

THE HENRICIAN PARTBOOKS  
BELONGING TO PETERHOUSE,  
CAMBRIDGE (CAMBRIDGE,  
UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, PETERHOUSE  
MANUSCRIPTS 471–474): A STUDY,  
WITH RESTORATIONS OF THE  
INCOMPLETE COMPOSITIONS  
CONTAINED IN THEM

Submitted by Nicholas John Sandon  
to the University of Exeter  
as a dissertation for the degree  
of Doctor of Philosophy in Music  
in the Faculty of Arts  
February 1983

I certify that all material in this dissertation which is not my own work has been identified and that no material is included for which a degree has already been conferred upon me.

N. J. Sandon

Revised summer 2009 for inclusion in DIAMM.

I dedicate this Work to my mother and father.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title Page	i
Dedication	ii
Table of Contents	iii
Editions, originally included the dissertation, now published by Antico Edition	iv
Introduction to the original version	v
Introduction to the revised version	v
Summary	vii
Abbreviations	ix
Bibliography	xi
Supplementary Bibliography	xix
I: The musical manuscripts at Peterhouse	
1: Introduction	1
2: A summary of previous comment	2
3: The Henrician and Caroline sets and their presence at Peterhouse	5
4: A preliminary description and inventory of the Henrician set ( <i>Ph</i> )	8
5: Inventory	15
II: A palaeographical study of <i>Ph</i>	
1: Collation	25
2: Interpolations and foliation	30
3: The indexes	33
4: At what stage were the books first bound?	35
5: Layout and staves	36
6: The music hand and notation	40
7: The text hands	47
8: The scribe's method of working	51
9: Mistakes and their correction	61
10: The scribe's attitude to his exemplars	66
11: The watermarks	68
12: Groupings in <i>Ph</i>	74
13: The relationship of <i>Ph</i> to other English sources	79
III: The composers in <i>Ph</i>	81
IV: The provenance, destination and interpretation of <i>Ph</i>	
1: The problem of interpretation	115
2: The provenance of the music	121
3: The destination of the partbooks	125
4: The implications of the collection	139
V: Restoring the incomplete compositions	
1: Introduction	147
2: Notes on the restoration of individual compositions	150
VI: Latin texts and English translations	
1: Introduction	199
2: Texts and translations	205
VII: Critical Commentary	
1: Introduction	241
2: List of concordant sources	241
3: Commentary	243
VIII: <i>Cantus firmi</i> and other material associated with the incomplete compositions in <i>Ph</i>	271

**EDITIONS, ORIGINALLY INCLUDED THE DISSERTATION,  
NOW PUBLISHED BY ANTICO EDITION**

1. Sancte deus	John Taverner	RCM101
2. Ave Maria	John Taverner	RCM101
3. O rex gloriose	John Mason	RCM102
5. Stabat mater	Robert Hunt	RCM103
6. Salve regina	Richard Pygott	RCM104
7. O Maria deo grata	Robert Fayrfax	RCM105
9. Salve regina	Nicholas Ludford	RCM106
10. Trium regum	John Catcott	RCM107
11. Ave Maria. Ave fuit prima salus	John Mason	RCM108
12. Mariae virginis	Richard Bramston	RCM107
13. Euge dicta	John Norman	RCM109
14. Ave Maria divae matris	Hugh Aston	RCM110
15. Ave Maria mater dei	Robert Hunt	RCM111
17. Terrenum sitiens	Edward Hedley?	RCM112
18. Sub tuam protectionem	James Northbroke	RCM111
19. Vae nobis miseris	John Mason	RCM113
20. Quales sumus	John Mason	RCM114
21. Gaude virgo mater Christi	William Alen	RCM115
23. Mass <i>Mater Christi</i>	John Taverner	RCM116
24. Exultet in hac die	Hugh Sturmy	RCM117
25. Sancte deus	William Whytbroke	RCM117
27. Mass <i>Spes nostra</i>	Robert Jones	RCM118
32. Mass <i>Veni sancte spiritus</i>	Richard Pygott	RCM119
33. [Vidi aquam] egredientem	Anonymous	RCM102
35. Salve intemerata	Thomas Tallis	RCM134
36. Mater Christi	John Taverner	RCM116
37. O Christe Jesu	John Taverner	RCM120
39. Mass <i>Small devotion</i>	John Taverner	RCM120
40. Magnificat	John Taverner	RCM121
41. Magnificat	John Darke	RCM122
44. Mass <i>Sine nomine</i>	Christopher Tye	RCM123
45. Sancta Maria mater dei	William Pashe	RCM115
46. Ave dei patris	John Merbecke	RCM124
47. Magnificat	Thomas Appelby	RCM125
48. Mass <i>Sine nomine</i>	Anonymous	RCM126
50. Domine Jesu Christe	Nicholas Ludford	RCM127
51. Magnificat	Robert Jones	RCM128
52. Magnificat	William Pashe	RCM129
56. Lauda vivi alpha	Robert Fayrfax	RCM130
57. Ave cujus conceptio	Nicholas Ludford	RCM127
58. Ave Maria ancilla trinitatis	Nicholas Ludford	RCM131
60. Mass <i>Inclina cor meum</i>	Nicholas Ludford	RCM132
61. Ave gratia plena Maria	Arthur Chamberlayne	RCM133
62. Mass <i>Salve intemerata</i>	Thomas Tallis	RCM134
63. Mass <i>Regnum mundi</i>	Nicholas Ludford	RCM135
64. Fac nobis secundum	John Taverner	RCM101
65. Sub tuum praesidium	John Taverner	RCM101
66. Ave rosa sine spinis	Thomas Tallis	RCM136
67. Ave Maria ancilla trinitatis	Hugh Aston	RCM137
68. O baptista vates Christi	Hugh Aston	RCM138
70. Ave vulnus lateris	Walter Erle	RCM112
71. Totius mundi domina	Edward Martyn	RCM139
72. Mass <i>Libera nos</i>	Thomas Knyght	RCM140

## INTRODUCTION TO THE ORIGINAL VERSION

I have been working on this dissertation for eleven years. During this time my attitude to research has changed, and if I were beginning the same project now I would proceed differently. The musical comment would, I hope, be more extensive and more refined, and the fledgling scholar's fascination with the tools of his trade less obvious. The chief aim of the research, however, would be the same: to discern and appreciate the nature of the manuscript by discovering the circumstances and processes that contributed to its creation.

Like many students of early music, I was brought up to transcribe my material into modern notation, a practice that I now consider not merely unnecessary but also positively damaging to our understanding of the music with which we are concerned. If I were now preparing editions of the music in *Ph* I would present them in a scored-up version of the original notation, along the lines demonstrated at the beginning of Volume Two of the dissertation. I have not, however, recopied the existing editions in the style that I would now favour, partly because the time and labour that would be necessary make such a task unattractive, and partly because many readers will probably find the conventional method of presentation more accessible.

I am grateful to many people for their help and encouragement: to the librarian of Peterhouse for allowing me to examine the partbooks belonging to the College, and to him and his assistant for the help and information that they gave me on my visits to the College library; to the staff of the Manuscript Room and the Rare Books Room in Cambridge University Library; to the staff of the Bodleian Library, the British Library and the Public Record Office; to the assistant archivist of Magdalen College, Oxford; to the archivist of the Dean and Chapter Library at Canterbury; to the librarian of Christ Church, Oxford; to the staff of the West Sussex Record Office and Wiltshire County Record Office; to Dr Roger Bowers, who with characteristic generosity gave me free access to the results of his own archival research; to Dr Hugh Benham, who kindly lent me a copy of his doctoral dissertation on John Taverner; to Morwenna Brimble, Karen Manley and Paul Fugler for the patience, ingenuity and zeal with which they traced and procured material for me; to the choir of Exeter Early Music Group for testing some of these restored compositions in performance; to Professor Paul Doe for many years of advice and moral support; to the director and secretary of the Teaching Services Centre at Exeter University for access to a word processor and instruction in how to use it; and to my wife for her understanding and forbearance.

Nick Sandon  
Centoia di Cortona  
On the feast of St Lambert 1982

## INTRODUCTION TO THE REVISED VERSION

The opportunity to add this dissertation to the DIAMM archive has prompted me to revise it in certain respects:

- some typographical errors have been corrected;
- a few ambiguities and infelicities of expression have been rectified;
- biographical and some other information has been updated, sometimes very substantially, with extensive quotation from my published editions of the incomplete compositions;
- two appendixes subsequently recast as independent articles have been removed;
- the musical appendix listing the Sarum Gloria and Credo incipits has been removed because these are now available in my edition of the Use of Salisbury (see the bibliographical supplement);
- Volume Two, containing editorial completions of the incomplete compositions in *Ph*, is not included because revised versions of these are being published by Antico Edition;
- the source collations have been removed from the Critical Commentary because without the original editions in Volume Two they would be useless;
- one or two omissions from the original bibliography have been made good;
- a supplement to the bibliography includes significant works published since 1983.

I hope that readers will not object to these revisions. The dissertation remains essentially what it was, in that the central argument and its expression have been left largely unchanged; but to have made it more widely available without incorporating corrections, additional information and insights accumulated during a quarter of a century would have been to waste an opportunity that few writers are lucky enough to be offered. Anybody wishing to consult the original version should still be able to obtain it through the British Library.

I am pleased to have the chance to acknowledge more amply the help that I had from Roger Bowers. I first met him in the early 1970s in the library of Canterbury Cathedral itself, where I was engaged in a small project and he was consulting the cathedral archives during his doctoral research. We kept in touch, and when soon afterwards I changed my own doctoral topic to the Henrician partbooks at Peterhouse we began to discuss their possible provenance. It was Roger's knowledge of other institutional archives that led to the proposal of a connection with Canterbury: a hypothesis that I was subsequently able to substantiate. I might have come to the same conclusion on my own, but without Roger's generosity it would have taken me even longer.

I shall be grateful if readers will inform me of mistakes and omissions that I can rectify in future updatings.

Nick Sandon  
Les Hautes Thurinières  
On the feast of St Michael the archangel 2009

## SUMMARY

This first volume of this dissertation examines Cambridge, University Library, Peterhouse MSS 471–474, four partbooks from a set of five copied late in the reign of Henry VIII, which contain seventy-two pieces of Latin church music. The first chapter discusses the presence at Peterhouse of this set, investigates its relationship to the Caroline partbooks belonging to the college and suggests means by which this collection of manuscripts could have come to Peterhouse. The second chapter is a palaeographical study of MSS 471–474 and seeks to discover the processes by which they were copied; they are found to have been the work of a single scribe. The third chapter brings together biographical information from published and unpublished sources on the composers represented in the books. After referring to conflicting ways in which scholars have interpreted the existence of these books, the fourth chapter proposes a new interpretation by relating the palaeographical and biographical evidence to the circumstances of English religious history during the last decade of Henry's reign: it is suggested that most of the repertory in the books was copied from manuscripts belonging to Magdalen College, Oxford, probably in 1539–40, and that the books were intended for use at the New Foundation cathedral at Canterbury; an identity is suggested for the scribe. If the general thrust of the argument be accepted, the conservatism of much of the music in *Ph* must be considered typical of church music in England at this time. The fifth chapter justifies the practice of restoring voices missing from compositions of this period and describes some of the problems and solutions involved; working notes including analysis and stylistic comment are provided for the fifty restored compositions originally presented in the second volume. The sixth chapter introduces and presents the Latin texts with English translations. The seventh and last chapter consists of an editorial and critical commentary; the detailed collation of and commentary upon source readings have been removed from the present revision because they would serve no useful purpose in the absence of the musical editions themselves. Two textual appendices to the original dissertation consisted of short essays on more peripheral topics that arose during the research; these appendices are not included in this revision because articles based on them have appeared elsewhere. A musical appendix presents *cantus firmi* and other material associated with the compositions in *Ph*. A second musical appendix containing the Sarum Gloria and Credo incipits has been removed from this revision because these are now available in my published edition of the Use of Salisbury.

The second volume of the original dissertation contained edited restorations of the fifty Peterhouse compositions which cannot be completed from other sources, together with copies of a few complete compositions that were included because incomplete pieces are based on them. This material is not included in the present revision because revised versions of my editorial completions are being published by Antico Edition.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

AE	Antico Edition
AM	<i>Annales Musicologiques</i>
BaillieB	H. Baillie, ‘Some biographical notes on English church musicians, chiefly working in London (1485–1569)’
BenhamL	H. Benham, <i>Latin church music in England c. 1460–1575</i>
Bowers	R. Bowers, <i>Choral establishments within the English church: their constitution and development, 1340–1542</i>
Brev. Sar.	F. Procter and C. Wordsworth, <i>Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Sarum</i>
Chev.	U. Chevalier, <i>Repertorium hymnologicum: catalogue des chants, hymnes, proses, séquences, tropes en usage dans l’église latine depuis les origines jusqu’à nos jours</i>
CMM	Corpus mensurabilis musicae
CPR H7	<i>Calendar of the patent rolls ... Henry VII</i>
CPR E6	<i>Calendar of the patent rolls ... Edward VI</i>
CPR P&M	<i>Calendar of the patent rolls ... Philip and Mary</i>
CPR Eliz.	<i>Calendar of the patent rolls ... Elizabeth</i>
Cul	Cambridge, University Library
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
DoeL	P. Doe, ‘Latin polyphony under Henry VIII’
EECM	Early English Church Music
EM	<i>Early Music</i>
Emden Cambridge –1500	A. B. Emden, <i>A biographical register of the University of Cambridge to 1500</i>
Emden Oxford –1500	A. B. Emden, <i>A biographical register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500</i>
Emden Oxford 1501–40	A. B. Emden, <i>A biographical register of the University of Oxford, 1501–40</i>
EMH	<i>Early Music History</i>
Fasti 1300–1541	J. Le Neve, <i>Fasti ecclesiae anglicanae 1300–1541</i>
Fasti 1541–1857	J. Le Neve, <i>Fasti ecclesiae anglicanae, 1541–1857</i>
HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
Horae	E. Hoskins, <i>Horae beatæ Mariæ virginis or Sarum and York primers with kindred books and primers of the reformed Roman use ...</i>
JAMS	<i>Journal of the American Musicological Society</i>
JPMMS	<i>Journal of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society</i>
Lbl	London, British Library
LC	<i>Liber computi</i>
LPH8	J. S. Brewer, J. Gairdner, and R. H. Brodie, <i>Letters and papers ... of Henry VIII</i>

MB	Musica Britannica
MD	<i>Musica Disciplina</i>
Miss. Sar.	F. H. Dickinson, <i>Missale ad usum insignis et praeclarae ecclesiae Sarum</i>
ML	<i>Music &amp; Letters</i>
MMB	F. Ll. Harrison, <i>Music in medieval Britain</i>
MQ	<i>Musical Quarterly</i>
MR	<i>Music Review</i>
MS(S)	Manuscript(s)
MT	<i>The Musical Times</i>
NA	London (Kew), National Archives
Obl	Oxford, Bodleian Library
Omc	Oxford, Magdalen College
Ph	Cambridge, University Library, Peterhouse MSS 471–474
PRMA	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association</i>
PRO	Public Record Office
RMARC	<i>Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle</i>
SandonH	N. Sandon, 'The Henrician partbooks at Peterhouse, Cambridge'
SR	A. Luders, T. E. Tomlins, W. E. Taunton and J. Raithby, <i>The statutes of the realm</i>
TCM	P. C. Buck, E. H. Fellowes, A. Ramsbotham, R. R. Terry, and S. T. Warner (eds), <i>Tudor Church Music</i>
TRP	P. L. Hughes and J. F. Larkin, <i>Tudor royal proclamations</i>
WA	Worcester Antiphonal (Worcester, Cathedral Library, MS F.160)
VA	W. H. Frere and W. P. M. Kennedy, <i>Visitation articles and injunctions of the period of the Reformation</i>
VHC ...	<i>Victoria history of the county of ...</i>
VE	<i>Valor ecclesiasticus</i>
1502	<i>Processionale ad usum Sarum 1502</i>
1519	<i>Antiphonarii ad usum Sarum volumen primum vulgo pars hyemalis nuncupata</i>
1520	<i>Antiphonarii ad usum Sarum volumen secundum, vulgo pars estivalis nuncupata</i>
1528	<i>Graduale ad veram et integram preclare ecclesie Sarum consuetudinem nuper Parisiis excusum</i>

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This list is not meant to be exhaustive; it includes only the books, articles and editions that I have consulted during the writing of this dissertation. Works are mostly listed by their author(s); a few with no known author are listed by their title. I use the abbreviations (ed.) and (eds) to indicate redaction of works by other authors or supervision of works by multiple authors. In quoting work titles I reduce capitalization to a minimum.

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# I: THE MUSICAL MANUSCRIPTS AT PETERHOUSE

## I—1: INTRODUCTION

The picture of the extraordinarily vigorous cultivation of sacred polyphony in England during the half-century preceding the Reformation that has been revealed by two important studies shows aristocratic household chapels and certain types of collegiate foundation to have played leading roles in the employment of musicians and in the production and consumption of music.<sup>1</sup> The main evidence for this is to be found in the extant financial records of the élite institutions participating in this activity, because the maintenance and enhancement of musical provision in order that polyphony should form a worthy constituent of liturgical and paraliturgical worship demanded regular and generous expenditure. The disbursements on music were of three main kinds: the salaries of the singers and their master or instructor (who often doubled as organist); payments for the maintenance of the organs (many chapels possessed two or even three instruments); and, perhaps most truly indicative of musical vitality, outlay on the copying or purchase of polyphonic music in order to augment and keep up to date an institution's repertory. (The concentration upon polyphony that is inevitable in the context of this dissertation should not be allowed to obscure the fact that during the early Tudor period plainchant continued to form the core and foundation of the liturgical musical repertory, as it had done for the best part of a millennium: every choral service of the day included liturgical items sung in plainchant; several daily services rarely or never included polyphony; items sung in plainchant outnumbered those sung in polyphony even in the services in which polyphony figured most prominently; institutions lacking a professional choir were largely restricted to a diet of plainchant; and payments for the copying or purchase of plainchant service books are a standard item in the accounts of churches and chapels of every conceivable status.)

The surviving accounts of several university colleges, such as Magdalen College and New College, Oxford, and King's College, Cambridge, show them to have been especially assiduous and ambitious in their musical activity, maintaining choirs and accumulating repertories which must have stood comparison with any in the land. It is ironic and tantalising that not one of these colleges, whose archives are so rich and sometimes so detailed in musical references, has managed to preserve any of the musical manuscripts which must once have been its pride. None of the music books listed in the early-sixteenth-century inventories of Magdalen College and King's College is known to survive,<sup>2</sup> while New College found some surprising uses for out-of-date choirbooks.<sup>3</sup> The only source of early Tudor polyphony which can with some degree of likelihood be associated with a particular university college is the Forrest-Heyther set of partbooks, which may have been used at Cardinal College, Oxford;<sup>4</sup> and this small collection of five-part and six-part Masses can tell us only a little about the overall extent and nature of the polyphonic repertory of a college which for a short period in the late 1520s must have been paramount among its peers for the lavishness of its musical provision.

It is surprisingly difficult to form an impression of the total repertory of any institution of this period, because the few sources which have survived either contain only a relatively small number of pieces or (if they are more voluminous) fail to include examples of every current musical form. For example, the Lambeth<sup>5</sup> and Caius<sup>6</sup> choirbooks both contain fewer than twenty

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<sup>1</sup> F. Ll. Harrison, *Music in medieval Britain* (London, 1958, 2/1963), hereafter referred to as *MMB*, and R. Bowers, *Choral establishments within the English church: their constitution and development, 1340–1542*, Ph.D. dissertation (University of East Anglia, 1976), hereafter referred to as *Bowers*.

<sup>2</sup> See *MMB*, pp. 431–3, and numerous references in *Bowers*.

<sup>3</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library (hereafter referred to as *Obl*), New College MS 368 consists of fragmentary leaves from probably two Tudor choirbooks used as wallpaper in the college in the mid-sixteenth century.

<sup>4</sup> *Obl*, MSS Mus. sch. e. 376–381, now reclassified as MSS Arch. F. e. 19–24. See J. Bergsagel, 'The date and provenance of the Forrest-Heyther collection of Tudor Masses' in *ML*, vol. 44 (1963), pp. 240–8. I would not regard the case for an association with Cardinal College as being particularly strong.

<sup>5</sup> London, Lambeth Palace, MS 1. See M. R. James and C. Jenkins, *A descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts in the library of Lambeth Palace* (Cambridge, 1930–2), p. 1; W. H. Frere, *Bibliotheca musico-liturgica*, vol. 1 (London,

compositions, while the repertory of the much more extensive Eton choirbook<sup>7</sup> (which originally included ninety-three pieces, some of which are now lost) consists only of votive antiphons and Magnificats. It is particularly unfortunate that nothing is known of the provenance of what is incontestably the most important source of sacred polyphony to have survived from the reign of Henry VIII. The fact that today this manuscript belongs to a university college which, at the time when the music was current, could not possibly have sung it—a college which did not even have its own chapel until 1633—is an irony fit to match the one mentioned in the previous paragraph. The college in question is Peterhouse, Cambridge; the source is the incomplete set of partbooks (the Tenor book being missing) known as the ‘Henrician Set’, now kept in Cambridge University Library as Peterhouse MSS 471–474 (formerly MSS 40, 41, 31 and 32).

This dissertation has five chief aims: to carry out a palaeographical study of this set of partbooks; to reconstruct the processes and stages by which it was copied: to suggest a provenance for its exemplars, an identity for the scribe and the intended destination of his work; to assess the implications of this project and repertory for the culture of sacred polyphony in England on the eve of the Reformation; and to provide an edition of the fifty incomplete works contained in the books, with editorial recomposition of the missing voices.

## I—2: A SUMMARY OF PREVIOUS COMMENT

For what has always been one of the smallest and least pretentious among Cambridge colleges Peterhouse has a remarkable collection of sixteenth-century and seventeenth-century musical manuscripts, consisting of three sets of partbooks now known as the ‘Henrician’, ‘Former’ and ‘Latter’ sets (names apparently given to them by Dom Anselm Hughes<sup>8</sup>). These manuscripts were described and catalogued for the first time by John Jebb, rector of Peterstow, Herefordshire; his handwritten catalogue, dated 19 January 1856 and now kept the Ward Library at Peterhouse as MS F.14.47,<sup>9</sup> was subsequently printed in a slightly abbreviated form.<sup>10</sup> R. C. Hope’s article of 1883 was heavily indebted to Jebb and added only one new piece of information.<sup>11</sup> The next substantial account was that by Dom Anselm Hughes which appeared almost a century after Jebb’s pioneering work. More recently John Morehen<sup>12</sup> has made a detailed study of the Former and Latter sets and May Hofman<sup>13</sup> has briefly discussed the Henrician set, as I too have done in a preliminary paper.<sup>14</sup> Several other writers, including Paul Doe<sup>15</sup> and Hugh Benham,<sup>16</sup> have referred in passing to the

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1901), p. 4; G. Chew, ‘The provenance and date of the Caius and Lambeth choir-books’ in *ML*, vol. 51 (1970), pp. 107–17; and P. Fugler, *The unpublished antiphons in the Lambeth choirbook*, MA dissertation (University of Exeter, 1978), *passim*.

<sup>6</sup> Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 667. See M. R. James, *A descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts in the library of Gonville and Caius College*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1908), p. 663; Chew, *op. cit.*; Fugler, *op. cit.*

<sup>7</sup> Eton College, MS 178. See F. Ll. Harrison, ‘The Eton choirbook: its background and contents (Eton College Library MS 178)’, *AM*, vol. 1 (1953), pp. 151–75, and *MB*, vols 10–12.

<sup>8</sup> A. Hughes, *Catalogue of the musical manuscripts at Peterhouse, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1953), pp. viij and x.

<sup>9</sup> *An index to Church of England services and anthems, belonging to the age which preceded the Great Rebellion, and contained in part books, preserved in the College of St Peter, Cambridge: appendix entitled A list of Motetts, Masses, etc. of the early part of the Sixteenth Century, before the Reformation: contained in part books preserved in the College of St Peter, Cambridge.*

<sup>10</sup> ‘Rev. John Jebb’s catalogue of ancient service-books preserved in the library of S. Peter’s College, Cambridge’, *The Ecclesiologist*, vol. 20 (1859), pp. 163 and 242.

<sup>11</sup> R. C. Hope, ‘An unique MS collection of ancient church music’, *The Antiquarian Magazine and Bibliographer*, vol. 3 (1883), p. 24.

<sup>12</sup> J. Morehen, *The sources of English cathedral music, c. 1617–c. 1644*, Ph.D. dissertation (University of Cambridge, 1969).

<sup>13</sup> M. Hofman, *The survival of Latin sacred music by English composers, 1485–1610*, D.Phil. dissertation (University of Oxford, 1977).

<sup>14</sup> N. Sandon, ‘The Henrician partbooks at Peterhouse, Cambridge’, *PRMA*, vol. 103 (1976–7), pp. 106–40, hereafter referred to as *SandonH*.

<sup>15</sup> P. Doe, ‘Latin polyphony under Henry VIII’, *PRMA*, vol. 95 (1968–9), pp. 81–96, hereafter referred to as *DoeL*.



Henrician set in work whose main direction pointed elsewhere. It will be useful to summarise here the chief conclusions reached by previous writers. The reason for including comment on all three sets despite the declared subject matter of this dissertation will become clear in Section I—3.

### The Henrician Set

Jebb's complete description is so hard to come by, so sensible, and so elegantly expressed, that it deserves quotation in full:

This Collection is very fairly and legibly written, on good paper, in four small folio Volumes, "Triplex", "Contra Tenor", and "Bassus" are written on the parchment covers of three. The parchment cover of the fourth, which is the Medius, is torn off. The Triplex is written for the most part in the Treble Cliff, but occasionally in one of the other C cliffs. The position of the C (♯) varies often in the signature of the medius and contra tenor books, as was usual in ancient times. The notation is very clear, with lozenge shaped notes, intermixed not unfrequently with the ancient ligatures. A well written, though not altogether complete Index, is at the beginning of each of the volumes, except the Triplex, which also wants the first twelve leaves, and ends at fol. 106. The Collection consists of Masses, Magnificats, and Hymns. The latter are chiefly addressed to the Virgin Mary; a striking evidence of the need of a Reformation at that time. The Magnificats are analogous, in their musical arrangements, to the Canticles in our Cathedral Services, and always begin upon the words, "Et exultavit Spiritus", shewing that the first Hemistich was intoned.

