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THE OLD HALL MANUSCRIPT:

A PALEOGRAPHICAL STUDY

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PREFACE

Nearly everything that has been written about the organisation and origins of the Old Hall manuscript (OH) has rested upon certain assumptions about the quiring of the manuscript and the identity of the scribes. These assumptions originate in casual or unscientific descriptions in the writings of Barclay Squire, Ramsbotham and Dom Anselm Hughes, and while many other things have been questioned, new theories have been constantly re-erected on the same foundations. It seemed to me that the only way of testing any of these hypotheses and, should they be found wanting, of seeking substitutes for them, was to start afresh on the manuscript itself.

Had I anticipated, when I embarked on this study five years ago, the extent to which my energies were to be diverted, I would not have expected to submit it, as I now do, under the title originally proposed. It is a very different piece of work for these distractions, which have focussed its final form and induced the decision to exclude some material which is relevant and to include some which is less obviously relevant. The most conspicuous exclusion is an edition of the music. A new edition of Old Hall, prepared jointly by Andrew Hughes and myself and to be published by the American Institute of Musicology in the series Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, is now in first proof. I regret that it will not be available in time for use by my examiners. To have submitted an edition with this volume would have

called in question joint editorial decisions for which individual responsibility can no longer be fully disentangled, although my transcription of the manuscript was used as the basic text for the new edition. Neither is this dissertation primarily a study of the music itself, though I believe that it bears directly upon the music. It is in part a forerunner and in part a by-product of my contribution to the edition, and I have confined its contents to work I can call my own.

Also excluded is most of the raw data which I extracted from the manuscript. It would have made a bulky appendage of lists and tables offering no further promise for musical study. What seems important is the interpretation of such data, the use of the tools of paleography to draw conclusions which are musically, historically or procedurally significant. The title stands; nearly every hare chased was started by a paleographical observation.

A third exclusion is a statement of existing knowledge about OH. I have assumed that my readers will be familiar with the writings of Bukofser, Harrison, Ramsbotham and Squire listed in the bibliography; the work of these scholars has variously provoked or stimulated my enquiry.

Inclusions not directly or solely relevant to OH are the musical appendices IV and V to chapter V and the appendix on Musica ficta. The former are the only two edited transcriptions presented in their entirety. Musically they are important and unknown. The

state of the manuscripts containing them makes a definitive transcription of either impossible from photographs. The ficta appendix is the nucleus of my contribution to a monograph now in preparation by myself and Andrew Hughes - a by-product of our work on this aspect of the edition. The lines of thought are my own. They were first submitted to my co-editor in a rather primitive state when it became apparent that we were approaching the question of editorial accidentals from opposite viewpoints. Their present form owes much to his criticism and suggestions. The subject had to be thrashed out in theory and in detail before the editorial problems could be resolved.

Two kinds of help have made my research possible. For material support during my student years I thank my parents, and the public, university and college bodies who maintained me with scholarship and prize money. I acknowledge the courteous assistance of the librarians and staff with whom I have corresponded and in whose libraries I have worked. To those mentioned in the text and enumerated in the index of manuscripts I would add Mr Cudworth of the Pendlebury Library, Cambridge, and Dr Baird of the University of London Music Library. Above all, my thanks extend to St Edmund's College for hospitality on a number of occasions and generous facilities of access to their manuscript. For photographic work I am grateful in particular to Mr Rawlings at Cambridge University Library, and to the staff of the London University Library photographic department.

My personal debts of gratitude are many. Mr T.A.M. Bishop patiently verified my scribal identifications; Father Daniel Higgins of St Edmund's College has taken much trouble on my behalf and shown a kind interest in my work; few aspects of OH have escaped discussion and pooling of ideas in my lengthy correspondence with Andrew Hughes, who has also enabled me to obtain copies of some films essential to my work; Dr John Stevens allowed me to borrow his copy of the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society edition of OH for a very long period; Mother Thomas More helped me to find my feet liturgically and has since been very ready to share material; Dr John Buttrey has brought the perspective of a different period of enquiry to bear on constructive criticism of my work at various stages; my father helped with last-minute chores in the preparation of the volume. All these colleagues and friends I thank warmly. To my baby daughter goes credit for the typing errors I did not make.

My greatest debts of gratitude are incurred to the three people who have most profoundly shaped my thinking from the earliest days of my interest in musical scholarship. Professor Thurston Dart was an inspiring and provocative teacher at undergraduate and postgraduate levels. He has never ceased to show creative interest in my work and generosity in innumerable ways. Brian Trowell has supervised the last two years of my research, and it was his dissertation that first aroused my curiosity about English 15th-century music. Mine would be much the poorer but for the stimulus given and friendship shared. Ian, my husband, has lived with my work and his contribution to it

is immeasurable. The faults remain mine; but his judgment has saved me from many rash ones, and his criticism sheltered me from much that I deserve. I am privileged to count all three as mentors and friends, and to have shared with them in recent months the revision of Bukofzer's collected edition of Dunstable's works.

London,
September 1968

Margaret Bent

CONTENTS

Preface	ii
List of plates	x
General note	xi
<u>CHAPTER I: THE OWNERSHIP OF THE MANUSCRIPT</u>	1
Barclay Squire's report, 1; Rev. John Parker and possible antecedents, 2; Stafford Smith and his descendants, 7; absences from Ware, 10; Strangman, 11; library mark, 18; bindings, 20; Winchester, 21.	
<u>CHAPTER II: EXTERNAL PALEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES</u>	27
Repairs and bindings, 27; <u>Collation of the manuscript</u> , 33; <u>Initial letters</u> , 44; their removal, 44; <u>Table of missing initials</u> , 46; Wilkinson, 49; substitute initials, 53; initials absent or wrongly supplied, 55; musical restoration, 58; Roy Henry's Sanctus, 59; 19th-century illuminations, 63; <u>Table of second-layer pieces with original illumination</u> , 66; <u>List of visible indications by the main scribe to his illuminator</u> , 68; <u>Table of 19th-century illuminations</u> , 70; <u>Salvatoris mater pia</u> , 72; <u>Beata Dei genitrix</u> , 74; cost of preparing manuscripts, 78; <u>Missing compositions</u> , 79; <u>List of pieces intended by the main scribe</u> , 80; <u>List of lost compositions</u> , 81.	
<u>Appendix to Chapter II</u>	83
Some pieces affected by loss of initial: <u>93-94</u> , 81, 83; <u>137</u> , 84; <u>23</u> , 87; <u>123</u> , 87, 92- .	

CHAPTER III: INTERNAL PALEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES

96

Previous findings, 96; Scribe A, 98; The Egerton and Old Hall scribes, 102; Scribe A's corrections, 106; pitch, 106; rhythm, 108; alternative readings, 110; Scribe A's word-setting, 111; order of writing, 112; interpretation of spacing, 115; variety of accentuation, 117; erasures to clarify underlay, 119; repeated notes and upbeats, 120; ligature splitting, 122; plainsong underlay, 124; alignment, 125; lower parts and telescoping, 126; The scribes of the second layer, 129; Table of second-layer scribes, 130; scribe Bb, 131; scribe Cc, 133; scribe Ff, 135; Sample letter- and note-forms of scribes cC, fF, bB, eE, 137; scribe Es, 140; scribe Dd, 142; scribe Hh, 144; scribes K, Y, 145; Holograph compositions, 147; Second-layer activity on the music of the first layer, 154; erasure of 82, 126-128, 154; erasures in 7, 159; 8, 163; 3, 164; 16, 165; 101, 166; Second-layer activity on the music of the second layer, 170; erasures not related to music on the same page, 173; text of 91, 174; Marginalia not already described, 177; The plan and execution of the manuscript, 181; Music totally contained within first-layer gatherings, 202; Music totally contained within second-layer additions, 203; Music which straddles old/new or new/old gatherings, 203; Ascendit Christus, 204.

CHAPTER IV: NOTATIONAL USAGE

206

Seminims, 206; Colorations: black void and red full, 213; Coloration, blue full and red void, 224; Reversed, numerical, colored and proportional mensuration signs, 231; Further uses of red, 245; Notational peculiarities in the work of scribe A, 247; plica-notes, 247; editorial initiative, 252.

Appendix I to Chapter IV: The Contratenor of 75

258

Appendix II to Chapter IV: Pycard's Credo 76

266

<u>CHAPTER V: DATING THE SECOND LAYER</u>	277
<p>Windsor and the chapel royal, 277; <u>Danett</u>, 282; <u>Sturgeon</u>, 285; <u>Burrell</u>, 288; <u>Cooke</u>, 289; <u>Terminal date for the second-layer music</u>, 290; <u>Forest</u>, 293, <u>Dating the music</u>, 295.</p>	
<u>Appendix I to Chapter V: Payments to Sturgeon from the Windsor Treasurers' Rolls</u>	311
<u>Appendix II to Chapter V: Burrell's Will</u>	314
<u>Appendix III to Chapter V: John Forest and Christ Church, Canterbury</u>	316
<u>Appendix IV to Chapter V: A newly-discovered Dunstable motet</u>	318
<u>Appendix V to Chapter V: Stella celi</u>	329
<u>CHAPTER VI: DATING THE FIRST LAYER</u>	346
<p><u>Concordances</u>, 347; <u>Concordances to the first layer</u>, 351; <u>Concordances to the second layer</u>, 353; <u>Absence of musical datings</u>, 357; <u>Composers of the first layer</u>, 358; <u>Leonel Power</u>, 364; <u>Roy Henry</u>, 374; <u>The provenance of the manuscript</u>, 384.</p>	
<u>Appendix to Chapter VI: Sub Arturo plebs</u>	386
<u>APPENDIX: MUSICA FICTA</u>	389
<p>Theoretical and manuscript evidence, 389; part of performer's art, 390; chronological limitations, 392; relationship to normal contrapuntal rules, 393; melodic reasons for inflection, 396; beauty and necessity, 398; solmisation, 399; <u>recta</u> and <u>ficta</u>, 400; meaning of symbols, 406; two-position system, 409; melodic rules, 412; harmonic rules, 417; hexachord signatures, 422; <u>coniuncta</u>, 426; <u>disiuncta</u>, 427; aural factors, 428.</p>	
<u>Table I: Collation</u>	fold out after 430
<u>Table II: Inventory and Index of OH</u>	fold out after 430

Bibliography	432
Index of Manuscripts	436
Index of Proper Names and Titles	441

LIST OF PLATES

I	Marginalia on ff.92, 98, 72, 73	after p. 10
II	Library mark, foot of f.2	18
III	Patched initial, f.80	82
IV	Patched initial, f.69	83
V	Patched initial, f.106	84
VI	Patched initial, f.19	87
VII	Erasure of f.69v	153
VIII	Erasure of f.101v	153
IX	Erasure of f.102	153
X	Erased music at foot of f.9	172
XI	Pycard's Credo, <u>76</u> , ff.63v-64	266
XII	Patched initial, f.64	266

GENERAL NOTE

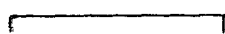
Numerals in italics (underlined) are numbers of OH pieces: see Table II (p.430).









Abbreviations used for books and manuscripts can be elucidated through the bibliography and index of manuscripts respectively.

Latin abbreviations are usually extended silently.

Music examples

Except occasionally in proportional passages, note values are reduced by four: original minim = modern quaver. All examples are untransposed, and it was therefore considered unnecessary to indicate the first sounding note in a prefatory stave. Printed music examples are taken from the first proofs of the forthcoming new edition (see p. ii); bar numbers refer to this edition.

Ligatures, where shown, are marked ; ligatures and bar-lines are sometimes omitted if not relevant to the example.

Colorations are indicated thus: black void  
 red full  
 red void  
 blue full  

CHAPTER I

OH does not at first sight seem a promising object for the exercise of tracing past ownership; its present binding and flyleaves carry no clues. Barclay Squire saw the manuscript in 1898 and reported thus:

All that was known as to the history of the volume was that it formerly belonged to Stafford Smith (1750-1836), the antiquary and composer, to whose researches the historical part of Sir John Hawkins' "History of Music" is largely due. From the fact that no mention of the MS. is made either in that work or in Smith's valuable Musica Antiqua, which was published in 1812, it may be concluded that he acquired the volume after the latter date. Smith died in 1836, and in 1844 his valuable library was dispersed in an obscure auction-room, to the inestimable loss of historians. It does not seem clear why the Old Hall MS. was not sold with the rest of the collection, but at all events it remained in the hands of Smith's descendants until quite recently, when they presented it to the Library of Old Hall. An attempt by Smith to score one of the compositions contained in it still remains in the volume as a reminder of its former owner.

Leaving aside for the moment the transcription referred to in this last sentence, Squire seems to have had little

1. Squire, 'Notes ...', p.343.

advantage over later investigators, apart from oral information about the presentation of the manuscript to St Edmund's.

Whether or not he had seen the catalogue of the 1844 auction is unclear; no copy of it can now be traced although William H. Husk, author of the article on Smith in the first edition of Grove, had evidently seen one.

Squire makes no further attempt to trace ownership, before or after Smith. However, he was probably responsible for our knowledge of the only other owner of OH named in subsequent studies. A manuscript footnote to the copy of Squire's article kept at Old Hall, purporting to be the author's note from his own copy, records that it was bought by Smith for £2.2.0 on 16 February 1813 at the sale of the library of the Rev. John Parker, and cites B.M. catalogue lat.136. This manuscript note was presumably Sir R.R.Terry's source for this information. An article by him, containing no other new material, is Dom Anselm Hughes's more accessible source for the same knowledge.¹

It is with the Rev. John Parker, then, that certain knowledge of OH's ownership begins. Painstaking pursuit of this gentleman has revealed almost nothing about the circum-

1. Ramsbotham &c, OH, vol.III, p.ix. See also R.R.Terry, 'The Old Hall Manuscript', Westminster Cathedral Chronicle, vol.X (1916), pp.171-74.

stances of his ownership or the source from which he acquired
 OH. Belonging to a wealthy armorial family, and blessed
 with several illustrious relatives, he would surely have
 figured in the family anecdotes which abound in books concerned
 with these relatives,¹ had there been anything notable to
 record. In fact, they add very little to the scanty data
 found in general reference works. He was the second son
 of one George Parker (himself the second son of Sir Thomas
 Parker, chief Baron of the Exchequer, who died in 1784).
 His Oxford matriculation (Worcester College) is recorded
 on 7 March 1792 at the age of 16. He graduated B.A.
 in 1795, M.A. in 1798,² and was appointed rector of
 St Botolph's, Billingsgate on 10 March 1802,³ this parish
 being combined with that of St George, Botolph Lane, and

1. J.S.Tucker, Memorials of Admiral the Rt. Hon. John, Earl of St. Vincent (London, 1844), tells us little more about John Parker than that he died unmarried. Sir Augustus Phillimore, The Life of Sir William Parker (London, 1876), includes a family pedigree in this biography of Parker's younger brother.

2. J.Foster, Alumni Oxonienses, 1715-1886, vol.III.

3. G.Hennessy, Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense, or London Diocesan Clergy Succession From the Earliest Time to the Year 1898 (London, 1898), p.108 and h.146.

his induction as rector of Cold Norton, Essex, took place on 15 July 1809.¹ He was chaplain to his step-uncle, Admiral Sir John Jervis, Earl of St Vincent, at whose seat in Essex he died on 13 November 1812,² when he was still described as rector of these parishes. Neither they nor his Oxford college are able to add to this information, but the cure of souls does not seem to have occupied him personally to any extent.

He did, however, own a notable collection of music, which was auctioned by White on 16 and 17 February 1813,³ and fetched a total of £476.6.3. The collection included 'A very fine and extensive collection of Madrigals, Motetts, etc., (Including a curious folio book of 1000 pages, copied from the Vatican library) By the old and scarce Masters, many of which are carefully put into Score in his own hand writing, in 13 volumes ...' as well as 'A very capital violoncello and a violin &c. &c.'. This, at least, gives us some idea of where his interests lay and how he spent his time, and shows him to be not merely the passive guardian of an inherited collection. As a scholar in a family of men of

1. Information kindly supplied by the Hon. Secretary of Cold Norton Parochial Church Council.

2. According to The Times, 16 November 1812. Hennessy (see p.3, n.3) gives 13 November.

3. Annotated sale catalogue, now B.M., S.C.1076(5).

112

action, he surely inherited some books. His grandfather's will makes the following provision: 'I give and bequeath to my sons Thomas Parker and George Parker [John's father] such manuscript and printed Books in which I have wrote their respective names and such other Books not particularly disposed of as either of them shall chuse and I direct the remaining books to be sold'. To Martha Parker he leaves 'such printed books as are mentioned in a catalogue signed by me to be intended for her'. His legal books are left 'for the use and instruction of my descendants who may be bred in the study & practice of the law' to his son Thomas.¹

The will of the Rev. John Parker himself shows him to have been a bachelor of some means; although the younger son of a younger son, he had not done badly by inheritance. To his brother Thomas he leaves 'all my printed instrumental music & all my musical instruments', and to his three sisters 'such parts of my vocal music both printed & MS as they may select & also 100 volumes of my books ...'.²

-
1. Somerset House, 43 Essex Ducarel, January 1785.
 2. Somerset House, 510 Oxford, November 1812.

The sale of his library was apparently the response of his brother and sisters to the bequest. Some of the volumes can be identified by his book-plate (bearing the motto sub libertate quietem), to be seen in various manuscripts in the British Museum and Royal College of Music.¹ The limited relevance of the enquiry discouraged an extensive search; I have therefore not pursued the fate of his printed books.

The only previous ownership recorded in any of Parker's manuscripts is that of John Alcock, who usually writes the year and place as well as his name. According to Grove, he was born in London in 1715, was organist at St Lawrence's, Reading, from 1742 to 1749, and died at Lichfield in 1806. Most of Alcock's surviving manuscripts appear to have passed also through Parker's hands. The dispersal of Alcock's library is not recorded, and Hyatt King lists him as a collector of uncertain status.² Alcock died when Parker was about thirty, not very far from the Parker family seat

1. B.M., Add. MSS 30930, 33235, 23624, 17840, 24293; R.C.M., MSS 952, 953, 1147.

2. A. Hyatt King, Some British Collectors of Music (Cambridge, 1963), p. 148. See also pp. 25, 96 and 133 for notes on Parker's collection.

in Staffordshire. It may be that Alcock's library was never auctioned, but that a considerable part of it was transferred privately to form the nucleus of Parker's own collection. Alcock may even have played a part in Parker's musical education, though no will or other documentation survives to support this. As Alcock is the only traceable source for Parker's musical library, it is just possible that he acquired OH from Alcock. The 18th-century foliation of OH is in a hand not unlike Alcock's, but to go further would be rash. However, provincial ownership of OH during the 18th century - and indeed of some of the other treasures in Parker's library - affords a ready explanation for Burney's and Hawkins's lack of acquaintance with it.

On the first day of the Parker sale lot 136, 'A curious Antient Mass Book, finely written on vellum, illuminated, 224 pages', was knocked down to Stafford Smith for £1.2.0; the erroneous sum of two guineas in Squire's original note shows that neither Terry nor Don Anselm Hughes checked this sale catalogue. OH still has 112 folios.

John Stafford Smith died in 1836, leaving all his property to 'Gertrude Stafford Smith spinster my only remaining beloved daughter now residing with me'.¹ She went

1. Somerset House, 629 Stowell.

insane, and his valuable library was dispersed on 24 April 1844 'by an obscure auctioneer in the Gray's Inn Road' (Grove) to support her.¹ His brother, the Rev. Martin Stafford Smith of Bath, had died two years previously, including in his will a bequest to 'Thomas Tordiffe the younger', described as the grandson of his brother John.² Administration of Gertrude Stafford Smith's estate (worth £12,000) was granted on 9 July 1851 to 'Thomas Tordiffe Esq the lawful nephew and only next of kin of the said deceased'. The registers of St Paul's, Covent Garden, record the marriage on 12 November 1812 of 'The Rev. Thomas Tordiffe, Clerk, of the Parish of Holcombe, in the County of Somerset, a Widower, and Harriet Smith of this parish, Spinster ...', one of the witnesses being J.S. Smith.³ This Thomas died in 1845.⁴ Harriet is surely the other daughter of John Stafford Smith, dying before her father, and the mother of Thomas Tordiffe 'the younger'.
(If Smith had yet other daughters, they must have died

1. A catalogue of Messrs Hamilton and Bird, of 21 High Street, Islington (no.10, 1844), includes 'MS. Music from the Library of the late John Stafford Smith, Esq.'. Among the 113 musical items is the Mulliner Book. Whether this catalogue (brought to my notice by Thurston Dart) overlaps with or complements the missing one is not possible to determine: it cannot be the missing one because of the different address and lack of a specific date.

2. Somerset House, 119 Teignmouth.

3. The Registers of St. Paul's Church, Covent Garden, London, ed. W.H.Hunt, vol. III 'Marriages, 1653-1837' (Harleian Society Publications, Registers Section, vol.35; London, 1906). Located through Boyd's typescript marriage index in the library of the Society of Genealogists.

4. J.Foster, Alumni Oxonienses, 1715-1886, vol.IV.

without issue before 1836.)

Because of the coincidence of names, Harriet's son is surely the 'Thomas Tordiffe of Ilfracombe' whose eldest son Stafford Tordiffe was born 1837/38 and went to Exeter College, Oxford.¹ Stafford Tordiffe still appears in the clergy list for 1910, where his various appointments as curate, vicar and rector are given. The will of Thomas Tordiffe 'formerly of Weymouth' (1879) names his wife Joyce, and four children including two sons: Edward Wolferstan, and Stafford. Edward received more and may therefore have been the elder; moreover, Stafford took holy orders, a normal career for a second son. One of Thomas Tordiffe's daughters, Mary Elisabeth, died in 1882 leaving all her estate to her 'brother Edward Wolferstan Tordiffe, now the Cashier of the London and City Bank at St. Alban's Herts'. This is sufficient to establish the descent of E.W.Tordiffe from Stafford Smith. He probably married a Roman Catholic or was a convert himself, accepting the obligation to educate his sons as catholics; both Francis and Cyril Tordiffe appear in the records of St Edmund's College during the 1890s. Francis at least showed musical inclinations;

1. Foster, Alumni Oxonienses, 1715-1886, vol.IV.

payments for music lessons, 'Czerny' and 'scales' are recorded, and he played 'clarinet' in the school orchestra. According to oral tradition in the college, the manuscript was accepted in lieu of school fees, but I have found nothing to support this. E.W.Tordiffe presented it to St Edmund's in 1893.

The manuscript has on several occasions been away from Old Hall for short periods. I have not attempted to compile a complete record of these, but besides absence for purposes of photography they include two visits to London, for the 'Monarchs of Great Britain' exhibition in January 1902, and for the Loan Exhibition of the Worshipful Company of Musicians in June/July 1904. A letter from Sir R.R.Terry of 5 February 1924, preserved at St Edmund's, thanks Canon Myers for the lengthy time the manuscript has been allowed to remain at Westminster Cathedral for his use - surely he had not kept it since writing his article in 1916? A note dated 26.5.1929 arranges for the Rev. A.Ramsbotham to collect it the next day for one month, and is annotated 'to be returned June 10th'. OH was deposited in Cambridge University Library for a month in January/February 1964 for my use, and it was taken to the Bodleian Library in December of the same year for inspection by the Clarendon Press and apparently remained there for seven months.

This image displays a page from a handwritten musical manuscript, identified as Plate I. The score is written on aged, yellowed paper and includes several systems of music. The top system features a vocal line with the lyrics "Stabat mater mater gratia" and a handwritten annotation "(98)". Below this, a section for "Soprano" is marked with "Allegro" and includes the lyrics "tan pluri caridi tu us? Conpium lana spi ri" and another handwritten annotation "(92)". A section for "Violon" is also present. The bottom section shows a vocal line with the lyrics "in omni partem. Contratenor" and "Domine". Below this, there are parts for "Violon" and "Basson". The lyrics "Et in unum" and "Et que omnia facta sunt qui" are also visible. The manuscript is annotated with various handwritten notes, including "(92)", "(98)", and "Allegro".

I have not tried to identify the various hands of the late 19th and early 20th centuries which have in several places attempted to compensate for lost initials and trimmed ascriptions. It is unlikely that much would be gained.

The next task is to work backwards. The whereabouts of the manuscript during the 17th and 18th centuries is completely unknown; the only clue is the foliation, but the hand responsible has not been identified. A possible owner in the late 16th century can, however, be put forward.

