THE YORK MASSES

Edited by Lisa Colton

In association with

YORK EARLY MUSIC FOUNDATION

THE UNIVERSITY OF YORK

The Selden Foundation
THE YORK MASSES

Edited by Lisa Colton

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The York Masses: An Introduction

Source

The manuscript that contains this repertory (York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, MS Mus 1) is a series of 22 paper leaves, most of which contain musical notation typical of the period c.1500. All the pieces within the collection are unique to it, and many of them are fragmentary. Since its description in Music and Letters in 1954,¹ the collection has been known as the York Masses, on account of its current provenance and because all the pieces within it are settings of the Ordinary of the Mass (Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Benedictus, Agnus Dei). At least half of the original contents are now missing; the leaves were used as paste downs in the binding of Consistory Court documents in the 1560s, and were trimmed for that purpose. As a result, the edges of the leaves have been damaged, sometimes losing details of clefs, part identification, mensuration markings, ‘key’ signatures or musical lines. Further damage has resulted in the loss of larger sections of the leaves. Until now, no published edition of the collection as a whole has been available.²

The York Masses were first identified by Canon J. S. Purvis of York Minster, and his findings were recorded by Edmund Fellowes in the supplement to the Tudor Church Music series.³ Following examination by Hugh Baillie and Philippe Oboussier for the article in Music and Letters, the pages were rearranged and stitched into the order in which they can presently be found. The earliest attempts at the transcription of these leaves were captured in the reminiscence of Philippe Oboussier:

I suppose it was in the winter of 1952 that Hugh Baillie and I spent a freezing week or more in York – in an even colder part of the cathedral – trying to work out transcriptions of these folios. We had a room opposite the West End and having fed all our pennies into the gas meter, sought warmer sojourn in a hostelry along the road… [The Old Starre Inn]. Hugh was at Corpus Christi College and I at King’s and Bob (Thurston) Dart was our mentor.⁴

The manuscript is clearly written, in brown ink on pre-ruled brown staves, and all the leaves are made of paper whose watermarks date them to the late fifteenth century.⁵ The dimensions of the written space vary a little through the collection, and account for some of the apparent difference in handwriting. With the exception of the opening

³ Edmund H. Fellowes, Tudor Church Music: Appendix with Supplementary Notes (London, 1948), 12, where they are referred to as the ‘York Diocesan Registrar’s MS’.
⁴ Personal correspondence (6 March 1998).
⁵ A description of the watermarks can be found in Dover, ‘A Transcription and Historical Study’.
piece, where all three notated parts are preserved on a single side, and Mass VI, a uniform *cantus collateralis* layout may be observed. Most of the movements are copied within a ruled frame, containing ten staves approximately 18mm in height. The exception is Mass V, which is copied onto pages with thirteen, 15mm-high staves. Upper and lower voices on each page are usually separated by a blank stave. Folio 11v has ruled staves but no music. Most movements take up two page openings, and parts are carefully written out so that page-turns do not interrupt a section of polyphony. For the *alternatim* settings, only the polyphonic sections are notated, as was the standard practice.

There is clear evidence that the book was in use by musicians, rather than being a ‘presentation’ or library copy, not least the modest appearance of the source in comparison with highly illuminated contemporary examples. Corrections have been made to the scribe’s original work, either by him or by later singers, in a number of places. These comprise crossings out, new paper glued over the original stave, and annotations to direct singers in the accuracy of their performance. Most of the notation is black void, with black full coloration used in several movements; there is no use of red ink. In a number of cases, Arabic numerals added at the time of copying, or by the singers, clarify the rhythmic relationships of notes within ligatures, rests, and in passages of coloration.

**Provenance**

When the York Masses were described by Hugh Baillie and Philippe Oboussier, the authors proposed various locations for the origin of the source and its contents. On the basis of the two composers named within the leaves, the most likely were considered to be Lincoln (where William Horwood, d. 1484, lived and worked) and London (where Horwood also worked and where a composer by the name of John Cook, d. 1507, was recorded as a Master of the Guild of St Nicholas). Regardless of the origin of the music’s composition, however, the leaves themselves appear to have remained in York until their use as binding material in a book of Consistory Court acts in the 1560s. It is plausible that they were once part of a choirbook used in one of York’s own churches. York’s city walls enclosed a diverse range of establishments, from monastic houses to parish churches, and from tiny chantry chapels to York Minster itself. It is perhaps most likely that one of the wealthier of York’s numerous parish churches was responsible for copying or purchase of the collection. The churches of All Saints’ North Street, Holy Cross Fossegate, Holy Trinity King’s Court, St Samson’s, and St Michael’s Spurriergate are all recorded as possessing personnel or music books; the Chapel of St William, Ouse Bridge, also records a parish clerk who was organist, singer and choirmaster. Of the three *cantus firmus* settings to use plainsong, two suggest an origin outside the York Diocese (Mass II and Mass V); Kyrie II sets the trope ‘O rex clemens’, which is found in both Sarum and York rites.

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6 Notably in the Benedictus of Mass V; see the critical commentary for details.
8 The Kyrie trope ‘O rex clemens’ is required as part of the liturgy for several feasts, and is also part of the Use of York. It appears in the fifteenth-century York Gradual on f. 82r–v. See David Hiley ed., *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. Liturg. b. 5* (Ottawa, 1995), f. 82.
Composers