From the clean state of these books, they 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.<sup>17</sup>

Since Jebb did not mention the absence of the Tenor book, and since in his article in *The Ecclesiologist* he suggested that the Medius book should 'more properly' be called the Tenor, it would seem that he did not realise that the set was incomplete.<sup>18</sup>

Hope added little of interest except the observation that the books had been rebound after Jebb had first written about them and before he himself had. Hughes refined the rather vague dating given in Jebb's title ('... the early part of the Sixteenth Century, before the Reformation ...') to 'the later part of the reign of Henry VIII', specifically to the period 1540–43; he also echoed Jebb's remark about the books' evident lack of use, and pointed out that in the early 1540s Peterhouse had had far too few members (and had certainly not maintained a professional choir) to allow such music to be performed.<sup>19</sup> His conclusion was that

Though it is possible that these Latin books belonged to and were designed for a Peterhouse choir, or for Little St Mary's, before 1547 it seems on the whole unlikely. They may have been procured during the reign of Queen Mary, or they may have been acquired during the period of considerable musical activity in the early seventeenth century.

Hofman tentatively linked the partbooks with Oxford, commenting<sup>20</sup> that 'a connection with Magdalen might be a possibility' but concluding<sup>21</sup> that 'if there was a connection with Oxford,

<sup>16</sup> H. Benham, *Latin church music in England, c. 1460–1575* (London, 1977), hereafter referred to as *BenhamL*.

<sup>17</sup> Quoted from the 1856 manuscript catalogue, pp. 73–4.

<sup>18</sup> J. Jebb, op. cit., p. 251.

<sup>19</sup> A. Hughes, op. cit., p. ix.

<sup>20</sup> M. Hofman, op. cit., p. 22.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

it was of a more general nature'. In my paper for the Royal Musical Association (delivered in ignorance of the existence of Hofman's dissertation) I made a more emphatic claim for a connection with Magdalen College, Oxford, further refined the likely date of copying to 1539–41 and made suggestions concerning the books' purpose and destination (suggestions here developed in Section IV—3).

### The Former and Latter Sets

The Former and Latter Sets (also known collectively as the 'Caroline' sets) have nothing like the consistency and orderliness of the Henrician set. Jebb wisely confined himself to an attempt to list their contents.<sup>22</sup> Hughes considered that the Latter set was 'more like a current collection of the Cosin era between 1635 and 1643 whereas the Former set may perhaps have been assembled a little earlier'.<sup>23</sup> Morehen's efficient treatment of this disordered material deserves quotation at length:

The Caroline part-books are all examples of utter chaos, since each consists of literally scores of small gatherings of leaves in a multitude of different hands; in only rare instances ... are there series of pieces in the same hand. There is very little agreement between the part-books as far as the sequence of pieces is concerned, and in numerous cases the same composition is found more than once in a single part-book. ... Confusion is also widespread in the allocation of certain pieces to apparently random part-books in both sets. Some items ... are divided almost equally between the two sets; such incongruities are legion. The only major difference between the two sets ... is that the Former set consisted originally of ten books whereas the Latter set consisted of only eight; ... there is reason to believe that the Peterhouse music may once have comprised one large corpus.

... there is no doubt that the numerous small gatherings and individual leaves of which the partbooks mainly consist were both copied and assembled before the Restoration.<sup>24</sup>

Morehen's conclusions, that the Former and Latter sets were made up by uniting a large number of copies of individual pieces collected at Peterhouse during the augmentation of the chapel service there between about 1633 and 1643, and that much of the music came from Durham Cathedral (where John Cosin, Master of Peterhouse from 1625 to 1643, had been a prebendary since 1624), seem secure.<sup>25</sup>

Before discussing the relationship of the Henrician set to the Caroline sets I will list the old and new numbers of all the manuscripts concerned; the old numeration is given in the middle column, the new in the right-hand one.

#### THE HENRICIAN SET

Triplex	MS 40	MS 471
Medius	MS 41	MS 472
Contratenor	MS 31	MS 473
Tenor	lost	lost
Bassus	MS 32	MS 474

<sup>22</sup> In the main body of his 1856 catalogue and 1859 article.

<sup>23</sup> A. Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. x.

<sup>24</sup> J. Morehen, *op. cit.*, pp. 126–7.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 119; see also the article on Cosin in *Dictionary of National Biography*.

**THE FORMER SET**

DECANI		
Medius	not numbered	MS 475 <sup>A</sup>
Contratenor 1	MS 39	MS 476
Contratenor 2	not numbered	MS 477 <sup>A</sup>
Tenor	lost	lost
Bassus	MS 38	MS 478
CANTORIS		
Medius	MS 34	MS 479
Contratenor 1	not numbered	MS 480 <sup>A</sup>
Contratenor 2	lost	lost
Tenor	lost	lost
Bassus	MS 33	MS 481

**THE LATTER SET**

DECANI		
Medius	MS 44	MS 485 <sup>B</sup>
Contratenor	MS 42	MS 486
Tenor	MS 35	MS 487
Bassus	MS 37	MS 488
CANTORIS		
Medius	MS 45	MS 489
Contratenor	lost	lost <sup>C</sup>
Tenor	MS 43	MS 490
Bassus	MS 36	MS 491
Organ Book	MS 46	MS 493

- A. MSS 475, 477 and 480 were discovered after the old numeration had been adopted.  
 B. A folio prayer-book at Peterhouse (Printed Book G.5.30) contains pages from this book.  
 C. A folio prayer-book at Christ Church, Oxford (Printed Book Gibbs 12) contains pages from this book.

**I—3: THE HENRICIAN AND CAROLINE SETS  
AND THEIR PRESENCE AT PETERHOUSE**

The two Caroline sets are very closely related to each other in their contents and lack of order; they may, indeed, originally have comprised a single corpus of unorganised material subsequently bound (in the seventeenth-century bindings which still protect them) in an attempt to keep it under control. Their contents were collected with the definite purpose of providing the newly-built chapel of Peterhouse with a working repertory, and the Durham provenance of much of the music is accounted for by the presence at Peterhouse of men (particularly the Master, John Cosin, and the composer and copyist Thomas Wilson) who had previously been at the cathedral.<sup>26</sup> Many pages show signs of considerable use, and although some at least of this wear may have occurred at Durham itself (Morehen believes that the Peterhouse pages are the Durham originals and that the copies now at Durham were taken from them<sup>27</sup>), there is no good reason to doubt that this was a repertory compiled and used at Peterhouse for a period of about ten years.

The Henrician set appears to be different in almost every respect. Copied, it would seem, in a single phase of activity about a century earlier, it exhibits a high degree of consistency and uniformity from beginning to end. Jebb's description implies that it kept its original bindings until the nineteenth century; if it was at Peterhouse in the seventeenth century, it was not at that time rebound to match the Caroline sets. Whatever the original purpose of the Henrician set may have been, it is very difficult to envisage a practical function for it in mid-seventeenth-century England.

<sup>26</sup> J. Morehen, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 155.

Cosin was, of course, notoriously High-Church in his sympathies (he had already been involved in controversy at Durham,<sup>28</sup> and when he became Master of Peterhouse he commissioned Latin-texted works from William Child, Robert Ramsey, Thomas Wilson and others<sup>29</sup>), but it is hard to believe that even he could have desired or defended performances in the college chapel of a pre-Tridentine Latin Mass or one of the more effusive Mary-antiphons; and, in any case, the large-scale compositions of Fayrfax, Ludford and Taverner would surely have been considered hopelessly old-fashioned in the 1630s. The Henrician books are, I think, more likely to have survived because their curiosity and value as historical objects were recognised by somebody with antiquarian interests, an individual who perhaps also felt an affinity with the religious environment that had called them into existence. The fact that they are devoid of decoration or extraneous material that might have made it seem a pity to destroy them suggests that the decision to keep them was motivated to some extent by an interest in the music that they contained. Whether such an interest may have extended to attempts at performance is impossible to determine (it would obviously have depended upon the set of partbooks having been still complete); one can only note that the four books now extant show no sign of any musically motivated intervention datable to the period between the Reformation and at least the late eighteenth century.

There is one slight possibility of a connection between the Henrician and Caroline sets which at least deserves discussion. Although most of the pages in the Latter set were probably copied in the 1630s and 40s on contemporary paper, a few pages appear to be considerably older. The dimensions and texture of these are similar to those of the original flyleaves in the Henrician books, and they have a pot watermark which (as far as I can see) occurs nowhere else in the Caroline sets but which slightly resembles the watermark of the Henrician flyleaves (the two watermarks are reproduced for comparison in Illustration 1). Admittedly, page sizes are both too standardised and too susceptible to alteration by trimming to allow conclusive comparison, and pot watermarks are so numerous and so infinitely varied that an amateur is well advised not to make their interpretation the basis of his argument;<sup>30</sup> however, the music copied on these pages and the hands in which it is written also belong to earlier generations. The pieces include Taverner's *Meane Mass*, Tallis's *O God be merciful*, Tye's *Miserere mei deus*, Parsons's *O bone Jesu*, Robert Knyght's *Propterea maestum*, Byrd's *Laetentur caeli* and *Fac cum servo tuo* and Phillips's *Aspice domine* well as several compositions without ascription.<sup>31</sup> It occurred to me that these pages might conceivably have come from the same institution as the Henrician partbooks, in the form of unbound copies that were later incorporated into the Caroline collections. Whether or not this is the case (and the question has little or no relevance to the Henrician books themselves), there is certainly no close connection between these pages and the Henrician set. The hands are not the same, and (in the one case in which direct comparison is possible) collation of the two versions of Taverner's *Meane Mass* reveals divergence at many crucial points: these two copies cannot have been copied from the same exemplar, and one cannot have been copied from the other.<sup>32</sup> There is, in fact, nothing substantial to connect the Henrician and Caroline sets, and no reason to suppose that they came to Peterhouse by the same route, through the same agency, at the same time or for the same purpose.

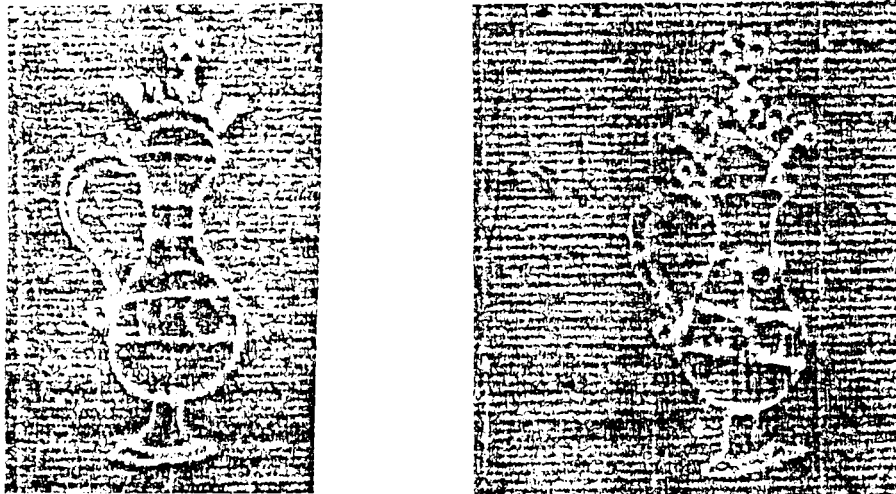
<sup>28</sup> See G. Ornsby, *The correspondence of John Cosin D.D., Lord Bishop of Durham: together with other papers illustrative of his life and times*, Surtees Society, vols 52 and 55 (1869 for 1868 and 1872 for 1870).

<sup>29</sup> J. Morehen, op. cit., pp. 121–2.

<sup>30</sup> A. Stevenson, 'The Pots of Normandy', C. M. Briquet, *Les filigranes: dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600. A facsimile of the 1907 edition with supplementary material contributed by a number of scholars*, ed. A. Stevenson (Amsterdam, 1968), Introduction, pp. \*34–\*36.

<sup>31</sup> Morehen did not mention these pages in his doctoral dissertation; a detailed palaeographical study of the Caroline sets has yet to be written.

<sup>32</sup> There are several major disparities between the two copies of the Mass which indicate different lines of descent. The version in the Latter set is particularly interesting in that it bears several annotations in a second hand which seem to be instructions for corrections, as from a teacher to his pupil. For example: 'make but a semibreve' (MS 487 f. 02<sup>v</sup>), 'looke in ye booke' and 'item make a semibref rest and leave out the prick' (MS 487 f. 03<sup>f</sup>), 'item make ye first a semibreve ye 2 [a minim] and ye 3 [a dotted semibreve] and so make ye rests thus' (MS 487 f. 05<sup>f</sup>) and 'item put ye prick out and set [a semibreve] ut vides' (MS 487 f. 06<sup>f</sup>).



**Illustration 1: watermark of MSS 472, 473 and 474 flyleaves (left); watermark of MS 487, f. 06 (right) (both actual size)**

There is no direct and hardly any indirect evidence to indicate how and when the Henrician books came to Peterhouse. The college seems not to have kept a donors' book, and none of the entries in the book lists in the Old Register appears to refer to them. The only extraneous item in the partbooks is the signature 'James Raynoldes', in a seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century hand, upside down on f. 118<sup>r</sup> of the Mean Book. This helps very little, because it is much more likely to have been a pen-trial than a record of ownership and because it fails to identify more closely this particular holder of what was a far from uncommon name. There was, for example, a prominent Reynolds family living at Castle Camps, Cambridgeshire, which passed the Christian name James down through at least five generations and which sent a grandfather and grandson of this name to Peterhouse in 1612 and 1701/2 respectively.<sup>33</sup> If grandson James wrote his signature during his time at Peterhouse (the style of the handwriting makes him a more likely candidate than his grandfather) we would have a date by which the books must have arrived at the college; but this is very slender evidence, if indeed it can really be said to constitute evidence at all.

If one is looking for an individual who might have presented the Henrician partbooks to Peterhouse, John Cosin is obviously a very strong candidate. He was a scholar and a bibliophile (a taste perhaps acquired while he was librarian to Bishop Overall of Lichfield); his religious views and liturgical tastes placed him on the right wing of the Anglican church; during his time at Durham, both as a prebendary before the Restoration and as bishop after it, he must have been acquainted with the leading churchmen of his day; he or his agents would have visited other cathedral churches and would have had the opportunity to explore their libraries; and as a bishop, or as master of a university college (or even before, as a prebendary of one of the more prestigious English cathedrals) he enjoyed a status which would have reinforced any request that he might make for the gift of a manuscript which attracted his interest. An enthusiastic collector, he bequeathed over one thousand of his books to Peterhouse,<sup>34</sup> and the Henrician set could easily have been among them. I cannot think of another man so likely to have been the donor of the partbooks to the college.

If the identity of the donor of the Henrician partbooks has nevertheless to remain an open question, there may be a slightly greater chance of locating the source from which he obtained

<sup>33</sup> See T. A. Walker, *A biographical register of Peterhouse men and some of their neighbours from the earliest days (1284) to the commencement (1616) of the first admission book of the college*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1930), pp. 276–7; and J. and J. A. Venn, *Alumni cantabrigienses: a biographical list of all known students, graduates and holders of office at the University of Cambridge, from the earliest times to 1900*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1924), part 3, p. 444.

<sup>34</sup> Cosin's will, dated 11 December 1671, states that 'a great number of my books (that is to say, about a thousand in severall volumes), I have already given to the publick library of St Peter's Colledge in the University of Cambridge' and that 'I give and bequeath two hundred pounds towards the re-edifyeing of ... St Peter's Colledge Chappell in Cambridge ...' (see G. Ormsby, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 301 and 298).

them. It is, I think, possible that they remained undisturbed, perhaps entirely forgotten, in the library of or elsewhere in whichever institution had owned them at the time of the Reformation, until the Peterhouse donor or his agent acquired them. Thus, if one could identify the place for which the set was copied, and if one could reasonably assume that it reached its originally intended destination, one might be able to account for its complete career. My reasons for suggesting that the books may have remained undisturbed are very simple: if they had passed into the hands of a small-scale amateur collector at the time of or soon after the Reformation they would in all probability have acquired all kinds of extraneous matter (marginal doodles, shopping lists, domestic accounts, memoranda and the like) as so many manuscripts of the period have done, and they would probably have suffered much greater damage; if, on the other hand, they had come into the possession of a major collector, such as Bale, Bodley, Lumley, Parker, Tanner or Thayer, they would almost certainly now bear his mark of ownership and have ended up in one of the libraries to which he made gifts. Apart from Cosin, no large-scale collector seems to have favoured Peterhouse during this period. My guess, therefore, is that the set came from a so-far unidentified institution directly to Peterhouse at the instance of Cosin or somebody of comparable interests and status; the identity of this institution is discussed in Section IV—3. The donor would probably have had little difficulty in gaining possession of the books, because in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries cathedral librarians (or their masters) were often astonishingly irresponsible in the wholesale manner in which they removed or gave away material which we now would consider beyond price (the Canterbury books in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge and the Durham books in Jesus College, Cambridge, are eloquent examples); the gift of some books of old-fashioned music for an obsolete liturgy would have been unlikely to cause any qualms.

#### **I—4: A PRELIMINARY DESCRIPTION AND INVENTORY OF THE HENRICIAN SET (*Ph*)**

The Henrician set (hereafter referred to as *Ph*) must originally have consisted of five partbooks; all of the music which can be completed from other sources is in five parts, and there is no reason why any of the incomplete pieces should have been in more than five. The Tenor book is missing; it was already missing when Jebb examined the set in the mid-1850s, and there is no obvious way to discover when or how it was lost. It is puzzling that so many sets of Tudor and Jacobean partbooks survive with the loss of a single book:<sup>35</sup> if all books but one can survive, why should any disappear; and if circumstances allow books to disappear at all, why should all but one remain? It would seem that the librarians of Peterhouse entertain no hopes of recovering the Tenor book; the new numeration does not leave a space for it, although space has been left for the missing books of the Former and Latter sets.

The four surviving books display a high degree of uniformity in their structure, layout and almost all other aspects; each of these is discussed in detail in Chapter Two. The dimensions of their pages (Jebb's 'small folio') are almost identical, about 28.5 cm. high by 20 cm. wide; they are made up of the same varieties of paper in the same order (two apparent exceptions to this are considered below in Section II—2); they are all written in the same hands; and they contain a consistent sequence of compositions. Their bindings, too, are uniform, but unfortunately (as explained above in Section I—2) they are not the original ones, dating instead from the period 1856–83 and having the college bookplate pasted inside the front board. What Jebb saw and described as parchment covers bearing the titles 'Triplex', 'Medius', 'Contra Tenor' and 'Bassus', that of the Medius book having been torn off, are likely to have been original: it is improbable that anybody would have bothered to rebind the books at an earlier date; a late seventeenth-century or eighteenth-century binder would almost certainly have used leather and boards, not parchment; and books rebound fairly recently would hardly have needed to be bound again so soon. The question cannot be settled conclusively because the previous covers, with whatever clues they may

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<sup>35</sup> For example, considering only manuscripts which have concordances with *Ph*: London, British Library (hereafter referred to as Lbl), Add. MSS 18936–9; Obl, MSS Mus. sch. e. 420–2; Oxford, Christ Church, MSS 979–83; Tenbury, St Michael's College, MSS 341–4 and 807–11 (now in the Bodleian Library).

have offered as to the provenance of *Ph*, cannot now be found; presumably they were destroyed when the rebinding was carried out.

There is, however, one tantalising trace of the earlier covers or an associated flyleaf; this takes the form of very faint offset on the verso of the last folio of the Mean book (f. 118<sup>v</sup>). Even with the aid of ultra-violet light and a mirror I can make little of this. The image seems to have been left by a document whose written area occupied at least the whole width and length of the page now bearing it. There were two columns, written in a small thirteenth-century or early fourteenth-century hand with headings and red and blue initial letters; the matter appears to have been scholarly (that is, not part of a service book, or archival, or literary). Portions of the text of three consecutive paragraphs starting about half-way down what would have been the right-hand column can be read; I offer the following readings in the hope that they may enable somebody to identify the text.

The first paragraph was headed ‘*Tercia pars*’ and began with a red capital A. The beginnings of the sixth, seventh and eighth of its ten lines read:

S . . . debet . . . . . q̄ debet  
 dece. v̄ . . . . . ēñ facē ñ ḡ  
 m. .tē q̄ fāc q̄ñ faciat q. debet

The second paragraph began with a blue capital S. The beginnings of the fourth, fifth, sixth and last of its seven lines read:

res ei sunt  
 sim pre tibi sensus.  
 . . . . falsū ē.  
 quod si fac̄ee ei. . .

The third paragraph also began with a red capital A. The beginnings of its first five lines read:

Ad  
 ma  
 in facē  
 illa . . . . . illa  
 et Siq. d. . .

Apart from this offset and the signature ‘James Raynoldes’ on f. 118<sup>r</sup> of the Mean book (already mentioned in the previous Section) the only other material added after the completion of *Ph* is the following:

1. The annotations ‘Music’ and ‘Pre-Ref Triplex’ on the verso of the modern front flyleaf of the Treble book;
2. The annotation ‘Treble’ above the beginning of Taverner’s *Meane Mass* in the Mean book (f. 23<sup>v</sup>);
3. The ascription to ‘Tallys’ at the end of the first copy of *Salve intemerata* in the Mean book (f. 59<sup>v</sup>);
4. A few minims and semibreves scribbled on the blank staves on f. 115<sup>r</sup> of the Mean book;
5. A capital M on f. 118<sup>r</sup> of the Mean book; and
6. Computations of (original) breves, and strokes marking off the breve measures, added to several compositions in all four books.

The last of these items needs to be considered and may as well be dealt with at this point. Sixteen of the compositions in *Ph* are annotated with strokes indicating the *tempus* divisions and/or with figures giving (sometimes inaccurately) the numbers of breves in individual sections or whole movements (see Illustration 2). Some of these annotations are in pencil while others are in ink; sometimes both pencil and ink are used in a single piece. The very close agreement between the partbooks as to which compositions bear annotations of this type will be evident from Table 1, in which the works are listed by the numbers given to them at the end of this Section.

Handwritten musical score for treble book, folio 61r. The score is in G major and 3/4 time. It features a vocal line with lyrics in Latin and a lute line. The lyrics include "Gloria in excelsis deo", "Et exspecto", and "Et exspecto". The name "Nicolaus Ludford" is written in the lute line. The tempo is marked "rem.".

Illustration 2: treble book, f. 61<sup>r</sup>: transcribers' annotations

TREBLE (1–11 missing)	MEAN	CONTRATENOR	BASS	Pencil or Ink
	1	1	1	P
	2	2	2	P
	3	3	3	P
14				I
15	15	15	15	I
22 Gloria	22 Gloria	22 Gloria & Sanctus		I
23 Gloria & Benedictus	23 Benedictus			I
24	24	24	24	P&I
25	25	25	25	I
28 Gloria	28 Gloria	28 Gloria	28 Gloria	I
35	35	35	35	I
37	37	37	37	P&I
	38			P
	39 Cum sancto			P
39 Et exspecto	39 Et exspecto	39 Et exspecto	39 Et exspecto	I
42	42	42		I
43 K, G & C	43 K, G & C	43 K, G & C	43 K, G & C	P&I
44 G & C				P
	44 G & C	44 G & C	44 G & C	I

Table 1: compositions in *Ph* bearing transcribers' annotations



Although I cannot be sure, I think that these markings are in more than one hand; at least one of the hands looks as if it dates from the later eighteenth century, but I have not been able to identify it as the hand of any of the major musicologists of the day. These annotations were presumably made by transcribers confronted by a notation with which they were unfamiliar. In all but three cases the pieces marked are in the more tractable *tempus imperfectum* (as if the transcriber selected pieces that he thought would present fewest problems); in the first of the *tempus perfectum* pieces (no. 14) there is only one marking in a single partbook (as if the transcriber soon gave up); in the second (no. 35) almost every measure of the opening section is numbered (as if he could get to the end by no other means); and in the third (no. 39) the numbers occur only in the short triple-metre codas to duple-metre movements. It is interesting that twelve of the sixteen compositions annotated in this way cannot now be completed from other sources (I am ignoring the continental sources of nos 42 and 43, which are unlikely to have been accessible to an eighteenth-century or even to a nineteenth-century transcriber). Did the transcribers not realise that these works lacked a part (two parts in nos 1–3)?; did they not care?; or could they have had access to complete versions, either in concordant sources which have now disappeared or in the very pages which are now missing from *Ph*? It is a piquant thought that *Ph* might still have been intact at about the time when Hawkins and Burney were writing their histories.<sup>36</sup>

*Ph* contains the largest repertory of Latin church music to have survived in a single source dating from the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII.<sup>37</sup> Its pages include examples of virtually every sacred genre which we know to have been set in polyphony under the first two Tudor kings: the Mass, the votive antiphon, the Magnificat, and the setting of a ritual text using its own plainsong as a *cantus firmus*. It is a vitally important document for reasons which I set out in my RMA paper:

It constitutes the only large and relatively complete manuscript of English Latin church music datable to the period between the first layer of the Forrest-Heyther partbooks and the first layer of the Gyffard partbooks<sup>38</sup>—a span of some twenty years during which the English medieval choral tradition achieved its final flowering. It is a major source for the music of Fayrfax, Taverner, Ludford and Aston, preserving thirteen *unica* by these composers and giving what must be the earliest surviving readings for a number of other compositions. It contains music by at least twenty-five other composers, twelve of whom appear in no other musical source. Its repertory encompasses a period of some forty years, and offers valuable evidence concerning changes in and continuity of musical styles during an era in which sacred polyphony, like the institution for which it was created, was being affected by conflicting ideologies. This large and varied repertory ... gives us a more balanced and complete view of the cultivation of polyphonic church music by a single musical establishment during the 1530s and 40s than does any other surviving manuscript. The partbooks are not merely of academic significance; some of the *unica* are musically of superlative quality and deserve to be published and performed.<sup>39</sup>

Before giving an inventory of *Ph* I will make a summary classification of its contents. The seventy-two compositions consist of nineteen Masses, forty-one votive antiphons, seven Magnificats, three ritual antiphons and two pieces whose function is debatable. Forty of these works

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<sup>36</sup> J. Hawkins, *A general history of the science and practice of music* (London, 1776); C. Burney, *A general history of music, from the earliest ages to the present period ...* (London, 1776–89).