Barclay Squire pointed out the various names which have been written in margins by later hands. These are:

f.71v	'Lovell'
f.72	'Dantey'
f.73	'Bittering' (in the same hand as 'Dantey')
f.92	'Strangman' (four times)
ff.52v-53	'Sturgion' (four times, same hand as 'Strangman')
f.98	'Sturgion' (twice, same hand again)

Also on f.98, in the top space of the top stave, the same hand has written ang (or possibly ana) in the same ink. Bittering cannot be regarded as the composer of the anonymous piece by which his name appears; Ramsbotham assigned it to him, but this is unlikely on stylistic grounds, quite apart from having no contemporary authority. The Dantey/Bittering hand is larger than the Strangman/Sturgion hand, but some letter forms are not dissimilar; samples are reproduced in plate I. All the hands appear to date from the late 16th century: 'Strangman' was written before the folio number, 92.

'Lovell' appears on the same folio as a Leonel composition and could, at a stretch, be regarded as an attempt to vary the composer's name, like the 'Sturgion' spellings of Sturgeon's. Neither 'Bittering', nor 'Sturgion', however, shares a folio with a piece ascribed to that man. A legitimate reaction would be to ask whether Dantey and Strangman could, similarly, be names of OH composers which have since disappeared together with a folio or an initial letter. There is no supporting evidence for such a conjecture.

A more likely identification for one of these names was first suggested to me by Mr A.E.B.Owen of Cambridge University Library. The Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries numbered among its members Sir Robert Cotton, John Stow, and one James Strangman, or Strangeman.¹ The latter was admitted a pensioner at Peterhouse, Cambridge, on 31 May 1572,² the second son of William, of Hadleigh Castle, Essex.³ This James was a great collector of Antiquities for this County, to

1. See The Society of Antiquaries of London. Notes on its History and Possessions (London, 1951).

2. J.Venn and J.A.Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses. Part I, to 1751 (Cambridge, 1927), vol.I, p.173.

3. Visitations of Essex, ed. W.C.Metcalf, vol.I (Harleian Society Publications, vol.13: London, 1878), p.104.

whose Diligence and Sagacity are owing many Discoveries mentioned in this Work, and hereafter to be mentioned: There was a Volume of his writing deposited in the Cotton-Library, relating chiefly to Monasteries.¹ He died in 1595/96 aged about 40, according to Venn: a manuscript pedigree without shelfmark in the library of the Society of Genealogists adds that he died 'from a disease' and 'in France'(cancelled). None of the surviving Strangman wills have added further information. There is, however, a deed in the Essex County Record Office dated 6 May 1592 which mentions James.² It is a quitclaim of rents by 'Wm.Fowkes, and Rich. Harborough, gent., Jas.Strangeman, gent., and Rob.Banckworth, scrivener, both of London' which recites a Crown grant by letters patent of 1591 to Fowkes and Harborough, and a conveyance of 5 May 1592 by these two to Strangman.

An article devoted entirely to Strangman adds no new biographical data - indeed, it gets less far - but directs the reader to several manuscripts in the British Museum which

1. Nathaniel Salmon, The History and Antiquities of Essex (London, 1740), p.360: the same description is also used by P.Morant, History and Antiquities of the County of Essex (London, 1768), vol.I, p.280.

2. D/DC 23/664. I am indebted for this information to the County Archivist, Mr Emison.

contain samples of his handwriting.¹ The one most likely to advance our present purpose is unfortunately not identified closely enough: 'And upon a fly leaf of a MS volume in the British Museum, which was evidently in the possession of the Strangmans or Bodes, as their names are carelessly scribbled on the leaf in various places, is a very rough trick of the Strangman arms, probably by James Strangman himself ...'.

There are several manuscripts which contain work, mostly heraldic and genealogical, by Strangman: British Museum Cotton, Vitellius F. XII (presumably the volume known to Salmon), Lansdowne 860 A-B, and Add.5937. Of these, Lansdowne 860 contains a bewildering profusion of hands. The bulk of 860 A - ff.19-340v (all folio numbers use the pencil foliation) - is in one hand: cursive, very rapidly executed, using a fine nib and blackish ink. A second hand, using brown ink, has annotated this section copiously, added extra items, sometimes running to several pages (vide ff.274-79), paginated it and indexed its contents in two batches (ff.123-26 and ff.318-26v).

1. H.W.King, 'James Strangman Esq., of Hadleigh ...', Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society., O.S. vol.II (1863), pp.139-46.

The primary material of the manuscript, consisting of copies of documents, genealogical notes, annotated sketches of coats of arms and family pedigrees, contains copies of letters by Strangman, each signed 'Irs James Strangeman'. These look like signatures, but we must not jump to the conclusion on the strength of this that the whole body of material is in Strangman's hand.

In particular, f.172v concludes, in the same cursive hand, with the words: 'His collectionibus finem imposuit/ Jacobus Strangeman gen^o osus/ Julii 7 Anno Dni 1591'. On ff.307, 309v and 310, in a more formal version of the main cursive hand (and in brown ink - the OH marginalia all use a brown, almost gingery ink) appear items which end with the phrase 'ex collect' Jacobi Strangman'.

On f.37v three distinct hands appear:

- 1) at top right, the main cursive hand, ending with the customary 'signature' of Strangman;
- 2) at top left, the main annotating hand, in which a brief pedigree of the Harcourt family appears;
- 3) immediately below the Strangman 'signature' the words 'this is Mr Ferrers his hand' in a quite different script - smaller, more elegant, probably slightly later.

On f.1 (the second flyleaf of the collection as originally paginated) the following inscription appears in a 17th-

century hand, perhaps that of the main annotator: 'A Greate parte of the collections in this booke ... were James Strangmans/ vide fol.49. 50 and there you may see his hand'. Immediately following this, continuing the same line, in the hand no.3 of f.37v: 'that, and most part of this collection, is in the hand of H.Ferrers: see w^t Ferrers himself has writ upon the leaf before the First page. v.p.12'.

Either the collection is in Strangman's hand, and a later annotator claimed it for Ferrers, or it is in Ferrers's hand, and its first annotator was later corrected in his belief that Strangman had written it. The notion that Ferrers was copying out Strangman's genealogical notes, and including among them also letters by Strangman himself in his copying, is quite plausible. Nonetheless, the 'signatures' are signature-like: that is, the ink and penpressures remain the same from letter to 'signature', yet there is a distinct 'dash' to the name itself, each time. Perhaps, if Ferrers was copying Strangman's letters, he imitated Strangman's signature: on f.218 of MS 860 A, the signature appears five times with increasing flourish, and at the foot of f.218v twice with even more flourish. Were these Ferrers's practice runs?

As to OH, the name 'Strangman' as it appears four times on f.92 contains no 'e'. It has features in common with the 'signatures' in MS 860 A - both the cursive ones (e.g. on ff. 37v, 172v, 218 where it appears five times over, &c, and also in the letter to Dean Boleyn in Add.5937, f.74v) and the more formal ones on ff.307, 309v and 310 (which are very similar to the OH marginalia). The names in OH might therefore be in the hand either of Strangman himself or of Ferrers: likewise the 'Sturcion' scribbles on ff.52v-53 and f.98, definitely in the 'Strangman' hand of f.92.

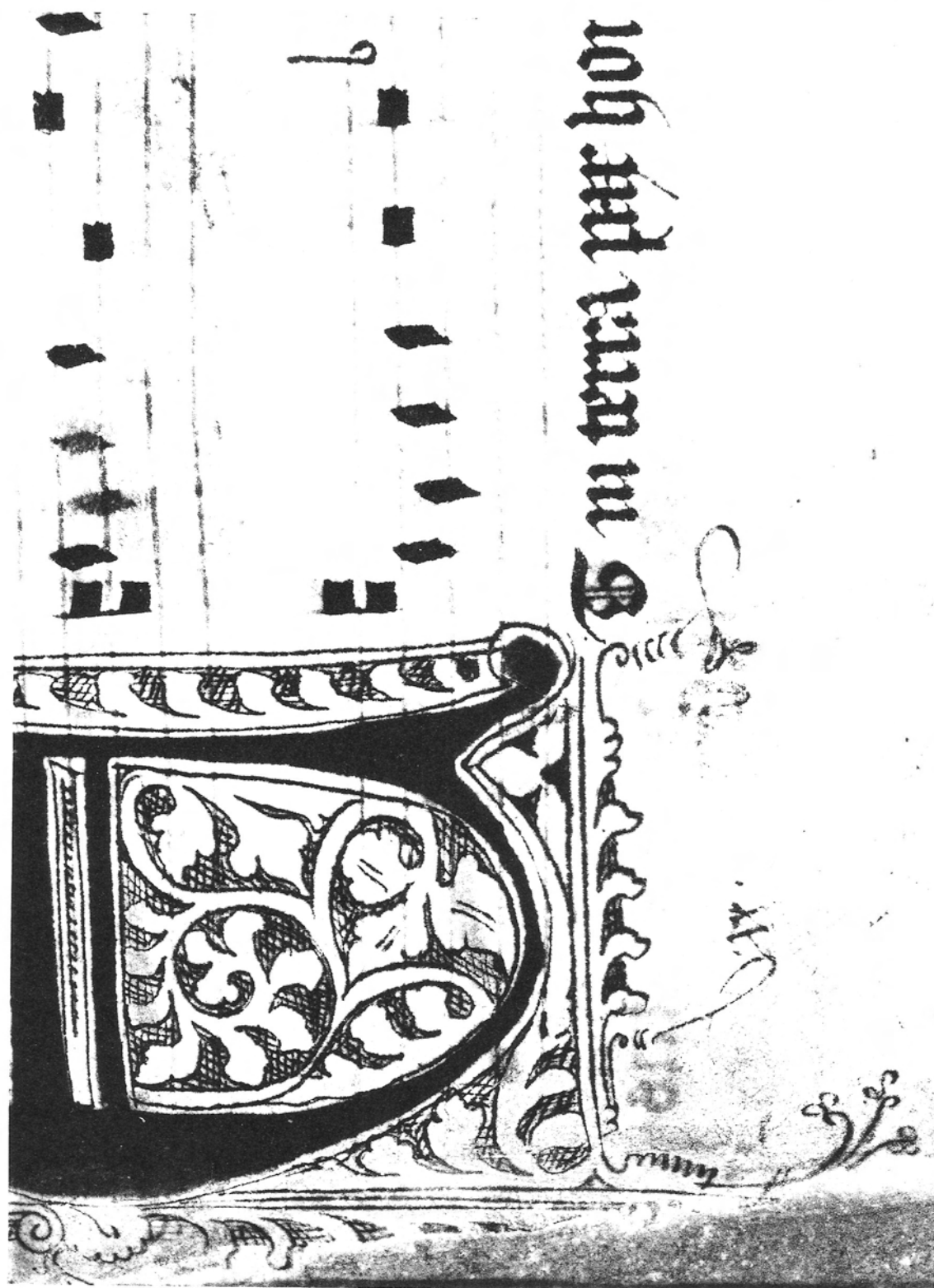
In addition, a hand which writes the name 'Baldwin S^t George' in MS 860 A, f.269 and in MS 860 B, f.52v, is uncannily like the marginalia 'Dantey' and 'Bittering' on ff.72 and 73 of OH.¹ Moreover, the name 'Willielmus Lovell' (in a hand which also writes ff.7-8v, 10) appears in a pedigree on MS 860 A ff.14 and 232, and MS 860 B f.65 (also in a title deed); and on MS 860 B f.139v ('Lovel' appears three times. All this is of interest in view of the marginal scribble 'Lovell' on f.71v of OH.

1. John Baldwin was a 'singing man of Windsor' when he finished a musical commonplace book in 1591 (now B.M. Royal 24.D.2). He had, for his time, an abnormal interest in old music and musical curiosities. It would be going too far to suggest that there was any contact between Strangman and Baldwin on the subject of OH, but Baldwin would certainly have been one of the most obvious authorities for Strangman to have approached for information.

OH carries one more internal clue to its early ownership, hitherto unnoticed, and one which has so far eluded solution. At the foot of f.2, below the initial E of the bottom line, the number .xx. is written. It is well camouflaged, and the pale brown ink is rather faded. An ultra-violet photograph, reproduced as plate II, shows it up clearly. The loop descending from the decoration of the initial is in the same ink as the initial decoration, and belongs to that.

There are no other similar numerals in OH; even overlooking its abnormal position, it can hardly indicate folio, item or gathering. It may be a library mark: this seems the only plausible interpretation. Medieval catalogues commonly identified books by the first words of the second folio, and some libraries placed press-marks on the second folio.¹ It was also quite common to conceal

1. The use of inconspicuous Roman numerals on the second folio is reported by N.R.Ker, 'The Medieval Pressmarks of St. Guthlac's Priory, Hereford, and of Roche Abbey, Yorks.', Medium Aevum, vol.V (1936), pp.47-48. See also Medieval Libraries of Great Britain, ed. N.R.Ker (Royal Historical Society: 2nd ed., London, 1964), pp.99-100.



library marks. The camouflaged position of the present one is bound to make identification more difficult - similar marks could easily escape the notice of cataloguers - but need not arouse scepticism. The numeral appears to be of the 15th or 16th century; it is unlikely to be later.

A medieval press-mark was rarely on a folio other than the first, second or last. Although the folio in question is now f.2 - and has been since the folio numbers were added in the 17th or 18th century - it can never have been so in the original manuscript, as I shall show in chapter II. Several folios, if not a whole gathering, are missing before the present f.1. ff.1v-2 are musically continuous, so an explanation involving later disarrangement can be dismissed.

If indeed this is a medieval library-mark, placed on what was then and still is the second folio, the opening portion of the manuscript must already have been lost by this early date, and the mark cannot be that of the book's original provenance. Was it rescued from neglect and incipient decay, or even from wanton destruction on the book-binder's scrap-pile, to be housed in a library, either private or institutional?

That is all we can deduce from the manuscript itself about its previous ownership. No trace of earlier bindings and flyleaves has been preserved, either in the present binding or separately at Old Hall. Our only knowledge of any previous binding comes from Barclay Squire, who reports that 'The MS., when it passed into the possession of Old Hall, was in a poor 18th century binding and in bad condition'.¹ His failure to amplify this statement surely indicates that the manuscript had been rebound by the time he saw it in 1898. Even an 18th-century binding would have conveyed more details of past ownership than Squire was able to give; the Rev. John Parker's book-plate would surely have been present. If Parker acquired OH as a family heirloom, more evidence of ownership by this family could be expected, though a 'poor' 18th-century binding would hardly have disgraced the shelves of the chief Baron of the Exchequer. All the 18th-century bindings I have seen on books owned by Alcock could be described as 'poor'; non-durable pink marbled cardboard seems to have been his favourite. Squire's description, then, offers credibility to the suggestion that Alcock once owned OH. Stafford Smith was an inveterate scribbler in the books he owned - the Mulliner book is a case in point - yet OH in its present state bears no trace of his ownership.

1. Squire, 'Notes ...', p.342.

The college magazine of St Edmund's reports in July 1899 that rearrangement of the museum and library had taken place during the preceding two years. It is evident from short notices in The Edmundian about various items in the museum that the college was at this time becoming conscious of the interest and value of many of its treasures. OH would naturally command priority for rebinding, on account of its age, size, beauty and liturgical contents - and it was presumably someone at St Edmund's at the time who considered its existing binding to be 'poor' and 'in bad condition'. Its return to the college in a new maroon leather binding was possibly the immediate spur to asking Squire to inspect it, which he did with Fuller Waitland in the summer of 1898 at the invitation of Mr Everard Green, F.S.A., Rouge Dragon (also styled Warden of the Guild of St Gregory and St Luke in The Edmundian). The likely date of the present binding is therefore 1897/98,¹ though I understand that no relevant records have been preserved at St Edmund's.

The only other clue about the early history of the book comes again from The Edmundian, which records the donation in 1893 in the following words:

We have to thank G.Tordiffe Esq. of Tenterden, for the gift of a manuscript pre-reformation service-book, containing chants for the Kyrie, Gloria, Credo and Sanctus, formerly used in Winchester Cathedral.²

1. Gold lettering on the spine reads: Sacrae cantiones ab auctoribus anglicis compositae. This description, like that which now follows, may have been inherited from the previous binding and flyleaves.

2. The Edmundian, vol.I (1 July 1893), p.36.

This is an unlikely source of reliable information, damned by its own blatant inaccuracies. The donor was E.W.Tordiffe (though in one college ledger the E is so written that it could be taken for a G). The book contains polyphony, not 'chants'. There are no Kyrie settings, and no-one familiar with the Latin Ordinary could have imagined their presence if he had but glanced at the contents of the manuscript. But Winchester Cathedral? Even if downright carelessness caused the writer to slip 'Kyries' into his description of a volume he knew to contain Mass music, the mention of a place-name must stem from a more positive indication and cannot be overlooked. The writer seems to have had no scholarly pretensions in making his brief note, such as would have lured him onto the slippery slopes of speculation. Does the very ignorance of his statement not commend him as a bearer of half-truths, an unwitting carrier of misunderstood information? Moreover, the appearance of the manuscript changed considerably between 1893, when the Edmundian wrote his description, and 1898, when Squire saw it. The former had in front of him the 'poor 18th century binding' together with any flyleaves and marks of ownership, destroyed soon afterwards, and it is therefore worth treating his testimony seriously.

It is impossible to tell now how many distorting mirrors are in operation here, several or none. Flyleaves from a

15th-century binding might have been preserved in the 18th-century one, or their import passed on by a later owner. The only word we can be reasonably certain the Edmundian had in front of him is 'Winchester'. A 17th-century Winchester owner, for example, could have been blown up into a 15th-century user. He could have assumed use in the Cathedral when Winchester College was implied - and if OH had been in use at Winchester College during the 15th century, we should be able to identify it from the chapel inventories.¹ No similar inventories survive for the Cathedral, so the possibility remains open that our witness may be right.

Use, taken literally, must mean 15th-century use. Much of the music would have been obsolete before 1450. In order to explain the library mark, I have suggested that the beginning of the manuscript was lost at an early stage, probably within a century of falling into disuse. Let us suppose that the Edmundian writer is reporting accurately the evidence in front of him, and that at some time the manuscript did contain Kyries, and was in use at Winchester Cathedral. Both would have been possible simultaneously at a fairly early date, perhaps after the manuscript was discarded by the royal household chapel. The inclusion of

1. See Harrison, MNE, p.160.

Kyries is quite likely (see the discussion of missing pieces in chapter II). If he has garbled his evidence, he has done so very plausibly. Faced with a wealth of evidence about former owners, why did he pick out only Winchester? Dare we assume that it was clearly the oldest stated provenance, and therefore the most important one, the only one he believed to have any significance? He would certainly have been able to end much of the speculation in this chapter, had he thought more recent ownership worth comment.

If the suggestion that OH was at Winchester (perhaps until the Dissolution) is at a single remove from speculation, any suggestion about what happened to it between then and the date at which it was acquired (again, perhaps) by Strangman is speculation pure and simple. An account of 'The Dispersal of the Libraries in the Sixteenth Century' is given by C.E. Wright.¹ As far as Winchester, in particular, is concerned, the activities of one bibliophile provide an interesting example of how some monastic manuscripts were passed on; this case, moreover, has sufficient parallels to what could have happened to OH to merit a brief account here.

My information is from A.G. Watson, 'A sixteenth-century Collector, Thomas Dackomb 1496 - c.1572'.² Dackomb

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1. In The English Library before 1700, ed. F. Wormald & C.E. Wright (London, 1958).
 2. In The Library, vol. XVIII (1963), pp. 204-217.

was a secular priest and one of the first petty canons of Winchester after the Reformation, from 1541. Most of the petty canons were regular priests, and Watson suggests that the exception in this case may have been made on account of Dackomb's musical abilities. His collection of manuscript and printed books included nineteen manuscripts which can now be identified; all are on vellum, and no fewer than five are service books. Most seem to have originated from Winchester Cathedral. Watson cites an earlier account by Sir George Warner who then regarded Dackomb as 'the means of saving most of the surviving old Winchester manuscripts'. N.R.Ker's work has disclosed many more,¹ but Dackomb's individual enterprise appears to be unique. He annotated the flyleaves of his books with the price paid and his name, but never the source of his acquisition, although he did not remove earlier ex libris marks. The fact that he paid for the books is itself interesting. No will survives, but Watson reports that by the early 17th century Dackomb's books were circulating in the hands of collectors, including Cotton: Cotton was a fellow-member with Strangman of the Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries.

Several features of this situation fit hypotheses put forward so far: OH may have been at Winchester Cathedral when

1. Medieval Libraries ... : see p.18, n.1.

Dackomb went there; and Dackomb seems to have been interested both in music and in vellum liturgical manuscripts. He annotated flyleaves but rarely wrote elsewhere in books; he did not remove existing ex libris marks. The original flyleaves of OH are lost; but if they, or their substance, lasted to the 1890s, then an observer could have discerned a Winchester provenance and the original inclusion of Kyries.

CHAPTER II

Barclay Squire's slender clue about the previous binding of the manuscript has been reported (on p.20). It is not clear whether by 'bad condition' he meant more than that it had been mutilated by the removal of initials. His statement may imply that some, if not all, of the repairs and reinforcements at lower outer corners and at the spine of the volume were done after the manuscript arrived at Old Hall, at the time of its last rebinding. Because of the extent and nature of these repairs, the manuscript must have been unbound for the purpose; and if the 18th-century binding really was poor, careful restoration is unlikely to have accompanied it. Indeed, without these repairs, the volume would fully have earned Squire's description, for many folios must have been completely detached. Despite this, the volume appears to have lost nothing (apart from binding and flyleaves discussed above and initials discussed below) since it was foliated in the 18th century. The numbering is consecutive, and the present complement of 112 folios corresponds to the description in the Parker sale catalogue.

Without removing the present binding it is impossible to assess how many times the manuscript has been rebound.¹ By distinguishing the sets of sewing-holes made through folds in the original parchment from those made also through reinforcing strips or artificial joins, it might be possible to tell at what stage folds rotted or folios were lost, in relation to the various bindings; my hypothesis that the beginning of the manuscript was lost at an early stage could then be tested. Successive groups of sewing-holes might reveal equidistant groupings corresponding to sets of sewing-bands; the number of bands used in each binding and hence the number of bindings might be ascertained. Any discrepancy between the sewing-holes of original gatherings and those of the later additions (discussed below) might indicate that the original portions had been sewn up in quires before later material was added.

The value of such investigation can be seen from recent work on the Domesday volumes. If a volume proved not to have been bound in its original form, it might have been intended for use in separate quires. The gatherings of the larger Domesday volume were designed to accommodate complete sections of classified material; for example, all the returns for a single county. It was considered more important to preserve these distinctions than to make up the volume in regular quaternions.

1. I did not ask for OH to be dismantled. But I hope that the next time it is unbound, these questions will be asked, and doubtful points in the quiring (see below) resolved.

Of Domesday Sir Hilary Jenkinson suggests:

... although (if the compilation were long protracted) gatherings might have gone for a time into service as single units, they would surely, if such service were anything but casual, have had some form of limp cover given to them: and as they were almost certainly intended for collective binding it seems unlikely that this was delayed longer than necessary once the compilation was complete.

What may be true of an administrative reference document which was being prepared under conditions of urgency does not necessarily apply to a liturgical manuscript of which the Glorias would be in use alongside the Credos. Before putting forward such a theory for OH, we should have to know much more about the circumstances in which it was compiled, and to see a direct link with those in which it was used.

Polyphonic music was sometimes used in separate quires.²

OH bears no trace of intended or actual use in this way: intended, because not every new musical section begins a new gathering and some pieces straddle two gatherings, and actual, because while the present f.1 is discoloured from exposure, the beginning of no other gathering shows any wear. Besides, it would be unwieldy to sing from such a large manuscript in an unbound state; and lower corners worn away from page-turning constitute only one of several symptoms that OH was indeed used.

1. Hilary Jenkinson, Domesday Rebound (H.M.S.O.: London, 1954), p.24.

2. E.g. items in a Lady Chapel inventory of 1445 from St Paul's Cathedral, cited by Harrison, MMB, pp.182-83.

The weakening or rotting of parchment folds which made it necessary to repair them was probably aggravated by the many sewing-holes of several successive bindings. However, the bad condition and discoloured parchment of f.1, and the torn corner which has deprived us of an initial letter and music, suggest that OH may have lain unbound for some time, after the loss of the folios which once preceded the present folio one. The manuscript was also damp at some stage, for a fair amount of music has been offset from neighbouring pages. Most of this is too faint to read; some may be due to inadequate drying-time at the time of writing.

The extent of trimming also suggests that several bindings preceded the present one. Some border decoration has been removed, also considerable portions of composers' names (often including the initial of a first name which would greatly have simplified the task of identification). The folio numbers have also suffered, so trimming has taken place since the 18th century, probably at both the last rebindings. A loss of at least 4 cm from the side margins may be estimated, to give an all-round original margin width suitably proportioned to the lay-out of the music. The amount lost in this barbarous but routine part of the binder's craft may be a rough guide to the number of rebindings a book has suffered, and therefore to its career under active ownership as opposed to untended mouldering.