The identities of ‘Horwod’ and ‘Johannes Cuke’ would be key to understanding the date and origin of the manuscript if they could be pinpointed with any certainty. The most convincing identification, for the second Kyrie in the collection, is with William Horwood, a composer whose career was spent in Lincoln and London. Horwood joined the Fraternity of St Nicholas (or London Guild of Parish Clerks) in 1458/9. After a short spell as organist at Lincoln, he moved to the capital until 1476 (he was readmitted to the Guild in 1462/3). During this time he became Dean (or Master) of the London Guild of Parish Clerks (1474/5), but left two years later to take up a modest post as vicar choral at Lincoln. From 29 March 1477, Horwood served as choirmaster and Lady Chapel organist at Lincoln, a post he held until his death. Four five-part Marian works by Horwood survive in the Eton Choirbook (Salve regina, Gaude flore virginali, Gaude virgo mater, Magnificat). The Eton Choirbook was probably copied c.1490–1502, so Horwood’s music was still in circulation in the decades after his death. In some respects, the style of Kyrie II ‘O rex clemens’ is different to that of the Eton pieces. The cantus firmus is found in the tenor line in even semibreves. The second Christe does not contain the cantus firmus in the Tenor, and the line may have been passed to the Bassus at this point. It is possible that the range of the lowest part was roughly equivalent to the Tenor, in the manner of early fifteenth-century scorings; Nicholas Sandon notes that the lowest voices of Horwood’s Salve Regina ‘share the same clef and range, and cross continually like a tenor-contratenor pair’. The part-writing in the Kyrie is at times unsophisticated, with the upper line following the contours of the Tenor closely, sometimes at the octave. There is a playful, quasi-canonic feel to the two freely-composed parts in the first Christe section. In some ways the Kyrie is suggestive of a notated improvisation, and perhaps originated in this manner. If Horwod is identifiable with William Horwood, one can imagine him using this Kyrie to demonstrate ways in which parts might be improvised over a cantus firmus to his choristers.

There are many John Cooks who could provide a candidate for the one to whom Mass V is ascribed. The flourish with which the name is added at the foot of f. 20r contrasts with the bold Gothic script used for Horwod’s surname on f. 1v, and may even provide evidence that Mass V is an autograph (if so, he may have copied the entire collection, which seems to be in a single hand). Hugh Baillie made a convincing connection between Johannes Cuke in the York Masses and a member of the Fraternity of St Nicholas of the same name, recorded in 1501.

Style

The majority of the music in the York Masses is in four parts. The final Gloria-Credo pair, Mass VI, is the only three-part music, resembling the texture of Taverner’s and

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Ludford’s smaller scale music in the early sixteenth century, notably Ludford’s Lady Masses. The modest number of vocal parts in the York Masses may indicate a limited number of trained personnel in the institution that owned the manuscript. The Ritson Manuscript, comprising late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century music, is broadly comparable in terms of the rhythmic demands that its repertoire makes on singers. Like the York Masses, the Ritson Manuscript preserves pieces written down in a functional rather than decorative manner; its compositions are sometimes attributed though others remain anonymous in the source. However, Ritson is richer in terms of the genres represented within the collection (Masses, carols, sacred and secular songs, other liturgical settings), contains music for between two and five parts, and was probably a more substantial volume.

The musical style of movements within the York Masses display something of the variety of compositional techniques cultivated in England in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The Masses are only a consistent collection in terms of their liturgical purpose and general scale. The movements of all the Masses are grouped as pairs or cycles, with the exception of the Kyries that open the collection (there is insufficient material within these to consider whether they were stylistically similar to the Mass cycles that follow them). Mass pairs were popular in England from the early fifteenth century, and the York Masses include movements related by *cantus firmus*, compositional technique (*alternatim*, square), and head-motif.

The Kyrie movements, as well as Masses I and II, require *alternatim* performance, with sections of plainchant used to complete the nine-fold structure of Kyrie (x 3), Christe (x 3), Kyrie (x 3), and to provide the verses of the Gloria and Credo not provided with polyphony. In the present edition, these have been supplied from the Sarum rite, since plainchant *cantus firmus* references in the York Masses mainly reflect this Use. Kyrie I involves the sort of canonic performance popular in England since at least the early fifteenth century (see examples in the Old Hall manuscript, and the Fountains Fragments). It may be considered old-fashioned, for example in comparison with items in the Eton Choirbook ‘in which canon is entirely avoided’. This Kyrie was intended to open the collection: a binder’s mark at the foot of the page (‘A’) indicates the first of a series of quires. The Kyrie is notated in three parts but gives clear instructions for the creation of the fourth – a canon based on each of the upper lines in succession—at the foot of the folio:

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Here are four parts contained in three, and I shall demonstrate to you how you should find the fourth part; and the fourth part is the bass. First seek the bass part in the Triplex in the first part [Kyrie eleison], and afterwards in the second Triplex part of the Christe, and then in the Tenor in the final part [the second Kyrie]. And thus you will find four parts and if you seek well you will always come six [beats] after.  

Mass I ‘Or me veult’ is a Gloria-Credo pair ‘upon the square’, a process by which pre-existent freely composed lines from polyphony were sometimes imported wholesale as the tenor lines to new pieces of music, a process that no doubt provided a helpful foundation for the quick improvisation or composition of new settings. The square ‘Or me veult’ was used in a number of different pieces during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. In his examination of music based on squares, Hugh Baillie listed this tune as ‘K3’. The K3 tune appears to derive from a song found in the Mellon Chansonnier, ‘Or me veult bien esperence mentir’, its English origin being supported by the pieces surrounding the chanson that are in a similar style and ascribed to John Bedyngham and Walter Frye. K3 has also been identified in an anonymous motet, *Ave tota casta virgo* (St Emmeram Codex), as a monophonic item in the ‘Matthew Bible’ (where it appears *Ormavoyt*), as an organ piece entitled *Portugaler* (Büchheimer Orgelbüch), in the Christe section of a Kyrie for three voices by John Taverner (London, British Library, Additional Manuscript 17802–5), in Nicholas Ludford’s ‘Tuesday’ Lady Mass, in a Kyrie for organ, and in a keyboard piece (appears as *Orna vulite*). The York setting may be the earliest to employ it in a Mass Ordinary, since the style seems to predate Ludford’s. Mass I alternates sections of polyphony, some using the square and some freely-composed, with plainchant.

