20, pp. 1–16 / 26, ff. 68^r–76^r; 63^r–71^r; 71^r–81^v; 56^r–62^r; 58^r–65^r.
- D.** Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus of Mass. Text omissions in Credo. For the Nativity?
- E.** The *cantus firmus* is the first antiphon at Second Vespers of Christmas and Epiphany (1519, *Temporale*, ff. lx^v–lxi^r).
- F.** Not included in the edition.
- G.** Not collated.
- H.** CMM, vol. 17, part 1, p. 137.
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- A. 31. Mass *Albanus* Doctor Fayrefax**
- B.** 49^r–52^v; 49^r–49^r; 54^v–58^v; missing; 44^r–47^r.
- C.** 3, pp. 174–189 / 9, ff. 37^r–46^v / 20, pp. 34–49 / 26, ff. 38^r–45^r; 32^r–39^v; 38^v–47^r; 29^r–36^v; 33^r–39^v.
- D.** Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus of Mass. Text omissions in Credo. Presumably a Mass of St Alban.
- E.** The *cantus firmus* is the phrase of melody to which the name ‘Albanus’ is sung in the antiphon *Primus in anglorum* from a rhymed Office of St Alban, *Inclita martyrii recolentes* (see MB, vol. 8, p. 189). Fayrefax’s antiphon *O Maria deo grata* is on the same *cantus firmus* (see the Commentary to no. 7).
- F.** Not included in the edition.
- G.** Not collated.
- H.** CMM, vol. 17, part 1, p. 33.
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- A. 32. Mass *Veni sancte spiritus* Rycharde Pygott**
- B.** 52^v–56^v; 49^v–53^v; 59^r–64^r; missing; 47^v–5^r.
- C.** 15, ff. 4^v–11^v.
- D.** Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus of Mass. Text omissions in Credo. For Pentecost?
- E.** The *cantus firmus* is the first eleven notes of the antiphon to the psalms at First Vespers of Pentecost (1519, *Temporale*, f. cclvij^v). The beginning and end of the tone for the Vesper psalm *Benedictus Dominus* are quoted in the treble at ‘Benedictus’ in the Sanctus.
- F.**
- G.**
- H.** AE, vol. RCM119, pp. 1–40.

- A. 33. [Vidi aquam] egredientem Anonymous**
- B.** 56^v–57^r; 53^v–54^v; 64^r–65^r; missing; 51^v–52^r.
- C.** None.
- D.** Ritual antiphon, sung at the aspersion before Mass from Easter to Trinity (1528, *Temporale*, f. cx^r).
- E.** The chant melody and the eighth psalm tone are employed as an intermittent *cantus firmus* in the tenor and bass.
- F.**
- G.** No concordances.
- H.** AE, vol. RCM102, pp. 10–20.
-
- A. 34. Mass Christi virgo Nicolas Ludford**
- B.** 57^v–61^r; 54^v–57^r; 65^r–68^r; missing; 52^r–55^r.
- C.** 3, pp. 18–31.
- D.** Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus of Mass. Sets complete Credo text. A Mary-Mass (Annunciation?).
- E.** The *cantus firmus* is the ninth responsory at Matins of the Annunciation (1519, *Sanctorale*, ff. lxiii^v–lxv^r).
- F.** Not included in the edition.
- G.** Not collated.
- H.** CMM, vol. 27, part 2, p. 39.
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- A. 35. Salve intemerata Thomas Tallis**
- B.** 61^r–62^v; 57^v–59^v; 68^r–70^r; missing; 55^r–56^r.
- C.** 5, ff. 16^r–17^v / 8, f. 66^v / 10, f. 11^v / 11, ff. 9^v and 13^v / 12, ff. 113^v–114^r / 14, ff. 33^r–39^r / 16, ff. 22^v–23^v / 17, ff. 46^v–49^r / 18, ff. 158^v–160^r / 19, pp. 215–7 and 226–7 / 21, ff. 5^r–6^v and 39^v–41^r / 25, no. 11 / 28, no. 16 / 29, no. 46 / 31, ff. 1^r–2^v / 32, ff. 35^v–37^r and ff. 92^v–93^r; 85^v–87^r / 33, ff. 36^v–40^r; 49^{i-iiiij}; 36^v–41^r / 34, ff. 10^r–11^v / 35, ff. 34^v–37^r / 36, ff. 18^v–24^r. *Ph* contains a second copy as no. 49 (see below).
- D.** Mary-antiphon. In *Horae*, no. 79 (1527) it is entitled ‘Precatio ad divam virginem Mariam’.
- E.** No pre-existing material has been detected. It formed the model for Tallis’s Mass *Salve Intemerata* (no. 62). An edition is therefore presented so that the two works may be compared. The edition is based on the first copy in *Ph*; the other Peterhouse copy has been collated under G but no other collation has been made. The tenor has been supplied from 25.
- F.**
- G.**
- H.** *TCM*, vol. 6, p. 144; AE, vol. RCM134, pp. 1–16.

A. 36. Mater Christi John Tavernor

- B.** 63^r–63^v; 59^v–60^r; 70^r–70^v; missing; 56^v–57^r.
- C.** 1, f. 9^r / 5, ff. 38^v–39^r / 14, ff. 39^v–41^r / 25, no. 33 / 28, no. 15 / 29, no. 50 / 32, ff. 34^r–34^v / 33, ff. 45^v–47^r / 35, ff. 27^r–28^r.
- D.** Mary-antiphon; text otherwise unknown.
- E.** No pre-existing material has been detected. The composition formed the model for Taverner's Mass *Mater Christi* (no. 23), much of the missing tenor of which can be supplied from the antiphon. The antiphon is included in the edition so that the two works may conveniently be compared; the edition has been prepared from *Ph* and the tenor supplied from 25, but a full collation has not been made.
- F.**
- G.**
- H.** *TCM*, vol. 3, p. 92; *EECM*, vol. 25, p. 110; *AE*, vol. RCM116, pp. 33–9.