Some check upon the stages at which parchment was removed in this way could be made by identifying the handwriting of several additions compensating for lost letters, but the time spent in such a formidable undertaking would be disproportionate to the value of the results.

The repairs which have been made to the pages of the manuscript were mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Some parchment has been stuck onto almost every folio; in the case of reinforcements to spinal joins or artificial joins the added parchment sometimes occupies almost the entire inner margin. Many of the lower outer corners show a diagonal tear (caused, no doubt, by continual thumbing, for the upper corners have not suffered in this way), and these have been squared off by a triangular patch. Most of the repairs are in a smooth, white, rather stiff parchment which contrasts with the soft, velvety texture and creamy colour of the original parchment.¹

But a very few of these repairs match the original parchment and were clearly almost contemporary with the manuscript. Some of these folios have a conjugate torn and repaired in the same way, and occasionally a diagonal line of small splits, running over the page from top left to bottom right towards

1. Later repairs in white parchment, unruled and clearly later than the manuscript, are on ff.1-18, 30, 31, 33, 38, 41, 42, 44, 50, 74, 78, 96. Contemporary repairs include those to ff.22, where the red long-tail goes over the repair, 25 and 76 where the stave-lines go underneath, music on top of the repair. The music on f.76 has been erased, and its margin rulings are also, surprisingly, on top. The clearest example is f.49, discussed below.

the torn corner, reveals that the parchment was probably too tightly stretched on its hoop in the process of drying. The strain which caused the splits apparently also weakened the corner so that it easily tore off. The splits along the line of tension were sewn up; the stitching has rotted away, but the sewing-holes remain. Stave-lines are drawn up to the edges of the splits, but the scribes of words and music have invariably avoided the holes, leaving slightly larger gaps than usual, and in one case supplying a direct before the split (on stave 10). The splits had occurred and been sewn up before the manuscript was written. (These imperfections in the parchment are quite distinct from the familiar clean-edged, elliptical holes due to attacks by warble-flies on the living animal. Such holes are not usually sewn up.)

The order of events is quite clear on f.49. The violet margin-rulings and red stave-lines had been drawn before the patch, of matching parchment, had been applied to the lower right-hand corner and therefore, presumably, before the corner was lost. The gaps left by the scribe around the series of splits running diagonally across the page suggest that the splits occurred and were sewn up before the music was written. However, the words were written on the original sheet before the corner patch was stuck on, because the second half of the word gloria has a double image: the letters ria under the patch are slightly more spaced out than the same letters on

the patch itself. In this case alone the early date of the patch is established; the main scribe of the manuscript writes above and below it, and the repair was therefore done during his period of work on it. Although the stave lines below this patch are clearly visible, they contain no musical notation. The words were written first, then the tear occurred, then the music was added last. In addition, the colour of margin rulings is instructive: with some important exceptions (to be discussed below), the volume was ruled up in violet. F.49 has violet lines which continue under the corner patch. But on the patch itself, the line of the margin rule has been continued in brown. This accords with the practice of the main scribe: gatherings ruled in advance always have violet rulings, while additional folios, where a larger, irregular gathering was needed, and any later touching-up over repairs, were in brown.

Collation of the manuscript

Barclay Squire dismissed the possibility of making a bibliographical collation of OH: 'The foldings of the sheets of vellum of which the volume is made up were too much decayed for it to be possible to ascertain the original condition of the book'¹ No-one else appears to have attempted the task,

1. Squire, 'Notes ... ', p.342.

which is by no means as hopeless as he suggests. True, the absence of obvious evidence is discouraging; but the quest for a solution is more than an exercise in intellectual masochism, since it yields a firmer basis for theories about the original compilation. The complex arrangement of OH has given rise to many speculations and conflicting datings, often based on groundless assumptions about the quiring.¹ Definition of this primary physical feature erodes many arguments which have won general acceptance.

Conjoint bifolia usually provide the principal or sole evidence for collating a book. If this evidence has been totally (as in the case of the St Chad gospels²) or partially obliterated (as with OH), other methods must be applied. Inspection of manuscripts which have scarcely suffered by the trimming of margins in successive rebindings often reveals a

1. Dom Anselm Hughes believes that the 'highly significant' foliation, with Credos beginning on f.41 and Sanctus settings on f.81 (wrongly regarding Roy Henry's Sanctus on f.80v as a later addition), shows 'that the original quiring has been retained in substance' (Ramsbotham & Co, OH, vol.I, p.xiii), yet the incomplete pieces between these folios presuppose a number of missing folios.

2. See Roger Powell, 'The Lichfield St.Chad's Gospels: Repair and Rebinding, 1961-1962', The Library, 5th series, vol.XX (1965), for a model investigation of the kind I had tried to carry out before this article appeared. My findings do not include, as Powell's do, determination of the animal's spine-direction in relation to the page. However, this would have added nothing of musical relevance to my enquiry.

gathering signature in the bottom right-hand corner of some folios, serving the same function as similar marks, necessarily more prominent, in printed books.¹ However, when a manuscript has escaped the trimmer's knife to this extent, the original folds usually show little evidence of wear. Many musical manuscripts were furnished with an index;² if OH ever had one, it has been lost together with folios from the incomplete beginning of the book. If the book to be collated is a liturgical or standard text whose overall length can be ascertained and the extent of missing portions assessed from other sources, the place of lost folios in the collation will be even more reliably established than by the presence of a table of contents.

It is the incomplete state of OH, without any of the above compensating evidence, which provides the main stumbling-block to a collation. There are more musical gaps than the few enumerated by Barclay Squire, and these were a vital consideration in determining the original quiring. It is never possible to say, on the evidence of how much music survives, whether one or more folios have been lost in each case. No choirbook pieces occupy more than a single opening, and no incomplete score pieces require more than a single intervening

1. One such manuscript is that of the Mass O quam suavis, Cambridge University Library, Mn vi 46.

2. E.g., Ao, Trent 92; the index to the Eton Choirbook indicates the opening of the manuscript on which each piece began, and thus how many folios it occupied.

X Fay: Jan 115
x Pen: 314

leaf for their completion. There are a few places, where one piece ends on a verso and a new one begins on the next recto, at which folios could be missing, but it did not prove necessary to assume lost folios in any of these places.

A number of bifolia in OH are still, in fact, conjoint. The surviving folds are insufficient in number to determine the collation, but taken together with other evidence they offer ample proof of the quiring. It was not always easy, without damaging the rather compressed spine of the present binding, to distinguish original joins from reinforcements or artificial joins made subsequently. No join has been classed as original unless the original join can still be seen clearly at top or bottom. Other bifolia may well be intact at the middle where they have not suffered the strain of page-turning in addition to that of binders' stitching. This evidence is particularly useful for establishing the centres of gatherings.

The number of possible conjugates for each unattached leaf was next drastically reduced by distinguishing the hair and flesh sides of each folio in the manuscript. All the above evidence was then recorded in a dummy book of loose pages in terms of enforced, precluded and possible pairings. It now became quite clear how many missing folios had to be inserted in each gap. Only in the case of the first gathering is there any scope for an alternative collation. However, any solution other than the present one calls either for a changed

order of folios or for an extra gathering containing, besides the present ff. 1 and 2, more Glorias in score, perhaps Kyries and perhaps an index. If there were Kyries, they probably had a gathering to themselves, even if they shared a second gathering with Glorias. But as there is no evidence within the manuscript to show that OH ever had any, they are left out of the reckoning for purposes of this chapter. The minimum number of missing folios is recorded, with the proviso that one or possibly even two whole gatherings may be lost from the beginning. Wholesale loss of this kind might imply that systematic destruction of the manuscript for binding material was commenced, the process halted and the remaining gatherings salvaged before too much was lost - another hypothesis which would accommodate the early library mark on the present f.2.

The collation is given as Table I at the end of this volume: it can be folded out for easy reference. Various secondary classes of evidence offer confirmation but are usually too elusive to stand alone as proof. Sometimes they throw additional light on the scribes' methods of working, and are therefore outlined below.

The pricking of marks with an awl or other sharp instrument was one of the first stages in a scribe's preparation for writing. The preparation of the parchment itself was not necessarily carried out by the scribe, but it is occasionally

possible to base paleographical reasoning on the method and quality of preparation.¹ The purpose of these prick-marks was to define the position of the guide-lines and margin rulings which the scribe would then draw with a dry stylus, a wax pencil, or with ink. It was normal to prick a whole gathering at a time,² and the size of the holes consequently tends to be larger

1. As in the case of the St Chad gospels: see p.34, n.2. For notes on the preparation of parchment see D.V.Thompson, The Materials of Medieval Painting (London, 1936), pp.24-30.

2. An interesting passage from Alexander Neckham, De nominibus utensilium, is quoted in translation by U.T.Holmes, Daily Living in the Twelfth Century, p.69:

Let him have a razor or knife for scraping pages of parchment or skin; let him have a 'biting' pumice for cleaning the sheets, and a little scraper for making equal the surface of the skin. He should have a piece of lead and a ruler with which he may rule the margins of both sides - on the back and on the side from which the flesh has been removed.

There should be a fold of four sheets (a quaternion). I do not use the word quaternio because that means 'a squad in the army'. Let these leaves be held together at top and bottom by a strip [of parchment threaded through]. The scribe should have a bookmark cord and a pointed tool about which he can say 'I have pricked [punxi] not pinked [pupigi] my quaternion'. Let him sit in a chair with both arms high, reinforcing the back rest, and with a stool at the feet. Let the writer have a heating basin covered with a cap; he should have a knife with which he can shape a quill pen; let this be prepared for writing with the inside fuzzy scale scraped out, and let there be a boar's or goat's tooth for polishing the parchment, so that the ink in a letter may not run (I do not say a whole alphabet); he should have something with which letters can be cancelled. Let him have an indicator [speculum] or line marker [cavilla] in order that he may not make a costly delay from error. There should be hot coals in the heating container so that the ink may dry more quickly on the parchment in foggy or wet weather.

at the beginning of a gathering, diminishing towards the end. The use of a round or wedge-shaped point should also be distinguished. Sometimes, a fresh incision had to be made in the course of a gathering, when the original prick had not penetrated far enough.¹ Even apart from this, a complete picture of the relevant sizes of relevant pricks in OH cannot be formed, because of missing folios, missing initials, and severe trimming in binding. Prickings were only conclusive where other evidence had already determined the collation, but this evidence did confirm the peculiar position of f.40.

The prickings for the right-hand margin are invariably made from recto to verso, but f.40 is pricked from verso to recto. Ff. 41-42 have a double row of prickings: the row pricked from recto to verso corresponds with f.39, and the row pricked from verso to recto corresponds with f.40. This folio was therefore not pricked with the rest of gathering VII, whose marks are visible on the folios before and after but not on f.40 itself. This folio was a later insertion, pricked 'backwards' through the bifolium which follows it, though not through the same set of holes. F.39 is indisputably joined to f.43, and f.41 to f.42; and as the music on f.43 is a continuation of that on f.42v, there is no case for

1. See L.W.Jones, 'Pricking Manuscripts', *Speculum*, vol. XXI (1946), also the St Chad gospels (see above, p.34, n.2).

assuming that f.40 ever had a conjugate.¹

The gauge of the five-line staves is consistent on any one page of the manuscript, but not always from folio to folio. The slight discrepancies may indicate different layers of activity even when they occur within the work of one scribe. Five-line pens were used for all the main work of ruling up.² Lines are consistently parallel, an irregularity in one being reflected in the other four: colour and consistency of ink agree at any given vertical point: and the slope of all five lines at the end of some staves indicates the angle at which the pen left the parchment. Two different sizes of pen can be detected:

staves 1.5 cm deep	staves 1.6 cm deep
ff.	ff.
1-2v	3-19v
20-39v	40
41-45v	46-48v
49-50v	51-64v
65-79v	80-93v
94-100	100v-112v

Most changes of pen size coincide with a change of gatherings:

1. This leaf will be discussed further in the section on initials.

2. The only exceptions to the use of five-line pens are the short four-line staff drawn to accommodate an 'overspill' at the foot of f.64, and the staff added by a second-layer scribe, free-hand and in different ink from the others on the page, on f.62.

see table I. While supporting the idea that the stave lines were ruled in advance, a gathering at a time, the evidence is not sufficiently consistent for conclusive proof. The unique position of f.40 is again confirmed, and all the folios apparently inserted by the second-layer scribes are among those with staves of 1.6 cm gauge.

The distance between staves is inconsistent and may have been judged by eye: no prick-marks in the right-hand margins can be related to the placing of staves on the page. Ff. 70 and 59 each have thirteen staves; in addition, f.59 has an extra half-length stave drawn with a five-line pen. Ff.66v-69 have fourteen staves to the page. Elsewhere the number is always twelve (but for the exceptions given on p.40, n.2).

Perceptible changes in the colour of ink with which the staves were ruled do not coincide with gatherings, except where there is also an obvious change of pen. There is no reason why new ink should be made for each gathering, but as one colour of ink often overlaps a change of gathering, more than one may have been ruled up in advance. Moreover, work on different parts of the manuscript may have been in progress simultaneously, as I shall show later; and this was not merely for the practical reason of allowing a recto to dry before writing on its verso.¹

1. See p.38, n.2 for Alexander Neckham's advice on drying.

Weight, colour and texture of parchment show no great disparity between any two folios I consider to have been joined, except in the case of ff. 1 and 4. The discoloration of ff. 1 and 2 was probably caused by exposure to damp or dirt at some stage. Only 55-56 are, as a pair, noticeably heavier than average. There is rarely a marked difference in appearance between hair and flesh sides, and the normal practice of ensuring that in any gathering a hair page faces another hair page has not been followed with any consistency. Hair marks are occasionally visible, but the preparation of the parchment has usually been very thorough, and the only means of distinguishing hair from flesh in most cases was by the slight but unmistakable difference to light finger-touch of the smooth side from the slightly velvety pile of the hair side.

The colour of margin rulings is indistinguishable on ff. 1, 2 and 80; elsewhere it is always violet (a waxy trace is sometimes seen), except on ff. 7-11v, 40-40v, 53-59v, 81-81v, 88-88v, 90-92v, which have brown ink rulings. Thus, the gatherings which contain exclusively second-layer music, II, IX and XIV, share the colour of their margin rulings with f.40, and with three folios (59, 81, 88) which belong to gatherings of five bifolia. It is not unreasonable to conclude that they were added in each case after a regular quaternion had been ruled up. All conjoint leaves are ruled with the same colour;

the missing conjugate of f.59 would have been ruled in brown. f.80 must be the conjugate of f.89, and have shared its violet margin rulings. It was therefore part of the original quaternion, ff.81-88 being added (later, but before copying had proceeded far) to make it a quinion. This scotches once and for all the notion that Roy Henry's Sanctus on f.80v was a later addition to the manuscript.

The collation shows two further gatherings of five bifolia. One of the two missing bifolia of gathering XVII may have had brown rulings. So might the unknown pair in gathering I, ff.2-3a. It looks as though each gathering was originally designed to be a quaternion, and its size modified to contain the material available within its appropriate sections. However, ff.1 and 2 have enough indeterminate features (e.g., margin ruling) and differences (discoloration, stave gauge) from the rest of the first gathering to make it possible that they belonged in fact to another, preceding gathering, leaving the present ff.3-6 as the remnants of a regular quaternion. For convenience of discussion, though, it will be treated as a quinion, as shown in table I.

The reader is invited to juggle the gatherings further, on the basis of the data given above and in the table. I think he will find that the present solution is the one which assumes the smallest reasonable loss while retaining credible propor-

tions between the musical sections. The only surprise is the extent of the original section devoted to antiphons. But if fewer than three missing leaves are allowed between ff. 37 and 38, we are left with a quaternion extending from f.35 to f.38 (including two missing bifolia), a gathering of two bifolia only, ff.39-43, and a single bifolium, ff.44-45. This is just one sample of many irregular make-ups which I have rejected.

Musical lacunae played an important part in determining the collation. But before relating the structure of the manuscript to what was written on it, an important side issue must claim a central place.

Initial letters

Of the 147 compositions which survive in OH, entire or in part, 134 have at some time had an illuminated capital letter or pair of letters at the beginning of the piece. (This figure does not include illuminated capitals which occur elsewhere than at the beginning of a piece, and makes no allowance for initials which almost certainly existed at the beginnings of some pieces of which only the end survives.) One of these is torn off, and in nineteen other cases an initial has been deliberately cut out. Including the very smallest ornamented letters, used to

begin each clause in settings of Sanctus and Agnus, the number of decorated capitals in the manuscript totals just over four hundred. One of these small letters is missing, presumably accidentally torn, from the foot of a page. Details are given in the table on p.46. The main scribe, in addition, shaded his pen capitals in yellow.

Why should the initials have been removed? When, and by whom? These are questions which defy a precise answer, though the field of enquiry can be narrowed considerably.

We have seen already (p.1) that OH was not dispersed with the rest of Smith's library in aid of his daughter, but kept in the family. Dom Anselm Hughes points out that the earlier part of the period between the death of Stafford Smith and the presentation of the manuscript to St Edmund's 'coincides with the first revivals of interest in 'romantic antiquities', coupled with an imperfect appreciation of the need of preserving such antiquities inviolate'.¹ *While the historical perspective of this statement is open to question in the light of antiquarians such as Percy and Selden,* ~~indeed,~~ it was around 1830 that the Carmelite Missal now in the British Museum was cut up by the Hanrott family to make scrapbooks.² A striking feature of these scrapbooks was the arrangement of letters to form the initials of their owners, and the OH initials may have met with a similar

1. Ramsbotham & Co, OH, vol.III, p.x.

2. B.M., Add. MSS 29704-29705. See Margaret Rickert, The Reconstructed Carmelite Missal (London, 1952).

TABLE OF MISSING INITIALS

Folio no. of piece with lost initial	Missing letter	Depth in staves	island (i) or corner (c)	Letter substituted	patch on this folio (x) not reverse	Notes
82v	E			E		20H nos. affected (# = concealed, b = lost music) 98b, 97b accidentally torn: no evidence of original colour. Small initial accidentally torn from foot of page.
3v	E	3	c	E		5b, 4#b
12v	E	2	c	E		16b, 15#b
19v	E	2	c	E		24b, 23#b
28v	E	2	c	E		33b, 32#b
35v	M?	3	c	-		41b, 40#b 'Laude Maria' in pencil
37v	P	3	c	-		46b, 45#b 'Mater' in pencil
47	P	3	c	P	x	60#b removed from inside edge, close to binding
62v	P	2	c	P		75b, 74#b attempt at musical restoration
64v	P	2	c	P		77b, 76#b
69v	F	2	c	-		82b, 81#b 'P' in pencil
80v	S	3	c	S		94b, 93#b This case is discussed below
81	S	1	i	S		95b, 96#b
85	S	3	c	S		102#b removed from inside edge, close to binding
95v	S	2	i	S		117, 116#b
96v	S	2	i	S		118, 117#b
97v	S	2	i	S	x	119#, 118b
100v	S	2	i	S	x	123#, 122b
106v	A	3	c	A		139, 138#b
109v	C	2	c	-	x	143, 142b patch has come off: no music concealed

fate. The numerous settings of identical texts in the manuscript would have made it a poor hunting-ground for a collector of medieval alphabets, several collections of which were published.¹ Had the person who removed the initials wished to assemble a complete alphabet he would certainly have needed all the initials belonging to motets and would have taken fewer from the Ordinary of the Mass. But in fact he -or she- was highly selective. The plunder of S from OH is as conspicuous as that of H from the Carmelite Missal. The Missal belonged to the Harrott family, OH to Gertrude Stafford Smith. It seems highly unlikely that her father was responsible for the mutilation. Equally, it is plausible to suggest that as her mental powers declined in the early 1840s she may have been tempted to cut out her initials (perhaps turning the C of f.109v into a G) and other letters besides, either for use as bookplates or labels, or with no definite purpose. Why OH was not sold with the rest of Smith's library remains a mystery, but it is surely possible that his daughter took a fancy to it and declined to part with it. If she had cut some initials from it she may have concealed the book at the time of the sale so that her guilt would not be discovered. In any case, wide dispersal of the initials can be expected, even if they should still exist, and the hope of recovery is slight. An extensive search of

1. E.g. Henry Shaw, Alphabets, Numerals and Devices of the Middle Ages (London, 1845).

scrapbooks and collections of fragments has yielded nothing to realise the hope expressed by Dom Anselm Hughes.¹

More concrete evidence for supposing that the initials were intact when Stafford Smith bought the manuscript comes from one of his commonplace books. He writes:

Morley had probably never seen my illuminated Ms, for he mentions only Leonel (Power) and Wilkinson, but not K. Henry the sixth.²

Indeed, the authorities listed by Morley at the end of his Plaine and Basie Introduction include no other OH composers - apart from Dunstable, whose only piece in this manuscript is given anonymously.³ Morley's Wilkinson may or may not be the Robert Wylkynson of the Eton Choirbook; he mentions only one other man who could possibly be identified with an Eton composer, M. [Edmund] Sturton. There is at present no ascription to Wilkinson to be found in OH, yet Smith is without doubt referring to this manuscript. Either he was mistaken in mentioning Wilkinson or, more probably, the name of Wilkinson was later cut out together with the initial of one of the pieces which are now anonymous, as Dom Anselm suggests.

1. Rambootham &c, OH, vol.III, p.x.

2. B.M., Add.34608, p.3.

3. For Morley's list, see A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music, ed.R.Alec Harman (London, 1952), p.231. Morley must have known at least one manuscript since lost - his source for Dunstable's Nesciens Mater and possibly his means of knowing that Leonel was a composer.

The 18th-century foliation indicates that OH had no more folios then than when it was sold to Smith with 224 pages. The torn initial on f.1 was probably already missing, so the only composers' names he had before him which we now lack must be those removed with initial letters. Nineteen pieces are affected. Of these, eight still carry composer attributions although the initial is gone (16, 24, 25, 102, 117, 118, 119, 123). The composer of one more (33, Zacar) is known from concordances. Leonel is undoubtedly the composer of 24 and 77, which have closely matching paired movements (84 and 21) ascribed to him). Stylistic considerations commend Pycard as the composer of 75; the authorship of 82 will be discussed later. This leaves only six anonymi, of which two (5 and 46) were probably given anonymously anyway (for stylistic reasons: see the discussion of concordances). This leaves a Credo and an antiphon in score (60 and 41, possibly anonymous for the same reason), no. 139 which is flanked by Leonel works, and 143, discussed below. If Wilkinson was an OH composer, he must have written one or more of the above pieces; the field is not as hopelessly wide as it appears at first sight.

Now Smith reached his solution to the identity of Roy Henry is obscure. He presumably had no access to the biographical information which now favours an earlier dating of OH, but it is still remarkable that he did not plump for a later Henry. Could the manuscript have carried any date to make

him confident that his attribution was more than a guess? If OH was ever used at Winchester (see p.21 ff), this 'use' must have been during the reign of Henry VI. If the note about Winchester was dated, this date would fall in the reign of Henry VI and naturally mislead Smith into believing him to be the composer named in OH. Even Barclay Squire found it necessary to give reasons for rejecting Henry VII and VIII, and he claimed Henry VI as the royal composer on the strength of dates affecting the later careers of Damett and Sturgeon, all of whose works are later additions to the manuscript.

Roy Henry occupies a place of honour in the lay-out of the manuscript. His Gloria was the first setting in choirbook arrangement to be copied in by the main scribe. His Sanctus heads the group of Sanctus settings. The beginnings of the Agnus group and of the Credo settings in choirbook arrangement are missing. If Roy Henry contributed settings to these groups, we may infer that they would have headed the sections. The first antiphon begins on the verso of the last Gloria (on f.35v) and, as in all other surviving cases, the initial of the first setting in the group has been removed. Unlike the others, however, the initial of this one had no decorative border.

The isorhythmic motets follow on directly from the last Agnus setting, beginning on f.109v with Carbunculus ignitus lillie,

and not starting a fresh gathering. The initial of the first motet has gone, together with the composer's name, if one was written in the left-hand margin. The top margin has been trimmed rather closely by a binder here, and if a name had been placed centrally above the music (as both other ascriptions to Roy Henry are) it might not have survived. The floral border decoration remaining to this motet is a distinction shared only by the two Roy Henry pieces. (The crude, leafy border to Olyver's Sanctus on f.97v was added in the nineteenth century, at the same time as the substitute initials discussed in the next paragraphs.) The three borders are strikingly similar, and the initial has been removed in each case. The absence of such decoration for the first antiphon and the first Credo in score shows that it was not merely done to mark a new section. It is just possible that Roy Henry may have composed 143, a motet on St Thomas who was at that time a legitimate object of royal devotion and pilgrimage. Other contenders for its authorship are the composers who may have been associated with Canterbury (Leonel and Excetre) and - Wilkinson. This is one of the pieces he could have composed. Stafford Smith singled out Leonel, presumably, because of the number of pieces by which he is represented, Roy Henry because of the prominence accorded him. Wilkinson clearly cannot have struck Smith on account of the number of his compositions, but the border decoration would certainly have made the composer of 143 prominent. And if the ascription had been in the left-hand

margin and not at the head, as all except Roy Henry's are, it would have left no trace of its surrounding blue-painted scroll. The balance is marginally in Wilkinson's favour.