Mass II is based on the rhythmicised version of the plainchant ‘Custodi nos domine’ notated on f.8v of the manuscript. Like Mass I, it is a Gloria-Credo *alternatim* setting; Mass II sets the same verses as Mass I as polyphony in the Credo, but different verse portions in its Gloria. The pairing of Mass movements (especially Gloria-Credo and Sanctus-Agnus) was popular in the early fifteenth century, and several examples may be found in the Old Hall manuscript and contemporaneous sources. Later examples include three pairs in the Ritson Manuscript. The melody ‘Custodi nos domine’ is taken directly from the liturgy, but the source of this rhythmicised version of the tune is unknown; the melody is used in a number of places in the Gloria and the Credo. Notably, it also appears in Mass IV, though not as strictly. The appearance of the *cantus firmus* is often masked by levels of decoration, and the line has been transposed from its presentation on f.8v.

Mass III is fragmentary, and little can be said of its overall style other than that it appears to have been a sonorous four-voice setting with some pleasing melodic writing in imitative passages. It is likely that a Gloria and Credo once preceded the Sanctus, Benedictus and Agnus Dei of Mass IV, and that this was therefore the first ‘complete’ cycle within the manuscript. Mass IV could be described as a parody.

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18 For the original Latin, see the commentary. No further binders’ marks are found in the collection.
20 Baillie, ‘Squares’, 179. Baillie’s list has been expanded in more recent publications.
21 Margaret Bent, ‘The Songs of Dufay: Some Questions on Form and Authenticity’, *Early Music* 8/4 (1980), 459. The Mellon Chansonnier (New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 91) also includes a keyboard piece based on the tune, entitled *Portugaler*.  

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Mass, as elements of its head-motif and points of imitation are borrowed or adapted from Mass II. This includes the use of a decorated form of the ‘Custodi nos domine’ melody. The relationship between the two Masses is perhaps most prominent in the Agnus Dei, for example at bar 87 ‘miserere nobis’, where the head-motif is clearly heard in imitation between two parts over the bass, which draws on the cantus firmus melody.

Mass V, arguably the most ambitious work in the collection, is reminiscent of the style of composers represented in the Eton Choirbook. It is composed with the same care for section lengths and variety of texture as is found in the music of Robert Fayrfax (1464–1521), Thomas Ashwell (c.1478–after 1513) and others.\(^2\) Mass VI, with its plainer style and occasional chordal, declamatory passages, is perhaps the latest work in the collection, reflecting the need for increased perspicuity in text setting at the eve of the Reformation. Other composers of Masses in three parts from this period include Thomas Pack (fl. 1488–99) and Nicholas Ludford (c.1490–1557); and the scale and concise style of the York Mass VI is closer to the music ascribed to the latter of these composers, and has also been compared with that of John Taverner (c.1490–1545).\(^3\)

The music seems to have been copied by a single hand, but the variety of notational style in the manuscript suggest that several exemplars were used, perhaps differing in date of composition by over a decade. If the York Masses were copied on a single occasion, then the singers must have been well versed in both older and more current notational and compositional styles. The inclusion of the opening Kyrie, in a style that certainly predates the copying of the collection, may pay homage to a work that was particularly valued by the copyist or his patrons. The final work in the collection seems to be the most modern, and its unfinished appearance may indicate the end of an incomplete collection of music. Baillie and Oboussier suggested that it was added later than the main copying was undertaken, though this was purely conjectural.\(^4\) In broad terms, the style of the music may span the period c.1480–c.1525, with the copying taking place in the early 1520s. It is difficult to conclude whether the ‘newest’ music in the York Masses reflected up-to-date compositional techniques, or was copied significantly later than its conception.

**Completion**

Completion of missing or damaged sections of music is restricted in this edition to passages within the generally ‘complete’ movements, and all editorial suggestions are listed in the commentary. Singers may wish to compose their own parts to some of the fragmentary movements. Horwod’s Kyrie ‘O rex clemens’ carries the plainsong as a cantus firmus in the outer Kyrie sections; it may be that the Christe sections also contained a part that drew on the appropriate plainchant, though not in the Tenor line. The Benedictus of Mass V, though in a more florid style, lacks its Triplex and Tenor parts, but the remaining two lines may provide a clear enough framework within


which to experiment with the composition of new lines. More difficult would be the completion of the Credo to Mass VI, since the length of the missing section is unknown, and in any case even the sixteenth-century scribe seems to have abandoned its copying.

Suggestions for Performance

The original performing ensemble for the York Masses was most likely to have been a small choir of men and boys, perhaps with only one singer per part. Wealthy churches and chapels were able to support a larger ensemble, reducing the texture to a single voice per part in certain verses, but parish churches would have had to make do with fewer singers on most occasions. The music offers many technical challenges, and a modern-day choir may prefer the security of two or more singers per line. Performance pitch was not standard between different locations in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; singers should be encouraged to find a pitch that suits their ensemble’s vocal capabilities comfortably. The range of the Triplex in the four-part movements of the York Masses would also suit a female soprano voice; the higher of the two inner parts varies between some that are equivalent in range to a modern alto, and others that are in the tenor range. The music should be performed without instrumental accompaniment.

In selecting movements for performance, it is possible to combine the less fragmentary movements in such a way as to assemble a more-or-less complete ‘cycle’. It should be noted that within the context of the liturgy, only the Kyrie and the Gloria would have been performed in succession, without intervening readings or plainsong. Spacing out the remaining movements of the Ordinary with plainchant items or other polyphonic pieces might be a good way to suggest a sense of musical coherence, considering that each Mass was intended for a different day of the liturgical year. An effective series of movements to show a variety of styles would be Kyrie I, a Gloria-Credo pair (either Mass I or Mass II), the Benedictus from Mass IV and the Agnus Dei from Mass V. The Gloria of Mass VI and the Agnus Dei of Mass IV are also effective settings.