A. 37. O Christe Jesu John Tavernor

- B.** 63^v–64^r; 60^v; 71^r; missing; 57^r.
- C.** 29, no. 51.
- D.** Jesus-antiphon. Related to *Chev.*, no. 2884. Probably originally a setting of an antiphon of St William of York, *O Willelme pastor bone* (*Chev.*, nos 13972 and 13077), with an added concluding prayer for Thomas Wolsey, Cardinal Archbishop of York, as founder of Cardinal College, Oxford (see *MMB*, p. 341 and *EECM*, vol. 25, pp. xij, 181 and 188). A constituent of the York Processional (see the unfoliated edition of 1530), *O Willelme* also appeared in several printed books of hours beginning with *Horae*, no. 37 (1510, see *Horae*, p. 125).
- E.** No pre-existing material has been detected. The composition formed the model for Taverner's Mass *Small devotion* (no. 39).
- F.**
- G.**
- H.** *TCM*, vol. 3, p. 73; *EECM*, vol. 25, p. 124; *AE*, vol. RCM120, pp. 1–5.

A. 38. Gaude plurimum John Tavernor

- B.** 64^r–65^v; 61^r–62^v; 7^r–73^r; missing; 57^v–58^v.
- C.** 1, r. / 2, ff. 15^r–16^v; 13^v–14^v / 5, ff. 14^v–15^v / 10, f. 10^r / 11, ff. 9^r and 14^r / 14, ff. 18^r–22^r / 15, ff. 18^r–19^v / 16, ff. 21^v–22^r; 22^r–22^v; 24^r–24^v / 17, ff. 1^r–3^v / 18, ff. 134^v–135^r; 149^v–150^r and 157^v–158^r / 21, 3^v–4^v and 37^v–39^r / 25, no. 8 / 28, no. 17 / 29, no. 48 / 31, ff. 12^v–14^v / 32, ff. 82^v–85^r / 33, ff. 31^v–36^r / 35, ff. 30^r–31^v / 36, ff. 14^r–18^r.
- D.** Mary-antiphon; text not otherwise known.
- E.** No pre-existing material has been detected.
- F.** Not included in the edition.
- G.** Not collated.
- H.** *TCM*, vol. 3, p. 78; *EECM*, vol. 25, p. 32.

- A. 39. Mass *Small devotion* John Tavernor**
- B.** 65^v–68^r; 62^v–65^r; 73^r–76^r; missing; 58^v–61^r.
- C.** 27, ff. 103^v–107^v (contratenor); 108^v–116^r (mean on verso and treble on recto); 104^v–108^r (bass) / 32, ff. 100^v–10^r / 35, ff. 47^r–51^r.
- D.** Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus of Mass. Text omissions in Credo. Perhaps originally a Mass of St William of York (see the commentary to no. 37 and also *ML*, vol. 46 (1965), p. 382) subsequently used as a Jesus Mass.
- E.** Based on Taverner's antiphon *O Christe Jesu*, which itself appears to be freely composed.
- F.**
- G.**
- H.** EECM, vol. 36; *TCM*, vol. 1, p. 70; *TCM*, vol. 3, p. 169 (English-texted version); AE, vol. RCM120, pp. 6–35.

- A. 40. Magnificat John Tavernor**
- B.** 68^v–69^r; 65^r–65^v; 76^r–77^r; missing; 61^r–62^r.
- C.** None.
- D.** Magnificat. Only the even-numbered verses are set.
- E.** The *cantus firmus* is the second-tone Magnificat faburden with the first ending; in the edition the tone and faburden have been supplied from 1520, *Temporale*, f. lxxvij^v and Lbl, MS Royal Appendix 56, ff. 23^v–25^r. Except for the ending, this faburden is identical with that of the eighth Magnificat tone.
- F.**
- G.** No concordances.
- H.** *TCM*, vol. 3, p. 9 (uncompleted); AE, vol. RCM121, pp. 1–12.

- A. 41. Magnificat John Darke**
- B.** 69^r–70^r; 66^r–67^r; 77^r–77^v; missing; 62^r–63^r.
- C.** None.
- D.** Magnificat. Only the even-numbered verses are set.
- E.** There is an unidentified *cantus firmus*, mainly in the contratenor part; this part may therefore be the tenor copied into the wrong book. The eighth Magnificat tone, which fits the piece modally, has been supplied from 1520, *Temporale*, f. lxx^r.
- F.**
- G.** No concordances.
- H.** AE, vol. RCM122, pp. 1–12.

A. 42. **Aspice domine** **Lupus Italus**
(Jacquet of Mantua)

- B. 70^r–70^v; 67^r–67^v; 78^r–78^v; missing; 63^r–63^v.
- C. The only known English source for this piece is a lute intabulation in 13. Some continental sources are listed in L. Lockwood, 'A continental Mass and motet in a Tudor manuscript', *ML*, vol. 42 (1961), pp. 336–47. According to the *The New Grove*, 'Aspice Domine, most famous of the motets, was known in over 30 sources, including seven instrumental intabulations.'
- D. Jacquet's setting of one of the Magnificat antiphons from the post-Pentecost series was presumably intended for extra-liturgical use. In the Use of Salisbury the text was sung as the third responsory of Matins on the Sunday after the fifth kalends of November, but it seems unlikely that a polyphonic setting would have been sung on this occasion. It is not clear what role the composition could have played in a pre-Reformation service in England.
- E. The setting paraphrases a chant to which the text was sung, but not that in *Liber usualis* (Tournai, 1964), p. 996.
- F.
- G. Not collated.
- H. C. van den Borren, *Philippi de Monte opera omnia*, vol. 26 (1935), p. 1.

A 43. **Mass Surrexit pastor bonus** **Lupus Italus**
(Johannes Lupus?)

- B. 70^v–74^r; 67^v–7^r; 78^v–82^r; missing; 63^v–66^r.
- C. No English concordance is known. Some continental sources are listed by Lockwood, op. cit., p. 341. See also *The New Grove*.
- D. Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus of Mass. Sets complete Credo text.
- E. Based on the motet *Surrexit pastor bonus* by Andrea de Silva.
- F. Not included in the edition.
- G. Not collated.
- H. No editions.

A. 44. **Mass Sine nomine** **Christofer Tye**

- B. 74^r–76^v; 7^r–73^v; 82^r–84^v; missing; 66^v–69^r.
- C. None.
- D. Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus of Mass. Text omissions in Credo.
- E. No pre-existing material has been identified but the movements share musical material. Possibly some connection with Taverner's Mass *Sine nomine* (*Meane Mass*, no. 22), Sheppard's *Frences Mass* and Tallis's Mass *Sine nomine*.
- F.
- G. No concordances.
- H. EECM, vol. 24, p. 47; AE, vol. RCM123, pp. 1–28.