There are no grounds for suggesting that the missing initials were historiated, or in any way different from their surviving counterparts. Even in the case of 143 and the two Roy Henry pieces (16, 24), all with decorative borders, the space occupied by the missing initial was no greater than usual. Thus, unless the design of the initial was radically altered within the available space, there can have been no miniatures. In one case (f.97v) the initial has not been completely removed, and gold leaf remains on the upper arm of the S. On f.95v the original violet tracery was gone over in red by the restorer; a fleck of gold leaf remains. All gold-leaf initials had violet tracery, while blue initials (the colour of all subsidiary and some principal letters) had red. All the missing initials had violet tracery and were presumably gold leaf, with the single exception of f.81 where the remaining tracery is red.

The size of an initial (given in staves' depth in the table on p.46) was determined by the musical lay-out. All music in score beginning with polyphony has a capital three staves deep. All music in choirbook lay-out has a main capital two staves deep, and its subsidiary capitals are sometimes one, sometimes two staves deep. When a Sanctus or Agnus in score starts with a plainsong intonation in an outer voice, the initial occupies the other two staves. With an into-

nation in the middle voice, it is given a pair of one-stave initials, one on each of the outer staves. Assuming this scheme to apply to the missing as to the surviving initials, it is clear that the original initial on f.80v and f.85 was in each case a single three-stave S: these are the only two Sanctus settings with all three invocations set polyphonically, apparently not based on plainsong, and thus requiring no intonation. The Agnus on f.106v similarly needed no intonation.

At some stage after the removal of the initials, substitutes were provided. Barclay Squire paid little attention to this problem, about which he says merely:

Many of the initial letters, which were presumably illuminated, had been cut out, though curiously enough the Goth who had mutilated the pages had sometimes taken the trouble to replace the missing portions by rude restorations, in which he had noted the musical notes cut out with the initials.

Had he at that time enquired further of the Tordiffe family, they might have enabled him to tell us the circumstances of removal and substitution, thus removing the whole problem from a sea of speculation. Squire's assumption that the vandal repaired his own damage is scarcely credible. Whoever took the trouble to have the book restored would surely have replaced the cut-out initials if he had access to them. As

1. Squire, 'Notes ...', p.342.

the manuscript apparently remained in the Smith/Tordiffe family during this dark period in its history, a restorer working on it soon after the initials were removed should have had little difficulty in locating the originals. For this reason, some time may have elapsed between the two operations. Moreover, if the restorer had the opportunity to copy directly from the originals, why did he supply a new initial only where the appropriate one was obvious after a glance at neighbouring compositions? Also, why did he not copy the missing music and restore composers' names when these must have appeared -the latter often, the former always- on the original initials?

In all twenty cases of missing initials,¹ the restorer pasted a parchment patch over the gap, usually on the reverse side of the folio from the initial. The patches themselves cover up a certain amount of music, which can readily be retrieved by holding the page up to the light. The earlier editors of the manuscript did not realise this and consequently made more conjectures than they need have done. A selection of plates (specially photographed with a light behind the repair) and reconstructions appears in the appendix to this chapter. In every case, stave lines have been ruled on both sides of the patch to join up with the original stave lines. Next,

1. This figure includes the torn initial on f. iv, but not that on f. 82v which has also been patched up. Pairs of S are counted singly because they replace single initials.

substitute initials were painted on all but four of the patches.

Dom Anselm Hughes states that the restorer was 'familiar with the text of the Ordinary, but quite at sea in the matter of incipits of Motets',¹ pointing out that only one of the initials not replaced belongs to the Ordinary of the Mass. In fact, the restorer was probably not even familiar with the Latin of the Ordinary. He supplied an initial in every case where the appropriate letter was apparent from the opening words of neighbouring pieces: E for Glorias (ff.1v, 3v, 12v, 19v, 28v), P for Credos (ff.47v, 62v, 64v), S for Sanctus settings (ff.80v, 85, 95v, 96v, 97v, 100v), A for the Agnus (106v) - and the small E, correctly, on f.82v.

One of his inferences was wrong, namely the E on f.1v. All that survives of the first word is -Ax, whose pen capital A is shaded with yellow, the main scribe's normal procedure for the letter immediately following an illuminated capital. In no other case does he use a capital in the middle of a word or phrase. There is no room before -Ax for the words and music of -t in terra p- as well as for an illuminated E. The polyphonic setting of this Gloria must have begun, therefore, at Pax hominibus. Inspection of the opening by ultra-violet light from the recto of f.1 proves this conclusively.² The patch is in

1. Ramsbotham &c, OH, vol.III, p.ix.

2. An ultra-violet photograph is reproduced in Bent, 'Initial Letters ...', facing p.232.

this case stuck on from the front (i.e. on f.1v), and a reverse image of the music of f.1v is clearly visible (minus stave-lines which, being red, do not show up under ultra-violet light under a layer of parchment). In addition to what is normally visible on f.1v, we can now see that the patch conceals the first note of the top part (c, breve), and the clefs for all three parts (C1, C3, C5, only the last being wholly visible). The relevant clefs and notes can be read from right to left from the photograph, disregarding the stave-lines, words and heavier notes of f.1 recto.

The one instance in which the restorer failed to supply an initial for the Ordinary is a parallel situation. Had he been familiar with the words of the Mass, he could not have failed to notice that the Credo on f.69v must begin not with Patrem but with Factorem. There is insufficient room for Patrem omnipotentem fact- before -orem. The tenor part of this setting also begins at Factorem.¹

The three other places where initials are not supplied all concern incipits of motets, which can only be determined

1. There is an F on f.65 which the restorer could have used as a model, though this setting does not begin at Factorem. Other English settings which do include an anonymous Credo printed as no. 10 in Bukofzer, Dunstable, and the second-layer Credo in OH by Leonel, no. 73.

with a knowledge of Latin and of the -by no means obvious- liturgical sources. On f.109v the paste failed and the patch came off, leaving a visible paste-mark. In one or two cases where the initial has not been supplied (ff.35v, 37v, 69v), an initial or opening word has been hazarded in lead pencil in the corner of the patch in a recent hand. There is no reason to attach importance to these conjectures; they do not suggest that their writer had more information than we do.

Dom Anselm Hughes suggests that the restorer was 'a professional bookbinder or repairer, but evidently not ... a competent musician'.¹ Certainly, the pasting and trimming have been neatly done, but the painted initials are more likely to be an amateur job. Although they hardly display what we would regard as good taste, they might have been very much worse. Someone with the ability to paint substitute illuminations is more likely to have had a basic knowledge of how to repair books than a professional bookbinder to have undertaken to paint substitute illuminations. Equally, if our man had been interested to restore missing musical notes where possible (as has been done on ff 62v and 80v), he would surely not wantonly have covered up large areas of original notation on the reverse side by pasting over them, without first transfer-

1. Ramsbotham & Co, OH, vol.III, p.ix.

ring the notes to the parchment patch. This has not been done. Either the painter had his patches done by a repairer, by which time it was too late to salvage the hidden notes, or the restorer did his own patching without any regard for the music, and the few reconstructed notes were inserted later.

The table on p.46 shows that initials were cut out in two different ways. Where a whole corner has been removed, music from both sides of the folio and often, presumably, a composer's name, are lost. Where a small 'island' has been cut round the letter, the musical loss is less severe. All the missing Sanctus initials (except the three-stave ones on ff. 80v and 85) have been cut in this way. Either the vandal had cut islands in every case, and the repairer started by squaring off the corners or, much more likely, the change in cutting was adapted for initials of smaller dimensions, taken from further down a page, or where the surrounding tracery was less extensive.

Trimming appears to have taken place after the substitute initials were in place, and therefore presumably at the time of the late 19th-century binding. Squire's measurements (41.6 X 27.6 cm) and his versions of foreshortened composers' names (Gyttering, ...sleyn), show that the worst had happened by the time he saw it.

Musical restoration has been attempted in two places. Whoever was responsible obviously had musical knowledge and

ingenuity, but an imperfect understanding of the style and notation of the music. The two lower parts added on f.62v were inferred from the lower parts to complete a D minor triad, which is quite out of character. In addition, the restored upper part is rhythmically deficient. The only other case of musical restoration occurs in Roy Henry's Sanctus (94, f.80v). Dom Anselm writes that this piece of restoration contains 'quite a good deal of presumably accurate original notation'. He then goes on:

As the repairer seems not to have had expert musical knowledge, some explanation of this point seems called for; and the only suggestion that can be made is that the initials were removed after the volume came into the hands of Stafford Smith (who may have made a transcript of the Roy Henry Sanctus) and that the repairer had this to copy from. This conjecture as to the date of the removal is borne out by the comparatively modern hand which has added (in most cases wrongly) the missing notes to the substitute initials.

Someone did in fact make a transcript of the Roy Henry Sanctus, and this is preserved at St Edmund's College. It has presumably accompanied the manuscript since it was made; the two were certainly together when Barclay Squire saw the manuscript in 1898, for he writes: 'An attempt by Smith to score one of the compositions contained in it still remains in the volume as a reminder of its former owner'.² The transcript is a kind of figured bass version, consisting of the top part

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1. Ramsbotham & Co, OH, vol.III, p.ix.
 2. Squire, 'Notes ...', p.342.

and an amalgam of the two bottom parts, which gives always the lower note, and occasionally both notes at points where the lower parts cross. Accidentals are generously added, and these are incorporated into the figuring, which frequently gives no indication of the middle part.¹

Comparison of the handwriting and music script with various examples of Smith's writing shows clearly that he did not write the transcript. Indeed, the wording of the heading rather suggests that someone else was at work: 'Sanctus: Composed by King Henry the Sixth, for three voices in score or partition taken from an illuminated MS in the possession of John S. Smith'. It can therefore be dated between 1813, when Smith bought the manuscript, and 1836, when he died. I have not been able to identify the hand.

This transcript provides important evidence about the date at which the manuscript was mutilated and when it was restored. The initial S at the beginning has been cut out, taking with it the first few notes of each part, and seven later notes from the top part (bars 19.2 to 21.2), which are at the beginning of the second set of staves in the manuscript. A pair of S has been substituted, and the missing notes supplied: see plate III. It is significant that the only piece which has been substantially restored should be the very one of which an early 19th-century transcript has survived together

1. Photograph reproduced in Bent, 'Initial Letters ...', facing p. 233.

with the manuscript.

The restored version produces an uncharacteristic dissonance on the first beat of the 22nd breve (bar 12 of the new edition) - quite different from the passing dissonances between the two lower parts at bars 31 and 32. The P.M.M.S. edition regularises this passage from the version given in the first line to that given in the second line in the following example, offering no explanation of the error: nor are restored notes distinguished from original ones.

Although John Stafford Smith had read Morley's list of authors, his colleague had evidently not studied the notational sections of Morley's Plaine and Easie before making his transcription. In four places he treats two minims in C time as equal notes where the second should be altered. Moreover, he treats all two-note ligatures as pairs of semibreves even when, as in all three parts at bars 20-21, they are in fact breves. Having transcribed the first two notes as semibreves he finds the passage one beat short, and cheats with the lower parts in the next bar, by writing consecutively two notes which should sound simultaneously. In the top part he reads the ligature c-g as two semibreves, instead of breves, and completes the bar with the semibreve g. He then has to adjust the next note a, semibreve, to occupy the space of a breve. The resulting passage is three beats shorter than the original:

94

restored version in *ms*

conjectured original

19th-century transcript (halved values)

(the small letters are for comparison)

The image shows a musical score for measure 94, divided into three systems. The first system is the 'restored version in ms', showing a melody in 6/8 time with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The second system is the 'conjectured original', which is identical to the restored version but includes a bass line with notes labeled 'a', 'b', 'c', 'd', 'e', and 'f'. The third system is the '19th-century transcript (halved values)', which shows the same melody in 3/4 time with halved note values and the same bass line labels. A note at the end of the transcript is marked with a '6' and a '6' over it. A handwritten note at the bottom states '(the small letters are for comparison)'.

The fact that the restored version as it now appears in the manuscript makes poor musical sense reinforces my belief that whoever restored the musical notation cannot have been working from the original initials. If, however, the transcript had been made from the unutilated document by someone with an imperfect understanding of the notation, then the restorer, working backwards from the transcript which accompanied the manuscript, would automatically assume the original a in the top part to have been a breve. He would also have restored

the ligature c-a as a pair of breves, in conformity with the part below it, while believing the notes to be semibreves.

If this is the correct series of events, this page (and presumably the whole manuscript) must have come unutilated into Smith's hands in 1813. While it was in his possession, someone else made a transcription of the Roy Henry Sanctus. Next, the initials were removed. By the time Mr Tordiffe presented the volume to Old Hall, the initials had presumably been restored and the missing notes of the Roy Henry Sanctus added.

All the music copied in by the main scribe has (or had) illuminated initials in gold leaf and blue, sized and positioned according to the musical lay-out (see p.52). Some of the second-layer music also has this type of illumination. The remainder of the second-layer music is either without capitals (on ff.55v-57v) or has initials of unauthentic style, colouring and inferior draughtsmanship which can be safely identified as 19th-century additions. They are so similar in style and paint colours to the substituted initials that they were undoubtedly executed by the same restorer at the same time. The pencil lines which can be seen below the painted ones confirm that this is not the work of a 15th-century artist; the pale, saintly faces embedded in the initial decoration on ff.7v and 6v are pre-Raphaelite, while the characterful grimaces on ff.17v and 26 are pre Raphael.

None of these bogus initials occurs in the work of the main scribe: all his work was illuminated in the original scheme of gold and blue. There is ample evidence (of note-stems disappearing under gold leaf and re-emerging the other side) that the words and music of the first layer of the manuscript were complete before illumination was carried out. It is equally clear that in many of the second-layer pieces which have illumination of this original type the initial was there before the music. On f.6v, for example, the guide line for the first line of words beneath the third stave clearly begins on top of the gold leaf at the foot of the capital E, runs over it for $1/8$ " , then gradually loses ink as it goes across the page, although still clearly visible as a guide line.¹ On f.31v the red stem on stave 3, and the clef on stave 3 of f.32 were clearly done after illumination, likewise the clefs of f.32v. On f.33v the erasure of words beneath propter has affected the tracery of the initial decoration, which was there before the erasure. The erasure, in turn, appears to be contemporary with the other words of that piece. At first sight, the initial on f.61v seems to cover the stems

1. This is one of several indications that this scribe was right-handed. I have not detected any signs of left-handedness in the scribes of OH. See T.A.M. Bishop, Scriptores Regis: Facsimiles to identify and illustrate the hands of royal scribes in original charters of Henry I, Stephen and Henry II (Oxford, 1961), p.16, n.2, for an interesting speculation on this point.

of two notes on the stave below. On closer examination, however, the course of events for both cases can be followed in minute detail. In the case of the first note of the third stave, the stem was made with a downward stroke. The scribe started the stroke on the gold leaf, but the pen bit into the illumination, flicking off a small triangular piece of the gold leaf. The heavy dot of ink can be seen, and a faint trace then continues across the white glair which this action uncovered.¹ The stem then resumes its normal colour on contact with the parchment. The fourth stem of the same stave similarly seems to run underneath the gold leaf. Under strong light, however, the exact shape of the stem can be seen as a faint waxy trace across the gold leaf. The surface of the gold has not taken the ink, but the trace of the pen's movement across the foot of the initial remains visible. The stem of the second note on the 3rd stave of f.62 travels over the main blue of the initial, encroaching upon it for about 1/16".

The following table shows which second-layer pieces have illumination of the original type. The numbers of folios with illumination are underlined; those without, or with 19th-century illumination, are not.

1. See D.V.Thompson, The Materials of Medieval Painting (London, 1936), pp.219-220 for the method of applying gold leaf.

TABLE OF SECOND-LAYER PIECES WITH ORIGINAL ILLUMINATION

No.	Folios	Composer	Gatherings
9	<u>6v-7</u>	Sturgeon	I-II
37	<u>31v-32</u>	Danett	V
38	<u>32v-33</u>	Cook	V
39	<u>33v-34</u>	Danett	V
40	<u>34v-35</u>	Sturgeon	V-VI
53	<u>39v-40</u>	Danett	VII
72	<u>60v-61</u>	Danett	X
73	<u>61v</u>	Lyonel	X
74	<u>62</u>	Forest?	X
92	<u>78v-79</u>	Cooke	XII
93	<u>79v-80</u>	Danett	XII-XIII
111	<u>89v-90</u>	Danett	XIII-XIV

The three small gatherings containing second-layer music only (II, IX and XIV: see p.42), together with f.40 (all with distinctive features assembled as collation evidence, e.g. brown margin rulings), include no illuminated initials of the original type. There is thus no evidence that either the main scribe or his illuminator ever had access to these later additions. They are unconnected with the original plan for the manuscript, as far as this can be discerned. While it remains possible that the original scribe inserted them, I shall henceforth assume that they were added by the

later scribes who used them.

The main scribe worked on all except the three extra gatherings, leaving pen indications to the illuminator throughout. In many cases the illumination has concealed these indications, but the ones which can still be seen easily are listed in the table on p.68. Most are the initial letter of the part name or first word, but the scribe also used b for blodie, leaving other initials to be done in tooled gold leaf. This letter occurs only by blue capitals, and was not placed so that it would be covered, as initial letters were. For some reason, the main scribe did not copy all the music he planned to include before sending it to be illuminated, but nevertheless provided directions for illumination throughout. (Surely he would have marked up the three extra gatherings in the same way if he had needed to add them for his own use?) In some cases he did not provide for subsidiary initials (on ff.33, 34, 35, 79, 80), perhaps because he could not anticipate them precisely. The initial on f.6v (originally facing f.12) was intended for a Gloria in score, so no subsidiary initial would be needed. The special case of ff.89v-90 is discussed below.

The second-layer scribes then gained access to the illuminated manuscript and used the folios which the main scribe had left unfilled, adding their inserted gatherings before they copied any pieces which straddle those gatherings.

List of visible indications by the main scribe to his illuminator

- b (blodie), ff. 13, 14, 15, 15, 17, 17, 17, 18, 19, 27, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72.
- e (et in terra), ff. 4v, 5v, 6v, 32v, 34 (not illuminated).
- c (contratenor), ff. 13, 14, 20, 21, 25, 27, 28v, 60, 94, 96, 97.
- p (patrum), ff. 42v, 44, 45v, 48v, 50, 78v, 79v.
- t (tenor), ff. 28, 95v, 112v, 78v.
- f (factorem), f.65.
- s (sanctus), ff. 91v, 92.
- q (qui tollis), ff. 86v, 87v, 88, 98v, 99, 103v, 104v, 105v, 107v, 108.
- r (regali), f.38v; (regina celi), f.39v (to be discussed).
- b (beata), f.38.
- m (mater), f.110.
- v (virginalis), f.111.
- a (are), f.111v.
- n (nunc), f.112.

In addition, many indications are visible by the small capitals of Pleni, Benedictus, Osanna, &c.

When working on the newly-inserted folios, the scribes of the second-layer music left similar guides to a future illuminator, nearly all of which can be seen, never suspecting that it would be four centuries before these were acted upon. For the bogus illuminations, apart from substitute initials, are exclusively in the inserted gatherings except for one or two subsidiary initials in the main body of the manuscript. These are listed in the table on p.69.

TABLE OF 19TH-CENTURY ILLUMINATIONS

folio	OH no.	Initial supplied	Gathering
7v	10	E (correct)	II
8v	12	E (correct)	II
9v	13	E (correct)	II
10v	14	E (correct)	II
11v	15	E (superfluous and misplaced)	II
33	38	D (MS: Ontratenor, with guide-letter c visible. Subsidiary initial in an original gathering)	V
34	39	C (MS: Contratenor, with guide-letter e visible - by main scribe? Subsidiary initial in an original gathering)	V
40	54	S (superfluous and misplaced)	VII
40v	55	S (correct: guide letter s)	VII
52v	64	P (correct: end of an original gathering)	VIII
54	65	P (correct)	IX
58v	69	P (correct)	IX
79	92	E (correct; subsidiary initial in an original gathering)	XII
80	93	C (MS: Et ex patre. No C required) Saddles two original gatherings, and perhaps follows an indication by the main scribe)	XIII
89v	111	S (upper of two S; the lower is original. Discussed below.)	XIII
90	111	S (wrong: see below)	XIV

90v	112	A	(correct)	XIV
91	112	X	(wrong: see below)	XIV
91v	113	S	(correct)	XIV
92	113	S	(correct)	XIV
92v	114	^{SS} S	(correct, in that space has been left, but superfluous in that MS has 'Sanctus'. This illuminator has traced the name Sturgeon in the margin, presumably over an original ascription, as it is clearly right on grounds of notation and style.)	XIV

None of the second-layer scribes gave indications of colour, but the 19th-century painter was at no pains to follow the original colour-scheme anyway. He acted predictably in most cases, taking his cue either from guide-letters or from neighbouring compositions. His mistakes are interesting, and he made several.¹

Two of his oversights have already been given: the E he supplied instead of P for [P]ax hominibus on f.1v, and his failure to provide F for [F]actorem in the Credo beginning on f.69v. His errors with regard to the new initials are more blatant. On ff.11v and 40 he supplied E and S, in each case at the end of the preceding set of staves in a space unfilled by the previous piece in score. Apart from these errors of placing, which occur nowhere else, both letters are superfluous;

1. The only anomaly within the original illumination to scribe A's work occurs in the last Gloria (36): f.31 has a blue illuminated E, while that part begins with the words Laudamus te.

the scribe of each piece left no room for illumination, providing on both occasions a pen capital and not merely a guide letter. On f.80, too, no illuminated capital was required as there is a proper pen E. The restorer has supplied C above this letter. On f.33 he has capriciously provided a D although there is a clearly visible guide c, for [C]ontra-tenor. On f.34 he gives C in addition to the scribe's Contratanor Et in terra. However, in this case the pen guide e can be seen but does not make sense. It appears that for these two pieces the original scribe left indications to his illuminator which were for some reason not followed, and that the later scribe who added music on these pages chose to ignore the indication. Why the original illuminator did not complete his brief is impossible to say: perhaps he wished to avoid further miscalculations like the one on f.31 (see p.70, n.1), as the subsidiary capital could not always be anticipated. This Gloria is the only first-layer piece which carries any symptoms indicating that it might have been written after illumination; the evidence is inconclusive, and all other data suggests that the main scribe never handled it after the illuminator. 36 shows signs of hasty copying, and this could explain a careless (and isolated) mistake by this scribe.

A curious situation arises on ff.89v-90, which contain the motet Salvatoris mater pia (Daneff), copied by a second-layer scribe. At first sight, it seems that the lower of the two S on f.89v is superfluous, though this is gold leaf and certainly original. (The 19th-century initials include some painted gold, but no gold leaf). The upper of the two S is one stave deep, and the lower covers two staves (see p.52 for the significance of these sizes); the paint of the upper, 19th-century S clearly goes over the paint of the lower, original one.

Here is evidence of a different kind that the book had already been illuminated when it reached the second-layer scribes. Why, otherwise, should the scribe of 111 have taken the unusual step of making a three-stave-deep indentation, such as is reserved exclusively for pieces in score? And why, then, should the illuminator have left a gap by the top stave (now filled by the later initial) just where the S for this motet was needed, and allowed his S to occupy only the lower two? This assumes unprecedented mismanagement by both parties. Here too the gold-leaf S must have been there before the music. It was designed to accommodate one or other of two possibilities; either a Sanctus in score with the plainsong intonation in the upper part (as on ff.97v, 98, 99) or a Sanctus in choirbook lay-out

with an intonation, again in the upper part (as on ff. 93v, 94v, 95v). The latter is marginally more likely. Ff. 90-92 make up an inserted gathering, and f. 89v would originally have faced f. 93. A Sanctus in choirbook lay-out would have occupied the whole of this opening. Any indication to the illuminator written by the original scribe at this point has been covered by the gold leaf. This scribe, as we are beginning to see, intended to add more music after the illuminations had been carried out, but this is our first unequivocal indication that, in some cases at least, he knew the precise nature of the music to be added. A letter E, one or two staves deep, would have fitted any Gloria in choirbook lay-out, and such letters were turned to this purpose by the later scribes. (If the conjecture on p. 71 is right, the original scribe distinguished in advance the uncopied Glorias which needed E [t in terra] from those which needed C [ontratenor] for their secondary initial.) However, not every Sanctus setting has a plainsong intonation in the upper part, and the first-layer scribe must have had a suitable piece to hand. Although the later scribes kept as closely as possible to the planned order of the manuscript (the two groups of interpolated motets being the only exceptions), they were unwilling or unable to complete the repertory intended by the first scribe. Here, and in one other instance, the adaptation of the main scribe's lay-out was

imperfect, and thus helps to confirm the order of events at this stage in the manuscript's history.