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Williamson, Magnus, ‘The Early Tudor Court, the Provinces and the Eton Choirbook’, *Early Music* 25/2 (May, 1997), 229–43.
York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, MS Mus. 1, f. 17v
Editorial method

Three previous editions, all unpublished, have proved invaluable in the preparation of the current edition. Hugh Baillie and Philippe Oboussier edited Kyrie I, Mass I and Mass II in 1952, and their score is available from the BBC archives. Robert Lee edited Kyrie I, Mass II, the Benedictus from Mass IV and the Agnus Dei from Mass V while studying at the University of York; a copy of his score was kindly lent to me by John Bryan. John D. Dover transcribed the entire manuscript as part of his M.Mus. dissertation at King’s College, London. My own edition differs from all of these transcriptions in numerous details but has drawn on their excellent suggestions in several respects, notably in the solution of some musica ficta and the placement of fragmentary sections into the main choral texture. Unless otherwise noted, all editorial decisions and completions are my own.

Note values have all been halved from the original. The original pitch has been retained. Plainchant sections given in this edition, to complete the liturgical texts, are taken from the Use of Salisbury.\(^{25}\) Accidental above the stave are editorial and should not be considered definitive. Accidentals (both original and editorial) apply throughout the bar in accordance with modern. Ambiguities and errors in the music or text are amended tacitly in the edition, but are listed in the commentary. Barring is editorial and is intended only as a guide: performers should avoid stresses based on the placement of bar-lines alone. In an attempt to preserve at least something of the original shapes of individual lines, dashed bar-lines are used rather than anachronistic tied notes where possible.

Text setting takes as close account as possible of the placement of syllables in the manuscript, with the exception of final syllables, which have all been placed on the last note of the phrase. Exceptions are made when points of imitation or rests suggest a plausible alternative to the placement of new syllables. Change of syllable within a ligature has been avoided. Ligatures are marked with square brackets above the notes in the score; coloration (and reverse coloration) is marked with broken square brackets in the score. In several movements, the scribe notated individual syllables more than once during a melisma (e.g. A-a-a-amen); I have only placed them once.

Where parts are labelled in the manuscript, this is shown in the prefatory stave; modern ‘equivalent’ part names are editorial and provided between the prefatory stave and the first system. Vocal part names found within the manuscript are Triplex, secundus Triplex (Kyrie I only), Medius, Tenor and Bassus, but most movements contain no such labelling. Original clefs, ‘key’ signatures and the first pitched note of each vocal line are marked on a prefatory stave in the edition; mensuration marks are indicated above the stave in the edition. missing sections of manuscript are either completed editorially, or indicated by a blank portion of stave; both scenarios are discussed in the commentary. Where a part has rests in the edition, the manuscript gives clear indication that the part should be tacet at that moment.

Critical commentary

Following general observations about the movement, each vocal line is described in turn, with parts numbered from the uppermost (Triplex) down to the bass (Bassus) in Roman numerals. Comments below are made by reference to bars (e.g. 22–25) or, where appropriate, symbols (notes or rests) within a bar (i.e. 22/2 would be the second note/rest in bar 22). Spelling has been regularised in accordance with modern usage.

Four Kyrie settings

Kyrie I (f. 1r)
General comments: This movement is sometimes known as the ‘Puzzle Kyrie’ on account of its canonic bass part. The solution to the ‘puzzle’ is indicated in a Latin rubric at the foot of the page, which refers to the second part as the second Triplex (later movements refer to this line as ‘Medius’):

Hic sunt quattuor partes contentis in tribus et ego demonstrabo vobis quomodo debetis inventis quartam partem et quarta pars est Bassus primo querite in triplice in prima parte et postea in secundam triplice in parte de Christe et tunc in tenor in ultram parte et sic quartas in veniatis partes si bene queratis veniatis sex postea semper.²⁶

I: [Triplex, from rubric]
13/4–5: MS gives D B
26/3: MS gives D

II: [Triplex II, from rubric]
24/2: ‘2’ written underneath the note

III: Tenor

IV: [Bassus, from rubric] Derived from the three upper parts in succession.

Kyrie II [‘O rex clemens’] (f. 1v)
General comments: Both spellings ‘Kyry eleyson’ and ‘Kyry eleyson’ are found interchangeably. The name ‘Horwod’ appears in the centre of the page. Tenor carries Kyrie trope ‘O rex clemens’ as cantus firmus in outer Kyrie sections.

I: 16–22: 10 longa rests indicate part is tacet for this section

II: Missing

III: 24/2: Numeral ‘2’ notated beneath note for rhythmic clarification

IV: Missing

²⁶ For a translation, see page vi.
**Kyrie III (f. 2r)**

General comments: This is very fragmentary, with only the left hand side of folio 2r remaining. Stylistically, this may have been a more rhythmically varied piece in comparison to Kyrie II. The transcription of this movement is made with extreme caution; rests in the Bassus from bar 16 suggest that the Christe section may have been 17 bars long, but there is no further music against which to measure this in the other part.

I: Missing

II: 1: There is no B flat in the signature, but there is a B flat marked at the beginning of the Christe, which might reasonably suggest the use of a flat throughout the movement
   2/1: pitch identifiable, but duration of note unclear
   2/2–14 missing with exception of notes placed here in bars 11 and 12 (conjectural)
   16: Beginning of Christe section missing
   22/1: pitch identifiable, but duration unclear
   23: part missing until material presented here as 25/2; Christe section was probably longer than this edition allows
   30–38/1 missing. Duration of B flat at 39/1 unclear.

III: Missing

IV: 1: There is no B flat in the signature, but there is a B flat marked at the beginning of the Christe, which might suggest the use of a flat throughout.
   10/2: duration of C unknown; part missing until bar 13. More notation could be lost here, as part II is very fragmentary.
   16: Bassus is tacet in Christe eleyson. MS has sixteen long and one breve rests.
   23–29/2: 6 long, 1 breve and 1 semibreve rests marked in MS
   32/3: Duration of G unknown; music missing until material presented here as 33/2, though more could have been lost.