<sup>37</sup> The Eton choirbook originally contained a larger number of compositions (ninety-three) but only forty-three of them survive complete, only three of the incomplete pieces can be completed from other sources, and entire sections of some of the compositions are missing, making them not only incomplete but fragmentary.

<sup>38</sup> See R. Bray, 'British Museum Add. MSS 17802–5 (the Gyffard part-books): an index and commentary', *RMARC*, vol. 7 (1969), pp. 31–50.

<sup>39</sup> *SandonH*, pp. 106–7.

are *unica*. Twenty-eight composers are named; one of these attributions is incorrect but the real composer can be identified from concordances; two pieces are anonymous. In the following table (Table 2) the compositions are grouped according to genre and are given the numbers allocated to them in the inventory which brings this chapter to a close. Asterisks indicate *unica*.

### MASSES

16	<i>Te deum</i>	Hugh Aston
22	<i>Sine nomine (Meane Mass)</i>	John Taverner
23	<i>Mater Christi</i>	John Taverner
27	<i>Spes nostra</i>	Robert Jones
28	<i>Christe Jesu</i>	William Rasar
29	<i>O quam glorifica</i>	Robert Fayrfax
30	<i>Tecum principium</i>	Robert Fayrfax
31	<i>Albanus</i>	Robert Fayrfax
32	<i>Veni sancte spiritus</i>	Richard Pygott
34	<i>Christi virgo</i>	Nicholas Ludford
39	<i>Small devotion</i>	John Taverner
43	<i>Surrexit pastor bonus</i>	Lupus Italus
44	<i>Sine nomine*</i>	Christopher Tye
48	<i>Sine nomine*</i>	Anonymous
59	<i>O bone Jesu</i>	Robert Fayrfax
60	<i>Inclina cor meum*</i>	Nicholas Ludford
62	<i>Salve intemerata</i>	Thomas Tallis
63	<i>Regnum mundi*</i>	Nicholas Ludford
72	<i>Libera nos*</i>	Thomas Knyght

### VOTIVE ANTIPHONS

1	<i>Sancte deus*</i>	John Taverner
2	<i>Ave Maria*</i>	John Taverner
4	<i>Ave dei patris</i>	John Taverner
5	<i>Stabat mater*</i>	Robert Hunt
6	<i>Salve regina</i>	Richard Pygott
7	<i>O Maria deo grata</i>	Robert Fayrfax
8	<i>Maria plena virtute</i>	Robert Fayrfax
9	<i>Salve regina</i>	Nicholas Ludford
10	<i>Trium regum*</i>	John Catcott
11	<i>Ave Maria. Ave fuit prima salus*</i>	John Mason
12	<i>Mariae virginis*</i>	Richard Bramston
13	<i>Euge dicta*</i>	John Norman
14	<i>Ave Maria divae matris*</i>	Hugh Aston
15	<i>Ave Maria mater dei*</i>	Robert Hunt
18	<i>Sub tuam protectionem*</i>	James Northbroke
19	<i>Vae nobis miseris*</i>	John Mason
20	<i>Quales sumus</i>	John Mason
21	<i>Gaude virgo mater Christi*</i>	William Alen
25	<i>Sancte deus*</i>	William Whytbroke
26	<i>Ave dei patris</i>	Robert Fayrfax
35	<i>Salve intemerata [first copy]</i>	Thomas Tallis
36	<i>Mater Christi</i>	John Taverner
37	<i>O Christe Jesu</i>	John Taverner
38	<i>Gaude plurimum</i>	John Taverner
45	<i>Sancta Maria mater dei*</i>	William Pashe
46	<i>Ave dei patris*</i>	John Merbecke
49	<i>Salve intemerata [second copy]</i>	Thomas Tallis

50	<i>Domine Jesu Christe</i> *	Nicholas Ludford
54	<i>Aeternae laudis lilium</i>	Robert Fayrfax
56	<i>Lauda vivi alpha</i>	Robert Fayrfax
57	<i>Ave cujus conceptio</i> *	Nicholas Ludford
58	<i>Ave Maria ancilla trinitatis</i> *	Nicholas Ludford
61	<i>Ave gratia plena Maria</i> *	Arthur Chamberlayne
64	<i>Fac nobis secundum</i> *	John Taverner
65	<i>Sub tuum praesidium</i> *	John Taverner
66	<i>Ave rosa sine spinis</i>	Thomas Tallis
67	<i>Ave Maria ancilla trinitatis</i> *	Hugh Aston
68	<i>O baptista vates Christi</i> *	Hugh Aston
69	<i>Gaude virgo mater Christi</i>	Hugh Aston
70	<i>Ave vulnus lateris</i> *	Walter Erley/Errell
71	<i>Totius mundi domina</i> *	Edward Martyn

#### MAGNIFICATS

40	<i>Et exultavit</i> *	John Taverner
41	<i>Et exultavit</i> *	John Darke
47	<i>Et exultavit</i> *	Thomas Appelby
51	<i>Et exultavit</i> *	Robert Jones
52	<i>Et exultavit</i> *	William Pashe
53	<i>Et exultavit</i> [Regale]	Robert Fayrfax
55	<i>Et exultavit</i> [O Bone Jesu]	Robert Fayrfax

#### RITUAL ANTIPHONS

3	<i>O rex gloriose</i> *	John Mason
24	<i>Exultet in hac die</i> *	Hugh Sturmy
33	[Vidi aquam] <i>egredientem</i> *	Anonymous

#### UNCERTAIN FUNCTION

17	<i>Terrenum sitiens</i> *	Edwarde [Hedley?]
42	<i>Aspice domine</i>	Lupus [Jacquet of Mantua]

**Table 2: the compositions in *Ph* classified by genre**

The following inventory lists the compositions in the order in which they occur in *Ph*. Folio numbers are not given here but will be found in the Critical Commentary in Section VII—3, where the concordant sources are also listed. Liturgical descriptions refer to the Use of Salisbury unless otherwise noted. Pitches and ranges in italics are conjectural; Helmholtz's system of pitch notation is employed. A list of concordances will be found in Section VII—2; continental sources of works by non-English composers are ignored.

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## I—5: CAMBRIDGE, UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, PETERHOUSE MANUSCRIPTS 471–474: INVENTORY

No.	Incipit or Title	Composer	Function	Mensuration	Compass	Concordances	Observations
1	<i>Sancte deus</i>	Taverner	Jesus-antiphon	¢	Bb–g'' (20)	None	20-note effective compass but bass touches low F in final cadence.
2	<i>Ave Maria</i>	Taverner	Mary-antiphon	¢	Bb–f'' (19)	None	
3	<i>O rex gloriose</i>	Mason	Ritual antiphon	¢	F–g' (16)	None	Annotated 'men' in indices. Monorhythmic <i>cantus firmus</i> is <i>O rex gloriose</i> , antiphon to <i>Nunc dimittis</i> in Lent.
4	<i>Ave dei patris</i>	Taverner	Mary-antiphon	⊕ ¢	E–e'' (22)	2, 11, 21, 25, 28, 29, 35	<i>Cantus firmus</i> consists of portions of hymn <i>Te deum</i> .
5	<i>Stabat mater</i>	Hunt	Mary-antiphon	⊕ ¢	F–g'' (23)	30	
6	<i>Salve regina</i>	Pygott	Mary-antiphon	⊕ ¢ ⊕ ¢	F–f'' (22)	17	
7	<i>O Maria deo grata</i>	Fayrfax	Mary-antiphon	⊕ ¢	A–a'' (22)	15, 35	<i>Cantus firmus</i> is 'Albanus' phrase from antiphon <i>Primus in anglorum</i> from rhymed office of St Alban. Entitled 'O Maria Deo grata or Albanus' in source 35. Perhaps originally a setting of <i>O Albane Deo grate</i> , to St Alban. Forms a pair with no. 31.
8	<i>Maria plena virtute</i>	Fayrfax	Mary-antiphon	⊕ ¢	G–g'' (22)	18, 25, 30, 35	

9	<i>Salve regina</i>	Ludford	Mary-antiphon	Φ ☿	F-g'' (23)	17	Shares <i>cantus firmus</i> (short responsory at Terce) with Ludford's votive antiphon <i>Ave Maria ancilla</i> (no. 58) and his Mass <i>Inclina cor meum</i> (no. 60), forming a trio of works.
10	<i>Trium regum</i>	Catcott	Jesus-antiphon	☿	A-a'' (22)	None	
11	<i>Ave Maria. Ave fuit prima salus</i>	Mason	Mary-antiphon	Φ ☿	D-d'' (22)	None	
12	<i>Mariae virginis</i>	Bramston	Mary-antiphon	☿	F-f'' (22)	None	
13	<i>Euge dicta</i>	Norman	Mary-antiphon	Φ ☿	G-g'' (22)	None	
14	<i>Ave Maria divae matris</i>	Aston	Mary-antiphon	Φ ☿	F-g'' (23)	None	
15	<i>Ave Maria mater dei</i>	Hunt	Mary-antiphon	☿	G-g'' (22)	None	
16	Mass <i>Te deum</i>	Aston	Mass (BVM?)		G-g'' (22)	2, 26	<i>Cantus firmus</i> is second verse of hymn <i>Te deum</i> . Also known as Mass <i>Te matrem</i> . On same <i>cantus firmus</i> as and shares other material with Aston's antiphon <i>Te matrem dei</i> , forming a pair with it. In responsory form. Text resembles but is not identical with Matins responsory of Holy Innocents.
			Gloria	Φ ☿ Φ			
			Credo	Φ ☿ Φ			
			Sanctus	Φ ☿			
			Agnus	Φ ☿ Φ			
17	<i>Terrenum sitiens</i>	Edwarde [Edward Hedley?]	Holy Innocents	Φ ☿ Φ ☿ Φ	F-g'' (23)	None	

18	<i>Sub tuam protectionem</i>	Northbroke	Mary-antiphon	¢	G–g'' (22)	None	<i>Cantus firmus</i> is faburden to plainchant antiphon <i>Sub tuam protectionem</i> .
19	<i>Vae nobis miseris</i>	Mason	Jesus-antiphon	φ ¢	F–g' (16)	None	Annotated 'men' in indices. A single low D in the bass, increasing the range to 17 notes, may be optional.
20	<i>Quales sumus</i>	Mason	Mary-antiphon	φ ¢	A–a' (15)	18	Annotated 'men' in indices.
21	<i>Gaude virgo mater</i>	Alen	Mary-antiphon	¢	F–f' (15)	None	Annotated 'men' in indices. Uses in canon the same ostinato <i>cantus firmus</i> as no. 45.
22	<i>Mass Sine nomine</i>	Taverner	Mass Gloria Credo Sanctus Agnus	¢ ⊙ ¢ ⊙ ¢ ⊙ ¢ ⊙ <sub>31</sub> ¢ ⊙ ⊙ ¢ ⊙ <sub>31</sub> ¢ ⊙ ¢ ⊙ <sub>31</sub> ¢ ⊙ ¢ ⊙ ¢ ⊙ <sub>31</sub>	F–c'' (19)	4, 5, 11, 21, 22, 27, 33, 35	Annotated 'for iiij men and a childe' in source 4.
23	<i>Mass Mater Christi</i>	Taverner	Mass (BVM?) Gloria Credo Sanctus Agnus	¢ ¢ ¢ ⊙ <sub>31</sub> ¢ ⊙ <sub>31</sub>	F–g'' (23)	None	Shares material with no. 36, forming a pair with it. Annotated 'apon the antyme mater Christi' in the Bass book.

24	<i>Exultet in hac die</i>	Sturmy	Antiphon to St Augustine, apostle of the English	¢	F–f'' (22)	None	Monorhythmic <i>cantus firmus</i> is <i>Exultet in hac die</i> , antiphon to Magnificat at First Vespers of St Augustine in <i>WA</i> .
25	<i>Sancte deus</i>	Whytbroke	Jesus-antiphon	¢	F–d'' (20)	None	
26	<i>Ave dei patris</i>	Fayrfax	Mary-antiphon	Φ ¢	D–c'' (21)	2, 5, 6, 11, 14, 17, 18, 19, 21, 25, 29, 33, 35, 36	
27	Mass <i>Spes nostra</i>	Jones	Mass (Trinity?) Gloria Credo Sanctus Agnus	Φ ¢ Φ ¢ Φ ¢ Φ ¢ Φ	A–a'' (22)	15	<i>Cantus firmus</i> is fifth antiphon at Matins on Trinity Sunday.
28	Mass <i>Christe Jesu</i>	Rasar	Mass (Jesus?) Gloria Credo Sanctus Agnus	¢ ¢ ¢ ¢	G–f'' (21)	26	Perhaps a parody of a lost antiphon (with which it formed a pair) setting the same text as no. 37. Sets complete Credo text.
29	Mass <i>O quam glorifica</i>	Fayrfax	Mass (Assumption BVM?) Gloria Credo Sanctus Agnus	Φ and ¢ simultaneously in each movement	F–f'' (22)	3, 20, 23	<i>Cantus firmus</i> is hymn at First Vespers of the Assumption. Annotated 'Doctor Ffeyrfax for his forme in proceadinge to bee Doctor' in source 20.



30	Mass <i>Tecum principium</i>	Fayrfax	Mass (Christmas?) Gloria Credo Sanctus Agnus	Φ ☿ Φ ☿ Φ ☿ Φ ☿	F-f'' (22)	3, 20, 26	<i>Cantus firmus</i> is first antiphon at Second Vespers of Christmas and Epiphany.
31	Mass <i>Albanus</i>	Fayrfax	Mass (St Alban?) Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Agnus	Φ ☿ Φ Φ ☿ Φ Φ ☿ Φ ☿	A-a'' (22)	3, 9, 20, 26	<i>Cantus firmus</i> is 'Albanus' phrase from antiphon 'Primus in anglorum' from rhymed office of St Alban. Forms a pair with no. 7.
32	Mass <i>Veni sancte spiritus</i>	Pygott	Mass (Pentecost?) Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Agnus	Φ ☿ Φ Φ ☿ Φ Φ ☿ Φ ☿	F-g'' (23)	15	<i>Cantus firmus</i> is first phrase of antiphon to the psalms at First Vespers of Pentecost.
33	[ <i>Vidi aquam</i> ] <i>egredientem</i>	[Anonymous]	Ritual antiphon	Φ ☿ Φ	G-g'' (22)	None	<i>Cantus firmus</i> is <i>Vidi aquam</i> , antiphon at aspersion before Mass in Paschal time.
34	Mass <i>Christi virgo</i>	Ludford	Mass (Annunciation BVM?) Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Agnus	Φ ☿ Φ ☿ Φ ☿ Φ ☿	D-c'' (21)	3	<i>Cantus firmus</i> is ninth responsory at Matins of the Annunciation. Sets complete Credo text.
35	<i>Salve intemerata</i>	Tallis	Mary-antiphon	Φ ☿	E-f'' (23)	5, 8, 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 25, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36	Copied again as no. 49.

36	<i>Mater Christi</i>	Taverner	Antiphon to Jesus and Mary	¢	G–g'' (22)	1, 5, 14, 25, 28, 29, 32, 33, 35	Shares material with no. 23, forming a pair with it.
37	<i>O Christe Jesu</i>	Taverner	Jesus-antiphon	‡	F–f'' (22)	29	Probably originally an antiphon to St William of York with a prayer for Cardinal Wolsey. Shares material with no. 39, forming a pair with it.
38	<i>Gaude plurimum</i>	Taverner	Mary-antiphon	Φ ¢	A–a'' (22)	1, 2, 5, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 25, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36	
39	<i>Mass Small devotion</i>	Taverner	Mass (Jesus?) Gloria Credo Sanctus Agnus	¢ Φ ¢ Φ ¢ Φ ¢ Φ ¢ Φ <sub>3</sub> ¢ Φ <sub>3</sub>	F–f'' (22)	27, 32, 35	Probably originally a Mass of St William of York entitled 'S. Will. Devotio'. Shares material with no. 37, forming a pair with it.
40	<i>Et exultavit</i>	Taverner	Magnificat	Φ ¢ Φ	D–c'' (21)	None	<i>Cantus firmus</i> is second tone Magnificat faburden with first ending.
41	<i>Et exultavit</i>	Darke	Magnificat	¢	E–c'' (20)	None	Unidentified <i>cantus firmus</i> .
42	<i>Aspice domine</i>	Lupus Italus [Jacquet of Mantua]	Motet	¢	F–d'' (20)	13	

43	Mass <i>Surrexit pastor bonus</i>	Lupus Italus	Mass (Easter?) Kyrie Gloria Credo Sanctus Agnus	♢ ♢ ♢ ♢ $\frac{\text{♢}}{3}$ ♢ $\frac{\text{♢}}{3}$ $\frac{\text{♢}}{3}$	Bb–f'' (19)	None	Based on a motet by Andreas de Silva. Sets complete Credo text.
44	Mass <i>Sine nomine</i>	Tye	Mass Gloria Credo Sanctus Agnus	$\frac{\text{♢}}{3}$ ♢ ◊ ♢ ◊ ♢ ◊ ♢ ◊ ♢ ◊ $\frac{\text{♢}}{3}$ ♢ $\frac{\text{♢}}{3}$ ♢ ♢ ↓ $\frac{\text{♢}}{3}$ ♢	F–d'' (20)	None	
45	<i>Sancta Maria mater dei</i>	Pashe	Mary-antiphon	♢	F–f'' (22)	15	On same ostinato <i>cantus firmus</i> as no. 21; also uses litany chant.
46	<i>Ave dei patris</i>	Merbecke	Mary-antiphon	♢ ♢	D–c'' (21)	None	
47	<i>Et exultavit</i>	Appelby	Magnificat	♢ ♢	F–c'' (19)	None	<i>Cantus firmus</i> is first Magnificat tone with first ending.
48	Mass <i>Sine nomine</i>	[Anonymous]	Mass Gloria Credo Sanctus Agnus	$\frac{\text{♢}}{3}$ ♢ $\frac{\text{♢}}{3}$ $\frac{\text{♢}}{3}$ ♢ $\frac{\text{♢}}{3}$ ♢ ♢ $\frac{\text{♢}}{3}$ ♢ $\frac{\text{♢}}{3}$	F–g'' (23)	None	Unidentified <i>cantus firmus</i> in Mean.
49	<i>Salve intemerata</i>	Tallis	Mary-antiphon	♢ ♢	E–f'' (23)	5, 8, 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 25, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36	Not included in indices. A second copy of no. 35 (but from a different exemplar).
50	<i>Domine Jesu Christe</i>	Ludford	Jesus-antiphon	♢ ♢ ◊ ♢	D–d'' (22)	None	

51	<i>Et exultavit</i>	Jones	Magnificat	Φ ☿ Φ	G–g'' (22)	None	<i>Cantus firmus</i> is first tone Magnificat faburden with second or fourth ending.
52	<i>Et exultavit</i>	Pashe	Magnificat	Φ ☿ Φ	F–f'' (22)	None	<i>Cantus firmus</i> is seventh tone Magnificat faburden with fifth ending; this has a resemblance to the <i>cantus firmus</i> of Pashe's Mass <i>Christus resurgens</i> , and a pairing may have been intended.
53	<i>Et exultavit</i> [Regale]	Fayrfax	Magnificat	Φ ☿ Φ	F–f'' (22)	2, 3, 7, 15, 20, 24	<i>Cantus firmus</i> is eighth tone Magnificat faburden. Some connection with Fayrfax's Mass <i>Regali ex progenie</i> and his antiphon <i>Gaude flore virginali</i>
54	<i>Aeternae laudis lilium</i>	Fayrfax	Mary-antiphon	Φ ☿	Bb–a'' (21)	2, 6, 20, 30, 35	
55	<i>Et exultavit</i> [O bone Jesu]	Fayrfax	Magnificat	Φ ☿ Φ	D–c'' (21)	5, 11, 14, 19, 20, 21, 32, 33, 36	<i>Cantus firmus</i> is seventh tone Magnificat faburden with sixth ending. Shares material with Fayrfax's votive antiphon and Mass <i>O bone Jesu</i> (no. 59), forming a trio of works.

56	<i>Lauda vivi alpha</i>	Fayrfax	Mary-antiphon	Φ ☿	F–f'' (22)	2, 17, 30, 35	
57	<i>Ave cujus conceptio</i>	Ludford	Mary-antiphon	Φ ☿	Bb–bb'' (22)	None	
58	<i>Ave Maria ancilla</i>	Ludford	Mary-antiphon	Φ ☿ Φ ☿	D–c'' (21)	None	Shares <i>cantus firmus</i> (short responsory at Terce) with Ludford's votive antiphon <i>Salve regina</i> (no. 9) and his Mass <i>Inclina cor meum</i> (no. 60), forming a trio of works.
59	Mass [ <i>O bone Jesu</i> ]	Fayrfax	Mass (Jesus?)		D–c'' (21)	2, 3, 18, 20, 26, 38	Shares material with Fayrfax's Magnificat (no. 55) and antiphon <i>O bone Jesu</i> , forming a trio of works.
			Gloria	Φ ☿			
			Credo	Φ ☿			
			Sanctus	Φ ☿			
			Agnus	Φ ☿			
60	Mass <i>Inclina cor meum</i>	Ludford	Mass		D–c'' (21)	None	Shares <i>cantus firmus</i> (short responsory at Terce) with Ludford's votive antiphons <i>Salve regina</i> (no. 9) and <i>Ave Maria ancilla</i> (no. 58), forming a trio of works. Sets complete Credo text.
			Gloria	Φ ☿			
			Credo	Φ ☿			
			Sanctus	Φ ☿			
			Agnus	Φ ☿			
61	<i>Ave gratia plena</i>	Chamberlayne	Mary-antiphon	Φ ☿	F–g'' (23)	None	
62	Mass <i>Salve intemerata</i>	Tallis	Mass (Mary?)		E–f'' (23)	35	Shares material with no. 35/49, forming a pair with it.
			Gloria	Φ ☿			
			Credo	Φ ☿ Φ			
			Sanctus	Φ ☿			
			Agnus	Φ ☿			

63	Mass <i>Regnum mundi</i>	Ludford	Mass (St Margaret?) Gloria Credo Sanctus Agnus	Φ ☿ Φ Φ ☿ Φ ☿ Φ ☿	Bb–bb'' (22)	None	<i>Cantus firmus</i> is ninth responsory at Matins of Virgins. Sets complete Credo text.
64	<i>Fac nobis secundum</i>	Taverner	Jesus-antiphon	☿	c–c''' (22)	None	Antiphon of the Name of Jesus.
65	<i>Sub tuum praesidium</i>	Taverner	Mary-antiphon	☿	G–g'' (22)	None	<i>Cantus firmus</i> is antiphon <i>Sub tuum praesidium</i> .
66	<i>Ave rosa sine spinis</i>	Tallis	Mary-antiphon	Φ ☿	F–a'' (24)	5, 11, 14, 19, 21, 31, 32, 33	Part of treble is still missing
67	<i>Ave Maria ancilla</i>	Aston	Mary-antiphon	Φ ☿	F–g'' (23)	None	
68	<i>O baptista vates Christi</i>	Aston	Votive antiphon to St John Baptist	Φ ☿	E–e'' (22)	None	
69	<i>Gaude virgo mater Christi</i>	Aston	Mary-antiphon	Φ ☿	G–g'' (22)	15, 17, 25	Exists also as antiphon to St Anne beginning 'Gaude mater matris Christi'.
70	<i>Ave vulnus lateris</i>	Erley/Errell [Erle]	Jesus-antiphon	☿	F–a'' (24)	None	Antiphon of one of the five wounds of Jesus.
71	<i>Totius mundi domina</i>	Martyn	Mary-antiphon	Φ ☿	G–g'' (22)	None	A series of canons.
72	Mass <i>Libera nos</i>	Knyght	Mass (Trinity?) Gloria Credo Sanctus Agnus	Φ ☿ Φ ☿ Φ ☿ Φ ☿	F–c' (19)	None	<i>Cantus firmus</i> is sixth antiphon at Matins of Trinity.

## II: A PALAEOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF *Ph*

### II—1: COLLATION

The four surviving partbooks of the Henrician set have almost identical structures, although this is disguised by interpolations made in two of them. The Mean, Contratenor and Bass books each begin with two leaves consisting of a single sheet of thin paper (the thinnest of the four types used in *Ph*) folded once to form a bifolium; strictly speaking, these bifolia are gatherings in their own right since they always formed an integral part of the books and were not added at the time of the nineteenth-century binding, but I will call them flyleaves to underline the facts that they do not form part of the main contents of each book and that they were not included in the foliation. The first leaf of each pair of flyleaves is blank and the second carries an incomplete index of the compositions contained in the books, probably made while the process of copying was still going on. The first of the Mean and Contratenor flyleaves and the second of those in the Bass book have the first of the watermarks (watermark A) shown in Illustration 3. After these flyleaves the three complete books continue with a four-leaf gathering (ff. 1–4) formed by twice folding a single sheet of a second quality of paper; then follow (ff. 5–20) two eight-leaf gatherings (each of two sheets folded twice) of this same paper, which is much thicker than the flyleaf paper and which has a different watermark (watermark B in Illustration 3). The incomplete Treble book begins abruptly at f. 13 with an identical eight-leaf gathering, and thereafter it exhibits a close structural similarity to the other three books; it seems reasonable to assume that its flyleaves and first two gatherings were also identical with those of the other partbooks, that at some stage they became detached from the main body of the book, and that they subsequently perished.