- A. 45. Sancta Maria mater dei W. Payshe**
- B.** 76^v–78^r; 74^r–74^v; 84^r–86^r; missing; 69^r–70^r.
- C.** 15, ff. 31^v–33^r (attributed to ‘Thomas Asshewell’).
- D.** Mary-antiphon. *Horae*, p. 120 (no. 25, 1502). The text begins like a litany.
- E.** On a double *cantus firmus*, the F–G–A–B \flat –A motive used also in *Ph*, no. 21 and a motive to which litanies were chanted (see 1502, f. 31^r).
- F.**
- G.**
- H.** AE, vol. RCM115, pp. 9–20.
-
- A. 46. Ave dei patris Merbecke**
- B.** 78^r–79^r; 74^v–76^r; 86^r–87^v; missing; 70^r–71^v.
- C.** None.
- D.** Mary-antiphon. In *Horae*, no. 42 (*c.* 1513) it is entitled ‘Septem salutationes ad beatam Mariam virginem nostram mediatricem efficacissimam’; see *Horae*, p. 128. There are several small variants in the text (see Section VI—2).
- E.** No pre-existing material has been detected.
- F.**
- G.** No concordances.
- H.** *TCM*, vol. 10, p. 215 (uncompleted); AE, vol. RCM124, pp. 1–16.
-
- A. 47. Magnificat Appelby**
- B.** 79^v–80^v; 76^r–77^r; 87^v–88^v; missing; 71^v–72^v.
- C.** None.
- D.** Magnificat. Only the even-numbered verses are set.
- E.** The *cantus firmus* is the first Magnificat tone, *solemniter*, with the sixth ending; in the edition this has been supplied from 1520, *Temporale*, f. lxxvij^v.
- F.**
- G.** No concordances.
- H.** AE, vol. RCM125, pp. 1–14.

- A. 48. Mass *Sine nomine* Anonymous**
- B.** 80^v–84^r; 77^v–78(2)v; 89^r–92^v; missing; 72^v–75^r.
- C.** None.
- D.** Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus of Mass. Text omissions in Credo.
- E.** There is an unidentified *cantus firmus* in the mean part, resembling but not identical to *Johannes apostolus*, the first antiphon at Matins of St John the Evangelist (1519, *Temporale*, f. lxxi).
- F.**
- G.** No concordances.
- H.** AE, vol. RCM126, forthcoming.

- A. 49. Salve intemerata Talys**
- B.** 84^r–85^v; 78(3)r–78(4)v; 92^v–94^v; missing; 75^v–77^r.
- C.** 5, ff. 16^r–17^v / 8, f. 66^v / 10, f. 11^v / 11, ff. 9^v and 13^v / 12, ff. 113^v–114^r / 14, ff. 33^r–39^r / 16, ff. 22^v–23^v / 17, ff. 46^v–49^r / 18, ff. 158^v–160^r / 19, pp 215–7 and 226–7 / 21, ff. 5^r–6^v and 39^v–41^r / 25, no. 11 / 28, no. 16 / 29, no. 46 / 31, 1^r–2^v / 32, ff. 35^v–37^r and 92^v–93^r; 85^v–87^r / 33, ff. 36^v–40^r; 49^{i–iiij}; 36^v–41^r / 34, ff. 10^r–11^v. / 35, ff. 35^v–37^r. / 36, ff. 18^v–24^r. *Ph* contains a second copy as no. 35 (see above).
- D.** Mary-antiphon. In *Horae*, no. 79 (1527) it is entitled ‘Precatio ad divam virginem Mariam’.
- E.** No pre-existing material has been detected. It formed the model for Tallis’s Mass *Salve intemerata* (no. 62). An edition is therefore included so that the two works may be compared. The edition is based on the first copy in *Ph*; this second copy is collated under F and the first copy is collated under G but no other collation has been made. The tenor has been supplied from 25.
- F.**
- G.**
- H.** *TCM*, vol. 6, p. 144; AE, vol. RCM134, pp. 1–16.

- A. 50. Domine Jesu Christe N. Ludford**
- B.** 85^v–86^v; 78(4)v–78(5)v; 94^v–95^v; missing; 77^r–78(1)r.
- C.** None.
- D.** Jesus-antiphon. The text is in the form of an extended prayer; it makes use of phrases from several collects but is otherwise unknown in this form.
- E.** No pre-existing material has been detected.
- F.**
- G.** No concordances.
- H.** AE, vol. RCM127, pp. 1–10.

- A. 51. Magnificat Robert Jonys**
- B.** 87^r–88^r; 78(5)^v–79^v; 96^r–97^r; missing; 78(1)^r–78(1)^v.
- C.** None.
- D.** Magnificat. Only the even-numbered verses are set.
- E.** The *cantus firmus* is the first-tone Magnificat faburden with either the second or the fourth ending; the evidence slightly favours the former. In the edition the tone and faburden have been supplied from 1520, *Temporale*, f. lxxvii^v and Lbl, MS Royal Appendix 56, f. 23^r.
- F.**
- G.** No concordances.
- H.** AE, vol. RCM128, pp. 1–12.

- A. 52. Magnificat Pashe**
- B.** 88^r–89^r; 79^v–80^r; 97^r–98^v; missing; 78(1)^v–78(2)^v.
- C.** None.
- D.** Magnificat. Only the even-numbered verses are set.
- E.** The *cantus firmus* is the seventh-tone Magnificat faburden with the fifth ending; in the edition the tone and the faburden have been supplied from 1520, *Temporale*, f. lxx^r and Lbl, MS Royal Appendix 56, f. 29^r. The *cantus firmus* is given to the mean part, perhaps because Pashe wished to call attention to the similarities between the faburden melody and the *cantus firmus* of his Mass *Christus Resurgens* (based on a processional antiphon sung before Matins on Easter Day, see 1519, *Temporale*, f. ccxiii^j), this being also given to the mean. All three of Pashe's surviving compositions have the *cantus firmus* in the mean part.
- F.**
- G.** No concordances.
- H.** AE, vol. RCM129, pp. 1–17.