Below the spurious S on f.90, which contains the lower parts of the same motet (111), a pen guide o is clearly visible (in the same black ink as the words and music of this folio and unlike the brownish ink used by the main scribe), indicating what the initial ought to have been. The first line of the second text of this piece should therefore be amended to read O Georgi deo care, instead of Sancte Georgi dec care, as Barclay Squire and subsequent scholars have extended the S. This corrected version is also justified by the metre: the second line is Salvatorem deprecare. The capital X on f.90 is superfluous, but this duplication was already invited by the scribe, who supplied a small letter x here.

On f.39v, the initial of the antiphon Beata dei genitrix has been corrected at an earlier date. Part of the original gold leaf has been scraped away, and the letter completed in black ink. However, the original gold letter was not a capital B but a letter R, identical in shape to that on the previous folio.¹ The foot of the R has been erased, and the base-line linked up to form a B. The pen outline and surrounding decoration of the letter R still remain.

1. And to that on f.36v, reproduced in facsimile in Ramsbotham &c, OH, vol.III, facing p.1.

At first sight this appears to have been an error on the part of the illuminator. This is not so, for the guide - a small letter r - is still visible. Closer inspection shows, further, that along the foot of the B the words regina celi are written in the pale brownish ink used by the main scribe. Except for the r already mentioned, this is almost invisible without the aid of ultra-violet light. In no other case does the main scribe's indication to the illuminator consist of more than a single letter. This departure from his normal practice arose because he had not yet copied in this antiphon, and needed more than the initial as a reminder. Beata dei genitrix is the work of a later scribe. Here is further evidence that the original scribe knew what music was still to be copied, that he expected to resume work on it after illumination, and that the later scribes would or could not co-operate with his plan. In this instance it appears that he also knew the composer of Regina celi. Above the name Danett on f.39v, i.e. in a normal position for the ascription to its composer of a piece in score, something red has been thoroughly erased. This erasure was done after the illumination, and has taken away some of the violet tracery of the initial we have just been discussing. The shape of the erasure conforms exactly to that of the little scroll in which the main scribe was accustomed to enclose a composer's name, and its eradication, presumably by the scribe of Beata dei genitrix, gives clear proof of an abrupt change of

plan at this stage in the compilation of OM. Reasons for the change cannot be advanced with confidence on the basis of this internal evidence, which can only demonstrate that the change occurred.

One puzzle remains. The setting of Regina celi on f.36v occupies a whole side, or four lines of three-stave score. The plainsong is in the middle part, and although the words could, if necessary, be squeezed into two lines, the plainsong could not have been compressed into this space by the main scribe if he were using even his most compressed script. On f.39v there are only two lines of three-stave score after the initial R - not enough for this antiphon. If scribe A had not already begun the creeds in score on f.4f, he would surely have left room for the rest of the antiphon here; but for reasons of spacing, all music in score must have been entered in the order in which it appears within its own section, and the first creed in score must have been written already. It now seems possible that f.40 was inserted, or that the insertion was planned, not by a second-layer scribe but by the main scribe, who would have needed its first six staves for the rest of his Regina celi. This is in some measure confirmed by the fact that on f.40, in the right-hand margin just below where Danett is now written, something red has been very thoroughly erased. The position of the erasure is exactly where we would expect to find a composer's

name in a composition copied by the main scribe, and moreover it is exactly where the motet after Regina celi would have begun. No other evidence survives, and the red erasure may not have been a scribe A scroll: it is considerably larger than the one which has been erased on f.39v, but this could be due to the pigment being rubbed in over a wider area by a less careful erasure. However, scribe A did not prescribe an initial here.

A few more words about f.40 are now in place. We have assumed that the first Credo in score was already copied when scribe A encountered his spatial problem at the end of the antiphon section, and that he could therefore not continue Regina celi onto f.41. If he had inserted f.40 with its conjugate folio emerging between ff.42 and 43, and then copied the Credo which now occupies ff.42v-43v, making such a grave error on the conjugate of f.40 that he was forced to remove it and use f.43 instead, we might posit that f.40 had once had a conjugate. This is an unlikely hypothesis, and cannot be proved, even if it struck a more convincing note: it does not appear that a folio had to be abandoned anywhere else - indeed, erasure of a whole opening (ff.101v-102) was considered a worthwhile occupation by somebody. I believe that f.40 has always been a single leaf, either glued to its neighbour or with a stub sewn into the binding. (Many precedents are available in medieval manuscripts for the incorporation of a single leaf into a quire in this way: one is, again, the larger Domesday volume.)

Insertion, planned or actual, by scribe A does not mean that he must also have inserted the extra gatherings (II, IX, XIV). It could be argued that to add to an existing gathering was more in line with his normal practice (see pp.42-43) than to insert new ones.

I have treated the scribe and the illuminator of the main part of the manuscript as two separate agents. One man might have been responsible but if so, why did he need to leave indications to himself, and to illuminate his work before it was complete? The signs of interrupted work do imply that two men were involved: possibly the scribe had failed to meet a deadline, or the illuminator was waiting for the work.

Some interesting details are available of the cost and time of manuscript preparation at the time of OH. Payments for manuscripts at Peterhouse, Cambridge in the 15th century (size c.11 X 8", with double columns of 44 lines) show an average of 3d a quaternion for parchment (rather more than half the format of OH), 1/4 per quaternion for writing, 6d to 1/- for illumination (presumably chapter headings only) of a book with about 200 folios, and 2/- for binding.

John Prust, canon of Windsor c.1380, has already been mentioned by scholars of OH.¹ The parchment for his

1. Rambotham &c, OH, vol. II, p.vii, vol. III, p.xii.

Textus Evangelii cost 8d a quaternion, ink for 19 quires 1/2, vermilion 9d, illumination 4/3, binding 3/4. The binding and the cost of parchment here are presumably in proportion to the size and quality of the book, and the other higher costs for its greater ornateness. It apparently took him 18 weeks to complete: he was paid 15/- for commons during this period, as well as 15/- stipend. There is no mention of subcontracting, but presumably he did not necessarily bind the book himself, nor illuminate it. The total cost of this production was 75/8.

Thomas Lyngnour of Bury was paid for a psalter in 1467, details of which include 12/- for binding, 20d a quire for writing, 8d a quire for noting (undoubtedly an easier task than 'noting' OH), 3s for capital drawing, 5s for 'floryahunge of capytallis', and the very high price of 20d a quire for three quires of 'velym'.¹ These examples are given merely to provide a very rough idea of the probable cost of preparing OH.

Missing compositions

The following paragraphs combine the evidence of collation and initials to produce two lists: the shorter can be given without more ado and consists of the compositions which the main scribe never copied. The longer attempts to assess how much music has been lost with lost folios.

1. All these examples are taken from George J. Gray, The Earlier Cambridge Stationers and Bookbinders and the First Cambridge Printer (Bibliographical Society: Oxford, 1904), pp.20-21.

LIST OF PIECES INTENDED BY THE MAIN SCRIBE

(but never actually copied)

Folios	Gatherings	Piece intended (sc = score; cb = choirbook layout)
6v-12	I-III	Gloria (sc): 3-stave E
31v-32	V	Gloria (cb): gold E, blue E
32v-33	V	Gloria (cb): gold E only
33v-34	V	Gloria (cb): gold E, also guide letter e?
34v-35	V-VI	Gloria (cb): gold E only
39v-40	VII	<u>Regina celi</u> (sc): named composer, to occupy four lines of score
40-40v	VII	another antiphon (sc) by a named composer?
51a-52	VIII	No intention expressed: but an initial on f. 51a may have been used by later scribe for his Credo of which only the end survives.
52v-58a	VIII-X	No intention expressed, though position for initial survives. Probably another Credo intended (cb?): this would otherwise be the only opening in the manuscript left blank.
60v-61	X	Credo (cb): gold P, blue P
61v-61a	X	Credo (cb): gold P survives
61av-62	X	Credo (cb): blue P survives
78v-79	XII	Credo (cb): gold P only
79v-80	XII-XIII	Credo (cb): gold P only
89v-93	XIII-XV	Sanctus (cb or score) with plainsong intonation in top part

The pieces for which a subsidiary initial was never provided (marked 'only' above) may have had middle parts which would continue from the verso to the top of the recto folio. Similar cases are found on ff. 15v-16, 27v-28, 28v, 78, the last of which has no illuminated capital in the surviving recto. It could be also that the precise piece to be copied was not yet known, but I think this less likely.

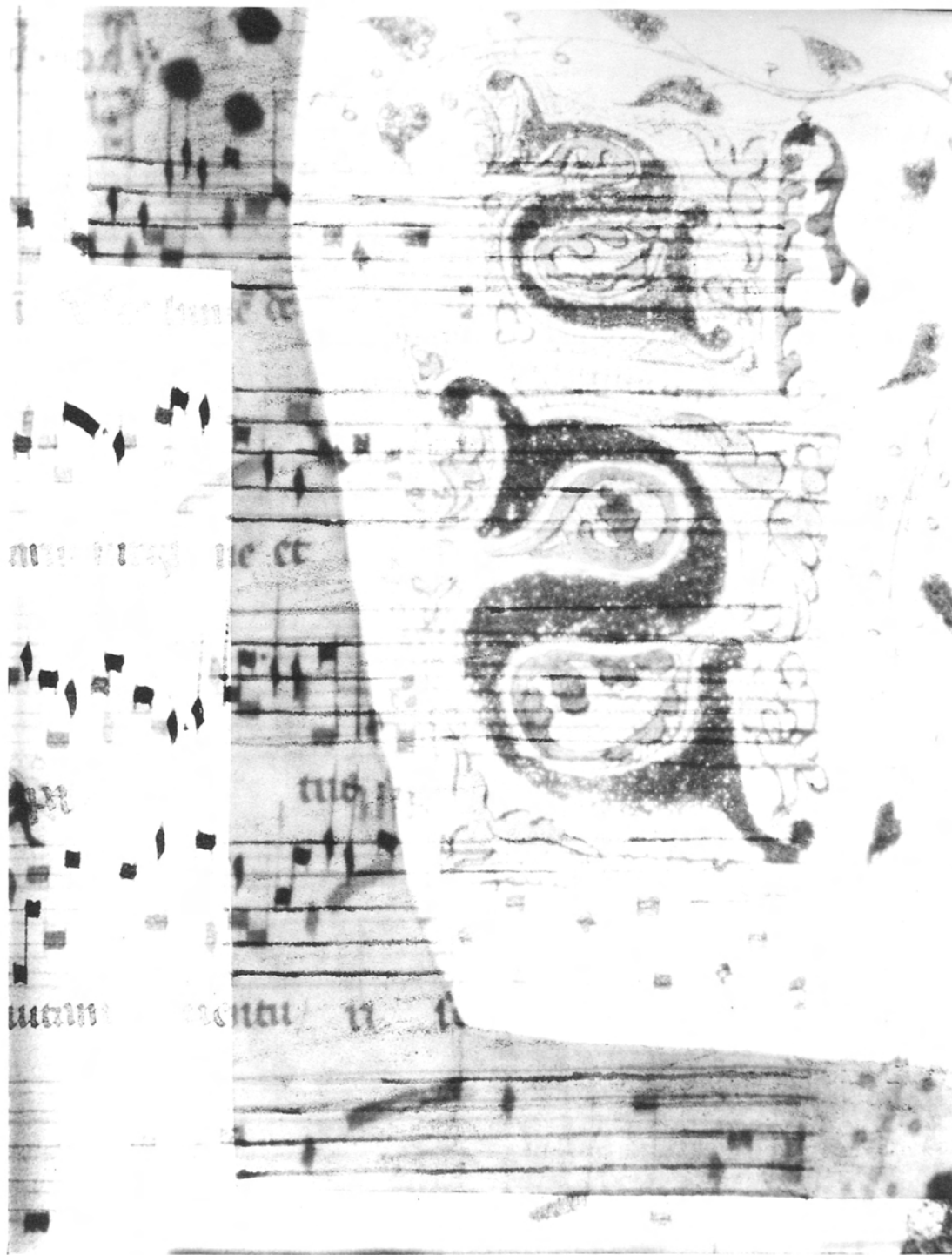
Remembering the proviso (see p.37) that a gathering of Kyries may have opened the manuscript and that the Glorias in score may have occupied more than one gathering, the following list is based on the collation given in table I. It attempts to show how much music the manuscript once contained which is now lost and is not concerned with the unfulfilled plan of the main scribe.

<u>LIST OF LOST COMPOSITIONS</u>		
gathering	composition (sc = score cb = choirbook)	A = main scribe
I	5 half-Glorias (sc)	A
I	1 Gloria (sc), av-b	A
II	2 half-Glorias (sc)	-
V	2 half-Glorias (cb)	A
VI	2 half-antiphons (sc)	A
VI	1 or 2 antiphons (sc), 35a-35av (part); 4 or 5 antiphons (sc), 36a-36bv (part)	A
VII		
VI-VII	2 half-antiphons (sc)	A
VI-VII	5 or 6 antiphons (sc), 37a(part) -37cv (part)	A
VIII		
X	1 half-Credo (sc)	-
X	2 Credos (cb), 58av-58c?	A?
X	2 half-Credos (cb)	-
XII	2 half-Credos (cb)	A
XIV	1 half-Sanctus (sc)	-

XVI	1 half-Agnus (sc)	A
XVI	100a blank, or 1 Sanctus (sc), or additional parts for <u>123</u> , or 1 or 2 Agnus (sc)	A
XVI-XVII	2 Agnus (sc) or 1 (cb), and 1 (sc), 106a-106b	A
XVII	1 half-Agnus (cb)	A
XVIII	3 half-motets (cb)	A
XVIII	1 motet (cb), 109av-109b	A

At least 17 complete compositions have been lost. By comparing this list with the collation, it will be seen that the heaviest loss is from the work of the main scribe, and in his work from the antiphon section.

The original plan was for a manuscript of 14 gatherings; it would have had 120 folios including f.40. 97 of these now survive. 14 out of 16 inserted leaves survive; the manuscript as it actually took shape had (at least) 137 folios.

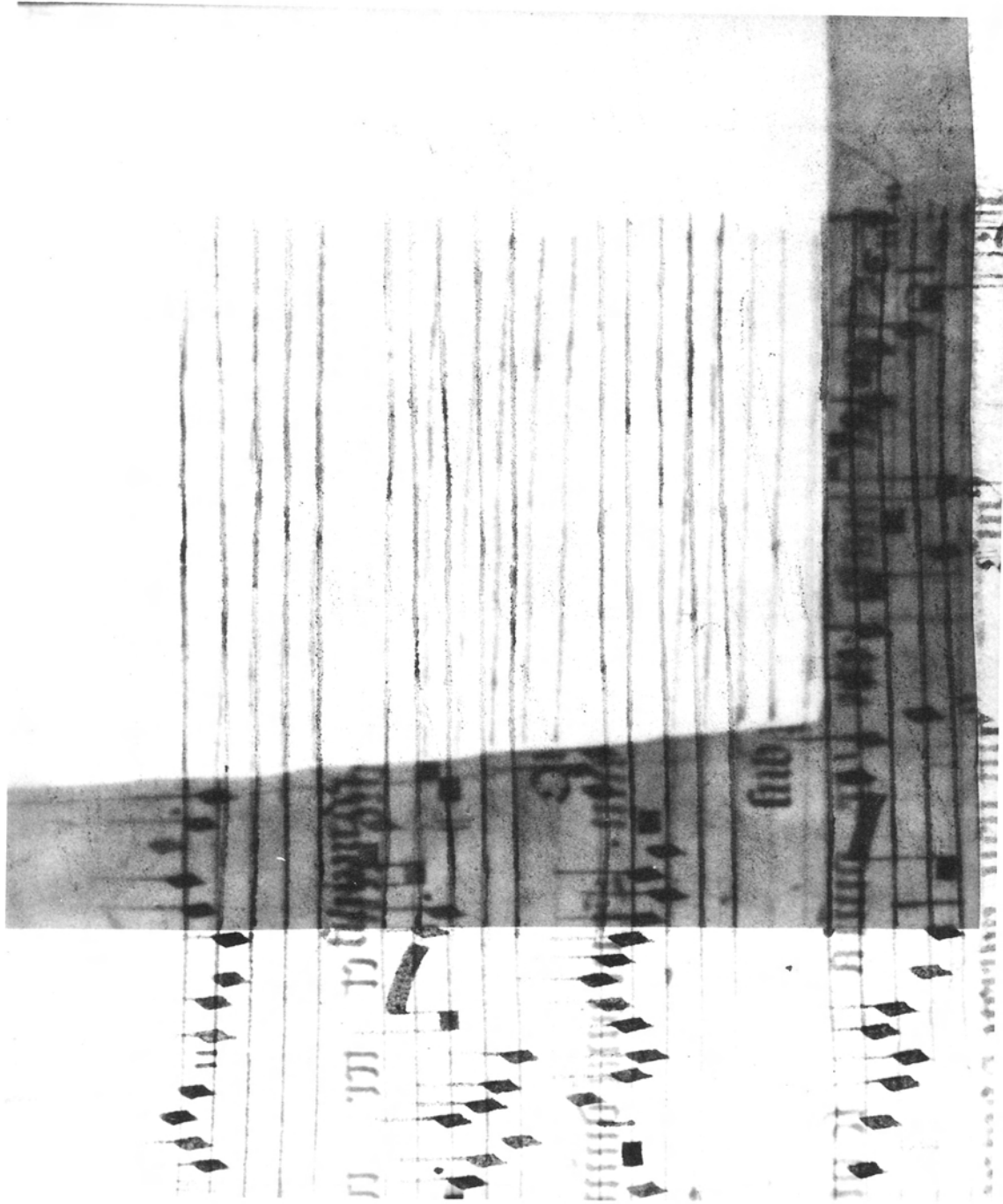


APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II

This appendix concerns a selection of pieces affected by the removal of an initial. Plates III-VI were photographed with a light behind the parchment patch to show the concealed notes. When the other side of the leaf is closely written (as in plate VI), only careful comparison can determine which of the photographed notes belong to which side.

Plate III (f.80) shows the musical restoration of the Roy Henry Sanctus extending to the cutting line (see p.62). It also shows part of the contratenor of a Credo by Danett (93) concealed by the patch. The contratenor survives complete, together with part of the first line of the tenor, in GUC; this is one of the few cases in which recovery of the concealed notes does not actually give a musical gain. The two copies of the contratenor are identical except for one ligature.

Plate IV (f.69), with a patch but no substitute initial, shows how confusing the presence of three sets of stave-lines can be - on recto, verso and patch. The contratenor again is affected; as the writing is compressed, and the part to be read in augmentation, the amount of music recovered is good value in terms of bars for the few centimetres concealed. In addition to the three shorter portions, the entire middle part of the following example (p.84) is concealed by the patch.



81 84

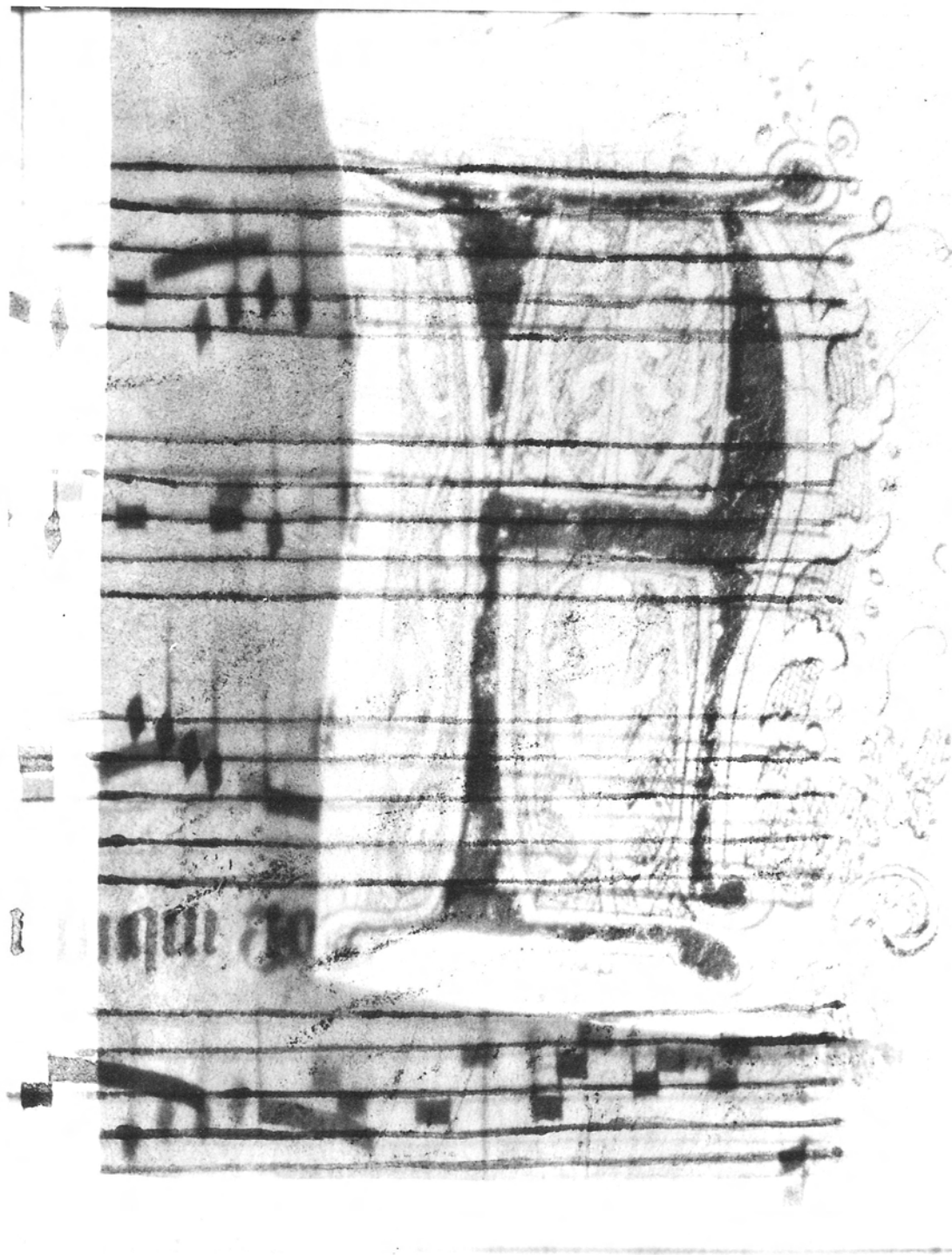
ven-tu-rus est cum glo-ri-a ju-di-ca-re vi-vos et

mor-tu-os, cu-jus re-gni

non e-rit fi-nis. Et

Plate V (f.106) shows how an initial removed from a piece in score robs us of all three parts together, for a short while, of the score piece on the other side of the leaf. In choirbook pieces, the gaps are usually in one part only, and the length of the gap can be determined from the other parts.

Plate V



In this case, the gap is considerably reduced by the recovery of the concealed notes. These continue the increased minim movement of the preceding bar, establishing this passage as the most rhythmically active in the piece. No reconstruction made without knowledge of the concealed notes could have produced the version actually in the manuscript, and escaped the charge of inconsistency.

The setting (137) is based on the Sarum Agnus plainsong 7, which is in the middle part throughout except for its two lowest notes, g, f, at the third peccata (not illustrated here), which are taken by the lowest part. It is clear that this should also happen in the gap. The missing notes of the plainsong are b g f c c b d; the d (minim) which is just visible under the patch in the middle part does not belong to the plainsong. To move the g to the lowest part at this point is the obvious solution, together with the f which should follow. The missing b must be elided, as repeated notes often are. The remaining notes can then be allotted to the middle part; the last of them, d, should be at the beginning of the next system, although there is no apparent reason for this error of placing, very rare in the work of this scribe. No great ingenuity is required to supply the remaining few notes around this skeleton; the space left by the missing initial determines the approximate number required.

The top part of bars 27-28 is visible except for the

no bis. A gnus
no bis. A gnus
no bis. A gnus

15

De i, qui tol lis pec ca
De i, qui tol lis pec ca
De i, qui tol lis pec ca

20

ta mun di, mi se
ta mun di, mi se
ta mun di, mi se

25

re re no bis.
re re no bis.
re re no bis.