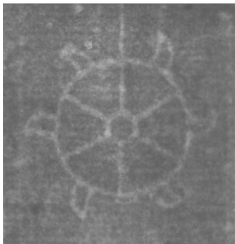
At f. 21 in all four books begins a sequence of eight eight-leaf gatherings made up of a third kind of paper, somewhat thinner than that of ff. 1–20 and having a third watermark (watermark C in Illustration 3). In the Mean and Bass books, however, the last of these gatherings (the eleventh in the complete sequence, not counting the flyleaves) is not uniform, because leaves of a fourth variety of paper have been inserted into them; this anomaly is discussed in Section II—2. At f. 85 in the Treble and Contratenor books and at f. 81 in the Mean and Bass books (the discrepancy in foliation is a consequence of the interpolations mentioned above) a new succession of eight-leaf gatherings begins, composed of paper which is very slightly thinner than that immediately preceding it and which has a different watermark (watermark D in Illustration 3); this is, in fact, the same paper as that which was used for the insertions in the eleventh gatherings in the Mean and Bass books. This fourth type of paper continues to the end of each book, there being as many eight-leaf gatherings as were necessary to accommodate the music. The final gatherings in the Mean and Contratenor books are irregular; the former appears always to have consisted of six leaves (the music is complete, there is no trace of any stubs and the stitching comes between the third and fourth leaves) while the latter had only four leaves, the last of which, being superfluous, was torn out. The last six leaves in the Bass book also turned out not to be needed and were removed; their stubs, already ruled with staves, can still be seen. The Treble book breaks off well before the end after f. 106 (which, surprisingly, is the sixth leaf of a gathering, not the last one); at least another two eight-leaf gatherings would have been needed after this. None of the books now has any original flyleaves at the end. Details of the collation are given below in diagrammatic form (see Diagram 1).



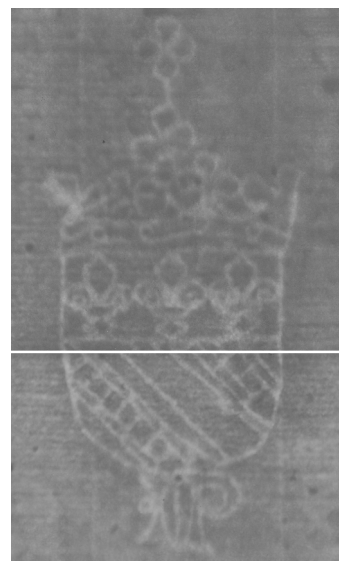
WATERMARK A



WATERMARK B



WATERMARK C



WATERMARK D

**Illustration 3: the watermarks in *Ph* (actual size)**

Although certainty would require a more minute examination of the location and positioning of the watermarks than I have attempted, I think it likely that most of the eight-leaf gatherings were made by folding separately each of the two sheets comprising them and afterwards placing one four-leaf element between the second and third leaves of the other. A few gatherings (Treble VIII and XIV, Mean III, V and XII and Contratenor VIII, XIII and XIV) could have been constructed by laying one sheet on top of the other and folding the pair of sheets twice (assuming that the sheets lay consistently, with the watermarks underneath one another), but these gatherings too could have resulted from folding single sheets in various different ways. In any case, the details are less important than the fact that the uniformity of the gathering sequence (which could simply reflect the copyist's method of working) is not matched by total consistency in the structure of the gatherings themselves (which might have implied the intention to create a rather different sort of manuscript of *de luxe* quality).



f.	Treble	Mean	Contratenor	Bass	Gathering
i		[A	[A	[A	i
ij				[A	ij
1		[B	[	[	1
2		[	[	[	2
3		[	[	[	3
4		[	[B	[B	4
5		[B	[	[	5
6		[	[B	[	6
7		[	[	[	7
8		[	[	[	8
9		[	[	[	9
10		[	[	[	10
11		[	[	[	11
12		[	[	[B	12
13	[B	[	[	[	13
14	[	[B	[	[	14
15	[	[	[	[	15
16	[	[	[	[	16
17	[	[	[	[	17
18	[	[	[	[	18
19	[	[	[	[B	19
20	[	[	[B	[	20
21	[c	[C	[c	[	21
22	[	[	[	[C	22
23	[	[	[	[	23
24	[	[	[	[	24
25	[	[	[	[	25
26	[	[	[	[	26
27	[	[	[	[c	27
28	[C	[c	[C	[	28
29	[c	[	[	[c	29
30	[	[c	[c	[	30
31	[	[	[	[C	31
32	[	[	[	[	32
33	[	[	[	[	33
34	[	[	[	[c	34
35	[	[C	[C	[	35
36	[C	[	[	[C	36

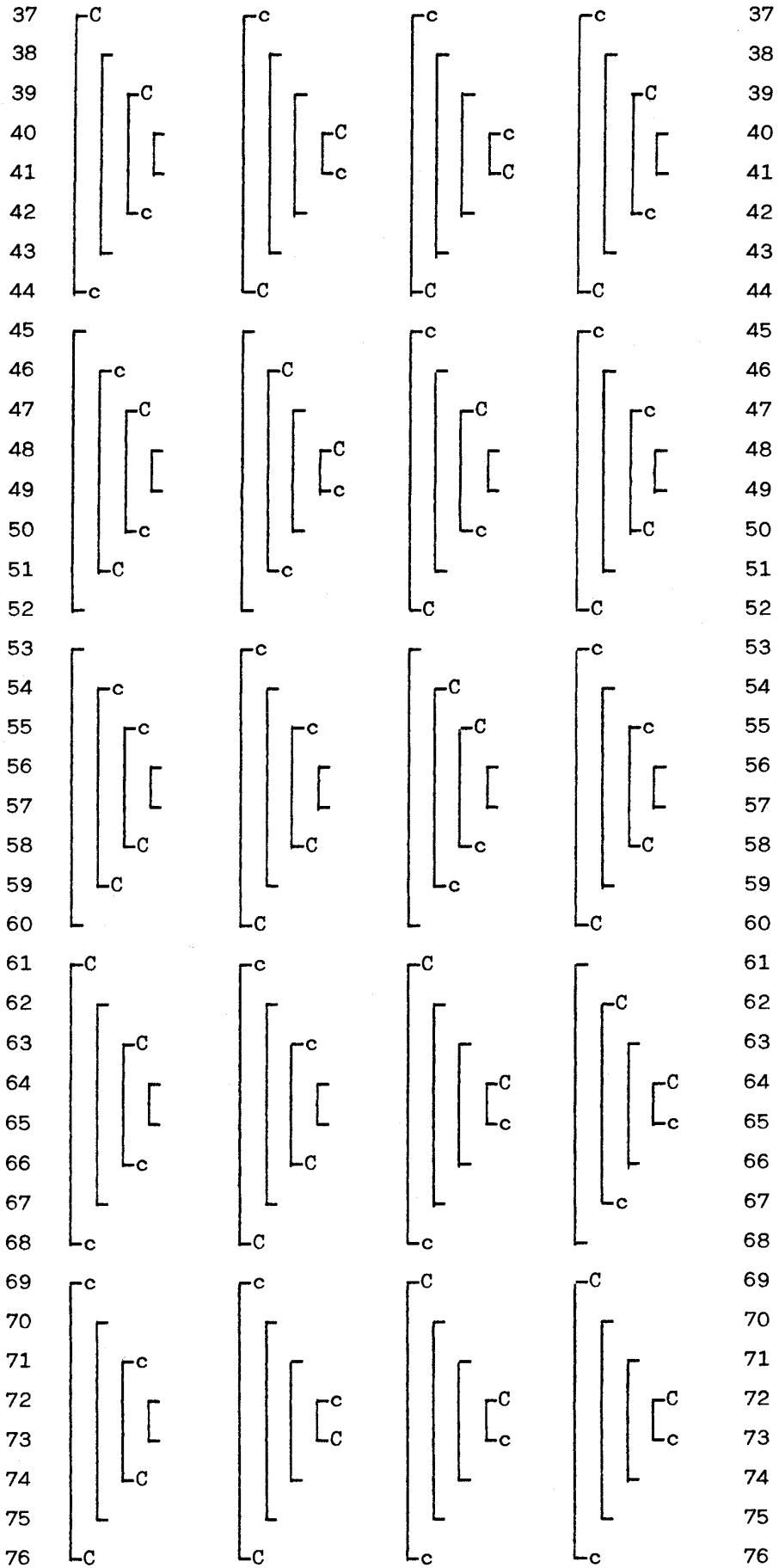
I

II

III

IV

V



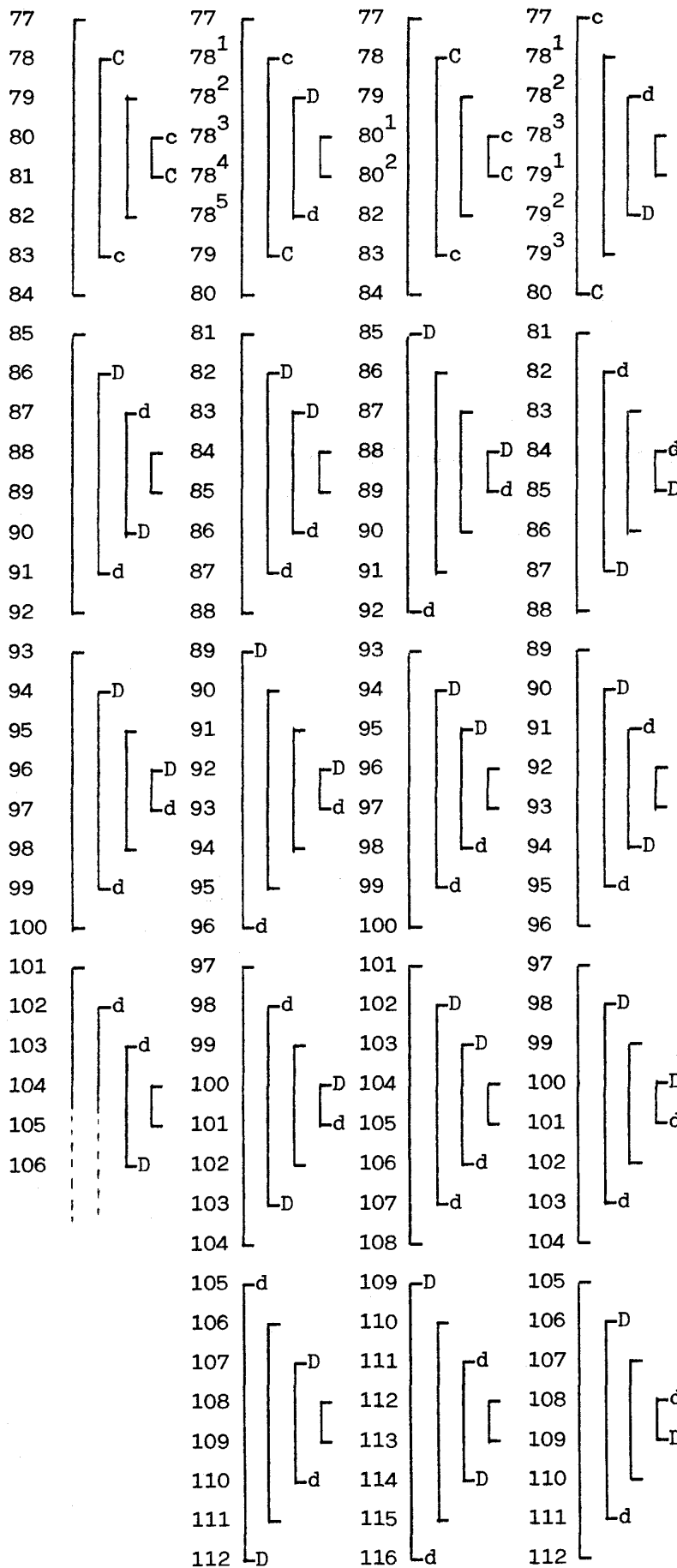
VI

VII

VIII

IX

X



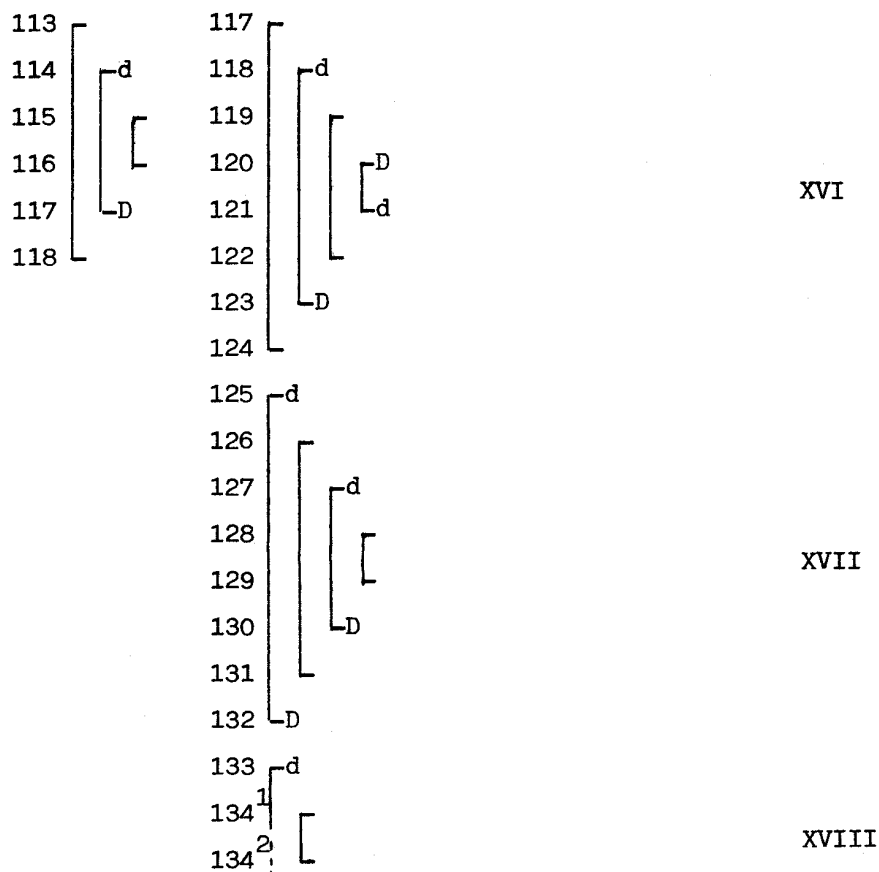
XI

XII

XIII

XIV

XV



**Diagram 1: the collation of *Ph***

(C and D denote the top half of a watermark; c and d denote the bottom half)

## II—2: INTERPOLATIONS AND FOLIATION

The anomalous nature of the eleventh gatherings in the Mean and Bass books was mentioned in the previous Section. In both cases, a four-leaf element of type D paper has been inserted into the middle of a four-leaf element of type C paper. The music, however, carries straight on, without omission, duplication or change of hand.<sup>1</sup> The foliation (all four books are foliated in ink by a single hand, which appears to be that of the scribe who copied the music and text and wrote the indexes) does not provide for these interpolations; in both books the four outer leaves of the gathering are numbered ff. 77, 78, 79 and 80, leaving no numbers available for the inner leaves. An attempt has, however, been made to integrate these inner leaves by amending the foliation of the whole gathering. In the Mean book this is done as shown in Diagram 2; in the Bass book it is done as shown in Diagram 3. The numbers in ink are definitely in the same hand as the rest of the foliation, but those in pencil may well not be.

<sup>1</sup> The account of the foliation given by Edwin B. Warren, *Life and Works of Robert Fayrfax 1464–1521* (Rome, 1969), p. 52, is so inaccurate that it makes one doubt whether Warren ever saw *Ph*. The Treble book does not have two folios numbered 49; the Mean book does not have two folios numbered 82; the Contratenor book does not have two folios numbered 101; but the Mean book does repeat folio numbers 78 and 79.

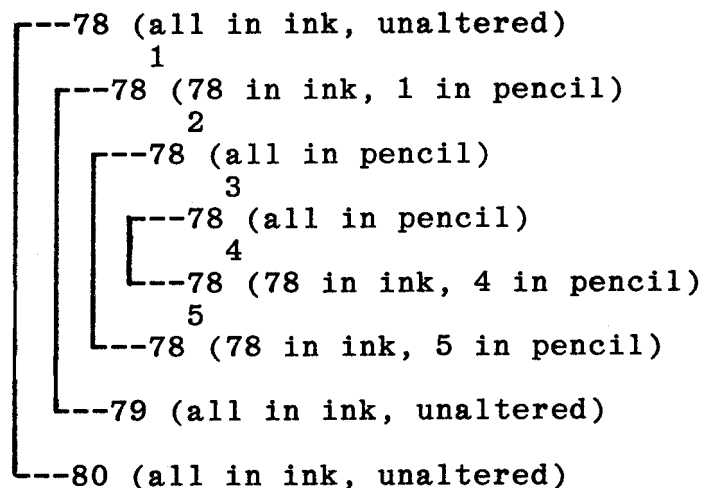


Diagram 2: foliation of gathering xi in Mean book

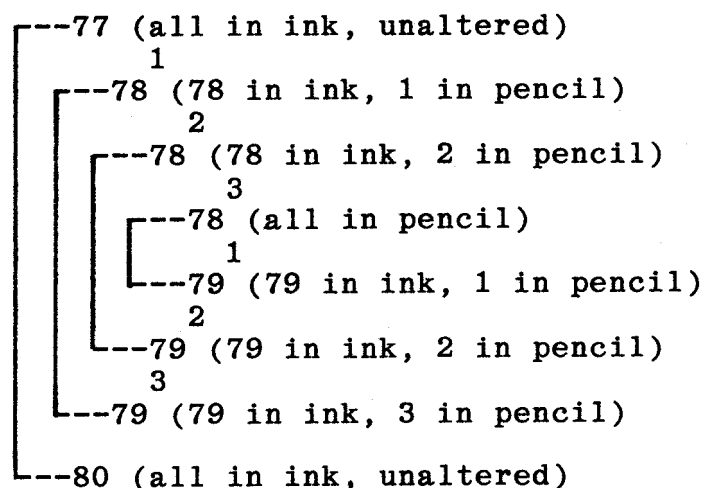


Diagram 3: foliation of gathering xi in Bass book

Thus we have two eight-leaf gatherings whose leaves contain a continuous, complete and unduplicated run of material; the original foliation (by the copyist himself) ignored the four inner leaves of each gathering, which are copied on paper also used later in the books, but the copyist attempted to remedy this by a partial renumbering in ink that was completed in pencil, perhaps by somebody else. The only explanation that I can offer for this is that these two four-leaf inserts were replacements for the original inner halves of two eight-leaf gatherings which had somehow been mislaid after the music had been copied into them but before the assembly and foliation of the books had taken place. The copyist foliated the books without noticing the loss, which he discovered only when he had (as he thought) finished his copying task. He made good the deficiency by recopying the missing music into four-leaf gatherings of the only type of paper (type D) that he had left and inserted these into the appropriate places in the defective gatherings. He then altered the existing foliation as little as possible, just enough to allow him to index every composition; he numbered only those inserted folios on which a piece began, simply duplicating the number before or after it (78 or 79). This can be checked by comparing Diagrams 2 and 3 with Illustrations 4 and 5, which reproduce the relevant portions of the Mean and Bass indexes (these illustrations and all of the others from *Ph* except for the illustrations of watermarks are reproduced at about 75% of actual size). It may well have been that the copyist discovered the loss at the time of making the indexes. The pencil additions to the foliation could date from much later, perhaps from Jebb's time.

Missa	fo. 71. a	Organo
Santa Maria mat	fo. 74. a	Organo
Dei dei pater filia	fo. 74. b	Missa
Et exultant spiritus	fo. 76. a	Organo
Missa	fo. 77. b	
Sancti Ioseph Organo	fo. 78. b	Organo
Et exultant spiritus	fo. 78. b	Organo
Et exultant spiritus	fo. 79. b	Organo
Et exultant spiritus	fo. 80. b	
Et exultant spiritus	fo. 81. a	
Et exultant spiritus	fo. 82. a	Organo
Lauda tunc alpha	fo. 83. a	

Illustration 4: part of the Mean index

Missa	fo. 66. b	Organo
Santa Maria ms.	fo. 69. a	Organo
Dei dei pater filia	fo. 70. a	Missa
Et exultant spiritus	fo. 71. b	Organo
Missa	fo. 72. b	
Sancti Ioseph Organo	fo. 77. a	Organo
Et exultant spiritus	fo. 78. a	Organo
Et exultant spiritus	fo. 78. b	Organo
Et exultant spiritus	fo. 78. b	Organo
Et exultant spiritus	fo. 79. a	
Et exultant spiritus	fo. 79. a	Organo
Lauda tunc	fo. 79. b	

Illustration 5: part of the Bass index

A possible objection to this theory is that in the Treble book the foliation runs continuously and includes an opening (ff. 36<sup>v</sup>–37<sup>r</sup>) whose music (the Gloria and the beginning of the Credo of a second copy of Aston's Mass *Te deum* under the alternative title *Te matrem*) is cancelled decisively by pasting the two pages together. The scribe noticed his mistake before he reached the end of f. 37<sup>r</sup> and left the remaining staves blank, beginning a new piece at the top of f. 37<sup>v</sup>; for indexing purposes this verso might just as well have been called 36<sup>v</sup>, saving the following number for the next recto; yet the cancelled folio is numbered. Does this not suggest that the folios were numbered before and not after copying took place? If this was the case, should not the missing original leaves between ff. 78 and 79 in the Mean and Bass books have been included in the previous foliation? The answers to these questions can still, I think, be 'No' because there is another very simple explanation for the numbering of the cancelled f. 37. We may probably assume that the books were not bound until after they had been copied (reasons for this are presented in Section II—4). It would obviously have been sensible to foliate the books before binding in order to make the order of the gatherings clear to the binder. Since f. 37 is the first leaf of a gathering it would have been important for it to bear a number, even though its music was actually redundant, so that the binder would put it in the right place; and then, only after binding, would ff. 36 and 37 have been stuck together.

The foliation itself is not, in fact, free from error. In the Contratenor book two successive leaves are numbered as f. 80 and the numbering then jumps to f. 82; and both of the last two leaves are numbered as f. 134. In the Mean book the original ink foliation ends with f. 107 (ff. 108 and

109 are numbered in pencil probably in a later hand); Aston's *Gaude virgo mater Christi* ends on the last stave of f. 107<sup>r</sup>, and this happens to be the final piece included in the Mean index.

One other rather curious interpolation needs to be mentioned. In the Bass book between the second flyleaf and f. 1 is a strip of what looks like flyleaf paper (it does not bear the pot watermark, but the distances between the chains and wires are almost identical) about one third of the height of a full page, having on its verso the bass part of Taverner's *Ave Maria*. In the Mean and Contratenor books Taverner's *Sancte deus* and *Ave Maria* are copied continuously as a single item; in the Bass book, however, *Sancte deus* is followed directly by Mason's *O rex gloriose*, the third piece in the collection. This pasted-in strip, which seems to have been copied by the main scribe using his 'display' hand (see the discussion of hands in Section II—7) rectifies the omission.<sup>2</sup> For the omission itself I can offer no explanation other than human fallibility.

### II—3: THE INDEXES

Each of the three complete partbooks has an index, written on both sides of the second original flyleaf by the hand that copied the music.<sup>3</sup> Each index is laid out in the same way, having three columns listing the text incipits or titles of the compositions, the numbers of the folios on which they begin (distinguishing rectos and versos as 'a' and 'b') and the names of the composers: see Illustrations 4 and 5 in Section II—2. There are some minor inconsistencies, characterised mainly by variant spellings and by a mixture of contracted and uncontracted forms. For example, in the Mean book the entry for the sixth item (Pygott's *Salve regina*) spells the composer's name as 'Pigott', whereas the Contratenor and Bass books have 'Pygott'; the incipit of James Northbroke's antiphon (no. 18) is given as 'Protectionem' in the Contratenor book and as 'Protectionem' in the other two; and Pashe's antiphon (no. 45) is listed as 'Sancta Maria mater', 'Sancta Maria mater' and 'Sancta Maria mater' in the Mean, Contratenor and Bass books respectively. A few entries are more informative than the majority: for instance, all four of Mason's works (nos 3, 11, 19 and 20) are ascribed to 'Mason Cicerstensis' (the implications of this are discussed in Chapter III) and compositions nos 3, 19, 20 and 21 are annotated 'men'. Some sequences of works by a single composer, such as nos 36–40 (all by Taverner), have the composer's name written only once with a bracket enclosing the pieces to which it applies. As I mentioned in Section II—2, the Mean and Bass indexes adopt the revised foliation used in the irregular eleventh gatherings in these books.

A handful of errors (there are very few in any case) have been rectified by the copyist himself: in the Contratenor index he entered Fayrfax's Masses *O quam glorifica* and *Tecum principium* in the reverse order but gave them the correct folio numbers; he omitted Taverner's *O Christe Jesu* from all three surviving indexes but subsequently squeezed it in in the proper place; and he at first left out Ludford's Mass *Regnum mundi* and afterwards squeezed it in where it should have been. One or two other mistakes stand uncorrected. Ludford's Mass *Inclina cor meum* is entered in all three indexes as 'Missa Inclina domine', probably through the unconscious substitution of one plainchant incipit (*Inclina domine* is the introit for the fifteenth Sunday after Trinity<sup>4</sup>) for another that would have been less familiar to a non-monastic church musician (*Inclina cor meum* is a short responsory at Terce<sup>5</sup>); this is the same sort of inadvertent process as that which led the copyist to write 'Jesus salvator saeculi' (the incipit of the hymn at Compline in Eastertide<sup>6</sup>) instead of 'Jesus salvator filius' in the contratenor part of Mason's *Ave fuit prima salus* (no. 11). The mental process that produced 'Aeternae laudis filia' instead of 'Aeternae laudis lilium' for no. 54 in the Contratenor index is more difficult to account for; perhaps it was the assonance of the two words.

<sup>2</sup> M. Hofman (op. cit., p. 21) implies that *Ave Maria* is copied before *Sancte deus* on a flyleaf in each book, which is not the case.