- A. 53. Magnificat (Regale) Fayrfax**
- B.** 89^r–89^v; 80^v–8^r; 98^v–100^r; missing; 78(2)^v–78(3)^v.
- C.** 2, 34^r–34^v; 31^v–32^r / 3, pp. 118–121 / 7, indexed but missing / 15, ff. 45^v–46^r / 20, pp. 134–139 / 24.
- D.** Magnificat. Only the even-numbered verses are set.
- E.** The *cantus firmus* is the eighth-tone Magnificat faburden with the third ending; see 1520, *Temporale*, f. lxx^r and Lbl, MS Royal Appendix 56, ff. 25^r. The significance of the title *Regale* found in some sources is not altogether clear. Fayrfax's Mass *Regali ex progenie* and his Mary-antiphon *Gaude flore virginali* (which is subtitled *Regali* in source 35, ff. 22^r–24ⁿ) share the same *cantus firmus*, which is not that of the Magnificat; nevertheless, the three works do share some musical material.
- F.** Not included in the edition.
- G.** Not collated.
- H.** MB, vol. 12, p. 96; CMM, vol. 17, part 2, p. 1.

- A. 54. Aeternae laudis liliium Fayrfax**
- B.** 89^v–90^v; 81^r–82^r; 100^r–101^r; missing; 78(3)v–79(1)v.
- C.** 2, ff. 8^r–9^r; 7^r–8^r / 6, ff. 151^v–155^r / 20, pp. 114–119 / 30 / 35, ff. 16^r–17^v.
- D.** Mary-antiphon; the text is otherwise unknown.
- E.** No pre-existing material has been detected.
- F.** Not included in the edition.
- G.** Not collated.
- H.** CMM, vol. 17, part 2, p. 47; AE, vol. RCM39, pp. 1–15.
-
- A. 55. Magnificat (O bone Jesu) Fayrfax**
- B.** 91^r–91^v; 82^r–83^r; 101^v–102^r; missing; 79(1)v–79(2)v.
- C.** 5, ff. 1^r–2^r / 11, ff. 5^v and 12^r / 14, ff. 1^r–1^v; 23^v–24^r / 19, p. 225 / 20, pp. 128–133 / 21, f. 9^r / 32, ff. 37^v–38^r and 88^v–89^r / 33, ff. 26^v–27^r / 36, f. 1^r–1^v.
- D.** Magnificat. Only the even-numbered verses are set.
- E.** The *cantus firmus* is the seventh-tone Magnificat faburden with the sixth ending; see 1520, *Temporale*, f. lxx^r and Lbl, MS Royal Appendix 56, f. 29^r. The setting is related to Fayrfax's Mass and antiphon *O bone Jesu* by shared material.
- F.** Not included in the edition.
- G.** Not collated.
- H.** EECM, vol. 4, p. 35; CMM, vol. 17, part 2, p. 12.
-
- A. 56. Lauda vivi alpha Fayrefax**
- B.** 92^r–93^r; 83^r–84^v; 102^v–104^r; missing; 79(2)v–80^r.
- C.** 2, ff. 2^r–3^v; 2^r–3^r / 17, ff. 55^r–57^v / 30, ff. 20^r–22^r.
- D.** Mary-antiphon; the text is otherwise unknown, al though its form and content resemble those of *Ave dei patris*.
- E.** No pre-existing material has been detected.
- F.**
- G.**
- H.** CMM, vol. 17, part 3, p. 30 (uncompleted); AE, vol. RCM130, pp. 1–22.

A. 57. Ave cujus conceptio Nicolas Ludford

- B.** 93^r–94^r; 84^v–85^v; 104^r–105^r; missing; 80^r–81^r.
- C.** None.
- D.** Mary-antiphon. *Chev.*, no. 1744. See *Horae*, p. 119 (no. 15, 1497). References to the Conception, Nativity, Annunciation, Purification and Assumption (the Five Corporal Joys) of the Blessed Virgin are made in successive stanzas.
- E.** No pre-existing material has been detected.
- F.**
- G.** No concordances.
- H.** AE, vol. RCM127, pp. 11–20.

A. 58. Ave Maria ancilla trinitatis N. Ludford

- B.** 94^r–95^v; 85^v–86^v; 105^r–106^v; missing; 81^r–82^r.
- C.** None.
- D.** Mary-antiphon. Related to *Chev.*, no. 1872. See *Horae*, p. 124 (no. 37, 1510). In *Horae*, no. 79 (1527), it is introduced thus: ‘Thys prayer was shewed to saint bernard by the messenger of god saynge that as golde is the most precious of all other metall soo excedyth thys prayer all other prayers: and who that devoutly sayth it shall have a singularewarde [*sic*] of our blessyd lady and her swete son jesus.’ There are several small differences between the versions of the text set by Ludford and Aston (no. 67): see Section VI—2.
- E.** On the same *cantus firmus*, a short responsory at Terce, as Ludford’s *Salve regina* (no. 9) and his Mass *Inclina cor meum deus in testimonia tua* (no. 60); see 1519, *Psalterium*, ff. li^v–lij^r.
- F.**
- G.** No concordances.
- H.** AE, vol. RCM131, pp. 1–15.

A. 59. Mass O bone Jesu Fayrfax

- B.** 95^v–98^v; 87^v–90^r; 106^v–110^r; missing; 82^r–85^r.
- C.** 2, ff. 20^v–24^r; 20^r–23^r / 3, pp. 2–17 / 18, f. 136^r / 20, pp. 140–155 / 26, ff. 61^r–68^r; 55^v–63^r; 62^v–70^v; 49^r–55^v; 51^v–57^v.
- D.** Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus of Mass. Text omissions in Credo.
- E.** This Mass and Fayrfax’s Magnificat *O Bone Jesu* (no. 55) are apparently based on his antiphon *O bone Jesu*, of which only the mean part survives. The copyist of *Ph* seems not to have known of the derivation of the Mass and Magnificat and did not provide a title for either work.
- F.** Not included in the edition.
- G.** Not collated.
- H.** CMM, vol. 17, part 1, p. 1.

- A. 60.** **Mass *Inclina cor meum*** **Nicolas Ludford**
- B.** 98^v–102^r; 90^r–93^v; 110^r–113^v; missing; 85^r–87^v.
- C.** None.
- D.** Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus of Mass. Sets complete Credo text.
- E.** The *cantus firmus* is a short responsory at Terce, *Inclina cor meum deus in testimonia tua* (1519, *Psalterium*, ff. ii^v–li^j^r). Ludford's Mary-antiphons *Salve regina* (no. 9) and *Ave Maria ancilla Trinitatis* (no. 58) are on the same *cantus firmus* and there are other connections between the three works.
- F.**
- G.** No concordances.
- H.** AE, vol. RCM132, pp. 1–44.