30

A gnus De i, qui
A gnus De i, qui
A gnus De i, qui

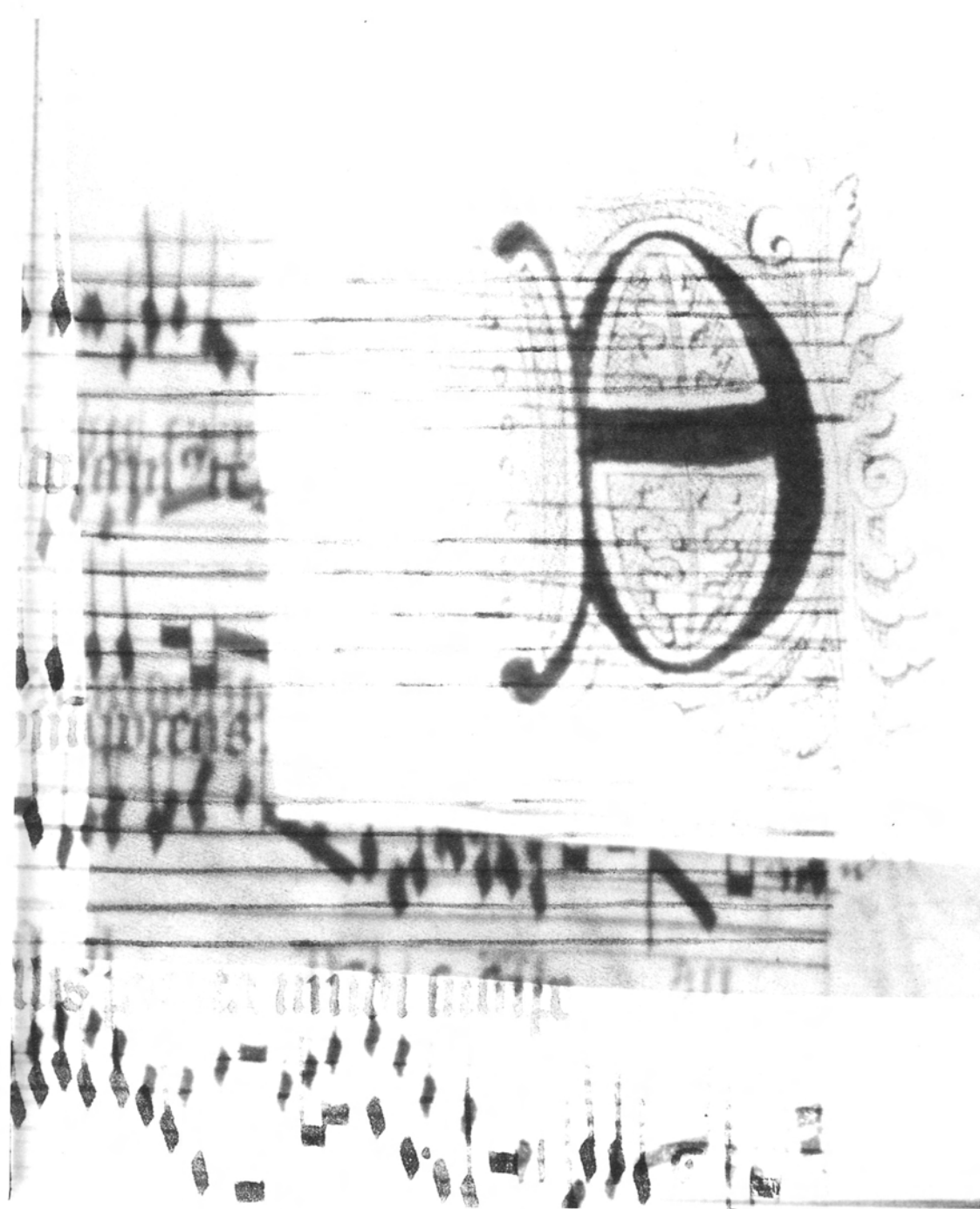
obvious g. The relevant part of this Agnus is reproduced on p.86.

Plate VI (f.19) is particularly helpful for reconstruction, as it affects the second part of an isorhythmic composition (23). The notes of bars 13-14 are concealed; from there to bar 21 the part is reconstructed in the rhythm of its corresponding passage, bars 56-63. Bars 53-63 are themselves recovered from beneath the patch. Observance of the rules for ligatures, and elimination of visible pitch-levels, leave the restored notes in bars 57 and 62 beyond dispute. The parallel place in the isorhythm (bar 13) and the notes under the patch confirm that the first note of bar 53 should be treated as a *minim*, not a *semibreve*.

Bars 31-34 are concealed; the ensuing bars are restored in the rhythm of their parallel passage, which survives intact. The first part of the piece is reproduced in the following pages.

The last piece to be discussed in this appendix (123) has in fact lost no notes by the removal of its initial, though a few have been recovered. It is included here not for this reason, but in order to expand a comment made on p.82.

This Sanctus by Pycard, of which two parts are written out on f.100v, was considered to lack two further parts until Dr Harrison recognised it to be a canon on its plainsong *cantus firmus* (Sarum 3, carried in the top part). He rightly observes



23. Gloria

88

Leonel Power

Ff. 18v - 19

(Priest)
Glo-ri - a in ex - cel - sis De-o

Triplex 1 et in ter - ra pax ho -
Triplex 2 et in ter - ra pax.
Counter-tenor
Contratenor
Tenor
Tenor
Ia!

5 mi - ni - bus bo - nae vo - lun - ta - (tis. Lau - da - mus
Lau - da - mus

10 te.
te. Be - ne - di - ci - mus te. A - do - ra - mus

CMM 461

15

Gra - ti - as

te. Glo - ri - fi - ca - mus te.

20

a - gi - mus ti - - bi pro - pter ma - gnam glo - ri - am tu

25

am!

Beat *d* 30

Do - mi - ne Fi -

Do - mi - ne De - us, rex cae - le - stis, De - us, Pa - ter om - ni - po - tens.

35

li u - ni - ge - ni - te, Je - su Chri - ste,

Do - mi - ne

Do - mi - - ne

De - - us A - - gnus De - i, Fi - li - us Pa -

- tris, qui tol -

Beat ♩

45 qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - -

lis. mi - -

50 di, mi - se - re - re no - bis.

se - re re no

55 bis, qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, su - sci

60

de - pre-ca - - ti - o-nem no -

pe

Small

65

stram. qui se-des ad dex - - te - ram

Small

70

Pa - - tris.

Beat d

mi - se - re - re po - - bis.

Quo-ni-am tu

75

so - - lus san - - ctus.

Tu

that 'To devise a canon on a pre-existing melody is a technical feat which may well be unique in this period'.¹ What I question here is Dr Harrison's solution to the canon.

A red 3 appears under the fourth breve, indicating the point at which the canonic part enters. It might have any of the following meanings:

- i) a simple signum congruentiae indicating canonic entry.
- ii) canonic entry after three breves; a tautologous indication, the position duplicating the numeral.²
- iii) derive three more parts, starting here.
- iv) derive three canonic parts altogether, including the written one, starting here.
- v) a third part, in canon with the written one, starts here.

Harrison does not list these alternatives, but assumes without more ado that the canon is three in one. I cannot agree that the resulting 'free treatment of dissonance ... is not excessive in the circumstances', when a canon two in one (plus tenor) shows a studied avoidance of any dissonances whatever, usually by means of carefully placed rests. This panconsonance is completely undermined by the addition of a third canonic part (the fourth alternative above); and the level of dissonance thus

1. NOHM, p.103.

2. Pycard's Gloria (35) indicates the canon of the upper voices both by means of a verbal 'canon' and by underlaying a double row of text.

incurred is not made appreciably worse by the addition of yet another canonic part (alternative iii above). There are more dissonances, but of the same kind. The dividing line falls between a canon two in one, which is deliberate and acceptable, and a canon three in one, whose handling of dissonance is arbitrary and, to me, unacceptable. Nor is it coincidence that extra canonic parts fit as well as they do; the harmonic framework is static and repetitive, and the plainsong has been rhythmicised to fit such a framework.

The beginning of the Benedictus is transcribed on p.94. The lower two staves, barred together in short score, give the canon two in one and the tenor. The upper staff gives a third canonic part, with upward note-stems, and a fourth, with down-stems. The only dissonance on the lower staves is the fleeting a in bar 29. The third canonic part has an unlikely doubling in the same bar, and dissonances in bars 27 (3rd crotchet), 30 (2nd crotchet), 31 (1st crotchet), 34 (4th crotchet), 35 (5th-6th crotchets). While Pycard's canonic pieces may have a high dissonance level, this rarely affects the canonic parts and their relationship with the tenor. In 35, for example, it is the rhythmically awkward contratenor which creates most of the dissonances. The mensuration canon of 75 (which could be by Pycard) is remarkably smooth; but the notation of the contratenor part (discussed in chapter IV) is a feat of ingenuity.

123

94

Handwritten musical notation for measures 1-4. The system consists of three staves: a treble clef staff with a key signature of one flat (B-flat), a middle treble clef staff, and a bass clef staff. Measure 1 contains two whole rests in the treble and bass staves, and a whole note chord in the middle staff. Measures 2-4 show a melodic line in the middle staff and a bass line in the bass staff.

Handwritten musical notation for measures 5-8. The system consists of three staves. Measure 5 begins with a treble clef staff. Measure 6 contains measure number 25 above the middle staff. Measures 7-8 continue the melodic and bass lines.

Handwritten musical notation for measures 9-12. The system consists of three staves. Measure 10 contains measure number 30 above the middle staff. Measure 11 contains measure number 35 above the middle staff. The notation continues with melodic and bass lines.

Handwritten musical notation for measures 13-16. The system consists of three staves. Measures 13-16 show the continuation of the musical piece with melodic and bass lines.

The version for two canonic parts plus tenor does not make a very convincing piece of music. The unison opening is not itself objectionable, and has precedents in 33 and 90. But the distance between the canonic parts and tenor exceeds the credibility gap, and is only aggravated by the addition of more canonic parts. The thin texture and spastic rhythms are not ameliorated by further indulgence in canon.

The piece surely does not survive complete. It lacks a contratenor to provide the rhythmic animation and harmonic spiciness absent from the three-part version, and achieved accidentally and in the wrong places by the four-part version. The lay-out may imply a fourth written part on the upper staves of f. 100av, perhaps a sham canonic part like the middle part of 35. This solution would also account for a structural puzzle in the lay-out of the manuscript (see p.82).

It may not be going too far to suggest that we have here a series of technically related five-part mass movements by Pycard without any melodic or rhythmic links: the Gloria 35 (canon two in one, pseudo-canonic middle part, awkward contratenor, tenor), the anonymous Credo 15 (with opening melodically reminiscent of Pycard: mensuration canon three in one, straightforward tenor and difficult contratenor), and the Sanctus 123.

CHAPTER III

It is a peculiarity of CH that external and internal paleographical matters are closely interrelated and cannot completely be disentangled. The preceding chapters were concerned mainly with the non-musical history of the manuscript - what happened before and after it was written - though scrutiny of these aspects has thrown up indications of lost or intended musical contents. This chapter and the next deal with paleographical aspects of the surviving musical contents. Chapter IV discusses notational practice and attempts to point up variations in the usage of specialised features, particularly where these depend on or spring from close paleographical observation. Slight anticipation of its findings will be necessary in the present chapter, the end of which is devoted to combining the main paleographical evidence of chapters II and III to reconstruct as far as possible the order of compiling the manuscript. The main evidence presented in this chapter concerns scribal identifications and erasures.

A brief recapitulation of the existing state of knowledge takes us once again to Barclay Squire and Ramsbotham. The former declared the manuscript to be

mostly written in one bold ecclesiastical hand, though in various places other handwritings may be traced. Many of

the remaining initials are in gold, but for the most part the calligraphy of the volume is poor in quality and without especial characteristics. Such evidence as may be gathered from it points to the writing being that of a rather unskilled English copyist of the latter part of the fifteenth century; in both music and text mistakes are not infrequent.

The precise extent of this 'bold ecclesiastical hand' was correctly determined by Ramsbotham, but he did not describe it much more closely than Squire:

One scribe has been responsible for the greater part of the MS. (A), writing a more formal hand, as of a clerk whose duty it was to prick the music of the choir. More than three-quarters of the MS. is written in this hand, and it is in this hand that faulty spelling occurs.²

He continued by characterising A as 'the official scribe' who 'left pages blank, which have been filled in by scribes B and C', thus according precedence to A. He did not reconsider, in the light of this precedence, Barclay Squire's notion that Sturgeon played a direct part in compiling the manuscript (as its main scribe, possessor or supervisor). He merely 'admitted' Squire's conjecture, and at the same time threw Squire's logic into confusion by equating Sturgeon with 'the writer of the more individual script' - that is, his scribe B, one of the later scribes - and by electing Damett the 'possessor or chief user

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1. Squire, 'Notes ...', pp.342-43.
 2. Ramsbotham &c, OH, vol.I, p.ix.

of the MS'.¹ After discussing scribe A's work, I shall return to his analysis of the later scribes, to which I propose a number of changes. Access to OH for concentrated study over several weeks - thanks to the kindness of the manuscript's owners - gave me the opportunity to consider the whole question of scribes afresh, and to consult Mr T.A.W.Bishop for advice and corroboration.

Scribe A

The work of this scribe constitutes what I have called the first layer or main body of the manuscript; the collation establishes his precedence. Nowhere is there evidence that he handled the book after illumination, or after it reached the later scribes. Nowhere has he made alterations to their work, though they have made many to his. These two layers, or stages of writing, are quite distinct, and there is no question of collaboration.

Scribe A writes a regular, consistent music hand. It is strong and functional, with the minimum of embellishment. Firm pen pressure and density of ink betray a vigorous writing process, executed with deliberation and probably at speed.

The basic note shapes are a simple horizontal block for the breve, drawn from left to right with barely diminished pen

1. Ramsbotham &c, OH, vol.I, pp.x-xi.

pressure and very short ascending bars at both ends; and a short, straight, steep, diagonal stroke down to the right, for the semibreve and minia head, producing a slightly elongated losenge. His oblique ligature forms, long and raking where space permits and only very slightly bowed, are his most immediately distinctive feature.

Note stems are clear downward pen strokes, drawn after the note head, two to three spaces long, and more inclined to backward than forward slope. Rests are relatively thick, and minia and semibreve rests tend to occupy about two-thirds of the space in which they are placed. Flats are firmly drawn, straight-backed with rounded loops which are not always completely closed - rather like crochet hooks - and often placed high if in a space. Sharps are spidery and take the # not the 4 form. Other accidentals used are the letter g (on f.102v only) and the f with dropped bar, for the natural forms of those pitches only.

C-clefs comprise two parallelograms linked at the left by a vertical bar, the upper block sloping more steeply. The F-clef consists of two horizontal blocks linked at the right, followed by two narrow losenges.

Mensuration signs fill the space between two lines (often but not always the top two). Directs are fine-drawn with two undulations and a slight hook at the end of the tail. Fermatas are written close to the note without dots: Ramsbotham mistook

them for erasures.¹ Final longs are decorated by concertina shapes alternating black and red to the end of the stave.

Scribe A also exhibits certain notational peculiarities - the rising oblique ligature, plica-like figures, and examples of editorial initiative taken by the scribe with regard to semiminims and finals. These are all discussed in the next chapter. His directions to his illuminator were dealt with on pp.67-68.

His text hand is a distinctive English liturgical Gothic, likewise written at fair speed and lacking the mechanical consistency of more painstaking work although the total impression is of regularity. The letter forms are rounded and show no lateral compression. Hairlines are few, ascenders only slightly split. Only d, b and p share a common element with succeeding letters; s and t are not linked. The letter i is usually dotted with a slanting hairline.

The charge of faulty writing levelled against this scribe rests on slender foundations. His inconsistencies in spelling standard texts are no greater than one would expect from the most polished of scribes. The texts of the Mass Ordinary include, for example, the variants resurreccionem, resurexionem, resurreccionem and resurrexionem. These are legitimate variations within the work of a good scribe: I have found almost no actual errors in Ordinary texts. (On 23v he writes A marie for Ad marie,

1. See, for example, Ramsbotham &c, QH, vol.I, p.60.

on f.27v santus for sanctus, on f.63v a superfluous est after factum, on f.71v omnipotentem for omnipotentem, and on f.95 Osannana, presumably because the siting of -na was corrected without erasure of the wrongly-placed -na. Of the motet texts some present no problems while others (e.g. 145) bristle with corruption; this localisation of problems may indicate that some of his exemplars were better than others.

The degree of musical accuracy, too, is abnormally high. Most copying errors were corrected at the time of writing; the erasures were often made before copying continued, though in other cases the faulty portion could have been isolated later. Corruptions in the musical text are centred upon a handful of pieces; this again suggests that the exemplars for those pieces may have been imperfect. There are very occasional omissions, either of a few notes (as on f.46v) or of a syllable of text.

All the evidence suggests that, far from being 'rather unskilled', this copyist was highly intelligent. He planned the use of his space well in advance: by anticipating which gatherings would need extra bifolia, which Credo settings would need more than twelve staves to the page, and what music remained to be copied after illumination. In detail, his spacing of words and music is nicely judged, particularly in the case of canonic pieces with a double row of text (he slips up only on f.29v, at miserere nobis quoniam tu solus sanctus), and in meeting the different requirements of melismatic and syllabic settings. He economises on space when the opportunity arises; one example of this is the placing of two Glorias which could each be accommoda-








dated on a single page; 18 and 19 occupy ff.14v and 15. In settings of the Sanctus and Agnus where the Osanna or dona nobis pacem repeats the music of the previous passage (where there is a similar repetition in the plainsong) he saves space by indicating a repeat rather than writing it out in full. This is an economy which the scribes of the Mountains fragment never make, and I have not found it in other parallel sources. Presumably the OH scribe was capable of seeing from his exemplar whether the repetition was exact or not, and of using his initiative accordingly.

The Egerton and Old Hall scribes

It has been claimed that scribe B of the Egerton manuscript and the main scribe of OH are one and the same, or at least that they belong to the same school.¹ This is a considerable claim, and needs closer scrutiny. The protagonist of this viewpoint, Gwynn S. McPeck, endorses Schofield's observation that the two hands are similar. He proceeds to make a hard and fast case for what is superficially suggested by the mere fact that the two hands are of the same generic type - a fact which by no means attaches them to the same school. McPeck asserts positively, after paleographical comparison, that 'the two collec-

1. Gwynn S. McPeck, The British Museum Manuscript Egerton 3307 (London, 1963), pp.12-13.

tions are, almost without question, products of the same school'. He goes further, however, and suggests that by comparing letter forms in detail certain 'personal characteristics appear' which are 'entirely apart from the general similarities common to most formal scripts, and represent what may be termed individualistic traits of the scribe'. If true, this claim would prove that both manuscripts were written within the working life of one man; though even so, it would not necessarily prove that he wrote them for the same institution. The illumination, true, is similar, but there is no reason to believe that the scribe of either manuscript was responsible for doing his own illuminations.

The hands are certainly no more similar than many other formal hands found in English musical manuscripts of the first half of the 15th century (for example, the scribe responsible for OUC and CUL). Most features of the text hands listed by McPeck only stand up to superficial investigation. 'The execution of the X's', for instance, his first point of similarity, is consistently  in Egerton, usually  and occasionally  in OH. The Tironian nota for et is  in Egerton,  in OH. The i, where dotted, has  in Egerton,  in OH. The punctuation sign in Egerton invariably has a hairline loop; in OH it usually does not. The abbreviation sign is often bowed with a dot in Egerton, never in OH.

With regard to the musical hands: side bars on breves are much more pronounced in Egerton than in OH; stems are longer in proportion to the notes - uniformly three spaces - and sometimes slope forward; the semibreves are slightly elongated at the top and done with a slight twist of the pen, unlike the straight lozenges of OH. The ascending oblique ligature is used by both scribes, and although less common than the stepwise form is not unique to them; moreover, this is perhaps one of the self-conscious features in which one man might change his habits over a long period of time. Accidentals are differently formed, the Egerton flats bending backwards at the top. The lower block of the clef slopes more than the upper, unlike OH; only at the beginning of a piece are they joined by the bar which the OH scribe uses invariably. Fermatas are separate from the note, bowed and dotted in Egerton; the OH scribe omits the dot and attaches the fermata to the note. Directs are less consistent and usually shorter than in OH. The ornamental final long is never extended as it is by the main scribe of OH; the Egerton examples more closely resemble the form used by one of the later OH scribes, on f.9.

While it is not impossible that the two hands belong to one man, they certainly do not fall within each other's existing margin of variation. The Egerton hand is more cautious and slightly less consistent than that of the OH scribe; the writing of the earlier manuscript is altogether more mature. Some self-conscious style changes may be admitted, and other differences

explained as the result of using a smaller, less congenial format, but I believe them to be more fundamental than this. On the other hand, it may be that McPeck's five word-scribes can be reduced to three or four. A scribe would adopt different styles of handwriting for different kinds of material. Surely it is no mere coincidence that the main body of Egerton, assigned by McPeck to music copyist B, uses one text scribe for liturgical pieces, one for passions, and one for carols and related types. Liturgical Gothic is never used for carols in any of the manuscripts containing them, nor indeed is it ever used for non-liturgical music.

McPeck admits to having examined both Egerton and OH only from photographs - a rash basis for paleographical judgment. It has not been practically possible to lay the two side by side, but I have ^{examined} each, together with photographs of and detailed notes on the other, on successive days. The most deceptive feature of comparing microfilms is the size of the image. The large and small scripts of one man rarely show identical proportions in letter forms (see OH, f.62v); McPeck's experiment of magnifying the two books to the same size does not necessarily prove anything.

Incidentally, McPeck's elaborate explanation of the 'two faint, broken, roughly parallel lines' on Egerton, f.64, is completely misguided. There is no trace of these lines in the manuscript itself; they must be a fault in his film.

Scribe A's corrections

Most of this scribe's erasures were made in process of copying and not afterwards. Although he erased thoroughly the (density) of ink he used in the first place responds well to ultra-violet light.

His most common errors of pitch are the writing of one or more notes a third too low (f.23v, st.12; f.43, st.8; f.44v, st.7; f.49, st.9; f.49v, st.3; f.63v, st.4, st.5, all corrected by erasures; f.37v, st.8, f.112, st.5, both corrected by changing to a lower clef); a third too high (f.5v, st.9; f.17, st.9; f.47v, st.8; f.65, st.4; f.86v, st.4; f.101, st.12); a tone wrong in either direction (f.20, st.2; f.21v, st.4; f.25v, st.5; f.26v, st.3; f.27, st.2; f.35v, st.9; f.43, st.6; f.46, st.11; f.49v, st.1; f.73, st.3; f.79v, st.7; f.102v, st.8). The Amen of the tenor of 18 is written a third too low but was not corrected. Alterations of pitch other than obvious errors are rarely found in this scribe's own hand. One case is on f.17 (staves 6 and 11: ¹2 $\frac{1}{2}$, bar 43), where the pitches of the tenor and contratenor parts (the first g and c respectively) are reversed for no apparent reason, unless to make the individual lines smoother at this point. It is tempting to suggest that this piece may have been copied from score; the parts are in the same clef. Actual errors of pitch are rarely left uncorrected by scribe A. One exception is on f.86 (104, bar 39),

where the second chord of this bar has an unacceptable dissonance. The fact that an a in the plainsong has been omitted between the two b of the middle part could point to a more far-reaching emendation, such as the second example on the staves below. The first gives the manuscript version:

Scribe A has been guilty here of one of his rare misalignments: this too may symptomise such an error.



A more easily explained copying error is on f.103v, (131), stave 10, where the erased ligature on miserere was copied at the same point on the staff as the ligature in the lowest part at the previous miserere.

Erased accidentals include f.4, st.7; f.4v, st.2; f.39, st.7; f.64, st.10; f.81, st.10, st.12; f.81v, st.8. Some of these have been rewritten closer to the note they affect; though it is rarely possible to distinguish between a rewritten accidental and one which was doubly indicated.

In the following example from 105 the plainsong in the middle part was left intact, while the outer parts were adjusted round it. The revised version is hardly an improvement: it is less shapely and introduces a tautology.

105

erased version:

The most common detectable rhythmic adjustment is the removal of a stem from a note.¹ Usually, minims are converted into semibreves, but the evaluation of a ligature is sometimes altered by the removal of a stem. One ligature (f.34v, st.10) is rewritten as two separate semibreves, apparently for reasons of syllabification. One ligature (f.14, st.6) is divided into two for no evident reason. One (f.86v, st.3) retains the same notes while its form is altered from  to .