<sup>3</sup> L. Lockwood, 'A Continental Mass and Motet in a Tudor Manuscript', *ML*, vol. 42 (1961) p. 337, seems not to have known of the existence of the original indexes, and to have worked from Jebb's handwritten index (which he considered 'apparently of early date').

<sup>4</sup> 1528, *Temporale*, f. clix<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> 1519, *Psalterium*, ff. li–liij.

<sup>6</sup> 1519, *Temporale*, f. ccxxxi.

The indexes have several omissions which are informative in themselves. The second copy of Tallis's *Salve intemerata* (no. 49) is not included, presumably because the scribe, having wasted about a day of his time, was too exasperated by his oversight to wish to advertise it. The aborted copy of Aston's Mass *Te deum* under its alternative title *Te matrem* (a copy which proceeded only as far as a single opening of the Treble book) is not included either, which rules out the (unlikely) possibility that the scribe began by listing all of the pieces that he intended to copy. None of the indexes lists the last three items (nos 70–72) although there would have been room to do so; the Contratenor actually stops after Taverner's *Sub tuum praesidium* (no. 65). This seems to imply that the indexes were written before the last three works were copied, when the scribe thought that at least the major part of his task was over (this point is resumed in Section II—4).

Certain omissions argue that the copyist knew less about some compositions than he did about others. Three pieces—the ritual antiphon [*Vidi aquam*] *egredientem* (no. 33), the Mass *Sine nomine* (no. 48) and, most surprisingly, Fayrfax's Magnificat *Regale* (no. 53)—are anonymous; several Masses—Taverner's *Meane Mass* (no. 22), Ludford's *Christi virgo* (no. 34), Lupus's *Surrexit pastor bonus* (no. 43), Tye's *Sine nomine* (no. 44), the anonymous *Sine nomine* (no. 48) and Fayrfax's *O bone Jesu* (no. 59)—are entitled simply 'Missa'; and neither of Fayrfax's Magnificats (nos 53 and 55) is given its title. In all but one of these cases the missing information is not given elsewhere in the books, which suggests that it was not present in the copyist's exemplars. The exception is the *Regale* Magnificat, which does have Fayrfax's name at the end of the music in the Mean, Contratenor and Bass books (there is no room for it at the end of the final stave of the treble part): this could indicate either that the copyist, identifying the composer only after having written the indexes, added the name to the music pages alone, or that the brackets linking the next three compositions (nos 54–56) to Fayrfax's name in each index were meant to embrace no. 53 as well. The first of these possibilities seems the stronger because the Contratenor index carries Fayrfax's name thrice at this point, against each of nos 54, 55 and 56, but not against no. 53.

The consistent layout, ink colour and handwriting suggest that the indexes were written straight out and not compiled stage by stage as groups of compositions were copied. There is also a strong implication that the columns were copied and completed one by one, both because of the general appearance of the pages and because the writer was able to give nos 29 and 30, entered in reverse order in the Contratenor book, the right folio numbers without erasing anything. Further evidence is to be found in the Contratenor book, where f. 1<sup>r</sup> bears an offset from the facing index verso, the offset consisting of most of the third (composer) column with no trace of the other two columns. This offset seems most likely to have occurred because the pages were brought into contact with each other before the index ink had dried; it is conceivable that it was caused by the conditions in which the book was stored, but this would not explain why it was confined to a single column or why there are no similar offsets in the Mean and Bass books (the offset from a lost early flyleaf or cover on f. 118<sup>v</sup> of the Mean book mentioned in Section I—4 is clearly a different kind of phenomenon).



#### II—4: AT WHAT STAGE WERE THE BOOKS FIRST BOUND?

The short but unsatisfactory answer is that I do not know. Nevertheless, some speculation is possible. If we accept that the offset on f. 1<sup>r</sup> of the Contratenor book was caused by contact with the still wet ink of the preceding index verso, we may perhaps infer that this book, at any rate, was bound by the time that its index was written; the offset is well defined and not smudged as it would have been had the pages slid about on each other, and it is unlikely that a blank bifolium would have been added to a pile of copied gatherings before binding was actually to take place. It is conceivable that the books were bound before copying began, but I consider this unlikely for several reasons, not least of which is the difficulty of copying onto pages that will not lie flat. The scribe would also have had to know fairly precisely the size of the total repertory that he was going to copy, and would have had to be able to estimate how much more paper he was going to need in some books (such as the Contratenor) than in others; this kind of information would have been virtually unobtainable unless the scribe was copying the complete contents of another set of partbooks, an idea that I reject in Section II—12. Finally, if the books had already been bound there is no obvious reason why the middle portions of the eleventh gatherings in the Mean and Bass books should have been mislaid. The most likely moment for binding would, I think, have been after the completion of the copy of no. 69, which is the last piece mentioned in any of the indexes; after binding, the indexes would have been written out as far as this piece. The last three pieces would have been added subsequently but not added to the indexes.

Some additional evidence that the gatherings remained unbound for at least a short period of time is provided by the soiled appearance of several outer pages. These include: ff. 13<sup>r</sup>, 21<sup>r</sup>, 100<sup>v</sup> and 101<sup>r</sup> in the Treble book; ff. 1<sup>r</sup>, 4<sup>v</sup>, 5<sup>r</sup>, 20<sup>v</sup>, 21<sup>r</sup> and 80<sup>v</sup> in the Mean; ff. 1<sup>r</sup>, 4<sup>v</sup>, 5<sup>r</sup>, 21<sup>r</sup>, 28<sup>v</sup>, 29<sup>r</sup>, 60<sup>v</sup> and 61<sup>r</sup> in the Contratenor; and ff. 1<sup>r</sup>, 4<sup>v</sup>, 5<sup>r</sup>, 20<sup>v</sup> and 21<sup>r</sup> in the Bass. There is, however, a danger of confusing this kind of soiling with that caused by the grubby fingers of those who have consulted the partbooks in more recent times: all four books are badly soiled on the pages containing the copies of nos 22–26, 35–39 and 44 (Taverner's *Meane Mass* and *Mass Mater Christi*, Sturmy's *Exultet in hac die*, Whytbroke's *Sancte deus*, Fayrfax's *Ave dei patris*, Tallis's *Salve intemerata*, Taverner's *Mater Christi*, *O Christe Jesu*, *Gaude plurimum* and *Mass Small devotion*, and Tye's *Mass Sine nomine*), most of which also bear transcribers' annotations. The folios containing nos 24 and 25 have even had their corners turned down. One cannot, therefore, attach too much weight to the fact that one page is dirtier than another.

If the books were bound after the copying of no. 69, nos 70–72 must obviously have been added after binding. There is, however, no compelling evidence of this in the copies themselves. It is true that in these last three compositions some of the directs at the ends of lines on versos are more compressed than those on rectos, but in fact this happens throughout the books and is really a consequence of the fact that the inner margins of pages tend to be narrower than the outer ones. I cannot detect any of the other symptoms (distorted note and letter forms, characters at peculiar angles, horizontal lines that veer upwards or downwards, etc.) that often occur when material of any kind is copied close to the inner margin of a bound book. Nevertheless I suspect that this is what happened: the major phase of copying came to an end with the completion of Aston's *Gaude virgo* (no. 69) and the books were then bound and indexed; subsequently nos 70–72 were added on some of the remaining blank leaves but were not added to the indexes; finally most of the leaves that were still unused were torn out.

## II—5: LAYOUT AND STAVES

Except for one change in procedure, the books are consistent in their layout. Nearly every page carries nine five-line staves each about 15.4 cm. long, with an outer margin slightly wider than the inner one. The few pages with more or fewer than nine staves are listed below together with possible reasons for the anomaly:

1. Treble f. 20<sup>v</sup>. Ten staves, the first nine drawn with a rastrum and the last ruled singly. The scribe left out a whole line of text, omitting the repetition of ‘fuste prerempta ruit’, and supplied the omission by erasing the text under the ninth stave and rewriting it under the freshly-ruled tenth stave, without having to change any notes on the ninth stave.
2. Mean f. 1<sup>r</sup>. Ten staves ruled singly. The scribe may have at first intended to have ten staves on each page, and decided to reduce the number to nine when he saw how cramped ten looked.
3. Contratenor f. 1<sup>r</sup>. Ten staves ruled singly. See the previous entry.
4. Contratenor ff. 9<sup>v</sup>–10<sup>f</sup>. Eight staves drawn with a rastrum. These are the first pages drawn with a rastrum in this book, and the scribe may simply have miscalculated the vertical spacing.
5. Bass f. 16<sup>f</sup>. Ten staves, the first nine drawn with a rastrum and the tenth ruled singly. There is no obvious reason, unless a whole stave of text and music was originally omitted.

The above list mentions two types of stave: one whose lines are ruled individually, and another whose lines are drawn simultaneously with a rastrum. The first type is easy to detect, the lines seldom being perfectly parallel and often being unaligned vertically at the beginning and end of the stave. When ruling staves by this method the scribe continued the highest line of the first stave into both margins and ruled a single line between the margins under the lowest line of text, thus making a frame: see Illustration 6, where the jagged stave endings and the non-parallel stave lines are particularly obvious on the seventh and eighth staves.

Staves drawn with a rastrum have several distinguishing features: their lines are parallel even when they are not straight; the distances between the lines may be unequal but they remain consistent from one stave to another (although a rastrum will splay with use, and its manipulator may turn it round, thus inverting the stave); one or more lines may appear consistently stronger or weaker than the others; and the ends of the staves often show a tapering-off effect, each line beginning or ending a little before or after the line above it, according to the angle at which the implement was held. The fact that in *Ph* these tapers are always at the right-hand ends of staves suggests that the sheets were folded and cut before the staves were drawn, and that the staves were drawn from left to right as we look at them. All of these characteristics show clearly in Illustration 7: the second stave has a very faint ‘S’ curve in it when one looks along it from one end, but its lines remain parallel; the bottom space is always narrower than the space above it; the top and bottom lines tend to be weaker than the inner three; the staves all taper inwards from the top at the right-hand end; and on the last stave we can see where the rastrum was lifted and replaced.

Hunt. Pygott.

in ad debellandum Vargana  
 per hoc nata precama tu nam, tum qui  
 pertra tu de le meta perpetua tu de p  
 ta ve per que dando pliba  
 ta &

Robart Hunt

men

Sal ve regina mater  
 misericordi  
 e Vita dulcis

Illustration 6: Mean book, f. 4<sup>r</sup>.

Cotcott

Et pro nobis flagella te spiritus pueri felle pota

O dulcis Maria

Salve

Quia dona tuos signan

tu rex in an no dicit ipse

mura mortali

tab colit vegeta pter ve gem su

m vegeta ferunt ve gem colom rollom

Illustration 7: Bass book, f. 10<sup>r</sup>.

The change from individually ruled stave lines to staves drawn with a rastrum occurs at roughly the same point in each of the complete books, individual ruling being abandoned at the end of ff. 7<sup>r</sup>, 9<sup>r</sup> and 8<sup>r</sup> in the Mean, Contratenor and Bass books respectively; the horizontal lines of the page frames disappear at the same moment. When the incomplete Treble book takes up at f. 13<sup>r</sup> its staves too are drawn with a rastrum. Having given up single ruling, the scribe used a succession of rastra, discarding one for another at approximately the same place in each book. These rastra can be distinguished from one another by the overall height of their staves and by the relative height of the spaces between the stave lines; by using a series of templates one can discover where one rastrum was replaced by another. It would, I imagine, be possible, given the skill, the time and the patience, to trace in detail the career of every rastrum, observing how it deteriorated and even when it was mended; however, I have not attempted this. A more cursory investigation showed that at least five rastra were used in *Ph*, and that the scribe changed from one to another at closely related points in each book. It is true that there are some anomalies: the third rastrum makes a premature appearance on ff. 17<sup>v</sup>–18<sup>r</sup> of the Mean book and then gives way to the second again; the last two staves on f. 8<sup>v</sup> and all of those on f. 34<sup>v</sup> of the Bass book are ruled singly, and those on ff. 35<sup>v</sup>–36<sup>r</sup> of the same book seem to have been drawn with a very narrow rastrum used nowhere else. I must concede that there is a danger of confusing rastra with each other, since they continually deteriorate and may be repaired more than once. A coherent pattern does, however, emerge: it shows the copyist working across all four extant partbooks rather than right through any one book, ruling staves throughout comparable numbers of pages in order to allow the copying of the material that was immediately to hand. This ruling may have been carried out after drawing the vertical margins on every page; the last two folios in the Mean book have the vertical margins but no staves. The main elements in this pattern are displayed in Table 3. Notice that the insertions on ‘type D’ paper in the eleventh gatherings of the Mean and Bass books are ruled with the same rastrum that was used on the rest of this paper, and not with that used on the ‘type C’ paper which surrounds them.

<b>Ruling</b>	<b>Treble</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Contra</b>	<b>Bass</b>
Ruled singly	(1 <sup>r</sup> –12 <sup>v</sup> missing)	1 <sup>r</sup> –7 <sup>r</sup> [1–8]	1 <sup>r</sup> –9 <sup>r</sup> [1–7]	1 <sup>r</sup> –8 <sup>r</sup> [1–8]
Rastrum 1	(1 <sup>r</sup> –12 <sup>v</sup> missing)	7 <sup>v</sup> –10 <sup>r</sup> [8–10]	9 <sup>v</sup> –12 <sup>r</sup> [7–9]	8 <sup>v</sup> –10 <sup>r</sup> [8–10]
Rastrum 2	13 <sup>r</sup> –21 <sup>r</sup> [12–18]	10 <sup>v</sup> –17 <sup>r</sup> [10–16] 18 <sup>v</sup> –20 <sup>r</sup> [16–18]	12 <sup>v</sup> –21 <sup>r</sup> [9–16]	10 <sup>v</sup> –21 <sup>r</sup> [10–19]
Rastrum 3	21 <sup>v</sup> –36 <sup>r</sup> [18–27]	17 <sup>v</sup> –18 <sup>r</sup> [16] 20 <sup>v</sup> –35 <sup>r</sup> [18–28]	21 <sup>v</sup> –44 <sup>r</sup> [16–28]	21 <sup>v</sup> –37 <sup>r</sup> [19–29]
Rastrum 4	37 <sup>v</sup> –84 <sup>v</sup> [28–48]	35 <sup>v</sup> –78(1) <sup>v</sup> [28–48] 79 <sup>r</sup> –80 <sup>v</sup> [51–53]	44 <sup>v</sup> –84 <sup>v</sup> [29–45]	37 <sup>v</sup> –78(1) <sup>v</sup> [29–52] 79(3) <sup>r</sup> –80 <sup>v</sup> [56–57]
Rastrum 5	85 <sup>r</sup> –106 <sup>v</sup> [49–63] (107 etc. missing)	78(2) <sup>r</sup> –78(5) <sup>v</sup> [48–51] 81 <sup>r</sup> –116 <sup>v</sup> [53–72]	85 <sup>r</sup> –134(2) <sup>v</sup> [45–72]	78(2) <sup>r</sup> –79(2) <sup>v</sup> [52–56] 81 <sup>r</sup> –112 <sup>v</sup> [57–72]

**Table 3: methods of drawing staves in *Ph*** ([ ] = composition numbers)

## II—6: THE MUSIC HAND AND NOTATION

The music in *Ph* is copied in a single hand. As one would expect in a mid-sixteenth-century paper manuscript, the scribe used white notation with black coloration;<sup>7</sup> fortunately his ink was much less corrosive than those which have damaged several sources of this period.<sup>8</sup> The essential features of the music hand can be seen in Illustration 8, which consists of four sets of four or five staves, each set coming from a different place in a different book. Among the characteristics of this hand are: in mensuration signs, the drawing of the diagonal line through only the top half of the circle or half-circle (as in stave 9; stave 13 is an exception); the tendency for the upper horizontal of a square note to slope downwards from the left and for the right-hand vertical to descend slightly lower than the left-hand one; the degeneration of the semibreve into a form whose right-hand side is more like a continuous curve than half a lozenge; the continuation of the tail of a minim straight upwards or downwards from the right-hand side of the body of the note; the placing always below the line of the dot following a note that is on a line; the placing of the dot of a fermata towards the right-hand end of the arc; the form of the *signum intimationis* above a note (as in stave 11; the form below a note is simply a mirror-image of this); two forms of the flat sign, a double-bowed form used on a line and a single-bowed form used in a space; the scrappy appearance of the sharp even when it is obviously original (as in staves 2 and 4); and the use of a sharp to cancel a flat and a natural to cancel a sharp (as in stave 4). It will be noticed that the music hand does not change whether the text is written in the current hand (as in staves 1–12) or in the display hand (as in staves 13–16), and that it does not alter (apart from showing occasional signs of haste or strain) from one end of the books to the other. Illustration 9, from the Treble book, shows the layout of a typical opening.

The clefs shown in Illustrations 8 and 9 are typical. The g-clef is normally placed on the second line, although in high-clef pieces it is written on the bottom line; the c-clef may appear on any line, with a predictable preference for the second line in the Mean book and the fourth line in the Contratenor book; the f-clef is usually on the fourth line or on the top line in low-clef compositions. Clefs sometimes move during the course of a piece to avoid ledger lines, but ledger lines themselves are not uncommon. There is some inconsistency in the method of cancelling sharps, which may reflect the varied practices of the scribe's exemplars. Sometimes the symbol 'f' is used for the pitches F and C (since the symbol stands for *fa* this is natural enough); on other occasions the letter 'c' is used to restore the pitch C to its uninflected state (as on the second stave of f. 131<sup>v</sup> of the Contratenor book); the letter 'g' is always used to cancel the sharpening of the pitch G (as on the ninth stave of f. 103<sup>v</sup> of the Treble book). The most remote accidentals written in *Ph* are A<sup>b</sup> (in Fayrfax's *Maria plena virtute* on f. 8<sup>v</sup> of the Bass book) and D<sup>#</sup> (in Jones's Magnificat on f. 79<sup>v</sup> of the Mean book).

<sup>7</sup> Hughes, op. cit., p. ix, describes it as 'black full'.

<sup>8</sup> The most serious case is probably the Sadler partbooks (Obl, MSS Mus. Sch. e. 1–5).

Et tu se domine deus agnus dei filius pa  
 tris Misere re no  
 bis Suscipe deprecatione nos  
 tram Quoniam tu solus sanctus tu solus do

mi de peccata nra  
 de peccata nra de Misere re no  
 bis  
 agnus dei qui tollis peccata

Illustration 8 (i): Treble book, f. 37<sup>v</sup>, staves 6–9  
 Mean book, f. 73<sup>v</sup>, staves 1–4

Cōtinū mūdi dūā impesa tūp tūmū felix de mō  
 atq; splendor gemā virtū scrolē da fūmū filia re  
 gio  
 q̄ p̄o m̄penti castissima sp̄on p̄ gra m̄p̄ p̄o

*Lauernor*  
 Sancte de us Sancte for tis Sancte et timor  
 ta lis Misere nobis Nūc chr̄e t̄ petimus  
 misereve guesumus - Noli Danare redemp  
 tos Quia per cruce tuam redemisti mū dū  
 A men

Illustration 8 (ii): Contratenor book, f. 129<sup>r</sup>, staves 6–9  
 Bass book, f. 1r, staves 1–5



Handwritten musical score for Treble book, ff. 47<sup>v</sup>-48<sup>r</sup>. The score is organized into two columns of staves. The right column (ff. 47<sup>v</sup>) contains six staves of music. The first staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The music consists of rhythmic patterns of notes and rests. Annotations include "trú. Com sans In sans" above the second staff, "p26." above the fourth staff, and "pessa" above the sixth staff. The left column (ff. 48<sup>r</sup>) also contains six staves of music. The first staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. Annotations include "p26. 25c" above the second staff. The notation includes notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

Illustration 9: Treble book, ff. 47<sup>v</sup>-48<sup>r</sup>

Eleven different mensuration signs occur in *Ph*.  $\Phi$  and  $\text{C}$  are naturally ubiquitous, but the other nine symbols are much less common. They are listed in Table 4, where they are described as ‘proportional’ if they are used simultaneously with an otherwise prevailing mensuration.

$\odot$	used in nos 22 and 44 and proportionally in no. 29
$\text{C}$	used proportionally in nos 29 and 52
$\Phi_3$	used in nos 39, 44 and 48
$\Phi_{31}$	used in nos 22 and 23
$\text{C}_3$ and $\text{C}_3$	used simultaneously and with the same meaning in no. 43
$\circ$	used only in no. 50
$\text{D}$	used in nos 37 and 44
$\text{D}$	used proportionally in no. 32

**Table 4: mensuration signs used occasionally in *Ph***

Coloration, used to create *hemiola* usually at the level of the (original) breve or semibreve, or to create triplet groups of minims, is accompanied on different occasions by six sets of proportional figures; these are listed in Table 5. *Ph* no. 29, which occurs frequently in Tables 4 and 5, is Fayrfax’s Mass *O quam glorifica*, in which the composer demonstrates his mensural and notational ingenuity.

.3.	used in nos 5, 29, 43 and 45
.31.	used in nos 10, 11, 12, 13, 16 (8 times) and 72
.32.	used in nos 1, 16 (once), 23, 29 and 33
.61.	used in no. 72
.64.	used in no. 29
.96.	used in no. 29

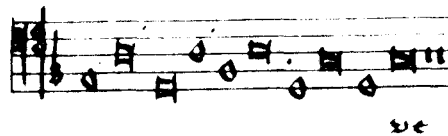
**Table 5: proportional figures used in *Ph***

I have not attempted a detailed study of the notation of *Ph*. The scribe was clearly thoroughly conversant with the conventions of his period, and he copied music in a fluent and confident hand. The occasional solecisms, such as the appearances of the ligature  $\text{bP}$  in Alen’s *Gaude virgo* (Bass book f. 23<sup>r</sup> stave 1) and in Whytbroke’s *Sancte deus* (Mean book f. 29) probably reflect his fidelity to his exemplars rather than an uncharacteristic lapse on his own part. Like many sixteenth-century copyists he acknowledged the degenerate condition of mensural notation in his treatment of alteration and coloration. True alteration hardly ever occurs, the scribe (or his exemplars) preferring to use a colored breve on the second semibreve of a perfect *tempus*; sometimes, indeed, the breve is not even colored, demonstrating the growing tendency to think of the breve as being imperfect whatever its context. Some typical passages and their required interpretation are quoted in Example 1.

The image displays four distinct musical staves from a handwritten manuscript. The first staff, labeled 'Sanctus', is in treble clef and shows a melodic line with various note values and rests. The second staff, labeled 'Et exultant', is in bass clef and features a more rhythmic melody. The third staff, labeled 'Jesu filio', is in bass clef and includes a double bar line and a fermata. The fourth staff, labeled 'Maria plena virtute te pietatis gratia', is in bass clef and contains a complex melodic line with many notes and rests.

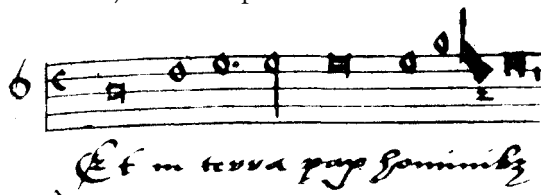
- Example 1: (a) Fayrfax, *Mass Albanus*, Sanctus, treble  
Treble book, f. 51<sup>r</sup>, stave 4
- (b) Appelby, *Magnificat*, bass  
Bass book, f. 71<sup>v</sup>, stave 4
- (c) Fayrfax, *Aeternae laudis lilium*, contratenor  
Contratenor book, f. 100<sup>r</sup>, staves 8–9
- (d) Fayrfax, *Maria plena virtute*, mean  
Mean book, f. 7<sup>r</sup>, stave 6

Occasionally, however, the notation is quite fastidious, as in Example 2, where the dot of division is used to avoid any risk of alteration being applied.



**Example 2: Fayrfax, Mass *Tecum principium*, Agnus, bass  
Bass book, f. 43<sup>v</sup>, stave 6**

On one of the very rare occasions when alteration is required the scribe indicates as much by writing the figure '2' below the second semibreve (a common device in late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century English notation): see Example 3.



**Example 3: Aston, Mass *Te deum*, Gloria, contratenor  
Contratenor book, f. 20<sup>r</sup>, stave 1**

The different attitudes behind these procedures, the constant slight changes of notational practice from one composition to another (chiefly involving the treatment of coloration and dots of division) and the variations in the frequency of ligatures and the pitches of the ligated notes, all give the impression that the scribe reproduced rather faithfully the notational characteristics of his exemplars instead of attempting to achieve a greater notational consistency.

This scribe was clearly a practical musician who meant his work to be used. He often used a *signum intimationis* to mark entries in other voices, and in a few cases he even specified the voice entering at that point (for example in the Bass book on the second stave of f. 15<sup>v</sup> and the third stave of f. 49<sup>v</sup>). In Fayrfax's *O Maria deo grata* he elucidated the interpretation of the plainsong notation of the 'Albanus' motive in the Mean part by writing 'ij menoms' below it (f. 7<sup>r</sup>). Whether he devised these annotations himself or took them over from his exemplars is less important than the fact that he considered them worth including. Further indications of his practical concern are the meticulousness of his underlay and the very few problems caused by his accidentals.

## II—7: THE TEXT HANDS

At first sight my claim that *Ph* was copied by one scribe may seem perverse. On the very first of the music pages and for a considerable way through all of the books *two* text hands are in evidence; both of them can be seen in Illustration 10. The first hand, at the top of this folio and under the beginning of the first stave, is characterised by larger letter forms, and the letters are usually separated; the second hand, used for most of the underlay, is a professional and polished Secretary. The way in which these two hands are disposed on this page is typical of what happens throughout the earlier pages of all four partbooks. The first hand occurs wherever matter needs to be displayed: at the top of the page for headings (which may consist of incipits, titles or ascriptions); below the stave for the opening words of a composition; and below the stave when there is a cue to another section of a piece (as at the end of the third stave and the beginning of the last stave in Illustration 10). The second hand is the 'normal' one, used for most of the text underlay, for composers' names at the ends of pieces, and for the indexes. Often the hands merge into one another, not in the sense that the individuality of their forms becomes less marked, but in the sense that a word beginning in one of the hands (usually in the first) ends in the other: an example of this is the opening cue 'Inter sanctos' in Illustration 10, where 'Inter sanc' is in the first hand and 'tos' is in the second. A second example is given in the top half of Illustration 11: here the first syllable of the incipit 'Sanc' is in the first hand and the second syllable 'te' is in the second hand; notice also how the display form of the capital 'S' is maintained along the whole of the top line in the Contratenor book, but gives way to the current form along the top line of the Mean book.