- A. 61.** **Ave gratia plena Maria** **Arture Chamberlayne**
- B.** 102^r–103^v; 93^v–95^r; 113^v–115^r; missing; 87^v–89^r.
- C.** None.
- D.** Mary-antiphon; the text, which is otherwise unknown, begins like a troped *Ave Maria* and continues with references to *Salve regina*.
- E.** No pre-existing material has been detected.
- F.**
- G.** No concordances.
- H.** AE, vol. RCM133, forthcoming.

- A. 62.** **Mass *Salve intemerata*** **Thomas Talys**
- B.** 103^v–106^r; 95^r–97^r; 115^r–118^r; missing; 89^r–91^v.
- C.** 35, ff. 54^v–58^r.
- D.** Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus of Mass. Text omissions in Credo.
- E.** Based on Tallis's Mary-antiphon *Salve intemerata* (nos 35 and 49).
- F.**
- G.**
- H.** *TCM*, vol. 6, p. 3; AE, vol. RCM134, pp. 17–40.

- A. 63. Mass *Regnum mundi* N. Ludford**
- B.** 106^r-?; 97^r-10^r; 118^r-121^v; missing; 91^v-94^r.
- C.** None.
- D.** Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus of Mass. Sets complete Credo text.
- E.** The *cantus firmus* is the ninth responsory at Matins from the Common of Virgins (1519, *Commune sanctorum*, f. xliiij). According to the Use of Salisbury this responsory was sung on the feasts of only two saints, Margaret and Winifred. Ludford's other associations with St Margaret's church, Westminster (his parish church) suggests that he may have composed this Mass for the church; perhaps it was in the music manuscript that St Margaret's bought from him in 1533/4,
- F.**
- G.** No concordances.
- H.** AE, vol. RCM135, pp. 1-40.

- A. 64. Fac nobis secundum Tavernor**
- B.** Missing; 101^r-101^v; 121^v-122^v; missing; 94^r-95^r.
- C.** None.
- D.** Antiphon of the Name of Jesus. It has some similarities to the prayer *O bone Jesu* by St Bernadino of Siena (see *Horae*, p. 112, no. 7, 1494), adaptations of which were set by Fayrfax, Carver and an anonymous composer in Lbl, Add. MSS 17802-5.
- E.** No pre-existing material has been detected.
- F.**
- G.** No concordances.
- H.** *TCM*, vol. 3, p. 135; *EECM*, vol. 25, p. 95; AE, vol. RCM101, pp. 8-13.

- A. 65. Sub tuum praesidium Tavernor**
- B.** Missing; 102^r; 122^v; missing; 95^r.
- C.** None.
- D.** Mary-antiphon. The text was popular with continental composers but no other English settings of it appear to be known.
- E.** The *cantus firmus* is a plainchant to which the text was sometimes sung. Obrecht's Mass *Sub tuum praesidium* is built on it and Benedictus de Opiitiis's setting of the antiphon (Lbl, Royal MS 11.E.XI, unfoliated) paraphrases it; for a close relation see *Processionale monasticum ad usum congregationis Gallicae ordinis Sancti Benedicti* (Solesmes, 1893), p. 287.
- F.**
- G.** No concordances.
- H.** *TCM*, vol. 3, p. 141; *EECM*, vol. 25, p. 137; AE, vol. RCM101, pp. 6-7.

- A. 66. Ave rosa sine spinis Tallys**
- B.** Missing; 102^r–103^r; 122^v–123^v; missing; 96^r–97^r.
- C.** The composition can be almost completely reconstituted from the concordant sources. Because of their importance these are set out in detail below.
 5, ff. 6^r–7^r contains the complete bass part.
 11, ff. 2^r and 18^r contain bars 1–25 and 133–147 in a lute transcription with the highest part omitted; variants resulting from the practical requirements of transcribing the piece for lute are not recorded under G.
 14, f. 10^r contains bars 77–98 of the contratenor an octave higher; ff. 11^v–12^r contain bars 148–181 of the treble; f. 12^v contains bars 25–50 of the treble; f. 13^r contains bars 50–76 of the treble; f. 13^v contains bars 99–111 of the treble. Since the treble was almost certainly silent in bars 1–24, 77–98 and 134–148 this means that only the treble part for bars 112–133 is actually missing.
 19 is an eighteenth-century scoring of extracts from other surviving sources and is not collated under G.
 21, f. 24^v contains bars 1–25 a fifth higher; 43^v contains bars 25–50; 44^v contains bars 77–98.
 31, ff. 30^v–32^r of the Mean book contain the complete mean part; 30^v–32^r of the Tenor book contain the complete tenor part (the rests from bar 112 to bar 133 show that the treble must have been singing in this section).
 32, ff. 99^v–100^r contain bars 25–50.
 33, f. 12^v contains bars 25–50.
- D.** Mary-antiphon, troping the *Ave Maria*. *Chev.*, no. 2084. *Horae*, p. 124 (no. 37, 1510). In *Horae*, no. 79 (1527) it is introduced thus: ‘Thys prayer showed our lady to a devoute person sayenge that thys golden prayer is the moost swetest et acceptabelest et to me et in her apperinge she had thys salutacion and prayer wrytten wyth lettres of golde in her breste.’ *Ph* and all concordant sources read ‘Per praegustum hic in terra’ for the ‘Per praegustum hic internum’; the latter is the reading of the printed devotional books and must be correct, so I have substituted it in the edition.
- E.** No pre-existing material has been detected.
- F.**
- G.**
- H.** *TCM*, vol. 6, p. 169; *AE*, vol. RCM136, pp. 1–12.

- A. 67. Ave Maria ancilla trinitatis Hugh Aston**
- B.** Missing; 103^r–104^r; 123^v–125^r; missing; 96^v–97^v.
- C.** None.
- D.** Mary-antiphon. Related to *Chev.*, no. 1872. See *Horae*, p. 124 (no. 37, 1510). In *Horae*, no. 79 (1527) it is introduced thus: ‘Thys prayer was shewed to saint bernard by the messenger of god saynge that as golde is the most precious of all other metall soo excedyth thys prayer all other prayers: and who that devoutly sayth it shall have a singularewarde [*sic*] of our blessyd lady and her swete son jesus.’ There are several small differences between the versions of the text set by Aston and Ludford (no. 58): see Section VII—2.
- E.** No pre-existing material has been detected.
- F.**
- G.** No concordances.
- H.** *TCM*, vol. 10, p. 114 (uncompleted); *AE*, vol. RCM137, pp. 1–18.