Several erasures and rewrites seem to have been undertaken simply to effect a slight readjustment of spacing (though a readjustment is often indistinguishable from a note written twice in error). On f.82, st.10, a passage has been rewritten in a more compressed form because twelve notes were omitted; the scribe clearly skipped to the next

1. Examples include f.3v, st.3; f.5v, st.7; f.17v, st.1; f.22, st.5; f.25v, st.4, st.5; f.30v, st.2; f.43v, st.5; f.63v, st.11; f.71v, st.9; f.73v, st.3; f.75v, st.4; f.85v, st.7; f.109v, st.7; f.111, st.3.

of his exemplar and continued copying from there. Examples of re-spacing include f.5v, st.3; f.13v, st.5; f.28v, st.7; f.63v, st.5; f.64, st.9; f.88v, st.7; f.98, st.4; these cases often give slightly clearer visual spacing where the existing version was not notationally ambiguous.

On f.75 two ligatures, each of two semibreves, have been erased, but the intended rhythmic emendations were never entered. The pitches of the erased notes work perfectly well if treated as a

The image shows a musical score for folios 70 and 75. Folio 70 consists of two systems of three staves each. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics: 'ca - re vi - vos et mor - tu - tu - ri sae'. The middle staff is a vocal line with lyrics: 'os, cu - jus re - gni non e - cu - li.' The bottom staff is a lute tablature line with letters 'c2' and 'c3'. Folio 75 consists of two systems of three staves each. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics: 'rit fi - nis.' The middle staff is a vocal line. The bottom staff is a lute tablature line with letters 'c4' and 'c4'. The score includes mensural notation with various note values and rests, and lute tablature with letters like 'c2', 'c3', and 'c4'.

semibreve and minim in each case, as shown in the small notes in the above example (87, bars 70 and 76). Rather a different case is a gap in copying, without erasure, on the second stave of f.46v.

The spacing of notes is occasionally adjusted to clarify the intended underlay (f.48v, st.9, st.10; f.77v, st.5). In 23 (C) the rhythm $\blacklozenge \blacklozenge \blacklozenge \blacklozenge$ is used twice (in passages which correspond isorhythmically) to mean not ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ but ♪ ♪ ♪. ♪♪ (bars 18 and 60: see pp. 88-91 above). In neither case is a dot of division used. At gratias, change to a new line after the second semibreve serves instead of a dot. At deprecationem, the minia following the second semibreve was originally written too close to it, implying the former, more normal rhythm. It has been erased and rewritten further away, the space functioning instead of a dot.

In 117, bars 47-50 of the top, plainsong-carrying part

117

50

(Do)-mi-

(Do)-mi-

have been erased. The black-notation passage shown on the staff above the score in the foregoing example has been replaced by a passage in red notation, shown on the top staff of the score. The plainsong notes in their transposed version (c b c c) are present in both versions in ornamented form. The erasure extends less far than the colored notes (only up to the middle of bar 49)

and was apparently done at the time

of writing. In 43, also by Leonel, the original version of bar 7, shown first, has been replaced by the

second version. Were these 'improvements' made on scribal initiative, or with other authority?



Scribe A's word-setting

The problems of textual underlay in OH are as varied as the musical styles themselves and span the full range from strictly syllabic (e.g. 143) to highly melismatic (e.g. 115). The ratio of notes to syllables must to some extent determine the speed at which the music is sung; a Credo which has a syllable on each minim will naturally have slower minims than a Sanctus which moves mainly in breves and has four or five breves to each syllable. OH stands at a watershed of notational fashions and includes a wide variety of styles.¹ No. 76, for

1. It is impossible to lay down any principles about the minimum note value which can be attached to a syllable, as Zarlino was able to do in the mid 16th century. The relevant part of his treatise is translated in O. Strunk, Source Readings in Music History (New York, 1950), pp. 260-61.

example (see plate XI), has many syllables on individual semiminims,

thus: 
fi - li - o - gue pre - ce - dit

The present discussion does not pretend to do more than nibble at the problem. A full analysis of OH word-setting alone could occupy a whole dissertation, particularly as each style, each composer, even each piece sets up its own principles which can be re-applied within it in cases of doubt. Here I shall deal briefly with points related to scribe A's method of working which have emerged from the experience of underlaying the text (which was my responsibility in the new complete edition). I give examples of the practices noted, but have not attempted to apply statistical analysis to questions which involve some subjective editorial judgment.

The fundamental question to be asked is: which did the scribe write first, the words or the music? This is extremely difficult to determine from the few places where musical notes become entangled with the words belonging to them. Minim stems never point down at this date, and downward stems are mainly associated with long notes, often in ligature, often in untexted parts or untexted sections of text-carrying parts. Collisions between a line of text and the music of the stave beneath are more frequent, but not necessarily relevant. For what it is worth, the music

seems to be on top in such cases (e.g. f.23, st.7; f.26, st.7). Some folios (e.g. ff.15v-16, f.99) have uniformly paler words than music, suggesting that one process was completed before the other was begun; but this does not tell us which came first.

In every case where positive evidence can be adduced, scribe A appears to have entered the text first. It so happens that his order of working is one of the very few things that can be determined as clearly from microfilm as from the manuscript itself - once having established that overlaps and ink colours are inconclusive. The lateral spacing of notes on the stave shows far more variety than the spacing of verbal text. The music of texted parts could, in nearly every case, be much more compressed but for the need to accommodate the words. Anyone who has copied monophonic music or vocal parts knows that, unless the music is highly melismatic, it is easier to write the text first in order to secure reasonably accurate alignment of syllables and notes and to avoid squashing. He will also realise that any misalignments which result from this method of working will be different from the spacing problems which are incurred by copying music before words. Hundreds of minute details betray that this was scribe A's procedure. He copied the text first, with an eye on the music, leaving spaces where melismas occur. Sometimes these spaces will be misjudged; the psychological length of a melisma carried in the mind does not necessarily correspond to its

exact length in notes or centimetres. F.26, st.3 shows an abnormally elongated oblique ligature, stretched to fill a gap which was too long; f.59v, st.6 shows uncomfortable compression of the music because, here, the double row of text for the canonic parts has made the text writing smaller in both vertical and horizontal dimension, and insufficient gaps were left to compensate for this. The text of a whole piece, or merely of a line or two, may have been copied at a time. The procedure in this may vary, as it surely did in the very few melismatic pieces; but wherever the setting is moderately syllabic, the music was spaced above the words. As they had to be given time to dry, the copying of a complete text before adding any music would be preferred in straightforward cases.

Occasionally, when copying in this order, an abnormally long melisma will suggest to the scribe that its music should be copied before the placing of the next syllable can be determined. Evidence that scribe A did this is found in the omission of the final syllable of Amén in a number of cases where it follows just such a long melisma.¹ Evidently he copied the rest of the text first, added the music, leaving the -sen until the final note was in place, and forgot in these cases to add the final syllable. I can suggest no other reason for these omissions, nor anything else the affected pieces have in common. Other syllable omissions are

1. On ff. 12v, 18v, ^{19,} 20v, 22v, 74, 74v, 75, 75v, 76.

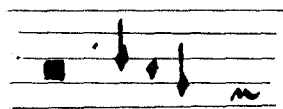
exceedingly rare. Where the final syllable has been remembered ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ after a long Amen, the same order of writing may be symptomised by uncanny accuracy in attaining the correct placing of the syllable under the final note without resort to abnormal spacing in the music of the preceding melisma.

If the notes are not, even so, immediately above the words they belong to, this is usually because the spacing of either words or music has been misjudged. Difficulties of compression or over-spacing can usually be detected and the scribe's intention discerned - a matter which requires close knowledge of the scribe's habits and, inevitably, subjective judgment. Sometimes the spacing of the notes themselves conveys the intention very precisely, even when the vertical alignment is imprecise. This is an important distinction, unheeded by many editors who regard the literal alignment of note and syllable as representing the scribe's considered intention.¹

A graphic device cannot normally carry many different meanings. The ligatures of modal notation, for example, cannot be expected to convey details of word setting as well as being the only means of conveying rhythm. Nor can spacing in mensural notation be expected to serve as an indication of word-setting as well as doing service for a dot of division. There is one difference here; a new syllable is more likely to coincide with the note after

1. Bukofzer, Dunstable, illustrates this point richly. See, for example, the placing of final syllables on p.34.

such an implied division, being on a strong beat, than is a new ligature in modal notation to fall on a strong beat. Two functions may sometimes be served by the same device. Spacing according to words often takes priority over spacing according to rhythm especially where, as here, the words have been written first. This is particularly evident at ends of lines. An example is found on f.24v at the end of stave 3, where the placing of the line end might be rhythmically ambiguous (the signature is **C**) but for the dot which clarifies the intention:



- tens domine



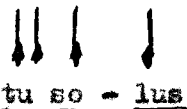
fili

Scribe A would not have ended his musical line here if he were not conditioned by the text which was already in place. Both claims must be balanced in dealing with ambiguous rhythms or underlay.

Spacing in the text can itself be an invaluable guide. When copying text with an eye on the music, scribe A will often instinctively leave a small gap between syllables where a melisma, even a two-note melisma, is intended.

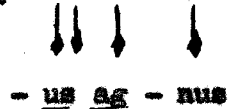
Similarly, he places notes closer together where they belong to the same syllable, as in the following cases where three syllables share four notes:

36, bar 94 (f.30v):



tu so - lus

30, bar 20 (f.25v):



- us ag - nus

28, bar 15 (f.23v), C : do - ni - ne [deus rex]

33, bar 52 (f.28v), O : do - ni - ne [deus agnus]

Similarly, the spacing may help when two syllables share three notes. In this example, again from f.23v, there is a tiny gap (exaggerated here) in both text and music:

↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓
uni - genite

The scribe's intentions are usually so clear that there can be no question of 'correcting' his accentuation. The evidence of strictly syllabic settings is sufficient to discourage the attempt. Many different accentuations of the same Latin word were tolerated. The following, for example, are indicated unequivocally:

f.3v ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪

f.5v ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪

f.13v ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪

f.17v ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪


f.22 ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪

f.23 ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪

f.23v ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪
be - ne - di - ci - mus te

f.19v 

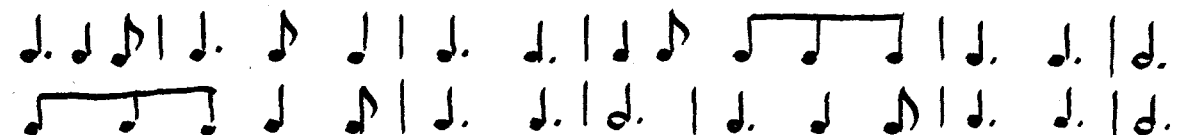
f.20v 

f.22 

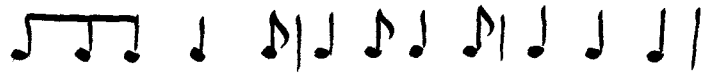
f.22v 


om - ni - po - - - - - tens

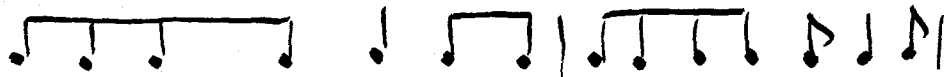
The two upper parts of 27 (ff.22v-23) set the same words thus:

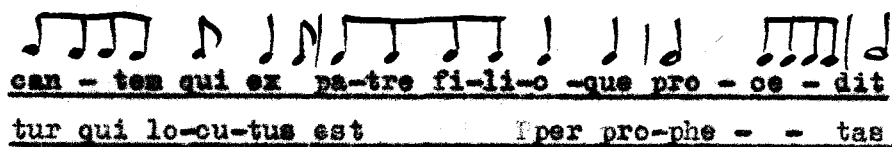

Quo - ni - am tu so - lus san - ctus tu so - lus do - mi - nus

Canons indicated by a double row of text demonstrate the use of the same musical rhythm for different portions of text:

26 
 (ff.21v-22) lau-da-mus te. Be-ne-di-ci-mus te.
gra-ti-as a-gi-mus ti-bi prop-ter


a-do-ra-mus te. Glo-ri-fi-ca-mus te.
ma-gnam glo-ri-am tu - - - - - am.

71 
 (ff.59v-60) Et in spi-ri-tum san-ctum do-mi-num et vi-vi-fi-
Qui cum pa-tre et fi-li-o si-mul a-do-ra-



Care that text and music should be correctly placed in relation to one another is sometimes taken to the lengths of erasing and re-siting words or syllables. (For re-siting of music, see p.110 above.) In some manuscripts, adjustment after writing is shown by lines roughly drawn to link the note and its syllable.¹ Indication of the exact underlay in this way is more common in paper manuscripts which could not stand up to the wear and tear of erasure. Similarly, the signs for correcting the pitch and value of musical notes make their first prominent appearance in manuscripts written on paper.² Corrections of words and music in OH are carried out exclusively by erasure, unless the existing shape can be adapted (for example, by adding a stem). Scribe A makes only a few textual erasures, but they are significant:

f.38 (48): lactabat originally began the second system, and scribe A subsequently moved lac- to the end of the previous line. In a score piece, it was less trouble to change one syllable

1. e.g. HU, p.100, end of st.3

2. And usually by German scribes. Examples are to be found in the Wiser portions of Trent and the Lechamer Liederbuch.

than to change three lines of music.

f.64 (76): the n in lumine has been erased and rewritten further to the right to clarify the underlay (see plate XI).

f.77v(99): after et propter, the words nos homines descendit de celis. Et have been erased but not rewritten. This may have been done by a later scribe, as on f.78.

f.86v (105):

	↙	↓	■	↘
originally	<u>ce</u>	-	-	<u>li</u>
now	<u>ce</u>	-	-	-
				<u>li</u>

f.98v (120): the -ne of nomine has been moved to the right.

f.105v (136): the -ta of peccata has been moved to the right.

f.106v (139): a letter g has been erased between Ag- and -nus.

f.110v (145): h has been erased from paschan.

The higher number of such erasures in melismatic texts may be accounted for by the fact that the music takes up more space than the words.

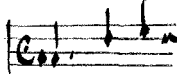
Two of the most vexing and recurrent problems in 15th-century word-setting are the treatment of repeated notes on the same syllable and of untexted upbeats.

Some editors will juggle the manuscript underlay rather than ask the singer to execute the former - that is, if they have considered problems of performance. In many places in OH such repetitions cannot be avoided. Examples include Cum sancto on

f.14v, where the musical rhythm is better suited to the second canonic part:


sancto
gloria

On f.21v the Cum sancto section starts after a manuscript barline near the end of the staff, placing the repeated notes very close to each other:



Cum sancto

Slightly less clear, but in my opinion equally convincing, is the case of -tis- (from unum baptisma) on f.63v, shown in plate XI. There are many similar examples in melismatic pieces. The example from 71 (see p.118 above), at Qui cum patre et filio, is the only instance in the manuscript where two syllables have to share one note.

Similarly, there seems to be no objection to re-sounding a note after a rest, whether or not true hoquet is involved, as here:

f.18v (new line) 
tris. A -

Again, melismatic pieces contain many examples.

This is closely related to the second recurring problem in 15th-century underlay: should a syllable be given to an upbeat or not? The underlay in OH is often handled precisely enough for a few principles to be deduced:

- 1) When two syllables are available, one is usually given to the upbeat, the other to the ensuing downbeat. Examples include f.13v, bone, domi-; f.14v, bene-, glori-; f.63v (see plate XI), in spi- (but not confi-); f.93v, saba, et ter-.
- 2) Sometimes the upbeat is left untexted, even when two syllables are available. This usually happens when the preceding word ended with a vowel whose sound could be continued without awkwardness. There are exceptions, as in the example from f.18v quoted above on p.121. But Christe, on the same folio, and laudamus and benedicimus on f.12v, follow this principle.
- 3) When only one syllable is available (usually in a melismatic setting), a new word normally starts on the upbeat (e.g., f.93v, deus; f.95v, in), while a syllable other than the first of a word takes the downbeat (e.g., f.95v, -tus, -ri; f.96v, -cel).

The above are intended as practical suggestions, made for want of more detailed contemporary guidance.

Only three ligatures in the manuscript have to be split between two syllables: in the top part of 108 at bar 9 (celi et) and bar 11 (gloria), and at bars 5-6 of 132 (middle part, qui tollis). In 61 at bar 24, a breve has to be divided into two semibreves to accommodate the word lumen. All three pieces are by Chirbury, all are in score, and none of these anomalies is in the lowest part, near the text, where it would have

been more prominent. (In one second-layer piece, 65, the breve on vivos at bar 116 has similarly to be split.)

Nowhere else in the manuscript is there any need to infringe the one-syllable-per-ligature rule. The question whether lower parts should be rhythmicised and texted is too lengthy to embark on here. Adding text while ignoring ligatures rarely gives satisfactory results. Text, and the necessary rhythmic animation, could be supplied spontaneously in performance. In 33 the contratenor, of normal textless ligatured appearance, is broken up in all its continental concordances to accommodate the trope Gloria laus. This piece would form a good model if such a practice were contemplated.

However, observance of the ligature rule does occasionally result in ragged syllabification in homophonic pieces (e.g. 102), and it is tempting to modify this in performance. One example of this which is all but universal concerns final longs, often affecting the Amen. The word Amen is often underlaid to all parts even when only the top part is texted for the rest of the piece. If the ligature rule is observed, the -men may fall at different times in the different parts. If the ligature is subject anywhere to a conventional infringement, surely the end of a piece is the obvious place. Could these final ligatures be a survival of the time when such a ligature

was the only way of indicating a weak-to-strong progression.⁷ It often seems reasonable to bring the men into line on the last note, regardless of ligaturing, treating this as a convention associated mainly with conventionally-indicated final longs.

Marginally related to ligaturing is the question of underlay to a plainsong-bearing part. Some editors (including Bukofzer in his collected edition of Dunstable's works) have restored the underlay of a plainsong part used in a polyphonic setting. In OH this is often quite impossible. The ligaturing and underlay of homophonic pieces precludes such adjustment. Often, a pitch which begins a new syllable of the plainsong will be assigned to a short note value on a weak beat in the polyphonic setting, as on f.81v:

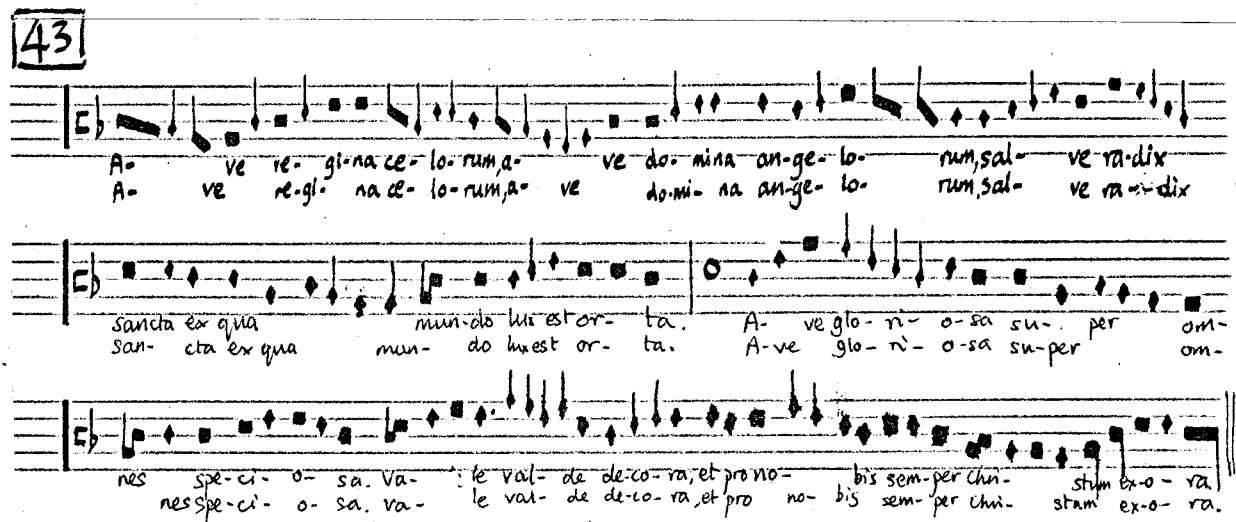
on f.81v:



Dominus (Sanctus I) Do-mi-nus

And here is the middle (tenor) part of Leonel's Ave Regina (f.36) with its OH underlay, and the underlay of the plainsong itself added below:

43



A-ve re-gi-na ce-lo-rum, a-ve do-mi-na an-ge-lo-rum, sal-ve ma-dix
 A-ve re-gi-na ce-lo-rum, a-ve do-mi-na an-ge-lo-rum, sal-ve ma-dix

sancta ex qua mun-do huius or-ta. A-ve glo-ri-o-sa su-per om-
 san-cta ex qua mun-do huius or-ta. A-ve glo-ri-o-sa su-per om-

nes spe-ci-o-sa. Va-le val-de de-co-ra, et pro no-bis sem-per chri-sti ex-o-ra.
 nes spe-ci-o-sa. Va-le val-de de-co-ra, et pro no-bis sem-per chri-sti ex-o-ra.

Scribe A's word-setting is always plausible in the one situation where it can be tested: at line-ends in music which is more or less syllabic. An interesting corollary of this affects music in score. The musical alignment is not always perfect, but in nearly every case of 'bad' alignment it can be demonstrated that the music is above the right syllables. In other words, staggered alignment occurs in most cases at points where the word-setting itself is staggered. This was a practical expedient, for these scores were meant to be sung from by three parties, not played at the keyboard by a visual acrobat. Each singer was more concerned with the syllable to apply to each note than with what his companions were doing. One example of such alignment is found in 62:

pro no-bis sub Pon-ti-o Pi-la-to,
 pro no-bis sub Pon-ti-o Pi-la-to,
 pro no-bis sub Pon-ti-o Pi-la-to,

pro no-bis sub Pon-ti-o Pi-la-to

An even clearer case occurs in 6, bars 24-26 - one of the rare cases in which scribe A moves to a new line at a point which is not musically simultaneous in all parts. Having copied the text first,

he did not anticipate this:¹

6

tu so-lus Do-mi-nus, tu so-lus al-tis-si-mus, tu so-lus Do-mi-nus, tu so-lus al-tis-si-mus

line end

Scribe A sometimes gives quite lengthy cues or incipits to the lower voices. But only with the occasional Amen, and with a small portion of text omitted in another part which rests for a short while (e.g. 22, ff. 17v-18, cum sancto spiritu and unigenite) is there ever an attempt at careful underlay in parts which are mainly textless. He usually places a full stop after the incipit, so that lack of further underlay cannot be imputed to negligence.

The problem of texting lower parts is related to that of text omissions and telescoped texts, none of which I shall discuss here in detail.

Telescoping of the text occurs to some extent in several pieces in OH. Alternation of text between two upper parts is quite

1. In the second layer, 65 is conspicuously erratic at line ends, and much erasure has been needed.

See also 59, bars 26-27, 40-42.

systematically pursued in 19, 23, 30, 78, 85, 87, 88 and 89. Systematic telescoping in canons with double text occurs in 18, 26, 27, 35, 71 and 75. 82 telescopes throughout; 24, 77 and others have small telescopings. Two Credo settings, 83 and 86, telescope by starting the middle part at Et in Spiritum while the top part starts at Patrem.

Just as in all the pieces listed above it was unnecessary for every part, or even for the main text-carrying part, to have every word of the text, so the part with an omission did not need to catch up by gabbling through what it had missed. A diligent listener would hear all the words, though not necessarily from the same singers. This was sometimes taken to the extent of dropping and resuming single syllables. (It happens constantly in 4. In 52, where vale is written under the rests of the lowest part although only -le is sung, vale is also written under the middle part which sings the complete word.)

There were clearly no scruples about breaking a word or a syllable with rests, a practice scorned by Morley who takes his example from a lost Dunstable setting of Nesciens mater, and nearer the time of OH by the author of the Quatuor Principalia :

Distinctio secundum Guidonem est congruus respirationis locus. Et licet simul conveniunt distinctio et respiratio, aliquando tamen discrepant, in hoc videlicet ubi nostra vox pro defectu anhelitus et propter neumaticis prolixitatem continuare non potest, fit ibi respiratio, ubi non est verborum et cantus una distinctio, sed semper

cavendum est in tali respiracione a verbi descisione.

Distinctio vero est congrua respiratio sive repausatio, scilicet ubi nostra vox inter cantus modulationem convenienter respirare videtur, ita ut in vocibus respiratio fiat, ubi est in sensu litterarum congrua repausatio, ut et in dictionum et cantus una possit esse distinctio.