Illustration 10: Contratenor book, f. 2<sup>f</sup>, top

Tavernor

Sancte de us Sancte for tis Sancte et inmor ta  
 lis. Misere re no bis. Misere re quae te petimus misere re  
 qui semper redimere peccati tos. Noli dimittere dimittere nos.  
 Quia per cruce tuam redimisti nos.  
 T. rego du s.

Sancte deus.

Sancte de us Sancte for tis Sancte et inmor ta  
 lis. Misere re no bis. Misere re quae te petimus misere re  
 qui semper redimere peccati tos. Noli dimittere dimittere nos.  
 Quia per cruce tuam redimisti nos.  
 T. rego du s.

Illustration 11: Contratenor book, f. 1<sup>r</sup>, top  
 Mean book, f. 1<sup>r</sup>, top

The way in which these two hands intermingle, and their obvious functional differentiation, suggest that both of them are the work of a single copyist who is writing in two styles; the first hand is his 'display' style and the second is his normal current one. As the task of copying proceeded the scribe used the display hand less and less often. In all four books Pygott's Mass *Veni sancte spiritus* (no. 32) is the last work in which he uses it for page headings; thereafter such page headings as there are (and there are fewer of them) are in the current hand. It also becomes less habitual to display the opening words of the underlay; instead, the incipit is quite often written in an enlarged form of the current hand which then reverts to its usual size, as in Illustration 12 (this is particularly true of Mass movements, whose time-honoured and familiar texts may have been considered not to need the greater clarity of the display hand). Very few of the attributions at the ends of pieces are written in the display hand, and all of those that are, are in the first half of the books, for example at the end of nos 5 (Hunt), 7 and 8 (Fayrfax), 12 (Bramston), 15 (Hunt), 27 (Jones), 29 (Fayrfax) and 32 (Pygott).

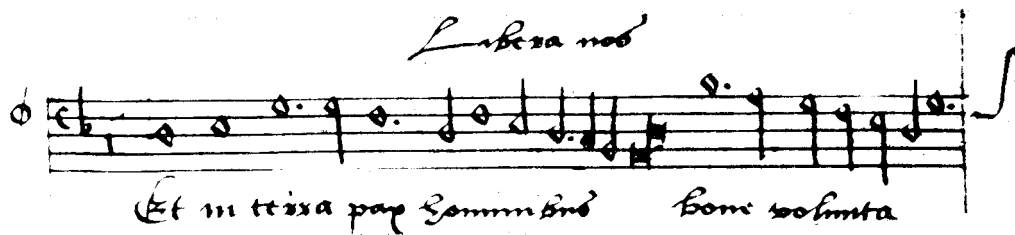


Illustration 12: Mean book, f. 111<sup>r</sup>

One rather puzzling feature of the Bass book is that the underlay of Taverner's *Sancte deus* and *Ave Maria* (nos 1 and 2) is written entirely in the display hand. I can offer no explanation of this other than that the scribe may have begun by copying the bass parts of these pieces and may afterwards have switched to his normal hand because he found it quicker and more elegant; but it is hard to reconcile this with the fact that the bass part of *Ave Maria* is written on an insert between the second flyleaf and f. 1, as if the omission remained unnoticed until the third composition (Mason's *O rex gloriose*) had been copied directly following *Sancte deus*.

The Gloria incipits collected in Illustration 13 show the remarkable consistency of the current hand throughout the Contratenor and Bass books; it is just the same in the Treble and Mean books. This may imply that the copying was done over a fairly short period, as a continuous project which received the scribe's undivided attention; it could also imply that the scribe was a professional, or at least that he was used to large-scale copying enterprises. The latter possibility is strengthened by the elegant and firmly-controlled Secretary hand in which most of the text is written; this is obviously the work of an experienced penman. The clumsy and erratic display hand might, however, be taken to imply a lower level of competence. The different standards of expertise apparent in these two hands are, in fact, the only reason for even countenancing the possibility that they might belong to different writers. Could the display hand after all have been the work of a music copyist who wrote the notes and enough essential information, in the form of page-headings, incipits and names to enable a text copyist to add the underlay? I think that the answer has still to be 'No'. The very close mingling of the two hands has already been mentioned, and in addition I can see no evidence that the music was habitually copied before the text. On the contrary, there is ample evidence that the scribe usually wrote the text underlay first, either a whole page at a time or line by line; this observation is substantiated in Section II—8. The inconsistencies and *gaucheries* of the display hand are far more likely to indicate a lack of experience in this style of lettering; *Ph* is, after all, one of the earliest non-domestic musical sources not written in a form of *textura quadrata*. I am convinced that (leaving aside the later additions) *Ph* was entirely the work of a single copyist.

Et in terra pax hominibus bone voluntatis

Et in terra pax hominibus bone voluntatis

89.  
Et in terra pax hominibus

Et in terra pax hominibus bone voluntatis

Et in terra pax hominibus bone voluntatis

Veni sancte spiritus

Hominibus bone voluntatis tibi laudamus

Hominibus bone voluntatis Gratias agimus

Et in terra pax hominibus bone voluntatis

Illustration 13: Gloria incipits  
 Contratenor book, ff. 20<sup>r</sup>, stave 1; 44<sup>v</sup>, stave 1; 89<sup>r</sup>, stave 1; 131<sup>r</sup>, stave 8  
 Bass book, ff. 24<sup>r</sup>, stave 1; 47<sup>v</sup>, stave 1; 82<sup>r</sup>, stave 5; 103<sup>r</sup>, stave 8



## II—8: THE SCRIBE'S METHOD OF WORKING

A great deal can be deduced about the scribe's procedure at virtually every level and stage of the copying process. The following observations begin with the larger-scale aspects and become progressively more minute.

We know already (from Section II—5) that the books were not completely ruled with staves in a single operation, but that staves were drawn on roughly equivalent numbers of leaves in each book on a series of different occasions. The number of pages prepared at a time probably reflects the scribe's mood rather than the amount of material that he had immediately to hand; otherwise there would not have been so many ruled but unused pages at the end of the Bass book. Having ruled the staves, the scribe began to copy. He seems to have copied each piece into every book before going on to the next composition. This is suggested by the fact that any significant changes in appearance or procedure, and any minor peculiarities, tend to appear in the same works in all four books rather than throughout a sequence of compositions in a single book. There is, for example, almost complete agreement between the books concerning the items that have title or text incipit headings, composer headings or no headings at all (see Section II—12) and also in the style in which the headings are written; the few exceptions can all be put down to human inconsistency. Most of the changes in ink colour are too small and gradual to constitute powerful evidence, but one major change (which affects clefs, notes and underlay but not staves or folio numbers) occurs at exactly the same point in each book: Pashe's *Sancta Maria mater dei* and Merbecke's *Ave dei patris* (nos 45 and 46) are written in a much paler ink, more an olive colour than the usual brown, and the normal darker ink reappears at the beginning of the next piece, Appelby's Magnificat. Similarly, the first two items in each book (Taverner's *Sancte deus* and *Ave Maria*), including the inserted strip carrying the bass part of the latter, are in a lighter brown ink than the third item, Mason's *O rex gloriose*. On a smaller scale, a striking and quite archaic ornamented final note is confined to three compositions: Bramston's *Mariae virginis* (no. 12, Treble only), Mason's *Vae nobis miseris* (no. 19, Treble and Mean) and his *Quales sumus* (no. 20, Mean only). And only two of the eleven compositions ascribed to Fayrfax mention his doctorate: *Ave dei patris* (no. 26, at the end of the Mean, Contratenor and Bass) and the *Albanus* Mass (no. 31, at the end of the Mean alone). When working on a Mass, however, the scribe probably copied all of the movements into one partbook before moving on to the next book; the cancelled copy of Aston's *Te matrem* Mass on ff. 36<sup>v</sup>–37<sup>r</sup> of the Treble book got as far as the beginning of the Credo, but none of the Mass was copied into the other surviving books. Since both pages of this cancelled opening have the heading 'Te matrem', it would appear that the scribe wrote the page headings before he started copying, or at least before he began work on a new opening.

In Section II—7 I remarked that the scribe usually wrote the text underlay before the notes, either a whole page at a time or line by line. This observation is based on three kinds of evidence: certain corrected passages; the relative spacing of words and notes; and the use of lines to link syllables to particular notes. Three large-scale cancellations are significant in this respect. The first occurs on ff. 36<sup>v</sup>–37<sup>r</sup> of the Treble book and has already been mentioned several times: the scribe began copying Aston's *Te deum* Mass from an exemplar bearing the alternative title *Te matrem* and got as far as the beginning of the Credo before he realised that he had already copied the work. He promptly stopped, turned the page and started the next piece at the top of f. 37<sup>v</sup>. The seventh stave of f. 37<sup>r</sup> has the music and complete underlay of the beginning of the Credo; the eighth stave has a clef but neither text nor music; and the ninth is completely blank. Another cancellation in the Treble book (on f. 48<sup>r</sup>) was made necessary when the scribe began to copy the tenor part of the Agnus of Fayrfax's Mass *Tecum principium* instead of the treble; when he stopped after nearly two staves and crossed out what he had done (for some reason scribbling 'Gloria Patri' after it) he had already written 'Ag' under the opening notes. A third cancellation occurs in the Contratenor book (f. 3<sup>r</sup>) where the six opening staves of the Mean part of the Gloria of Taverner's Mass *Mater Christi* were copied; the scribe discovered the error on reaching the bottom of the page and before beginning to write on the next verso, but the music and text are complete as far as the end of the recto. An incidental implication of these last two mistakes is that the copyist may have been working from choirbooks, which would have made it easier to start copying the wrong voice.

Another large-scale correction occurs on f. 8<sup>v</sup> of the Bass book, where staves 7–9 were rewritten on a strip pasted over the first version. Originally the scribe missed out a whole line of underlay, having jumped to that of the next staff but one; he was able to rectify this by rewriting on the paste-over the correct underlay for the last three staves before he had copied the notes onto the original staves but *after* he had given them their clefs. The most likely inference is that he wrote the underlay for the whole page, supplied all the clefs and then copied the music, noticing his error when he reached the end of staff 6; the fact that no adjustment was needed on the succeeding recto suggests that he copied one page at a time. Two other pasted-over staves may be mentioned briefly: on f. 10<sup>v</sup> of the Mean book the eighth staff originally had the right text but the wrong music; and on f. 2<sup>r</sup> of the Contratenor book a paste-over was necessary because the music of Contratenor II (there is a gymel at this point) had been mistakenly written above the underlay of Contratenor I. Several smaller-scale corrections also seem to indicate that the underlay preceded the notes. For example, on the fifth staff of f. 7<sup>r</sup> of the Bass book the (original) semibreve G now above the syllable ‘ri’ was at first written above ‘pla’ and was later moved to make the correct underlay clear (see Illustration 14a); and on f. 2<sup>r</sup> of the Mean book the original underlay had ‘deside’ at the end of staff 5 and ‘ratissima’ at the beginning of staff 6, but having written too many notes at the end of staff 5 the copyist had to move ‘ra’ back to the end of this staff, where it is visible in slightly smaller letters (Illustration 14b). Below the fifth staff on f. 36<sup>r</sup> of the Contratenor book the scribe began to write ‘sponsa’ instead of ‘mater’, and he did not bother to erase ‘spo’; yet the notes are perfectly aligned above ‘mater’ (Illustration 14c).



Illustration 14: alterations to underlay

- (a) Bass book, f. 7<sup>r</sup>, staff 5
- (b) Mean book, f. 2<sup>r</sup>, staves 5 and 6
- (c) Contratenor book, f. 36<sup>r</sup>, staff 5

There are numerous other indications of underlay written before the notes. The most fundamental and constantly occurring of them is the regularity with which the underlay is written and spaced in passages where the note-to-syllable ratio is fairly low; it is the notes that are sometimes spaced out and sometimes compressed to fit above the evenly spaced syllables and words of the text. This basic feature could be illustrated from virtually every page of each book; the four examples in Illustration 15 have been chosen to show how pervasive it is.

(a) *Mater & gratia sanctissima virgo servata Maria*  
*sub orationibus benigna reddere fili* *my sonna*  
*spes mea maria mater a qua precibus nitens tu*

(b) *Et spiritus emisit et mater gladius transiit*  
*aqua et sanguis exiit ex delicato corpore*

(c) *Aue dei pueri ha nobilissima dei filij mater dignis*  
*sima dei spiritus sponsa beatissima dei omnium*

(d) *et tui ancilla subiectissima ma Omne*  
*nata in glia Ibi nos memos ut* *to*  
*virgo sanctissima & virgo sanctissima funde precibus tu pro*

Illustration 15: spacing of notes and underlay

(a) Treble book, f. 63<sup>r</sup>, staves 1–3(b) Mean book, f. 7<sup>v</sup>, staves 8–9(c) Contratenor book, f. 36<sup>r</sup>, staves 2–4

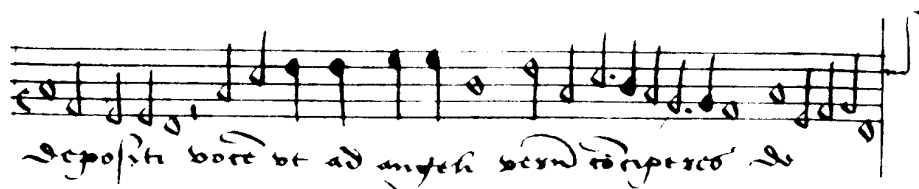
**(d) Bass book, f. 100<sup>v</sup>, staves 1–2**

In more melismatic passages the scribe seems to have estimated how to dispose the underlay by referring to his exemplar. In most cases this method worked well, but sometimes he either failed to leave enough room for the notes or left too much. When this happened he emended the underlay by drawing a faint line linking the syllable to the appropriate note. Illustration 16 presents five examples from widely different contexts. In (a) it was necessary to pre-place the beginning of the melisma on 'Ple' to allow the right note to appear above 'ni' and to fit in all of the notes necessary to the first stave. In (b) 'conciperes' had been written out so that it was impossible to have both the right note above 'con' and the right note above 'ci'. In (c) the notes for 'Dominus' could not be compressed enough to allow the correct note to be written above 'tu', and on the previous stave the scribe overestimated the space needed for the melisma on 'no'. In (d) insufficient space was left for the notes above 'ce'. And in (e) the scribe seems to have so seriously miscalculated the amount of room needed for the notes that he had to write into the margin and also draw two linking lines.

(a)



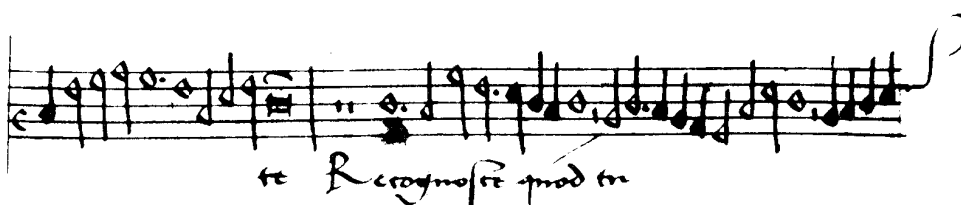
(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)

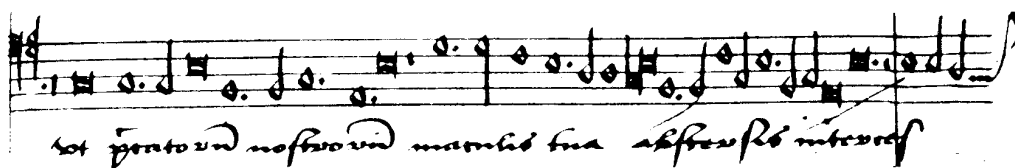


Illustration 16: syllables and notes linked by lines

- (a) Treble book, f. 10<sup>r</sup>, stave 1
- (b) Mean book, f. 108<sup>v</sup>, stave 3
- (c) Mean book, f. 35<sup>r</sup>, staves 2 and 3
- (d) Contratenor book, f. 122<sup>r</sup>, stave 6
- (e) Bass book, f. 56<sup>r</sup>, stave 5

In other cases these lines seem to have been used to correct misalignment caused by faulty copying of notes or syllables as an alternative to erasing and rewriting (such cases sometimes merge with those in the previous group). Four examples are given in Illustration 17. In (a) the scribe did not space the notes widely enough to fill the space between the syllables. In (b) he seems to have changed his mind about the best underlay (it is a troublesome passage) after having written the notes. In (c) he wrote 'tibi' continuously instead of separating the syllables. And in (d) (already mentioned) he wrote too many notes at the end of stave 5 and too few at the beginning of stave 6.

(a) *mb que de primum ut misericorditer per*

(b) *cepto resurrectione mortuorum et vitam venturi*

(c) *Quatuor agnunt tibi ppter magna glo*

(d) *ma et ver. eterne caritatis tui desider*  
*ratissima filia eterne sapientie mater gratissima*

Illustration 17: link-lines as an alternative to rewriting

- (a) Treble book, f. 22<sup>r</sup>, stave 8
- (b) Contratenor book, f. 30<sup>r</sup>, stave 6
- (c) Bass book, f. 34<sup>r</sup>, stave 8
- (d) mean book, f. 2<sup>r</sup>, staves 5 and 6

I have considered the question of music and underlay at some length because the results, being precisely the opposite of what I expected, called for careful substantiation. There are, certainly, several equivocal cases, but on balance the evidence points clearly to the text usually having been written first.

When the scribe had finished copying a part he usually wrote the composer's name at the end of it. Apart from cases in which he did not know the composer's identity, most of the omissions can be explained by the music having taken up most or all of the last stave, leaving no room for a name, as on f. 7<sup>v</sup> of the Bass book; only very rarely, as on f. 80<sup>r</sup> of the Mean book, did the scribe use the next stave for this purpose. Forgetfulness seems to have been the reason for those occasions on which (as on f. 14<sup>r</sup> of the Mean book) a known name was omitted although there was plenty of room for it. Now and then the copyist supplied more information than usual: Aston's Mass (no. 16) is given the title 'Te deum laudamus' (Treble and Mean) or 'Te deum' (Contratenor and Bass) after the composer's name; the Bass part of Taverner's Mass *Mater Christi* (no. 23) has the postscript 'apon the antyme Mater Christi'; his Mass *Sine nomine* (no. 39) is called 'Small devotion' (Mean and Contratenor) or 'Small devotyon' (Treble and Bass) at the end of each voice; and the Bass part of Ludford's Mass (no. 60) is followed by the full text of the *cantus firmus*, *Inclina cor meum deus in testimonia tua*.<sup>9</sup>

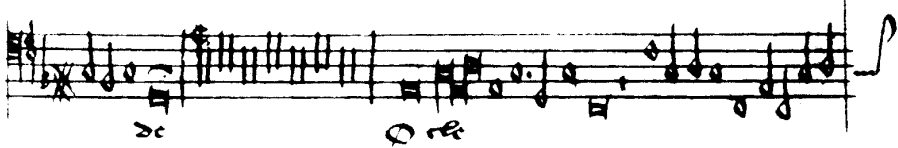
The vast majority of accidentals, whether flat, sharp or natural (I will name them according to their modern functions) were written during the main music-copying process, rather than being added afterwards. Either they occupy about as much space as a note itself does, when the need to align notes with syllables allows this, or they are placed above or below notes occurring shortly before the ones to which they apply, where clear space on the stave allows it. All three situations are shown in Illustration 18; the scrappiness of the first sharp (probably caused by the angle at which the pen was held) might lead the observer to consider it a later addition were it not for the space obviously left for it.

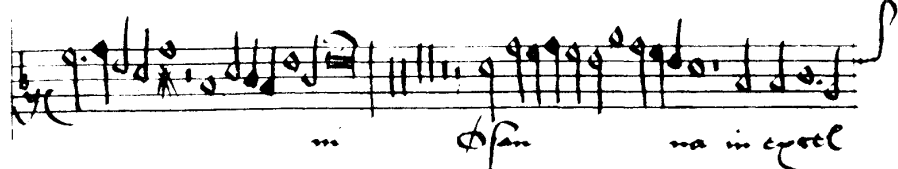
In order to estimate the proportion of original accidentals to those which may have been written subsequently I took four sequences of ten consecutive folios (one sequence from each book) and counted the total number of accidentals, excluding those in a key signature; I then counted the number that, by appearing to be oddly placed, particularly cramped or in a different hand, gave signs of being later (several examples of this type are given in Illustration 19). The results are displayed in Table 6; the figures are so consistent as to suggest that they cannot be seriously inaccurate. In fact, since all of the 'possibly later' accidentals could be in the main hand, it is possible that *Ph* (unlike many music manuscripts of its time) remained uncontaminated by the attentions of later sixteenth-century or seventeenth-century 'editors'.

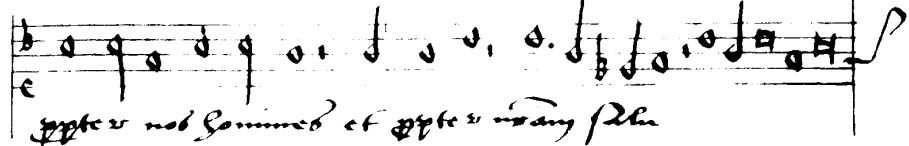
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<sup>9</sup> Given the existence of this postscript, John Bergsagel's feat (reported in *BenhamL*, p. 132) of 'identifying' the *cantus firmus* seems rather less than breathtaking.



(a) 

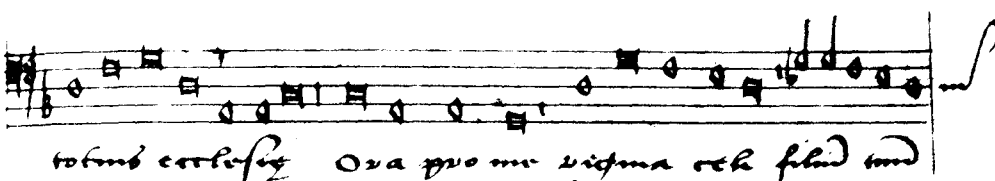
(b) 

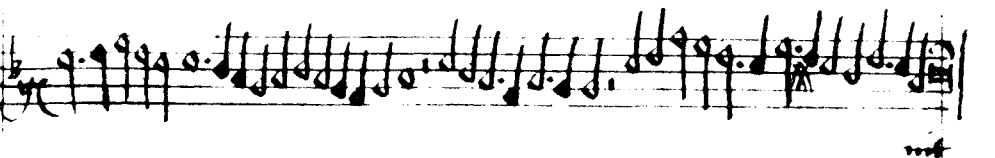
(c) 


(d) 


Illustration 18: accidentals

- (a) Bass book, f. 5<sup>r</sup>, stave 8
- (b) Treble book, f. 83<sup>r</sup>, stave 5
- (c) Mean book, f. 47<sup>r</sup>, stave 5
- (d) Contratenor book, f. 128<sup>r</sup>, stave 6

(a) 

(b) 

(c) 

(d) 

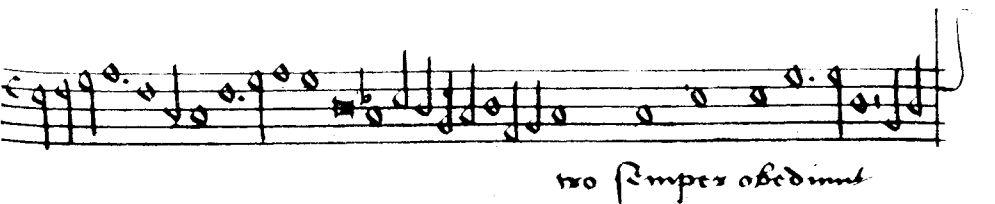
(e) 

Illustration 19: accidentals that could be later

- (a) Bass book, f. 9<sup>r</sup>, stave 1  
 (b) Treble book, f. 83<sup>r</sup>, stave 2  
 (c) Treble book, f. 88<sup>v</sup>, stave 2  
 (d) Mean book, f. 48<sup>r</sup>, stave 9  
 (e) Contratenor book, f. 130<sup>v</sup>, stave 5

Treble	(ff. 81–90)	50 accidentals	2 later?	4.00%
Mean	(ff. 41–50)	42 accidentals	1 later?	2.38%
Contratenor	(ff. 121–130)	45 accidentals	1 later?	2.22%
Bass	(ff. 1–10)	62 accidentals	1 later?	1.61%

Table 6: percentages of possibly later accidentals

## II—9: MISTAKES AND THEIR CORRECTION

*Ph* has acquired the reputation of being an uncommonly unreliable source. Such remarks as the following must be presumed to spring from a close personal experience of the manuscript, but in my view they seriously overstate the case.

Their notation is archaic for the 1540s; they contain many copying errors; and they were obviously used very little, if at all, for actual performance.<sup>10</sup>

... the manuscript's obvious lack of use—uncorrected copyist's errors are common ...<sup>11</sup>

Such observations may be at least partly rooted in a more guarded comment made some thirty years ago:

A comparison of the Mass *O quam glorifica* by Robert Fayrfax with the earlier copy at Lambeth reveals a number of small mistakes in the Peterhouse books which would surely have been corrected had they actually been used in choir.<sup>12</sup>

Having transcribed and edited all seventy-two compositions in the partbooks, and having fully collated twelve of the twenty-nine that have concordances in English manuscripts, I would contend that far from being unreliable *Ph* is one of the more trustworthy sources of its type, and that it has been corrected with such care that relatively few errors remain. Before introducing statistics I must make some reservations: the following figures include only mistakes uncorrected by the main scribe; in this context, by 'mistakes' I mean wrong pitches and note values (not variously subdivided note values, or variant coloration, or implausible accidentals or problematic underlay); my figures for *Ph* are based on my own assessment of mistakes in textures from which one or two voices are missing (the figures are adjusted to compensate for the loss of voices); my figures for mistakes in other sources are based on my interpretation of the Critical Commentaries in the editions cited below and thus depend upon those editors' detection of mistakes. Given the nature of the material, there are bound to be errors in computation, but I believe that these are small enough to allow the validity of the general conclusions.