- A. 68. O baptista vates Christi Aston**
- B.** Missing; 104^v–106^r; 125^r–126^v; missing; 97^v–99^v.
- C.** None.
- D.** An antiphon of St John the Baptist; the text is otherwise unknown.
- E.** No pre-existing material has been detected.
- F.**
- G.** No concordances.
- H.** *TCM*, vol. 10, p. 138 (uncompleted); *AE*, vol. RCM138, pp. 1–16.

- A. 69. Gaude virgo mater Christi Hugh Aston**
- B.** Missing; 106^r–107^r; 127^r–128^r; missing; 99^v–100^v.
- C.** 15, ff. 25^v–27^v / 17, ff. 44^v–46^v / 25, no. 12.
- D.** Mary-antiphon, on the Five Corporal Joys of Our Lady. *Horae* p. 110 (no. 7, 1494). In *Horae* no. 79 (1527) it is introduced thus: ‘The rygth reverent father in god Laurence bysshop of asseven hath graunted xl. days of pardon to all them that devoutly say thys prayer in the worship of our blessyd lady beyng penitent et trewly confessed of all theyr synnes.’ In 25 it has a paraphrastic text *Gaude mater matris Christi* in honour of St. Anne.
- E.** No pre-existing material has been detected.
- F.** Not included in the edition.
- G.** Not collated.
- H.** *TCM*, vol. 10, p. 85; *AE*, vol. RCM41, pp. 1–16.

- A. 70. Ave vulnus lateris Water Erley (M & C)
Water Errell (B)**
- B.** Missing; 107^v–108^r; 128^r–129^r; missing; 100^v–101^r.
- C.** None.
- D.** Jesus-antiphon, referring to one of the Five Wounds of Jesus. *Chev.*, no. 24031. *Horae*, p. 122 (no. 25, 1502). In *Horae*, no. 79 (1527) it has the following introduction: ‘Oure holy father pope innocentius the ij. hath graunted to all them that say thys prayer devoutly in the worship of the wounde that our lord had in hys blessyd syde when he was deed hangyne in to [*sic*] crosse .iiij. thousande days of pardon.’
- E.** No pre-existing material has been detected.
- F.**
- G.** No concordances.
- H.** AE, vol. RCM112, pp. 18–27.

- A. 71. Totius mundi domina Edwarde Martyn**
- B.** Missing; 108^v–110^v; 129^r–131^r; missing; 10^r–103^r.
- C.** None.
- D.** Mary-antiphon; the text is otherwise unknown.
- E.** No pre-existing material has been detected, although the fully-scored sections may have been written on a *cantus firmus*. The verses appear to have been a series of canons two-in-one and three-in-one at various intervals and distances.
- F.**
- G.** No concordances.
- H.** AE, vol. RCM139, forthcoming.

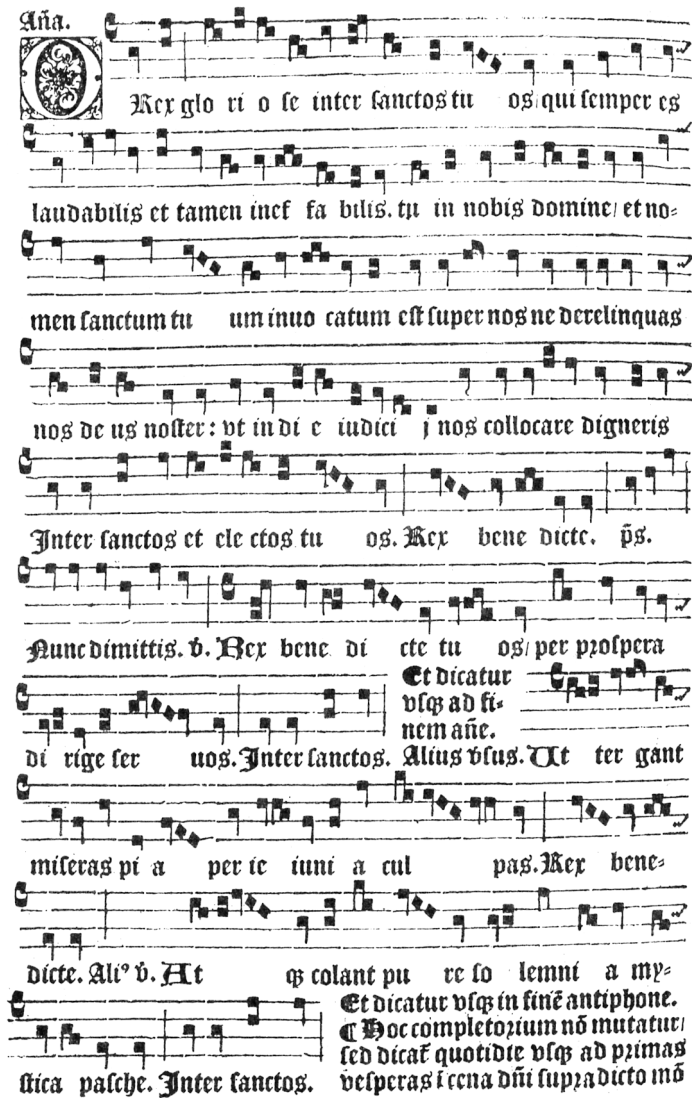
- A. 72. Mass Libera nos Thomas Knyght**
- B.** Missing; 111^r–115^r; 131^r–134(2)^r; missing; 103^r–106^v.
- C.** None.
- D.** Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus of Mass. Text omissions in Credo.
- E.** The *cantus firmus* (which wherever restorable with certainty has to be in the treble) is the sixth antiphon at Matins on Trinity Sunday (1520, *Temporale*, f. iiij^v); it seems to have been treated with considerable freedom.
- F.**
- G.** No concordances.
- H.** AE, vol. RCM140, forthcoming.

VIII: CANTUS FIRMI AND OTHER MATERIAL ASSOCIATED
WITH THE INCOMPLETE COMPOSITIONS IN *Ph*

No. 3: *O rex gloriose* (Mason)

Dñica in passione.

Añã.