**Kyrie IV (ff. 2v–3r)**

General comments: This very fragmentary piece also appears to preserve a generally lower scoring than Kyrie I or II. There are many examples of unmarked, but harmonically necessary, accidentals in this movement; since so much is missing these have not been entered. Some imitation is present, though at times some parts are locked together in homophonic style, such as bars 4–8 of parts III and IV. Some small sections have been completed, and these are marked below. The bass part is almost intact.

I: 1–3/1: missing
   3/1–3: suggested place for this fragment.
   4/2–18/1: mostly missing
   6/1–7/1: editorial placement of this fragment. Pitch of 7/1 indicated by custos in MS, so duration unknown
   20/2–20/4: editorial
   21–24/1: missing
29–31: missing

II:  2/3–11/1: missing
     11/1–12/5: suggested place for this fragment
     c. 15: G in manuscript unaccounted for in present edition
     13–20: missing
     21/4–30: missing

III: 1–4/1: missing
     9–13/1: missing
     21/1–21/3: editorial
     28/2–29: missing

IV: 17–18: missing
     27/3–28/1: editorial

Mass I ‘Or me veult’ (ff. 3v–7r)

Gloria (f. 3v–5r)
General comments: Quite a lot of damage to this movement, particularly to the Triplex. The cantus firmus appears in the tenor line.

I: 1–7: Editorial
    10–33/2: There may not have been music lost from ‘Domine deus rex celestis’, since the second verse of polyphony in the Credo is a reduced, three-part texture. However, the treble probably re-entered in the section ‘Domine deus Agnus dei’.
    12/2: MS has E creating unlikely leap of 7th, suggested alternative of B flat in bass gives slightly unsatisfactory octaves between bass and tenor lines, but similar movement occurs elsewhere (e.g. Credo of Mass II, bars 26 – 27 and 76 – 77)
    29–33/3: After Baillie
    34/4–36: After Baillie
    51/2: B flat is marked in the manuscript
    58/3–59/5: After Baillie
    65/2–66/1: After Baillie

II: 1/1: Rest editorial
     9: Fermata editorial
     29/1: Dot editorial
     41/5–42/: MS damaged; editorial completion follows Baillie

III: 1: Editorial
     4/1: MS has E
     10–11: Editorial
     21/6–22/1: Editorial
     26/2: Fermata editorial
     46/1–2: MS damaged, editorial
Credo (f. 5v–7r)
General comments: This is in a relatively good state of preservation.

I: 2: MS reads C B flat A G G, but the uncharacteristic dissonance with the tenor line has been resolved here by changing the B flat to a G  
5/1: E unclear in MS  
6/1–8/1: After Baillie  
11: tacet bars 11–29  
30–32/1: MS lacks the beginning of this musical phrase, but does contain rests. This five-note editorial ‘completion’ makes more musical sense than the version given in the MS, but is offered with the possibility that the vocal part did not enter until the middle of the first beat of bar 32.  
32: [Incarna] text not supplied, perhaps indicating part entered mid-word. Similarly in Bassus [incar]natus.  
70/3–71/2: Editorial (manuscript damaged)  
76–92: Triplex tacet

II: 1–2/1: Opening missing; editorial completion draws on Mass I Gloria  
76–92: Medius tacet

III: 12: MS breve-semibreve in MS here divided into three equal notes to accommodate three syllables of text (de deo)  
47: B flat cancelled in the MS with light brown ink

IV: B flat not consistently marked on this stave, but appears at the beginning of stave 4  
22/3: MS has low F, here altered to a top G  
31: Text opens ‘natus’, but matches the opening gesture of other lines, so the full text has been inserted here

Mass II ‘Custodi nos, Domine’ (f. 7v–11r)

Gloria (f. 7v–9r)
General comments: The cantus firmus, the liturgical melody ‘Custodi nos, Domine’ in a rhythmized form, is inscribed in the centre of folio 8v. Additional B flats are marked in all parts more frequently than required, but E flats are largely confined to the Bassus.

I: 60/4: MS has ligature ending on an F

II: 17/3: ‘2’ underneath final pitch of ligature  
76/2: E flat editorial (follows bass)  
78/5–6: MS has E D

III: 85/4: MS has D

IV: No comments
Credo (f. 9v–11r)
General comments: The cantus firmus, the liturgical melody ‘Custodi nos, Domine’ in a rhythmicized form, is inscribed in the centre of folio 8v. Additional B flats are marked in all parts more frequently than required, but E flats are largely confined to the Bassus.

I: 1–3: Editorial, but follows head-motif of Gloria
    7/2: rest missing
    27/3: note missing from MS
    37/1: dot missing
    66/9: original note value has been doubled here
    71/3–72/3: missing in MS; follows Lee
    97/3: rest editorial
    109/11: Duration of E twice as long in MS

II: 102: changes to C2 clef

III: 24/1: rest editorial
     100/2 – 4: Editorial

IV: 85/2: original note value has been doubled here

Folio 11v is empty ruled staves only

Mass III (f.12r–f.12v)

Benedictus (f. 12r)
General comments: Only two parts survive, but layout suggests that the two lowest voices may have been a tenor-contratenor pair, sharing a similar vocal range; voice IV in the Benedictus and voice III in the Agnus Dei are notated in C4 clef.

I: Missing

II: 19/2: MS has long rest here in error
     25/2: only stem visible
     58/1: part IV has a new mensuration mark, but there is no indication of one here
     67/1–3: MS has A G G

III: Missing

IV: No comments

Agnus Dei (f.12v)
General comments: Only two parts survive but layout suggests that the two lowest voices may have been a tenor-contratenor pair, sharing a similar vocal range. Agnus Dei verse III is missing from the manuscript.
I: 47: Fermata editorial
87/1: 8/4 written; should be proportio sesquialtera
90: Fermata editorial

II: Missing

III: 12: B flat marked between rest (b. 11) and the first pitch
47: Fermata editorial
68–71: 8/4 written; should be proportio sesquialtera
90: Fermata editorial, and duration of final note regularised to match upper part

IV: Missing

Mass IV (f. 13r–16r)

Sanctus (f. 13r)
General comments: Several syllables are placed in unlikely places, or repeated a number of times.