Table 7 lists the numbers of uncorrected mistakes found in 54 of the *Ph* compositions included in Volume Two of this dissertation. Of the total of 192 errors, 48 occur in music of which only three voices survive; the other 144 occur in music of which four voices survive. To convert these results into figures comparable with those for five-part music I multiplied 48 by 1.66 and 144 by 1.25 and added the results, producing a total of 260. To arrive at an average number of mistakes per movement (nine of these pieces are four-movement Masses) I divided the total of 260 by the total number of movements, 81, producing a figure of 3.29 mistakes per movement.

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<sup>10</sup> *DoeL*, p. 82.

<sup>11</sup> *BenhamL*, p. 26.

<sup>12</sup> Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 9. Being a demonstration of mensural and notational subtlety, the Mass *O quam glorifica* might have been an unusually difficult work to copy.

No.	Errors	No.	Errors	No.	Errors
1	1	23	3	50	1
2	2	24	none	51	2
3	1	25	none	52	3
5	2	27*	5	56	3
6	3	32*	16	57	2
7	2	33	4	58	1
9	4	35	8	60*	3
10	1	36	2	61	1
11	2	37	2	62*	7
12	2	39*	5	63*	8
13	5	40	1	64	none
14	3	41	4	65	none
15	1	44*	1	66	3
17	6	45	15	67	6
18	none	46	3	68	2
19	1	47	4	70	1
20	3	48*	19	71	4
21	1	49	6	72*	7

**Table 7: numbers of uncorrected errors in some *Ph* pieces**

(\* denotes a four-movement Mass.)

It is interesting to compare these figures with figures obtained from some other editors' work on certain manuscripts. The choice has been dictated solely by the material available:

1. the editor of the second volume of the Eton choirbook edition<sup>13</sup> found 58 errors in 18 single-movement compositions, an average of 3.11;
2. the editor of three Magnificats from the Lambeth choirbook<sup>14</sup> found four errors in three settings, an average of 1.3;
3. the same editor found 16 errors in four Magnificats in the Caius choirbook,<sup>15</sup> an average of 4.0;
4. the editor of three Masses from the Forrest-Heyther partbooks<sup>16</sup> found 51 errors in 12 movements, an average of 4.25.

If one compares the numbers of mistakes occurring in *Ph* and in concordant versions of certain works, interesting results emerge:

1. an edition of Taverner's votive antiphons<sup>17</sup> finds eighteen errors in the Peterhouse version of *Gaude plurimum* but only four in the version in the Christ Church partbooks and four in that in the Sadler partbooks;
2. in the same edition, however, the Peterhouse copy of *Ave dei patris* is credited with only three mistakes, while the copies in Christ Church and Sadler are credited with seven each;
3. the editor of Raser's Mass *Christe Jesu*<sup>18</sup> found over twice as many mistakes in the Forrest-Heyther version as he did in that in *Ph*: nineteen against nine;
4. an edition of Fayrfax's Mass *Albanus*,<sup>19</sup> using Lambeth as its main source, lists eight errors in *Ph*, six in Forrest-Heyther, five in Caius and only one in Lambeth;
5. an edition of Fayrfax's Magnificat *O Bone Jesu*,<sup>20</sup> also using Lambeth as its main source, lists one mistake in Lambeth, six in *Ph* and five in Tenbury MSS 341–4.

<sup>13</sup> MB, vol. 11.

<sup>14</sup> EECM, vol. 4.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> EECM, vol. 16.

<sup>17</sup> EECM, vol. 25.

<sup>18</sup> EECM, vol. 16.

<sup>19</sup> CMM, vol. 17.

<sup>20</sup> EECM, vol. 4.

While I would concede that all of these figures are derived from a superficial study of a small and arbitrarily selected sample of works and sources, and that they depend upon a restricted definition of ‘mistake’, I think that they make it very difficult to maintain that *Ph* is an especially fallible source. The average number of uncorrected mistakes corresponds closely to the averages that I have found in other manuscripts of the period, a remarkable result when one considers that 50 of the errors in *Ph* occur in only nine of the 81 movements included in the survey (the two Masses nos 32 and 49 and Pashe’s *Sancta Maria* no. 45). The exemplars of these three pieces must surely have been particularly defective, as perhaps was that of *Gaude plurimum*. It is likely that copies standing some way down a line of transmission, as the Peterhouse copies of Fayrfax’s music must do, will contain a higher number of mistakes than copies standing much closer to the composer’s originals; this could account for the greater reliability of Lambeth as a source of Fayrfax’s work. On the other hand, where *Ph* arguably (for reasons stated in Section IV—2) stands very close to the original manuscript, for instance in nos 1, 2, 3, 5, 10, 11, 15, 17, 19, 20, 21, 24, 25, 36, 37, 39, 40, 61, 62, 64, 65, 66 and 71, it seems to be very accurate indeed; there is a total of 46 errors in these 29 movements, a total that becomes 64 after being treated to compensate for the missing voices, and produces an average of 2.2 errors per movement. One could even reverse this argument and suggest that in other cases in which the Peterhouse scribe produced an almost error-free copy (as in nos 12, 18, 23, 44, 50, 58 and 70) he may have had access if not to a composer’s original then to one of its first generation of offspring.

Such matters are speculative, and statistics are beguiling and dangerous things. We should remember that it is extremely difficult for a scribe to create a copy that is more faithful to the original than is the exemplar from which he is working. I imagine that very few medieval or renaissance music copyists even attempted to do so; an unusually intelligent and musically expert copyist might succeed in devising a stylish and convincing solution to a corrupt or ambiguous passage, but he was only improving on the reading of his source, and not necessarily restoring the original reading.

The large number and multifarious nature of the corrections in *Ph* show that the scribe checked his work extremely carefully; if he was a little accident-prone (and this is hardly surprising in a collection amounting to more than twenty thousand bars of modern transcription), he did his best to make amends. His corrections cover all aspects of the copying process: clefs, mensuration signs, individual pitches and note values, ligatures, accidentals and underlay. Some examples of large-scale corrections were given in Section II—8. The easiest way to give an impression of the scope of his activity will be to list every visible correction occurring in a couple of sequences of folios: ff. 1–10 of the Mean book and (to show that his vigilance did not diminish) ff. 91–100 of the Treble book: see Tables 8 and 9. These lists (and all of my work on the corrections) have been prepared from the partbooks themselves, not from reproductions; some of the corrections are visible only under ultra-violet light.

- 1<sup>r</sup> no corrections  
 1<sup>v</sup> no corrections  
 2<sup>r</sup> stave 5: long changed to breve above 'ma'; underlay of 'deside' altered  
 stave 6: underlay of 'ratissima' altered  
 2<sup>v</sup> stave 4: minim changed to semibreve by drawing a stroke through the tail (the scribe's  
 invariable method of making this emendation); pitch change to following note  
 3<sup>r</sup> no corrections  
 3<sup>v</sup> stave 1: 'fac' added  
 stave 3: notes inserted before second A  
 stave 5: pitch changes above 'criminiis'; minim changed to semibreve  
 4<sup>r</sup> stave 1: semibreve changed to breve above 'ad'  
 4<sup>v</sup> stave 4: erasure from stave before 'tes'  
 5<sup>r</sup> stave 5: semibreve changed to breve after 'no'  
 stave 7: semiminims changed to minims after 'cle'  
 5<sup>v</sup> stave 2: pitch change after 'na'  
 6<sup>r</sup> stave 5: minim changed to semibreve; underlay altered  
 stave 7: erasure above 'non'  
 stave 8: pitch change above 'ces'  
 stave 9: minim changed to semibreve  
 6<sup>v</sup> stave 1: minim changed to semibreve  
 stave 2: semibreve changed to breve above 'a'  
 stave 5: pitch change above 'vat'  
 7<sup>r</sup> stave 6: 'mater' added  
 stave 7: two higher accidentals added at beginning of stave  
 7<sup>v</sup> stave 9: pitch change above 'vit'  
 8<sup>r</sup> stave 6: correction on stave above 'peccatis suis'  
 8<sup>v</sup> stave 1: correction on stave above 'vita'  
 stave 4: pitch change to first note  
 stave 6: possibly an erasure and rewriting at beginning of stave  
 stave 8: pitch changes to ligature  
 stave 9: clef moved; alteration to second ligature  
 9<sup>r</sup> stave 2: first ligature changed from two semibreves to two breves by removing tail  
 stave 4: pitch changes to first two notes  
 stave 9: minim changed to semibreve  
 9<sup>v</sup> stave 1: 'p' erased before 'crucifixo'  
 stave 3: pitch change to second note in second ligature  
 stave 7: minim changed to semibreve  
 10<sup>r</sup> stave 6: correction to first note  
 10<sup>v</sup> stave 8: whole stave pasted over and recopied

**Table 8: corrections in Mean book, ff. 1<sup>r</sup>–10<sup>v</sup>**

90 <sup>r</sup>	no corrections
90 <sup>v</sup>	stave 1: minim changed to semibreve
91 <sup>r</sup>	stave 3: minim changed to semibreve
91 <sup>v</sup>	no corrections
92 <sup>r</sup>	no corrections
92 <sup>v</sup>	stave 6: minim changed to semibreve
93 <sup>r</sup>	stave 1: minim changed to semibreve
93 <sup>v</sup>	no corrections
94 <sup>r</sup>	no corrections
94 <sup>v</sup>	stave 2: erasure and rewriting at end of stave stave 4: erasure and rewriting on stave above 'ave' stave 5: semibreve changed to breve above 'sio'
95 <sup>r</sup>	stave 8: minim changed to semibreve
95 <sup>v</sup>	no corrections
96 <sup>r</sup>	stave 3: minim changed to semibreve staves 6–7: the first eight notes above 'A' were at first omitted and the whole passage above 'Amen' had to be erased and rewritten to accommodate them
96 <sup>v</sup>	stave 4: underlay altered
97 <sup>r</sup>	stave 7: the six notes after the gap were written twice and the first copy was erased stave 8: pitch change to third E
97 <sup>v</sup>	stave 3: pitch change in first ligature stave 9: minim changed to semibreve
98 <sup>r</sup>	stave 1: minim changed to semibreve
98 <sup>v</sup>	stave 7: minim changed to semibreve
99 <sup>r</sup>	stave 7: minim changed to semibreve
99 <sup>v</sup>	stave 8: 'de' erased below fourth B
100 <sup>r</sup>	stave 6: minim changed to semibreve
100 <sup>v</sup>	stave 4: minim changed to semibreve

**Table 9: corrections in Treble book, ff. 90<sup>r</sup>–100<sup>v</sup>**

The scribe sometimes uses another method of changing a semibreve into a breve, by writing a figure '2' below it rather than by altering its shape (see the end of the eighth stave on f. 8<sup>r</sup> of the Contratenor book). A very unusual extension of this practice occurs in the same book on the eighth stave of f. 19<sup>v</sup>, where a figure '8' is written beneath a rather elongated long to make clear that the note is in fact a large. The first few pages of the Contratenor book also contain examples of a flat moved from the D space to the B space (f. 8<sup>v</sup>, stave 3) and a corrected direct (f. 9<sup>v</sup>, stave 4).

There are about 180 corrected mistakes in the incomplete Treble book. Since this book must originally have had about 124 folios containing music, the 94 surviving folios represent about three quarters of the total; we may therefore estimate the original number of corrections in the complete book at (180 x 1.33) or about 240. This suggests a total of rather more than one thousand corrected mistakes in all four surviving partbooks, or about twelve hundred in the original set of five, which does not exactly imply indifference on the part of the scribe. The question of whether or not *Ph* was ever used for performance (an issue raised by several writers and discussed in Section IV—1 below) must be decided with reference to other types of evidence than the mere presence of uncorrected errors; if these are to be held to preclude practical use, we have inherited a remarkably large number of useless manuscripts.

## II—10: THE SCRIBE'S ATTITUDE TO HIS EXEMPLARS

My impression of the Peterhouse copyist is of a man who (making due allowance for differences in format, layout and dimensions) followed the substance of his exemplars very faithfully unless there were good reasons not to do so. This impression has been formed during the palaeographical study whose conclusions occupy this chapter, and it has been influenced by many different types of evidence. Fortunately, the scribe has left one item of direct evidence to substantiate what might otherwise seem to be no more than a vague hunch.

The last six staves of f. 31<sup>r</sup> of the Contratenor book contain the beginning of the Mean voice of the Gloria of Taverner's Mass *Mater Christi*, which the scribe abandoned on discovering that he was copying the wrong voice into this book. It is illuminating to compare this version with that in the Mean book itself, because (since they must represent two copies from the same original) the two versions offer an opportunity of testing the scribe's accuracy and fidelity. Both copies are given as Illustration 20, that in the Mean book (a) preceding that in the Contratenor book (b). The two copies are very much alike, the differences being:

1. stave 1: (a) finishes a note and a syllable earlier than (b) and two tails point in the opposite direction; (a) has 'hominibus' while (b) has 'hominibus';
2. stave 2: (a) finishes a note and a syllable earlier than (b) and correctly has a minim instead of a semibreve above 'bi'; (a) has 'Gratias' whereas (b) has 'gratias';
3. stave 3: one tail points in the opposite direction, the flat and the natural come before different notes and the sharp is not in (b); (a) has 'Domine Deus' while (b) has 'Domine Deus';
4. stave 4: one tail points in the opposite direction; (a) has 'Domine' and (b) has 'Domine';
5. stave 5: (a) finishes a note earlier than (b) and the 'i' comes under a different note; one tail points in the other direction;
6. stave 6: (a) finishes four notes later than (b).

If we isolate changes in style from changes of substance we are left with three significant variants: the incorrect semibreve on the second stave of (II); the sharp missing from the third stave of (II); and the different underlay at 'Dei'. Since the first two of these would probably have disappeared if (II) had been checked (obviously the scribe did not bother to do this), there is only one major divergence, and this concerns the placing of a syllable rather than the music. This suggests that while the scribe allowed himself freedom in the details of copying (deciding how many notes to put on a stave, choosing when and how to contract words, etc.) he sought to preserve the essential features of the music and underlay.

The two complete copies of Tallis's *Salve intemerata* cannot be used as a second test of the scribe's fidelity because they must come from different exemplars. There are many substantial differences between them, and the copyist would surely have recognised an exemplar from which he had already worked, whereas he might not have recognised the same piece in a different exemplar.



(a)

(b)

Illustration 20: two copies of the same music  
 (a) Mean book, f. 25<sup>v</sup>, staves 6–9 and f. 26<sup>r</sup>, staves 1–2  
 (b) Contratenor book, f. 31<sup>r</sup>, staves 4–9

## II—11: THE WATERMARKS

The four watermarks in *Ph* were mentioned and illustrated in Section II—1 (see Illustration 4). The first of them, A, appears only in the original flyleaves. It consists of a pot surmounted by a crown with five jewels, with a four-petalled *fleuron* above the middle jewel; the pot consists of a lid, a body divided into six horizontal bands, a foot with two compartments, and a handle to the left which has a three-petalled *fleuron* at its top; in the second compartment of the pot (counting upwards) are two letters, the initials of the paper-maker, which could be PC or PO (Pierre Ollivier?). Briquet<sup>21</sup> and Heawood<sup>22</sup> have no exact duplicates of this mark, although Briquet's no. 12668 comes very close; the two pots are exactly the same size and have the chain in the same place, and the only difference is that Briquet's pot bears no letters (which could be because they were invisible in his sample). Of the group of marks to which this example belongs Briquet writes:

Les 12.660 à 12.671 constituent un groupe assez homogène dans lequel le pot à couvercle, d'assez grande dimension, est surmonté d'une couronne, habituellement fleuronée. Les papiers ainsi marqués ressortissent au nord-est de la France, mais plutôt à la Normandie qu'à la Champagne.<sup>23</sup>

Briquet dates his two samples to the years 1542 and 1544 and gives the size of the paper as 30 x 42 cm. (all his dimensions are for half-sheets). In Heawood's collection only two examples merit consideration, nos 3551 and 3577, but there are several serious discrepancies: the number of horizontal bands varies; the letters are absent or different; and the marks are tied between two chains. Heawood describes his samples of these two marks as 'London, 1589' and 'England, early 1600s' respectively; he means, of course, that he found them in England, not that they were made here. Elsewhere he writes that:

... much paper continued to come in from Normandy and other parts of northern and central France, where the Pot, Hand-and-Star, and Grapes, were still favourite marks.<sup>24</sup>

Illustration 21 shows Peterhouse watermark A, Briquet's no. 12668 and Heawood's nos 3551 and 3577.

The second Peterhouse watermark, B, occurs in the first twenty folios of each book. It is a much simpler pot, the lid having a central knob surmounted by a cross, the body consisting of only two compartments and the foot being undivided; it is tied between two chains. Briquet's no. 12502 is almost identical to this, and there are several other closely corresponding marks in the group from which this example comes. Of this group Briquet writes:

La distribution géographique du papier ainsi marqué, ne laisse pas de doute sur la nationalité française, sûrement champenoise.<sup>25</sup>

Briquet dates his sample of no. 12502 to 1533 and gives the size of the paper as 30.5 x 43 cm. Heawood's collection does not include any pots closely resembling this one. Illustration 22 shows Peterhouse watermark B and Briquet's nos 12502 and 12503 (the latter dates from 1534).

<sup>21</sup> C. M. Briquet, *Les filigranes: dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600. A facsimile of the 1907 edition with supplementary material contributed by a number of scholars*, ed. A. Stevenson (Amsterdam, 1968).

<sup>22</sup> E. Heawood, *Watermarks: mainly of the 17th and 18th centuries*, Monumenta chartae papyraceae historiam illustrantia, vol. 1 (Hilversum, 1950).

<sup>23</sup> Briquet, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 626.

<sup>24</sup> Heawood, op. cit., p. 26.

<sup>25</sup> Briquet, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 625.

The third Peterhouse watermark, C, occurs through the fourth to eleventh gatherings of each book. It consists of a Catherine-wheel with six spokes and teeth, surmounted by a stalk with three oak leaves springing from the top; this mark is also tied between two chains. There is no near equivalent in Briquet's collection, the closest approach probably being his no. 13526 which, however, has the letters MG above the wheel. According to Briquet the large class of watermarks from which this example comes is associated with central France, particularly with the Auvergne, and is characterised by a multiplicity of initials.<sup>26</sup> His samples of no. 13526 range in date from 1512 to 1525 and occur in paper measuring 29 x 43 cm. One of Heawood's examples, no. 4024, is much closer to the Peterhouse mark than are any of Briquet's; it would, in fact, be a duplicate were it not so roughly drawn. Heawood took this example from the Beazeley Collection in the British Library. The Beazeley Collection consists of watermarks from documents in the Dean and Chapter Library at Canterbury; there are two volumes of tracings (Add. MSS 38637–8) and four volumes of notes (Add. MSS 38639–42). Heawood's no. 4024 turns out to be based on Beazeley's tracings nos 245 and 246, which actually resemble our watermark C even more closely than Heawood's copy does. According to Beazeley's notes,<sup>27</sup> these tracings were taken from Dean and Chapter Archives, Chartae Antiquae Z 209, nos 117 and 118, dating from 1544; the paper measured 16.375 x 22.75 inches or about 41.6 x 58 cm. One of these sheets folded twice would produce four folios almost exactly the size of those in *Ph* (this point is resumed in Section IV—3). Illustration 23 shows Peterhouse watermark C, Briquet's no. 13526 and Heawood's no. 4024.

The fourth Peterhouse watermark, D, occurs in the remaining gatherings and also in the insertions in the eleventh gatherings in the Mean and Bass books. It consists of a shield charged with three *fleurs-de-lis* above diagonal bands; above the shield is a five-jewelled crown surmounted by a four-petalled *fleuron*, and below it are the initials IP. This mark is one of a group using the arms of the important paper-making town of Troyes, of which Briquet writes:

L'abondance et la grande diffusion du papier aux armes de Troyes prouve l'importance des papeteries de cette ville. Cette marque était-elle la propriété d'un seul battoir? Cela paraît peu probable; malheureusement les lettres appendue à l'écu des 1048 à 1053 sont peu distinctes et ne permettent pas de donner à la question une solution satisfaisante.<sup>28</sup>

Of Briquet's examples, no. 1048 is a duplicate of the Peterhouse mark; Briquet's dates for his samples of this mark range from 1524 to 1549 and he gives the size of the paper as 30 x 42 cm. There are no examples of this mark in Heawood's collection. Illustration 24 shows Peterhouse watermark D and Briquet's no. 1048.

This information is summarised in Table 10.

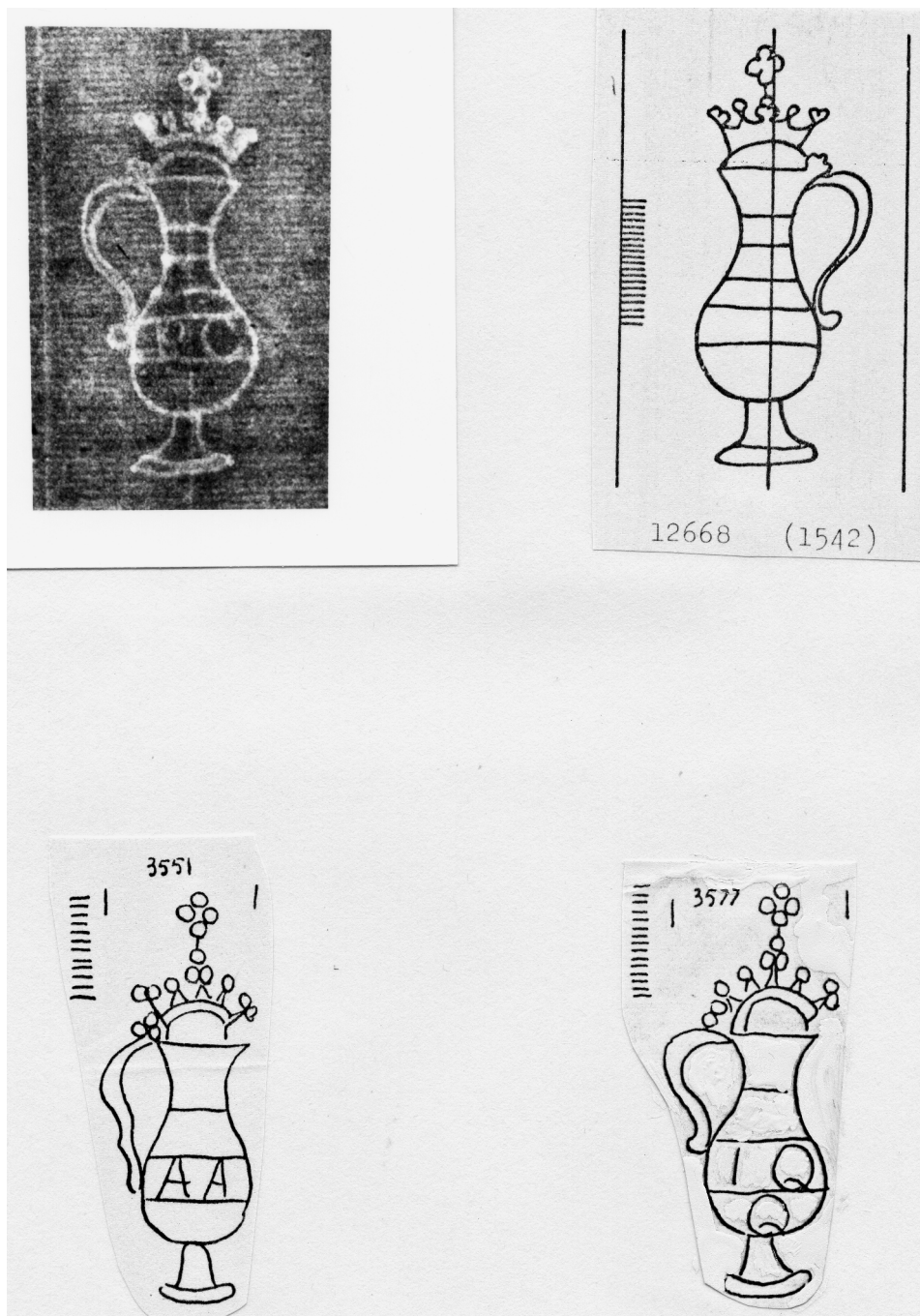
<i>Ph</i> wmk.	Used in	Nearest equivalent	Date of samples	Provenance of samples
A	flyleaves	Briquet 12668	1542–4	France
B	gatherings I–III	Briquet 12502	1533	France
C	gatherings IV–XI	Heawood 4024	1544	France, Canterbury
D	gatherings XII–end	Briquet 1048	1524–49	France

**Table 10: the Peterhouse watermarks**

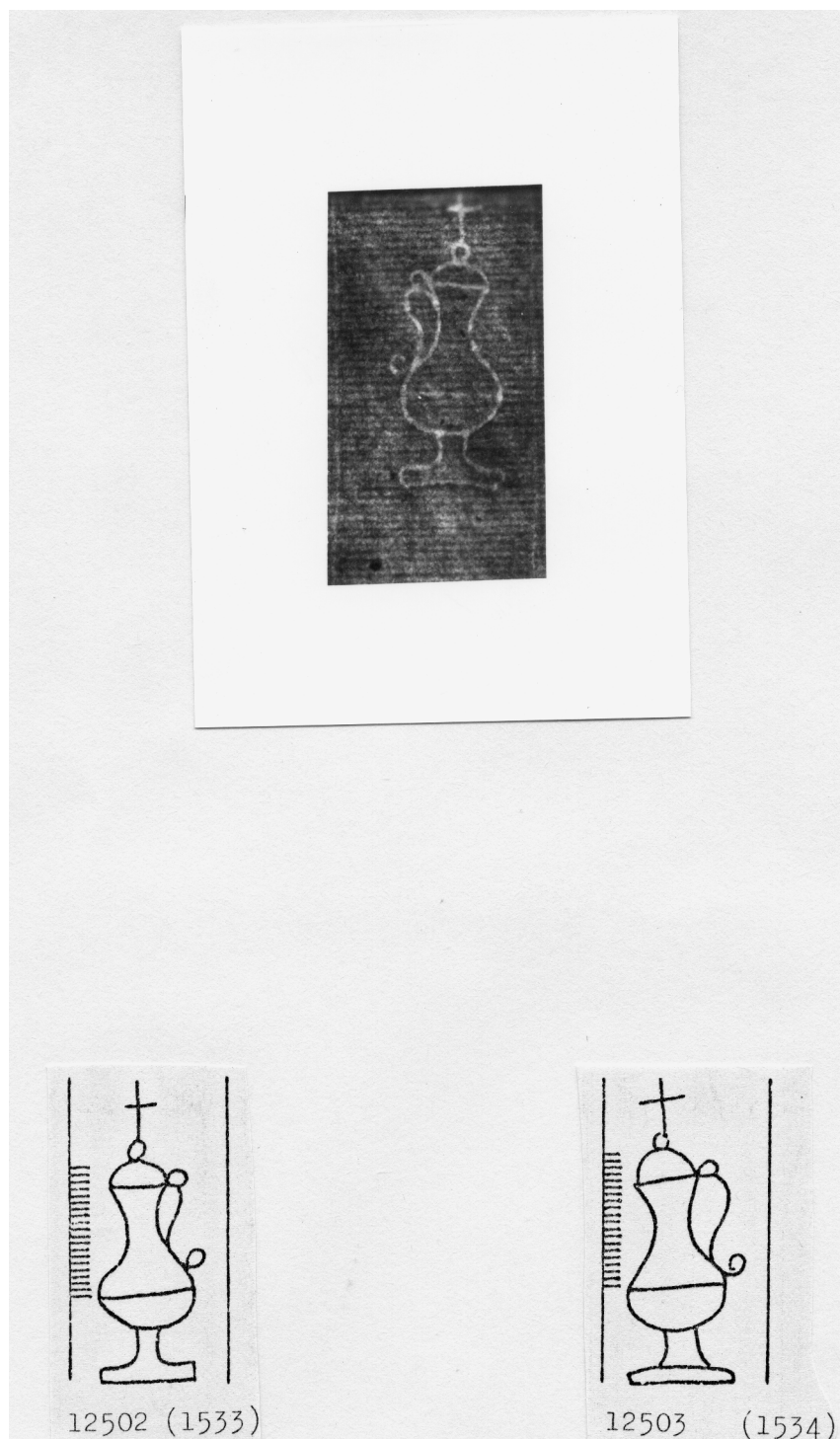
<sup>26</sup> Briquet, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 657.