Rex glo ri o se inter sanctos tu os qui semper es
 laudabilis et tamen inef fa bilis. tu in nobis domine et no-
 men sanctum tu um inuo catum est super nos ne derelinquas
 nos de us nos ter: vt in di e iudici nos collocare digneris
 Inter sanctos et ele ctos tu os. Rex bene dicte. ps.
 Nunc dimittis. v. Rex bene di cte tu os per prospera
 Et dicatur vsq ad fi- nem añe.
 di rige ser uos. Inter sanctos. Alius vsus. Ut ter gant
 miseris pi a per te tui a cul pas. Rex bene-
 dicte. Ali' v. Et q colant pu re so lemni a my-
 Et dicatur vsq in finē antiphone.
 stica pasche. Inter sanctos. Hoc completorium nō mutatur
 vespas i cena dñi supra dicto mō

Antiphonarii ad usum Sarum volumen primum vulgo pars hyemalis nuncupata
(Paris, 1519), *Temporale*, f. clxxxix

No. 9: *Salve regina* (Ludford)

R. In - cli - na cor me - um de - us: in te - sti - mo - ni - a tu - a.



V. A - ver - te o - cu - los me - os ne vi - de - ant va - ni - ta - tem:



in vi - a tu - a vi - vi - fi - ca me. R. In te - sti - mo - ni - a tu - a.



GP. Glo - ri - a pa - tri et fi - li - o: et spi - ri - tu - i san - cto.



R. In - cli - na cor me - um de - us: in te - sti - mo - ni - a tu - a.

Antiphonarii ad usum Sarum volumen secundum, vulgo pars estivalis nuncupata
(Paris, 1520), *Psalterium*, ff. li–lii

No. 18: [*Sub tuam*] *protectionem* (Northbroke)

Añã.

Sub tuam protecti-
onem confugimus v bi infirmi acceperunt virtutem et propter
hoc tibi psallimus de i genitrix virgo.

Antiphonarii ad usum Sarum volumen secundum, vulgo pars estivalis nuncupata
(Paris, 1520), *Sanctorale*, f. cv

No. 24: Exultet in hac die (Sturmy)

E - xul - tet in hac di - e fi - de - li - um ec - cle - si - a, in qua an - ge - lis est
 le - ti - ci - a. Al - le - luy - a con - so - net plebs an - gli - ca. Au - gu - sti - nus
 en trans - i - vit et cum Chri - sto sem - per vi - vit. Al - le - luy - a con - so - net
 plebs an - gli - ca. Jam be - a - tus au - dit eu - ge su - per pau - ca fi - de - lis - si - me
 Al - le - luy - a con - so - net plebs an - gli - ca. A - ve no - strum, a - ve
 dul - ce de - si - de - ri - um. Pro ser - vis tu - is o - ra do - mi - num.
 Al - le - luy - a con - so - net plebs an - gli - ca. Al - le - - luy - a.

Worcester, Chapter Library, MS F. 160, f. 223

No. 27: Mass Spes nostra (Jones)

Spes _____ no - stra, sa - - - lus __ no - stra,
 ho - - - nor __ no - - - ster, O _____ be - a - ta
 tri - - - ni - tas.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 299, f. 171


No. 32: Mass *Veni sancte spiritus* (Pygott)**In vigilia penthecostes,****In vigilia penthecostes.****Ad vesperas Antiphona.**


Veni sancte spiritus reple tuorum corda fidelium: et
 tu i amoris in eis ignem accende: qui per diversitatem
 linguarum multarum gentes in unitatem fidei congregasti
 allelu ya allelu ya allelu ya. *ps.* *Benedictus.* *Quouae.* *Ep̄m.*

*Antiphonarii ad usum Sarum volumen primum vulgo pars hyemalis nuncupata
 (Paris, 1519), Temporale, f. cclvii*

No. 33: [*Vidi aquam*] *egredientem* (Anonymous)

**In die pas. et ab hinc oibus
 s̄ntis dieb⁹ vsq⁹ ad festū sancte trini. in asperzione aque benedictte c̄tetur hec añ.**



Vidi aquam egredi de templo a la tere dextro
 alle luy a. Et omnes ad quos peruenit aqua i sta salui
 facti sunt & di c̄t. Allelu ya alle luy a. *ps.* *Cōfitemini*
 domino quoniā bonus: quoniā in seculum misericordia eius.
Vidi aquam. *Gloria patri.* *Sicut erat.* *Et oēs.*

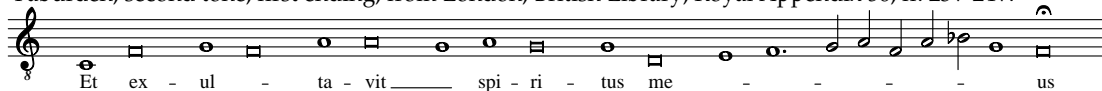
*Graduale ad veram et integram preclare ecclesie Sarum consuetudinem nuper Parisiis excusum
 (Paris, 1528), f. cx*

No. 40: Magnificat (Taverner)

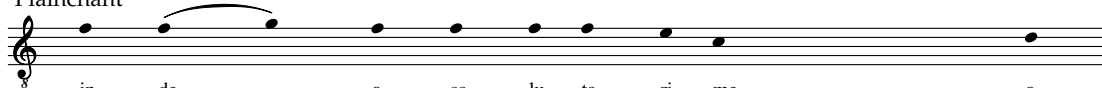
Plainchant tone from 1520



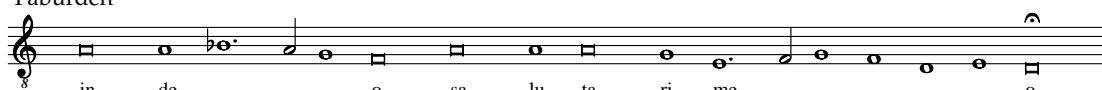
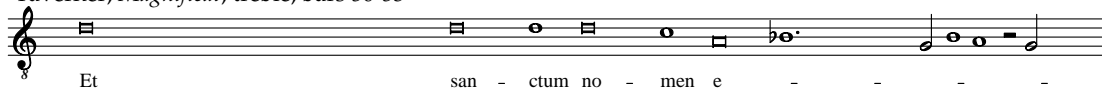
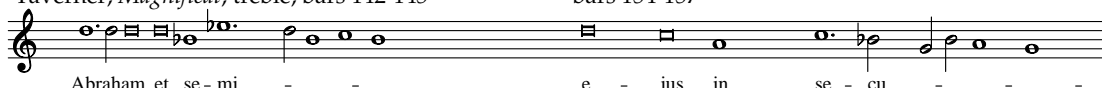
Faburden, second tone, first ending, from London, British Library, Royal Appendix 56, ff. 23v-24v.