I: Missing

II: [C3]; key signature editorial
12/3: E flat editorial, but marked in Bassus
17/1: rest/note missing from MS because of damage
29/1: ‘Gloria’ marked here
33/3: G is semibreve in MS (i.e. would be minim in halved values)
52/1: ‘3 2’ marked beneath note
62/2: ‘2’ beneath note shows imperfected

III: Missing

IV: [C5]; key signature editorial
39/3: rest obscured in MS
50: ‘3 2’ marked beneath rest
62/2–3: Scribe’s imperfect semibreves C E are covered here in the MS by an apparently original repair: a piece of paper with ruled stave lines has been glued onto the page, perhaps in order to correct it. These pitches fit, and are used here for convenience.
64: Tie editorial, MS has single note
75/2: ‘2’ written beneath this note

Benedictus (f. 13v–14r)
General comments: The placement of syllables creates similar problems to the Sanctus. The beginning of the Medius part is damaged.

I: 14/3: Rest missing from MS
49/2: MS doubles the duration of this note in error
67/1: 6/8 marked beneath note
    17/5: Rest missing in MS because of damage
    24/1–2: MS has A B flat
    25/4: E flat marked in MS. Other parts follow points of imitation.
    62/1: MS doubles the duration of this note in error
    65: fermata over first note

III:  8: MS gives as part of ligature that should make this a minim
    17/2: MS has E
    67/1: 6 written above note
    69/3: ‘2’ written under note

IV:  10/3: MS has C
    26/5: E flat was in MS but has been damaged or erased; editorially replaced.
    66/2: MS has C

Agnus Dei (ff. 14v–16r)
General comments: The upper and lower margins of these leaves have been most damaged.

I:  7–9: MS damaged. Edition follows Dover’s completion here
    36/2: MS has G
    39/3: MS damaged, but no doubt C intended
    89/1: dotted in MS
    92/5–94/2: MS damaged. Edition follows Dover’s completion
    152/1: 6/8 and 3/2 marked under note, proportio sesquialtera
    163/3–4: MS has F G

II:  4–8/1: MS damaged. Edition follows Dover’s completion here
    33/5: G is minim in MS
    46/3: Dot not visible in manuscript
    48/1–2: MS damaged. Edition follows Dover’s completion here
    152: 3/2 marked in MS, proportio sesquialtera
    160/2: 2 written beneath note to indicate alteration
    163/1–4: MS gives B flat, A, G, F. Editorial amendment to avoid octaves with part I
    168/2: 2 written beneath note
    169/2: 2 written beneath note

III:  5/3: C in MS
    80/4–81/2: MS damaged; editorial
    106/4: C is minim in MS
    115/2: MS lacks dot, amended here to match rhythm of upper line
    116/1: MS dot removed (see 115/2)
    130/3–4: MS has two semibreve rests
    146/4: MS has C
    152: 3/2 marked, proportio sesquialtera
    158/2: MS has D
    159/1: MS has C
IV: 14/1: MS has D
22/2: MS has G
37/2: MS has D
38/2: C4 clef given, but should read F4
41/1–2: Missing minim beat. Added G on 41/1
41/2: C5 clef
56/5: MS has C
58/1–2: MS gives both as minims (crotchets in halved values). I follow Dover’s suggestion here, but the harmonic movement is still not entirely satisfactory
77/5–78/4: MS damaged. Edition follows Dover’s completion
81/3–82/2: MS damaged. Edition follows Dover’s completion
95/2: MS has G
152: 3/2 marked, proportio sesquialtera
167–170: MS damaged. Edition follows Dover’s completion

Mass V ‘Venit dilectus meus’ (ff. 16v–20r)

Gloria (f. 16v–17v)
General comments: Neatly written, but damage to f. 17 has affected several sections, and the second half of the Triplex and Tenor parts are lacking because of missing leaves.

I: 29/6: MS has B as crotchet
40/1: MS has extra, unnecessary minim A before this note
91: Beginning of this section missing, perhaps a few bars
91/1: pitch of first note unclear in MS
99/3–102/1: MS missing
102/1–2: stems only visible
129/4–132/1: MS missing
145/1: Note unclear
145/2–147/1: MS missing
147/2: Only the dot is visible; editorial B flat
157/2–158/2: MS has E A G F E
160/1: Note missing, G editorial
161/5–164/1: MS missing
164/1: G editorial (follows Tenor, bar 162)

II: 37/3–39/1: MS missing
51–52/1: MS missing
79–81/1: Missing; Dover’s suggestion for bar 79
86/1: ‘3’ indicates proportio sesquialtera

III: 54/1: MS unclear
64/9: MS damaged
73: Mensuration sign inscribed in error, should be a symbol indicating proportio sesquialtera
73/3–76/1: MS damaged
76/1–2: B flat editorial; A indicated by custos
90: MS damaged, pitch unclear

xxiv
91–92/1: MS missing
102/3–103: MS missing
137–138: editorial
154/1: MS damaged, but pitch visible
154/2–156/1: MS missing

IV: 9/1–2: editorial, MS damaged
12/4: MS missing
13: MS unclear
25/3–27/1: MS missing
35–36: MS unclear
66/6: A is unclear in MS

**Benedictus (f. 18r)**
General comments: The E flats are more carefully indicated in part II than part IV, even cancelling the flat with a ‘sharp’ sign on occasion (though in a lighter, possibly later, hand). Parts I and III were originally on the verso of the previous leaf.

I Missing

II 12: Black full coloration with subscript marking ‘c.1.’
18: 11 long rests and one semibreve rest
37/2–50: tacet

III Missing

IV 11: Black full coloration with subscript marking ‘c.1.’
18–37/1: tacet
37/1: Later hand has written ‘Rest one after the closse’
39/2: Later hand has written ‘On this note trible’, perhaps indicating entry of upper part at this point. Annotation may, however, refer to 37/1.