<sup>27</sup> In Add. MS 38642.

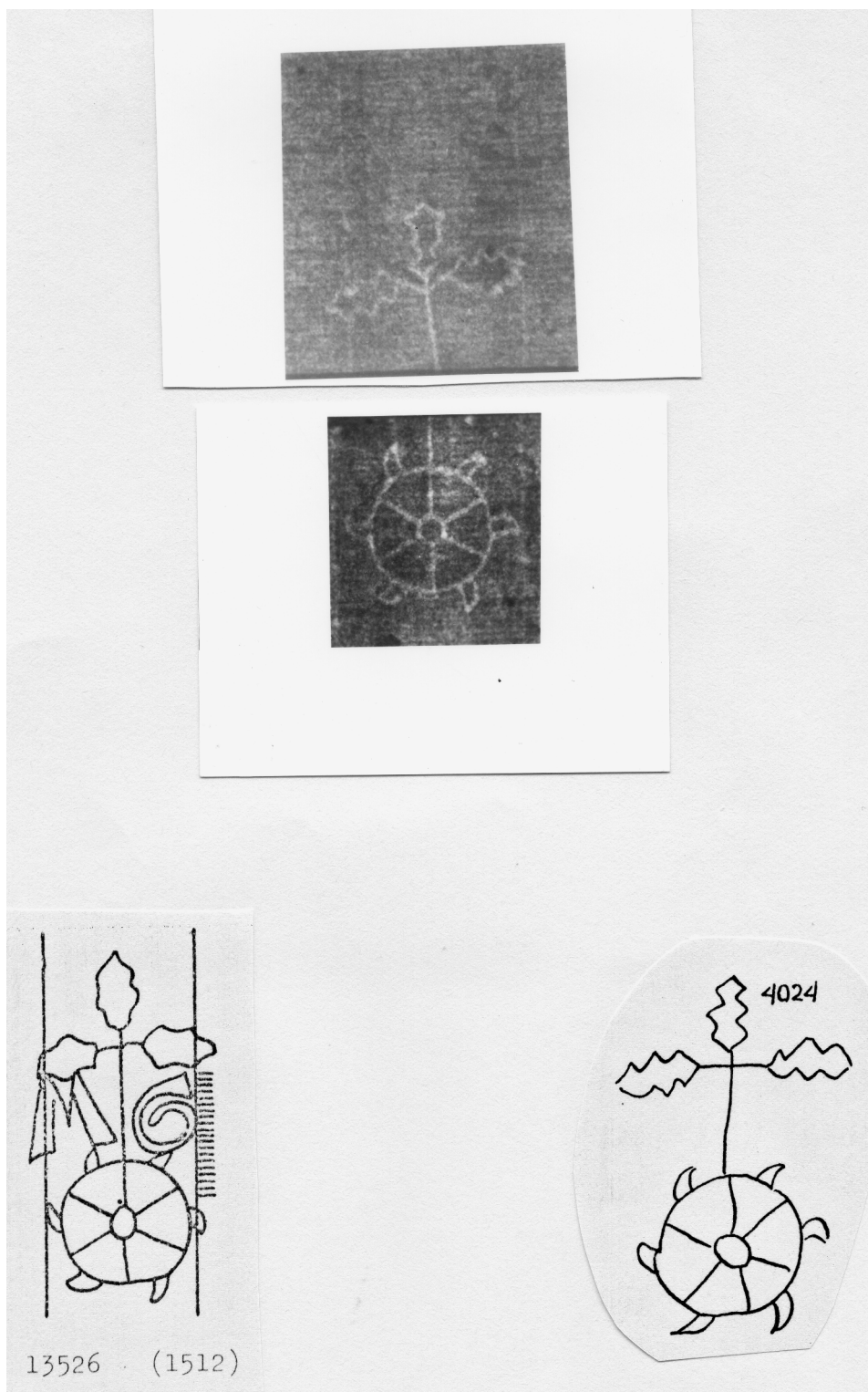
<sup>28</sup> Briquet, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 87.



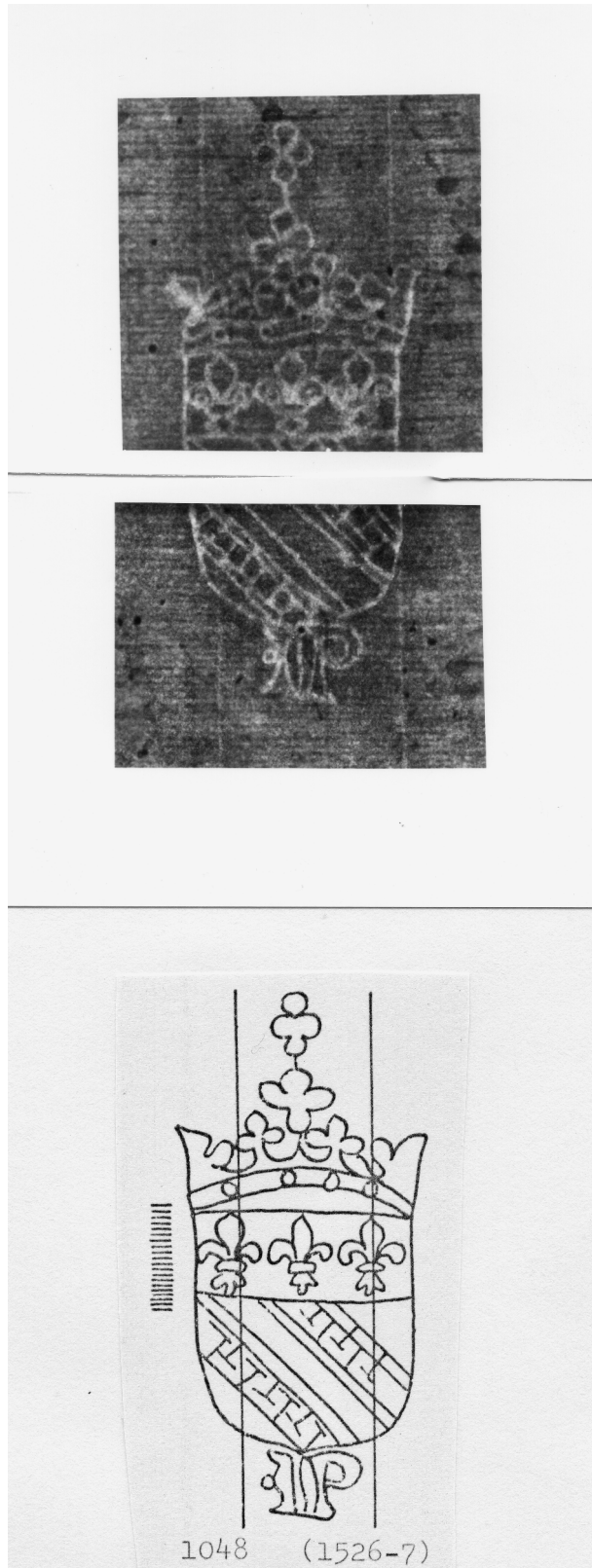
**Illustration 21: Peterhouse watermark A,  
Briquet's no. 12668 and Heawood's nos 3551 and 3577.**



**Illustration 22: Peterhouse watermark B  
and Briquet's nos 12502 and 12503**



**Illustration 23: Peterhouse watermark C,  
Briquet's no. 13526 and Heawood's no. 4024**



**Illustration 24: Peterhouse watermark D  
and Briquet's no. 1048**

## II—12: GROUPINGS IN *Ph*

In my RMA paper<sup>29</sup> I suggested that certain features of *Ph*, especially the various kinds of grouping that it preserves, might yield information about the nature and organisation of the scribe's exemplars. This has turned out to be true, though to a lesser extent than I had hoped. There can be no doubt that several types of group or layer exist in *Ph*; the problems begin when one tries to assess their relative importance and to decide exactly what they imply. Which of them, if any, reflect the structure of an exemplar rather than the habits and preferences of the copyist of *Ph*? Among the criteria that can be used to identify groups are: the function of a composition; the identity of the composer; the existence and number of concordances; the existence of other settings of the text; the scoring; the musical style; the presence and type of heading in *Ph*; the reliability of the copy in *Ph*; and various other features of *Ph* itself. Much of the information discussed below is summarised in Table 12 at the end of this Section.

Most of the works in *Ph* fall into one of the three major functional categories of early Tudor sacred polyphony: the Mass; the votive antiphon; and the Magnificat. This classification can be used to reveal several groups. The first fifteen items are all antiphons (though Mason's *O rex gloriose* is probably ritual rather than votive); nos 27–32 are Masses (there would have been seven of them if the scribe had gone on with Aston's Mass *Te matrem*); nos 51–53 are Magnificats; and nos. 64–71 are antiphons. There are also smaller groups, such as the pair of Masses by Taverner (nos 22 and 23), and larger groups with some internal disruption (for example, nos 59–63 consist of two pairs of Masses separated by an antiphon and nos 27–34 comprise a sequence of seven Masses broken by a ritual antiphon). It is at least possible that some of these groupings reflect exemplars devoted to a particular genre of composition, such as we know to have existed.

Several composer groups are immediately noticeable: pairs of works by Taverner (nos 1–2, 22–23 and 64–65), Fayrfax (nos 7 and 8), Mason (nos 19 and 20) and Ludford (nos 57 and 58); groups of three by Fayrfax (nos 29–31) and Aston (nos 67–69); a group of four by Fayrfax (nos 53–56); and a group of five by Taverner (nos 36–40). There are also groups of pieces by pairs of composers, such as nos 53–60 by Fayrfax and Ludford. Such groupings may possibly have been taken straight out of other manuscripts, although they could represent the scribe working from several sources to assemble sequences of works by certain composers.

The division between widely-circulated works and those which are *unica* or which exist only in a single concordance produces some very striking groups. nos 1–3, 10–15, 17–19, 23–25, 40–44, 46–48, 50–52, 57–58, 60–61, 63–65, 67–68 and 70–72 are all groups of *unica* which become even more imposing when expanded to include pieces surviving in only one other source. Although it is obviously an over-simplification, it is broadly true that early Tudor composers of sacred polyphony were of two kinds: those whose music was extremely widely disseminated; and those whose music does not seem to have travelled outside a very small area (if, indeed, it travelled beyond the institutions for which they worked). Fayrfax, Ludford, Taverner, Pygott, Aston and Tallis clearly belong to the first category, and people like Catcott, Chamberlayne and Edwarde belong to the second. It is therefore possible that a very large group of *unica* or poorly-circulated works may represent the contents of a source devoted to the minor 'house' composers of a particular establishment; this point is taken up again in Section IV—2.

Groups of settings of texts that are otherwise unknown or hardly known could also reflect exemplars containing the personal and peculiar repertory of a particular institution. There are several such groups in *Ph*: nos 7–8, 12–14, 17–20, 35–38, 49–50, 56–57 and 64–68 have texts which are not otherwise known to have been set in polyphony, and some of them could have been occasioned by the needs of a single establishment.

Groups of compositions with unusual scoring could reflect either the structure of an exemplar, or the requirements of the copyist's choir, or both. There are two groups of this kind in *Ph*: nos 19–21 for 'men' (to quote the indexes); and nos 41–44 without trebles. There may have been other such works at each end of the collection, but the loss of the treble parts makes it impossible to be sure.

<sup>29</sup> *SandonH*, pp. 108 and 132–3.



Musical style may be considered too impalpable a quality to permit useful categorisation, but there are enough readily observable features in the Peterhouse compositions to allow an uncontroversial classification to be made, in the present context at least. I have in mind such features as the exclusive employment of duple metre (sometimes with short passages of metrical contrast, as in Taverner's Masses nos 22, 23 and 39), and compositions on a much smaller scale than had been usual before the later 1520s. These characteristics may be accompanied by others that would demand more thorough demonstration (for example, a plainer melodic and rhythmic style, closer attention to word setting, and a more highly developed grasp of the structural potential of imitation), but by themselves they are indicative enough of 'modern' tendencies. There are several modern groupings of this type in *Ph*: nos 1–3, 21–25, 36–37, 41–45 and 64–65.

Certain compositions in *Ph* are given page headings, which may be either the composer's surname, or the title or incipit of the piece (a few have both). There is a large measure of agreement between the books as to which works have these headings and as to the forms that the headings take (see Table 11). Since the Peterhouse scribe gives the impression of having copied everything of importance from his exemplars, it is possible that these headings were also present in some of them; the presence or absence of headings and the forms that they take could therefore indicate recourse to different exemplar manuscripts. The main groupings are these: nos 1–16 are mainly headed by the composers' names; nos 18–21 and 23–32 mostly have the title or incipit of the work; nos 36–41 and 45–47 have composers' names; and nos 60, 62–63 and 72 have titles.

1	—	T	N	N	25	T	N	T	T	49
2	—	T	N	N	26	NT	NT	NT	T	50
3	—	N	N		*27	T	T	T	T	51
4	—	N	N	N	*28	T	T	T	T	52
5	—	N	N	N	*29	T	T		T	53
6	—	N	N	N	*30	T	T	T	T	54
7	—	N	N	N	*31	T	T	T	T	55
8	—	N	N	N	*32	T	T	T	T	56
9	—	N	N	N	33					57
10	—	N	N	N	*34					58
11	—	N	N	N	35					*59
12	N	N	N	N	36	N	N	N	N	*60 T T T T
13	N	N	N	N	37	N	N	N	N	61
14	N	N	N	N	38	N	N	N	N	*62 T T T T
15	N	N	N	N	*39	N	N	N	N	*63 T T T T
*16	N	N	N	N	40	N	N	N	N	64 —
17		T	N		41	N	N		N	65 —
18	T	T	T	T	42					66 —
19	T	T	T	T	*43					67 —
20	T	T	T	T	*44					68 —
21	T	T	T	T	45	N	N	N	N	69 —
*22	N	N			46	N	N	N	N	70 —
*23	T	NT	T		47	N	N	N	N	71 —
24	T	N	NT	T	*48					*72 — T T T

N = composer's name    T = title or text incipit    \* = Mass    — = pages missing

**Table 11: headings in *Ph***

In Section II—9 I suggested that the Peterhouse scribe was at least as accurate as most professional copyists of his period. If this be accepted, the existence in *Ph* of groups of works with particularly small or large numbers of mistakes may become significant, because it may indicate the use of exemplars of varying degrees of reliability. If we fix arbitrary limits for ‘reliability’, say one error or less per movement in music lacking two voices and two errors or less per movement in music lacking one voice, certain pieces do emerge as being particularly trustworthy: nos 1, 3, 10, 15, 18, 19, 21, 23–25, 27, 36, 37, 40, 44, 50, 51, 57, 58, 60–62, 64, 65 and 70 (to list only those included in Table 7) come into this category, and this could possibly suggest that the Peterhouse copies were made at a very early stage in the transmission of these pieces. Conversely the copies of some compositions (nos 35, 45 and 48, for example) contain an unusually large number of errors, which might suggest remoteness from the original.

The sources from which *Ph* was copied may have left their mark on the collection in other ways. The stages at which different types of paper were added (and the amounts that were added) could reflect the stages at which new material became available to the copyist (and how much of it there was). A detailed study of the notation differentiating notational styles might help to distinguish one exemplar from another. My suspicion is that *Ph* was copied from quite a large number of different sources, perhaps as many as twelve or fifteen, and that these ranged in type and status from large-scale professionally copied choirbooks to more humble working copies, some of which may even have emanated from the composers themselves.<sup>30</sup> There is material for an extensive study here, and I would not care to predict the results that might emerge. Some of the suggestions made in Chapter IV complicate the matter still further. Table 12 summarises the major evidence for possible groupings in *Ph*.

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<sup>30</sup> I am quite sure that *Ph* cannot have been copied entirely from a single source. Such a source could perhaps have had the many-layered character of *Ph*, but in the unlikely case of it containing two copies of Aston’s *Te deum* Mass and Tallis’s *Salve intemerata* the Peterhouse scribe would have been unlikely to copy both versions of both pieces.

No.	Function	Composer	Concordances	Unique text	Scoring	Modern	Heading	Errors
1	VA	Taverner	U			X	N	-
2	VA	Taverner	U			X	N	
3	RA		U		men	X	N	-
4	VA		8				N	
5	VA		1				N	
6	VA		1				N	
7	VA	Fayrfax	2	X			N	
8	VA	Fayrfax	4	X			N	
9	VA		1				N	
10	VA	†	U	X		X	N	-
11	VA		U				N	
12	VA		U	X		X	N	
13	VA		U	X			N	
14	VA		U	X			N	
15	VA		U			X	N	-
16	M		2				N	
17	?	†	U	X				
18	VA		U	X		X	T	-
19	VA	Mason	U	X	men		T	-
20	VA	Mason	1	X	men		T	
21	VA	†	U		men	X	T	-
22	M	Taverner	8		means	X		
23	M	Taverner	U			X	T	-
24	VA	†	U	X		X	T	-
25	VA		U			X	T	-
26	VA		14				T	
27	M		1				T	
28	M		1			X	T	
29	M	Fayrfax	3				T	
30	M	Fayrfax	3				T	
31	M	Fayrfax	4				T	
32	M		1				T	
33	RA		U					
34	M		1					
35	VA		22	X				+
36	VA	Taverner	9	X		X	N	-
37	VA	Taverner	1	X		X	N	-
38	VA	Taverner	19	X			N	
39	M	Taverner	3			X	N	
40	E	Taverner	U				N	-
41	E	†	U		means	X	N	
42		†	U	X	means	X		
43	M	†	U		means	X		
44	M		U		means	X		-
45	VA		1			X	N	+
46	VA		U				N	
47	E		U				N	
48	M		U					
49	VA		22	X				+
50	VA		U	X				-
51	E		U					-

52	E		U					
53	E	Fayrfax	6					
54	VA	Fayrfax	5	X				
55	E	Fayrfax	10					
56	VA	Fayrfax	4	X				
57	VA	Ludford	U	X				–
58	VA	Ludford	U					–
59	M	Fayrfax	5					
60	M	Ludford	U				T	–
61	VA	†	U					–
62	M		1				T	–
63	M		U				T	
64	VA	Taverner	U	X		X		–
65	VA	Taverner	U			X		–
66	VA		8	X				
67	VA	Aston	U	X				
68	VA	Aston	U	X				
69	VA	Aston	3					
70	VA	†	U	X		X		–
71	VA	†	U	X				
72	M	†	U				T	

**Function:** E = Magnificat; M = Mass; RA = ritual antiphon; VA = votive antiphon; ? = uncertain.

**Composer:** † = not represented in other MSS.

**Concordances:** numbers = how many; U = *unicum*.

**Unique text:** not otherwise known to have been set in England before the reformation.

**Scoring:** men = no treble or mean; means = no treble.

**Modern:** modern stylistic features.

**Ph heading:** N = predominantly composer's name; T = predominantly title or incipit.

**Errors:** + = unusually many; – = unusually few.

**Table 12: possible groupings in *Ph***

## II—13: THE RELATIONSHIP OF *Ph* TO OTHER ENGLISH SOURCES

I have hardly begun to work on this subject except in the most superficial way. One can reveal a pattern of a sort simply by tabulating the numbers of works shared between *Ph* and the thirty-six concordant sources; in Diagram 4 these sources are listed by the numbers given to them in Chapter VII. Presented in such a bald fashion this information is not particularly useful; in any case, it needs to be assessed in conjunction with other data, such as the amount of detailed correspondence between the various versions of a composition.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	
12																																				X	
11																																					X
10																																					X
9																																					X
8		X																																		X	
7		X		X						X			X	X	X		X	X		X	X															X	
6		X	X	X						X			X	X	X		X	X		X	X			X		X					X	X	X			X	
5		X	X	X						X			X	X	X	X	X		X	X			X		X					X	X	X			X	X	
4		X	X	X						X			X	X	X	X	X		X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X			X	X
3		X	X	X						X			X	X	X	X	X		X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X			X	X
2	X	X	X	X	X					X	X		X	X	X	X	X		X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X			X	X
1	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

(horizontal column = source number; vertical column = number of concordances with *Ph*)

**Diagram 4: concordances between *Ph* and other sources**

If we omit Elizabethan and Jacobean collections of extracts and instrumental transcriptions there remain twelve manuscripts having five or more concordances with *Ph*: nos 35 (twelve concordances); 2 (eight); 5, 15, 17, 20, 25 and 33 (seven); 3, 29 and 32 (six); and 26 (five). This is fairly predictable: 2, 15 and 17 are working collections probably compiled some ten to fifteen years before *Ph*; 3 and 20 are two major early sources for the music of Fayrfax and Ludford; 26 is an important collection of Tudor Masses; and 5, 25, 29, 32 and 33 are voluminous Elizabethan and early Jacobean collections with a distinct antiquarian bias. Perhaps the most interesting connection is with source 35, Tenbury MS 1464, a Bass book of apparently unknown provenance and uncertain date; I would imagine that Fellowes's suggestion 'about 1575' cannot be wide of the mark,<sup>31</sup> though Hofman considers the manuscript to be later and written 'in an archaic style' (perhaps a gratuitous complication).<sup>32</sup> The most striking fact about Tenbury 1464 is that all twelve of its concordances with *Ph* come in a group of only seventeen compositions forming a harmonious group (by their period and function) in the middle of the book. There is, therefore, the possibility of a fairly close connection between *Ph* and this section of 35.

The possibility is strengthened by the similarities between certain of the readings in *Ph* and 35. For example, a comparison of the bass part of Fayrfax's *Aeternae laudis lilium* as transmitted by *Ph*, 2, 6, 20 and 35 showed that in at least five cases 35 corresponded with *Ph* when a majority of the other sources diverged from it. There are also very few discrepancies between *Ph* and 35 in their versions of Taverner's *Small devotion* Mass and Tallis's Mass *Salve intemerata*. On the other hand, their readings in Fayrfax's *O Maria deo grata* and *Lauda vivi* frequently diverge from each other; this might simply indicate their greater distance from the original.

<sup>31</sup> *TCM*, Appendix, p. 8.

<sup>32</sup> Hofman, op. cit., p. 92.

In terms of date, the sources most likely to be closely related to *Ph* would seem to be 2, 15 and 17; in fact, however, there are many differences between these and *Ph* in their transmission of *O Maria deo grata*, *Lauda vivi*, Pygott's Mass *Veni sancte spiritus* and his *Salve regina*, Jones's Mass *Spes nostra*, Ludford's *Salve regina* and Pashe's *Sancta Maria*; reference to the Critical Commentaries in Chapter VII will confirm this, and will show that it is *Ph* that tends to be the odd man out. This seems often to be the case with *Ph*, even to the extent that it offers a completely different setting of, a sizeable passage in Fayrfax's Mass *Tecum principium*;<sup>33</sup> one would very much like to know whether this was a revision by the composer himself.

If *Ph* does not seem to be closely related to any truly contemporary surviving source, neither does it appear to have been consulted by the major Elizabethan and Jacobean anthologists. To a great extent it stands alone, probably because the sources from which it was copied perished, while it itself became inaccessible to copyists fairly soon after being completed. The only immediately obvious possibility of a close relationship is with Tenbury 1464; a close study of this manuscript is a priority and could be rewarding. Even more urgent is a stemmatic study of the whole manuscript corpus to complement Hofman's work on the more superficial aspects of Tudor and Jacobean sources.

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<sup>33</sup> The two versions of this passage are printed in CMM, vol. 17, part 1, pp. 141–2 and 172–3. The *Ph* reading also occurs in source 25.