Plainchant



Faburden

Taverner, *Magnificat*, treble, bars 50-53Taverner, *Magnificat*, treble, bars 142-145

bars 154-157

e - jus in se - cu - - -

Evidence for the faburden basis of Taverner's five-voice Magnificat

No. 41: Magnificat (Darke)

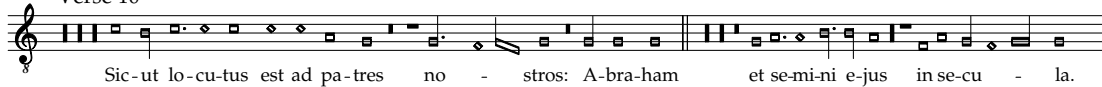
Verse 2



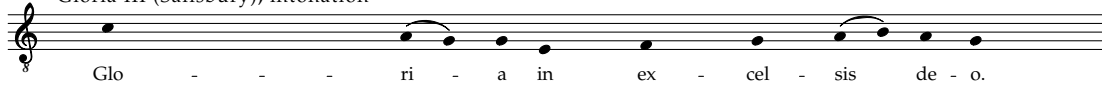
Verse 6



Verse 10



Gloria III (Salisbury), intonation

Darke, Magnificat: three statements of the *cantus firmus*
(with the intonation of Salisbury Gloria III)**No. 45: Sancta Maria mater dei (Pashe)**

Processionale ad usum Sarum 1502, f. 31

No. 47: Magnificat (Appelby)

Beginner *Beginner's side*

Ma - gni - fi - cat: a - ni - ma me - a do - mi - num. _____

Antiphonarii ad usum Sarum volumen secundum, vulgo pars estivalis nuncupata
(Paris, 1520), *Temporale*, f. lxviii

No. 51: Magnificat (Jones)

Plainchant tone from *The Use of Sarum*, ii, lxvj-lxvij, transposed up a fifth

Et ex - - ul - ta - vit _____ spi - ri - tus me - - us: _____

Faburden, first tone, sixth ending, from London, British Library, Royal Appendix 56, ff. 22v-23v.

Et ex - - ul - ta - vit _____ spi - ri - tus me - - us: _____

Reconstructed tenor of second verse of Jones's Magnificat.

Et ex - ul - ta - - vit spi - ri - tus me - - - - - us:

Plainchant

in de - - - o sa - lu - ta - ri me - o. _____

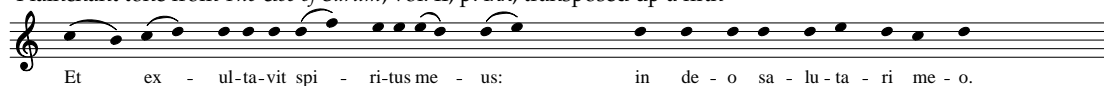
Faburden

in de - - - o sa - lu - ta - ri me - - - - - o.

Reconstructed tenor

in _____ de - - - o sa - lu - ta - ri me - - - - - o.

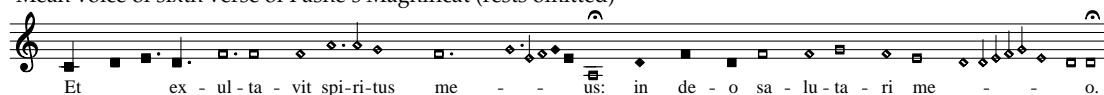
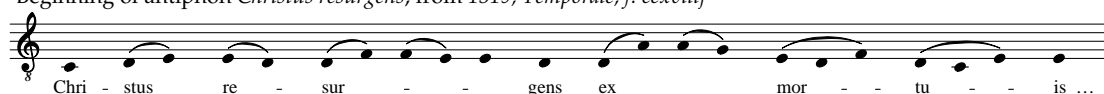
Evidence for the faburden basis of Jones' five-voice Magnificat

No. 52: Magnificat (Pashe)Plainchant tone from *The Use of Sarum*, vol. II, p. lxx, transposed up a fifth

Faburden, seventh tone, fifth ending, from London, British Library, Royal Appendix 56, ff. 28v-29r.



Mean voice of sixth verse of Pashe's Magnificat (rests omitted)

Beginning of antiphon *Christus resurgens*, from 1519, *Temporale*, f. ccxviii

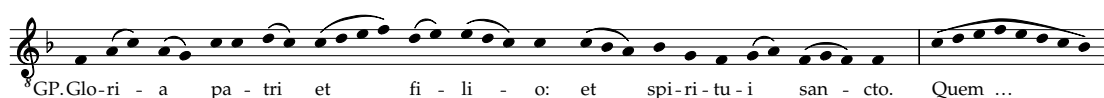
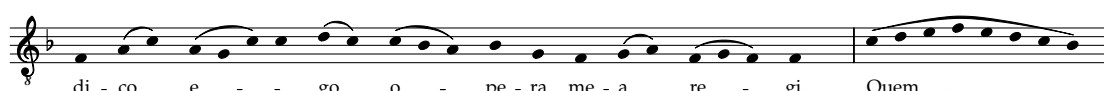
Evidence for the faburden basis of Pashe's five-voice Magnificat

No. 58: Ave Maria ancilla trinitatis (Ludford)

See no. 9.

No. 60: Mass *Inclina cor meum* (Ludford)

See no. 9.

No. 63: Mass *Regnum mundi* (Ludford)

Antiphonarii ad usum Sarum volumen secundum, vulgo pars estivalis nuncupata
(Paris, 1520), *Commune sanctorum*, f. xliiii

No. 65: *Sub tuum praesidium* (Taverner)

8 Sub tu - um prae-si - di - um con-fu - gi - mus, san - cta De-i Ge-ni - trix: no-stras de - pre-ca - ti - o - nes ne de-spi - ci - as ___ in ne - ces-si - ta - ti - bus: sed a pe-ri - cu - lis cun - ctis li - be-ra ___ nos ___ sem-per, Vir-go glo-ri - o - sa ___ et be - ne - di-cta. *T.P.* Al - le - lu - ia.

Processionale monasticum ad usum congregationis Gallicae ordinis Sancti Benedicti
(Solesmes, 1893), p. 287

No. 72: *Mass Libera nos* (Knyght)

8 Li - be - ra ___ nos, sal - va ___ nos, ju - sti - fi - ca ___ nos, O ___ be - a - ta tri - ni - tas.

Antiphonarii ad usum Sarum volumen secundum, vulgo pars estivalis nuncupata
(Paris, 1520), *Temporale*, f. iv