**Agnus Dei (f. 18v–20r)**
General comments: Written in a dense fashion, but manner of correcting rhythmic errors is supportive of the idea of one scribe (compare Mass II corrections). Annotations appear in this movement in Bassus and Medius parts. Attribution ‘Venit dilectus meus: Johannes Cuke’ at foot of f.20r.

I: 14/1–3: editorial, MS damaged
110: annotation directs singer for entry
143/1: duration halved in MS

II: 92–94/3: damaged MS, editorial completion follows Lee
110: ‘ij after closse’ indicates singer needs to wait two beats after the cadence before their entry
134/1: MS has C
142/5–6: double this duration in the MS
144: unusual ligature; could indicate a chord, but this is unlikely
III: 11/1–2: F and G editorial, MS damaged
97/4: erroneous note head appears a sixth above the real pitch
109: unusual ligature; could indicate a chord, but this is unlikely

IV: 60/3: Annotation ‘Tenor on this note’ indicates the entry of the Tenor voice on
F, an octave above, immediately after the Bassus. Perhaps an indication that
the bass singer directed the Tenor to enter at this point?
71: MS damaged, editorial

Mass VI (f. 20v–22v)

Gloria (f. 20v–22r)
General comments: Not particularly neatly written. Frequent employment of E flats
and an unusual occurrence of an A flat in the Bassus create some interesting harmonic
colours for a three-part texture. Words ‘patris patris’ appear at foot of f. 20 as a pen
trial. Top line in the ‘alto’ range, but labelled as Triplex; the only other part in this
range to be labelled Triplex is in Kyrie I, which has a first and second Triplex rather
than the Triplex and Medius found elsewhere in the MS.

I: 10/1–21/4: manuscript damaged, editorial
65/4–68/1: manuscript damaged, editorial
83/2: MS has B flat

II: 37/3: MS damaged, editorial
49/1: partially obscured

III: 109/3: duration of D halved in MS

Credo (f. 22v)
General comments: Rather scruffy, and final notes are crossed out, remaining
uncorrected. The copying of this piece may therefore not have been finished.
Complete, it would have covered two manuscript openings. The Bassus is entirely
missing, as it would have occupied the facing recto.

I: 9: Text reads ‘terre’ for ‘terra’

II: 33–5: Text ‘Deum verum de Deo vero’ missing; restored here
39: D, C and B flat are crossed out in the manuscript
39/3: Final note indicated by custos only on D (rhythm not indicated); this has
been editorially altered to match the melodic movement in the upper line. A
similar passage of close imitation occurs in bars 32–34.

III: Missing
KYRIE
GLORIA

MASS I, 'Or me veult', Anonymous

Gloria in excelsis Deo.

Et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis.

TRIPLEX

* see commentary

Laudamus te, benedictus est,

MEDIUS

Laudamus te, benedictus est,

TENOR

Laudamus te, benedictus est,

BASSUS

Laudamus te, benedictus est,

Laudamus te, benedictus est,

Laudamus te, benedictus est,

Laudamus te, benedictus est,
Gra-ti-as a-gi-mus ti-bi prop-ter mag-nam glo-ri-am tu-am.
Do - mi - ne_ Fi - li un - i - ge - ni - te, Je - su_ Chri - ste.
Qui tollis peccata mundi, misere re nobis.

Qui tollis peccata mundi, susci pe de-

ma mundi, susci pe de-

mata mundi, susci pe

precati o nem non

precati o nem

de precati o nem non
Qui sedes ad dexterae Patris, misere nobis.

Quoniam tu solus sanctus, tu solus Dominus, tu solus Dominus,
tu solus altissimus,
solus altissimus,

-mus, Je su Christe.
-mus, Je su Christe.

Je su Christe.

Cum Sancto Spirtu, in gloria Dei Patris.

Amem.
Et ex Patre natum ante omnia saecula.
Genitum, non factum, consubstantialem Patri: per quem omnium facta sunt.
Crucifixus etiam pro nobis: sub Pontio Pilato passus, et sepultus est.

Et resurrexit tertiam diem, secundum Scripturas.
Et ascendit in coelum: sedet ad dextram Patris.
Et in Spiritum Sanctum Dominum, et vivificantem: qui ex Patre Filioque procepit.

Qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur, et conglorificatur quis locutus est per Prophetias.

Et unam sanctam catholicae et apostolicae Ecclesiam.

Confiteor unum baptismum in remissionem peccatorum.
Et vitam venturi saeculi. Amen.
GLORIA

MASS II, 'Custodi nos, Domine', Anonymous

Gloria in excelsis Deo.

Et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis.

Laudamus te, benediciimus

Laudamus te, benediciimus

Laudamus te, benediciimus

Laudamus te, benediciimus

Laudamus te, adoramus te, glorificamus te, adoramus te, glorificamus te, adoramus te, glorificamus te.

35
10
glorifica te.
mus te.
-
-ca mus
tea.

Grati as a gi mus ti bi propter magnam glori am tu am.

14
Domine Deus, Rex coelestis,

Domine Deus, Rex coelestis, DE-

Domine Deus, Rex coe-

Domine Deus, Rex coelestis,

29
Deus Pa
ter omni po-

-us Pa
ter om-

-les
tis, Deu
ter om-

-tis, Deu
ter om-

36
Domine Fili unigenite, Jesu Christe.

Domine Deus, Agnus Dei,

Domine Deus, Agnus Dei,
Qui tollis pecuta mundi, misere re nobis.

Qui tollis pecuta mundi, susci-
Qui des ad dexterum Patris, misere re nobis.

Quoniam tu solus sanctus,

Quoniam tu solus sanctus, tu

Quoniam tu solus sanctus,

tu solus Dominus,

so - lus Dominus,

so - lus Dominus,

tu solus Dominus,
tu solus altissimus,

nus,

Je -

Je su Chri -

su Chri -

Je su Chri -

ste.

ste.

ste.

ste.

Cum Sancto Spiritu, in gloria Dei Patris.

A men.
CREDO

MASS II, 'Cudtodi nos, Domine', Anonymous

Cre - do in u - num De - um,

Pa - trem om - ni-po - ten - tem, fac - to - rem coe - li et ter - rae,


Et in u-num Do - mi - num Je - sum

Et in u-num Do - mi - num Je - sum

Et in u-num Do - mi - num

Et in u-num Do - mi - num

-et - sum_ Chri - stum, fi - li - um De - i
Ut Deus unigenitus

Et ex Patre natum ante omnia saecula.

Deum de Deo,

Deum de Deo, lumen de lumen

Deum de Deo, lumen de lumen

Deum de Deo, lumen de lumen

Deum de Deo, lumen de lumen, Deum

Deum de Deo, lumen de lumen, Deum venenum

Deum venenum
Ve-rum de De-o ve-ram

Ge-ni-tum, non fac-tum, con-sub-stan-ti-a-lem Pa-tri: per quem om-ni-a fac-ta-sunt.

Qui pro-p-ter nos ho-mi-nes, et pro-p-ter nos-tram sa-lu-tem de-scen-dit de coe-lis.

Et in-car-natu-s est de Spi-ri-tu Sanc- to ex Ma-

Ma-nu-a Vir-gi-ne: Et ho-

-a Vir-gi-ne: Et ho-mo fac-tus

-mo fac-tus

est.

est.
Crucifixus estiam pro nobis: sub Pontio Pilaeto passus, et sepultus est.

Et resurrexit tertia die, secundum Scripturas.

Et ascendit in coelum: sedet ad dexteram Patris.

Et ascendit in coelum:
Et iterum ven-

turus est cum gloria a,

judica

re vivos

cum gloria, judica re vivos et mortuos:

re vivos et mortuos:

et mortuos:

et mortuos:

cujus regni non e nit finis.

Et in Spinn-tum Sanctum Do- mi-num, et vi vi fi can tem: qui exPa tre Fi li o que pro ce dit.
Qui cum Patre et Fili o simul
ado ratur, et con glori
et Fili o simul adora tur,
qui locutus est per Prophe tas.
Et unam sanctam catholicon

et apostolicon Ecclesiam,

et apostolicon Ecclesiam catholicon

et si si si si si si si si si

Confeor unum baptismum remissione peccatorum.
Et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum.

Et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum.

Et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum.

Et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum.

Et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum.
MASS III

Anonymous
AGNUS DEI
(INCOMPLETE)

MASS III, Anonymous

6

quis

11

qui

16

tol

lis
-lis
pec-cata-mun-di:
mi-se-re-re
mi-se-re
no-
no-
55
MASS IV

Anonymous
Hosanna in excelsis.

Hosanna in excelsis.

Hosanna in excelsis.

Hosanna in excelsis.
AGNUS DEI

MASS IV, Anonymous

A/T1

A/T2

BASSUS

S/A
MASS V

Johannes Cuke
GLORIA
(INCOMPLETE)

MASS V, 'Venit dilectus meus', Johannes Cuke
Gratias agimus tibi propert magnum glori-

am tu - am. Domine De -
(tu-) - am. Domine De -

am tu - am.

us, Rex coe - les -
us, Rex coe - les -

us, Rex coe - les -

us, Rex coe - les -

tis, Deus

tis, Deus Pa -
Quoniam tu solus sanctus, tu solus Dominus, tu solus altissimus, Jesu
Cum Sancto Spiritu, Chris te. Cum

Cut

Pater noster, Sancto Spiritu, Pa

(A)
BENEDICTUS
(INCOMPLETE)

MASS V, 'Venit dilectus meus', Johannes Cuke
AGNUS DEI

MASS V, 'Venit dilectus meus', Johannes Cuke
MASS VI

Anonymous
GLORIA

MASS VI, Anonymous

Gloria in excelsis Deo.

Et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis.

Laudamus te, benedictus tu es, Deus. Amen.
...ne-dici-mus te, a-do-ra-mus...

...be-nedi-cimus te, a-do-ra-mus...

...te, glori-fi-ca-mus...

...Gra-tias a-gi-mus ti-bi prop-ter mag-nam glo-ri-am tu-

...te. Gra-tias a-gi-mus ti-bi prop-ter mag-nam glo-ri-am tu-

...te. Gra-tias a-gi-mus ti-bi prop-ter mag-nam glo-ri-am tu-

...am.

...Rex coe-les-tis,

...am. Do-mi-ne De-us, Rex coe-les-

...am. Do-mi-ne De-us, De-us...
Agnus Dei, Filius Dei, Pater

Qui tollis peccata

 Qui tollis peccata mundi, misere re

 Qui tollis peccata mundi, misere re no
Qui tollis pecata tuas.

Qui tollis pecata nostras.

Mundi, suscipe deprecationem nostram.

Qui sede ad dexteram Patrem.
Quoniam tu solus sanctus, tu solus Dominus, tu solus altissimus, Jesu
CREDO
(INCOMPLETE)

MASS VI, Anonymous

5  Patrem omnipotentem,
    fac torem coeli et terrae,
    visibilium omnium, et invisibilium.
    Et in unum

10  Dominum
    Dei unigenite

15  Jesum Christum, filium

20  Dei unigenite
Et ex Patre natum ante omnia saecula.

Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine, Deum verum de Deo saecula. Deum de Deo, Deum verum de

Deo vero. Genitum, non factum, consubstanti-

Deo vero. Genitum, non factum, consubstanti-

-alem Patri: per quem omnia facta sunt. Qui prop-ter nos homi-

-alem Patri: per quem omnia

-nes, et prop-ter nos- tram salutem descendit de coelis.