There are no actual text omissions in OH. But the second-layer piece 74, incomplete in OH, survives complete in Trent, and in a fragmentary state in OUC. OH preserves the contratenor, texted, and the tenor, untexted. OUC preserves fragments of both upper parts, both texted. OH supplies, in the second voice, some of the portions which are omitted in the top voice in Trent (e.g., deum de deo, lumen de lumine &c). But Et in spiritum sanctum ... procedit and Confiteor ... mortuorum appear neither in the Trent upper part nor in the OH middle part. The whole text can be supplied if Et in spiritum, a normal starting-point for systematic telescoping, is assigned to the tenor from the beginning. Precedent for a texted tenor part is found in Pembroke, pp.2-3 (Bakofser, Dunstable, no.2). I believe that the attempts of continental scribes to accommodate English music to their own ideas of lay-out and performance may have been responsible, rather than liturgical reasons, for many apparent textual omissions, as it was in the case of their failure to copy English Kyries.²

1. CS, vol.IV, pp.233-34.

2. See Bakofser, Dunstable (revised edition), and Bent, 'DDP'.

The scribes of the second layer

Ramsbotham had this to say:

Two other hands are discernible, occasionally appearing so much alike that it is difficult not to suppose that the two are the same man using a different pen. Yet there are minute differences in calligraphy which help to decide between the two; the form of the minim and the breve, the downstrokes of h, l, b, and the form of the d are characteristic indications of two distinct writers.

These two hands he calls B and C; he then goes on to mention 'the motets of Dunstable and Forest, which are in a script not found elsewhere in the MS.'. What really caused Ramsbotham's 'difficulty of distinguishing between B and C' was his failure to see that word scribes do not always correspond with music scribes and therefore have to be treated separately. The table on p.130 sets his designations and mine side by side. It will be seen that my identifications do not merely subdivide his but cut across them.

The word scribes present few problems. I distinguish seven in addition to the main scribe, and refer to them by lower-case letters. It is accidental that my lettering more or less reverses the hands he assigned to B and C.

1. Ramsbotham &c, OH, vol.I, p.X.

Table of second-layer scribes

Piece	Ramsbotham	Music scribe	Word scribe	Piece	Ramsbotham	Music scribe	Word scribe
9	B	C	c 6v-7	64	B	F'	b 52v-3v
10	C	E	b 7v	65	B	F?	f 56v
11	C	D	d 8	66	D	H	h 55v-6
12	C	X, Y	b 8v-9	67	D	G	g 56v-7
13	C	B	b 9v-10v	68	D	G	g 57v-8
14	C	D	d 10v-11v	69	B	C	c 58v
15	B	F	f 11v-12	72	C	E	e 60v-61
37	C	E	e 31v-2	73	C	F?	f 61v
38	C	D?	d 32v-3	74	C	G	g 62
39	C	E	e 33v-4	92	C	D?	d 76v-9
40	B	C, F'	c 34v-5	93	C	E	e 79v-80
53	C	B	b 39v-40	111	C	B	b 89v-90
54	C	B	b 40v	112	C	D	d 90v-91
55	C	D	d 40v	113	B	F'	b 91v-2
63	B	B	b 52	114	B	C	c 92v

In some cases there is little doubt, from ink colour and general style, that a word scribe and a music scribe can be equated: here I have used the same letter in its lower and upper case forms. More hands appear to have been active on the music than on the words, but some of them are so inexperienced and ill-defined that it is not possible to be certain.

Scribe Bb

Scribe b writes the most formal, professional hand in the manuscript. Like scribe A, he uses a regular liturgical gothic script, but it is a little more vertically compressed and has fairly wide lateral spacing. The letter forms are identical, but b uses many more hairlines; it is a much more careful hand, lacking the impression of speed given by the main scribe. Ascenders are widely split and sometimes have a serif; descenders are sometimes given quite elaborate hairline flourishes, especially at the foot of a page (e.g., f.9v). The punctuation mark usually has a dropped hairline at the end of a piece but not elsewhere; the i, when dotted, has either a hooked or a straight diagonal hairline (the latter being longer than scribe A's form). There are many common elements between letters; s and t are often joined. This scribe uses more lateral compression for the Credos of ff.52-53v than for the Glorias of ff.7v, 8v-10v. There are interesting differences between his handling of Ordinary

texts and the less familiar ones of motets and antiphons. On ff.39v-40 he writes a slightly more formal and even more regular hand, using fewer elements and without the curves found elsewhere in his work. Ff.89v-90, 91v-92 show him at his best, in smaller size with more lateral compression and sharp angles. The increase in hairlines supports the extra care and time taken here. It is hard to fault him on textual accuracy; he omits the s of crists at a line end on f.8v, and omits fili at a line end on f.9v. This scribe is responsible for the composer attributions to 10, 12, 13, 111 (for all of which he wrote the text), but for no others. Pieces for which he wrote the text but whose composer attributions are in another hand are 53, 54, 64, 113. D.D.S.

The music hand of this scribe (B) is much less regular and experienced than his text hand. The semibreve form has a slight upward approach from the left, a straight diagonal broad downward stroke (often elongated), and a tendency to twist down to the left with gradual decrease of pressure. Rarely, the approach is made down from the right (see f.52). Side bars on breves are usually present, ascending and descending, on the left-hand side, rarely on the right. The breve form itself shows a slight reduction of pressure after the initial attack which it corrects immediately. Minim and ligatures stems are drawn downwards, but are inconsistent in length, slope and thickness. The stem of the oblique semibreve ligature sometimes extends below the body of the ligature. Oblique ligatures are

bowed, and tend to increase both their pen pressure and steepness of downward slope towards the end. C clefs have a straight or slightly backward-sloping back, extending above and below the blocks which tend to slope downwards. The back stroke is sometimes omitted in C clefs and is nearly always omitted in F clefs, which are formed by two horizontal blocks and two elongated lozenges. Directs have a double undulation and a short, convex, spiral tail. Flats are inconsistent in size, slope and roundedness of loop. Two pen strokes can usually be detected. Sometimes the loop is closed, but usually it is not: occasionally it has a small 'lip'. The \flat form of the flat is sometimes used as an accidental, and the letter f to naturalise that pitch. Sharps use the # form. Void semiminims are formed with two pen strokes, the downward lines being heavier and displaying the same curve as black full forms. Flagged semiminims have a small, rounded, closed loop attached to the straight stem.

Scribe Cc

This scribe writes an English bastard hand, mixing the two elements of cursive script and formal liturgical gothic in different proportions on different occasions. At its best (ff.6v-7) this hand is elegant and regular, but the increase in size attending its appearances later in the manuscript does not improve it. On ff.6v-7 can be seen the wide rounded loops

to ascenders, the long tapering form of the cursive r, backwards-tapering descenders to f and long s, the thin, forward-hooked descender to p (a letter formed with thick horizontals), gothic and cursive forms of a, many hairlines and serifs, hooked or looped i-dots, sharply angular d, and very few ligatures. On f.92v the letter forms are very similar, though larger and less careful. Descenders and hairlines are more relaxed; there is an elongated example of the angular d, and this scribe's characteristic, elaborate S appears. F.58v shows the same hand in slightly larger form, on ff.34v-35 larger still.

Scribe C's music hand is found on ff.6v-7, 58v, 92v, and the first stave of f.34v. The semibreve has a marked downward concave approach from the right with a sudden increase of pressure (maximum at the top), a twisting diagonal stroke with pressure gradually decreasing, and a long twisting tail down to the right (especially on f.92v). Breve side-bars occur on both sides, more ascending than descending. The concave top to the body of the note reflects diminished pen-pressure in the middle. Oblique ligatures curve downwards, with an end-bar in both directions and with stem extended beyond the note. Clefs are straight-backed, with blocks concave at ^{the} top and right-hand end. Directs have a double undulation, and a short straight stroke which drops sharply. Both ♯ and # forms of accidental are used, mostly the former. The letters f and c are used on those pitches. This very distinctive musical hand is at its best on ff.6v-7. The kite-shaped semibreves, concave outlines

and profusion of hairlines match the elegant angularity of the verbal text. The writing itself might be characterised as a musical equivalent of the textual bastard hand.

Scribe Ff

This text hand is irregular, wide-spaced and rather disjointed. It is very rounded, and written unsteadily, each time in an unusually pale brown ink. Descenders tend to curve forwards, and the script is heavily abbreviated and ligatured. Ascenders are split at the very top. There are very few serifs, and the knobbly effect common in a gothic script (lozenges attached to minims) is almost totally absent. The final s tends to have a rising and a dropped hairline. I is dotted with a short slanting line, occasionally hooked. The descender of the long s curves backwards when it is allowed to trail below the line. The Tironian et and letter t invariably have a dropped hairline.

The semibreve is a thick diagonal stroke; variation of pressure pattern produces either an elongated parallelogram or a wedge shape, with an occasional slight twist (down and towards the right) at the bottom. Side-bars are more pronounced at the end than at the beginning of breves. The body of the breve is rectangular, usually slightly concave towards the middle. Clefs are straight- or slightly round-backed, and the blocks turn

slightly inwards. Stems are inconsistent in length, thickness and direction, and sometimes detached from the note-head. Directs have a double undulation with hooked tail. On f.12 this scribe shows a marked tendency to forward slope, so that down-stemmed ligatures look almost like inverted Vs. Oblique ligatures are slightly bowed, and are finished with the same twist that characterizes the semibreve. Up-stems tend to extend too far down.

On ff.54-55 the semibreve forms are the same as those of ff.11v-12, with the addition of the void form: two pen-strokes forming four slightly concave sides. This applies also to f. 61v. Stems have the forward slope seen on f.12. Directs are inconsistent, but normally have a double undulation with a long curled tail. Mensuration signs and accidentals are small: the *b* is rounded, and *f* is used on that pitch. Clefs vary considerably: sometimes the blocks slope downwards, sometimes they are not joined, sometimes the back is slightly rounded, sometimes slightly arched.

Yet another facet of *F* is seen on ff.52v-53v, 91v-92, and ff.34v-35 except the first stave. Semibreves have a rather more marked drop to the left. Clef-blocks tend to slope down and to be arch-backed, but again they are inconsistent. Directs have a double or triple undulation with a short hooked stroke. Stems are often detached from the note-head and tend to slope forwards (though like ff.11v-12 they are inconsistent).

Sample letter- and note-forms of scribes cC,fF,bB,eE

c h b l r p q r r r z d i a a ft

C a n o r r t h h ~ # y b f c

f h b l l e s a p p n s s x h z i a

F c c n . . . t o b h ~ ~ ~ #

b h l l p n r s i g a ft

B c n . . . h h ~ ~ # u f

e h e g p d r z d i a a ft

E c n n r r t h ~ ~ ~ # u b b f

I have treated scribes Ff and Co as two different ones because they are so diverse in superficial appearance that to equate them could only arouse a first reaction of ridicule. No-one in his senses could take a glance at ff.6v-7, and then at ff. 11v-12 and declare them to be the work of a single hand. But comparison of minute details of pen habit uncovers marked similarities. Self-conscious features, type of text hand, speed and care of writing all vary enormously, and I would echo Ramsbotham (though in speaking of different scribal distinctions) in saying that it is 'difficult not to suppose that the two are the same man using a different pen'.

The text hands are deliberately different; but c's gothic letters are very close to f's (a, p, long s, i-dots). Cursive tendencies in f correspond to c's: the forward-curved descender to p, the looped ascender to a capital A on f.61v.

Music scribe F embraces a wide range of inconsistencies which at times overlap with the characteristics of C. His quill is softer, broader, and less sensitive to the pressures which C demonstrates so clearly. The pressure-patterns of C's semibreves, however, can be detected in those of F (e.g. f.34v, st.8). The forward-leaning oblique semibreve ligature with overshooting stem is common to both.

Most telling of all are the points at which both hands appear side by side or are difficult to distinguish - for we can certainly talk of two hands or pens, even if they turn out to belong to one man. The first stave of music on f.34v uses the

stiff quill and small, precise note-forms of C: the second stave continues with the larger, flabbier forms of F. On f.91v the first five breves'-worth have been erased, and the substituted version uses the C quill. On stave 9 this substituted version has been drafted - also by C - and erased. The close similarity of the oblique ligature forms is well demonstrated in this piece. More striking still, in all pieces copied by C and F, is the form of isolated colored semibreves, which invariably belong indisputably to the C type. Which is more likely, that F employed C to do his coloration for him, or that one man kept a separate pen, cut in a distinctive way, to use with red? Less conspicuous similarities abound: the 'double-decker' form of the flat on f.11v is very similar to one of the forms of final s used by scribe c on f.34v.

The ascription to 'Lyonel' on f.61v is unmistakably in the hand of c, although the text of this piece is in hand f. Otherwise, all pieces copied by c have the ascription (to Sturgeon) in hand c, except on f.92v which must be discounted because it has been over-written by the 19th-century restorer. All pieces copied by text scribe f, and two by text scribe b, have ascriptions in f's hand: all these, with one exception (no.65 by Burrell), are again by Sturgeon. All these ascriptions to Sturgeon, by hands f and c, cover a wide range of variation in style and size, and once again it is more than likely that they all occupy different places on the writing spectrum of a single scribe, distinguished only by the cut of his pen. We should note at this point that

all pieces ascribed to Sturgeon are the work of Ff and Gc, the only exception being that b wrote the words of 64 and 113. This is a matter to take up later when we come to review the possibility of autograph.

Scribe Ee

This text scribe writes a gothic text hand, rounded and spaced, with a profusion of hairlines, usually long and loopy. Ascenders are often widely split as far as 180° . Descenders are short, flat-ended and rather stubby, and the hairline ornamentation, where present, is not part of the letter form itself, usually having a separate pen impetus. Many letters have serifs. I-dots are small, almost invisible points. Gothic and cursive forms of a are present; minims (e.g. i) tend to curve upwards at the bottom. The hand varies considerably in self-conscious detail and in its degree of formality: 60v-61, for example, is much more formal than 31v-32.

Music scribe E forms his semibreves with an upward approach from the left, then a sudden increase in pressure for a straight diagonal stroke with maximum pressure at the bottom, a small, distinctive pull to the right; pressure decreases and the pen drops away to the left with a slight twist. Clefs either have a very faint back-bar or none at all; the blocks slope downwards and occasionally have a down-


ward side-bar to the right. Directs have a double undulation and a hooked tail of variable length. Minim tails are thick and well joined to the note-head. Double and single forms of the flat are used; the loop of the latter is not always closed, and the stem sometimes has a serif. Sharps take the # form, and f is used to naturalise that pitch.

Scribe e has provided the composer attribution (to Damett) for all the pieces he copied, and to 53 and 54 which were copied by Bb. Thus, Ee's entire contribution to OH concerns the work of Damett, as also does music scribe B's contribution. (Text scribe b contributed five pieces by Damett, one ⁽⁶³⁾ anonymous but probably Damett's on grounds of the music scribe, two by Sturgeon and one by Burrell.) It is a sore temptation, in view of the pattern established by the F and C scribes for Sturgeon, to see similarities between E and B close enough to pronounce them the work of a single hand. Neither is a very consistent hand, and each shows considerable variety, sufficient to permit identification between them. But as in the case of F and C, two hands can be distinguished and separately characterised, and the same persuasive juxtapositions are lacking. If they are to be regarded as one and the same, evidence of another kind will be required.

Scribe Dd

Scribe d writes a slightly rounded text hand, not laterally compressed, but with descending long s and tapering p, both curving backwards. The d is slightly angular, and ascenders are split. I is dotted sometimes with a short diagonal stroke of varying length and steepness, and sometimes with a u-shaped hook. The punctuation sign usually has a dropped hairline. The g-tail is distinctive: so too is the st ligature which is sometimes extended over a space in the text. Ligatures often follow d, p and b.

This scribe forms his semibreves with a long downward concave approach from the right, returning from the left to the centre; then there is a sudden increase of pressure for a thick, even, diagonal stroke (often elongated), a sudden decrease in pressure and a short twist to the left. Breve bars are frequent but variable, usually a short descender to the left. Clefs have straight backs, extending slightly downwards. Directs have a triple undulation with a short concave tail which flattens out at the top on ff. 8, 78v-79, 90v-91. Semiminims have small, neat, closed loops like scribe B's. Flats slope slightly forwards, and the double form is also used. The letters f, c and g are used to naturalise these pitches. Both # and # forms of the sharp occur, the latter in a large, rather ungainly form with a descender at the beginning. An abnormal form of the flat appears

on ff.10v-11:  . Black dots are occasionally visible as a preliminary indication of coloration.

Dd writes only pieces by Cooke (except for the anonymous 11 which may probably be given to Cooke for this reason), and all his composer attributions appear to be in this hand, at different levels of formality. No other second-layer scribe has copied words or music of a Cooke composition.

Scribe Gg

This text hand is irregular, cursive and bastard-influenced, with very thick verticals suggesting an almost vertical pen position. Ascenders are looped, and descenders to p, s and f slope backwards. The closed form of the final s and the gothic a are used, also the long r on f.57. Abbreviation is irregular, e.g. Et incarnatus est on f.62. Punctuation '·' is used in all three pieces. The ascriptions of 67 and 68 to Forest are in the same hand.

Scribe G's semibreves consist of a single, often slightly curved diagonal stroke, occasionally approached downward from the right, and finished with a slight twist to the left. Breve bars are marked on both sides, and ligature stems tend to overshoot downwards. Clefs consist of two blocks with a slight downwards slope to the other; sometimes they are linked. G uses his punctuation sign for a signus congruentiae and the modern fermata sign. Directs have a double undulation and a long, hooked tail. Stems are thick, often with a pressure point at the top, long, and

usually vertical. Some stems slope, but in either direction. The accidentals # and f are used.

Scribe Hh

Only one piece is affected: the anonymous Veni Sancte Spiritus which we know to be by Dunstable. The text hand is a very rounded, wide-spaced bastard script, quite irregular and with considerable variety of letter forms. Gothic and bastard d are present, with looped, backward-bent and forward-curving ascenders on different occasions. Tapering descenders are sometimes straight, sometimes bent backwards. Long, gothic and rounded forms of the letter r appear.

Semibreves are approached downwards from the right; with a sudden increase in pressure the pen swings round to the left throughout the main stroke, then back again. There is a very distinctive obtuse angle at the left-hand corner, and curving right-hand side. Breve bars are pronounced, consistent, and form a deliberate stylistic feature. The horizontal body of breve and long forms is concave, because of reduced pen pressure in the middle. Clefs have straight backs, extended in both directions, and the horizontal blocks, like breves, are concave with end bars. Directs have a double undulation and short spiral tail. Tails are thick, and increase in thickness towards the note as if done in a single stroke with the notehed. # and f accidentals are used.

Scribes X, Y

On ff.8v-9 we are faced with two distinct hands which cannot be identified with others in the manuscript. It may seem extravagant to suggest that three people (including word scribe b) were responsible for copying this piece; but neither of the present scribal performances falls within the range of the other. Both hands are somewhat cautious, and no very positive characteristics emerge.

X approaches his semibreves variously from left and right, and the elongated diagonal stroke occasionally tapers to the left. Breve bars are most noticeable descending to the right; the occasional one descends lightly from the left or ascends to the right. Clefs are round-backed, with inward-curving blocks and a small descending line to the right of the upper block. Directs have a double undulation and a very short stroke. Minim tails are very light, ligature tails slightly thicker, and may be twisted to meet the body of the ligature. Accidentals which are definitely in the hand of this scribe include a small b for the b, and # with the lower horizontal extended to the right. Black void coloration was later filled in with red: Aurell's other contribution has void coloration.

Y's semibreves have a slight approach down from the right, and a slightly twisted main stroke to form a very slim losenge.

Side-bars to breves ascend and descend to the right, and occasionally to the left as well. Clefs have no back-bar, and the blocks slope steeply down. The clef of the bottom line is like those of scribe X. Directs have a double undulation and a short hooked tail. Mensuration signs are large and quite bold: double and single forms of the flat, # and ♯ forms of the sharp are used, also the large ♯ with two descenders as found in scribe D.

The scribes are now listed under composers. The number is that of the piece: the scribe of the heading is given in parentheses.

<u>Cooke</u>		<u>Danett</u>		<u>Sturgeson</u>
<u>11</u> Dd (-)		<u>13</u> Bb (b)		<u>2</u> Co (c)
<u>14</u> Dd (d)		<u>53</u> Bb (e)		<u>69</u> Co (c)
<u>38</u> Dd (d)		<u>54</u> Bb (e)		<u>114</u> Co (c)
<u>52</u> Dd (d)		<u>63</u> Bb (-)		<u>40</u> CF'c (c)
<u>92</u> Dd (d)		<u>111</u> Bb (b)		<u>15</u> Ff (f)
<u>112</u> Dd (d)		<u>10</u> Eb (b)		<u>64</u> F'b (f)
		<u>37</u> Ee (e)		<u>113</u> F'b (f)
		<u>39</u> Ee (e)		
<u>Forest</u>		<u>72</u> Ee (e)		<u>Burrell</u>
<u>67</u> Gg (g)		<u>93</u> Ee (e)		<u>12</u> X, Y b (b)
<u>68</u> Gg (g)				<u>65</u> Fff (f)
<u>74</u> Gg (f)				
		<u>Dunstable</u>		
		<u>66</u> Hh (-)		<u>Lyonel</u>
				<u>73</u> Fff (c)

Holograph compositions

It was Barclay Squire who first put forward the possibility that 'Nicolas Sturgeon was either the possessor of the volume or that (even if he was not the actual scribe of some portions) it was written under his immediate supervision'.¹ His case for this claim rested on 'the unfinished Sanctus by Sturgeon' [unfinished to us because a folio has been lost], the 'rudely executed' [19th-century] initial S, the 'very small' ascription to Sturgeon embedded in the initial [in the hand of the restorer], the 'rude sketch of a tonsured head' [again 19th-century], the 'elaborate paraph' on f.91v [an overstatement: Squire did not distinguish layers, and this doodle is by no means the only marginal decoration in the manuscript], and the [late 16th-century] scribbles including Sturgeon's name.

Ramsbotham accepted this suggestion, although he did point out that the marginal scribbles are in a later hand. His scribal analysis (adopted without question by all subsequent scholars) proceeds:

It is noticeable that all Sturgeon's compositions are in hand B, and that this hand wrote nothing else except a Credo by Burrell on ff.54-55; also that scribe C is responsible for all the work of Damett, besides one Gloria

1. Squire, 'Notes ...', p.349.

of Burrell and two of Cooke; two Antiphons by Cooke, a Credo by Cooke and another by Leonel, and lastly the motet Alme prolis regiae [sic] by Cooke. The evidence seems clearly to point to Damett, Canon of Windsor, as the possessor or chief user of the MS. Most of the erasures are in the pages covered by C, and in Damett's compositions. There can be little doubt but that hand B is the hand of Sturgeon himself - it is quite distinct from any other in the MS., and with one possible exception occupies itself entirely with Sturgeon's music, inserting it wherever a blank page could be found.

The fact that Ramsbotham can declare his hand B (my Cc/Pf complex) to be 'quite distinct from any other in the MS.' while excluding from it 73 which is undoubtedly by the scribe of 65; that he fails to point out the complex situation which arises when one word scribe (the professional scribe b) serves a number of different music scribes; and that he fails to distinguish the Cooke, Forest and Dunstable scribes (see the tables on pp. 130 and 146) - all these must surely bring his scribal judgments under suspicion. Did he assign all Sturgeon's music to the one scribe merely to complete the pattern he (in fact, rightly) saw forming, and did this short cut in turn blind him to further distinctions, especially that concerning the Cooke scribe, which might have advanced his autograph theory considerably?

Ramsbotham does not actually suggest that some, at least, of Damett's compositions may be autograph. We now see that scribes Ee and Eb between them are responsible for copying all Damett's pieces; that Ee and music scribe B copied nothing but Damett, although the professional text scribe b contributed to compositions by Sturgeon, Damett and Burrell.

1. Ramsbotham loc. cit. p. 130.

Burrell's compositions show a less tidy pattern. Apart from the music scribes X and Y, which defy firm identification with others in OH, they are copied, like Leonel's Credo, by the scribes who otherwise occupied themselves exclusively with Damett and Sturgeon. All of Cooke's compositions are in the hand of scribe Dd, and this scribe contributed nothing else besides Cooke compositions.

The coincidence of a composer with a scribal attribution is very far from being a guarantee of autograph, though it suggests a close interest or connection between the scribes and composers concerned. More significant is that this group of scribes shows considerable activity on the music copied by the main scribe as well as on its own work. Erasure and re-writing is not confined to the correction of errors but includes re-composition of short passages; an activity which requires musical understanding and inventiveness and, indeed, the ability to compose. Some, but by no means all of their alterations can be treated as aids to performance, such as the erasure and re-siting of syllables or accidentals, but the more far-reaching cases (discussed below) undoubtedly go beyond the brief of a mere performer. We know that the four men involved were performers - it is well known that Burrell, Cooke, Damett and Sturgeon were members of Henry V's household chapel, and they would hardly have been taken to Harfleur and Agincourt if they held these posts as sinecures - and that they were composers. If the

singers marked the manuscript and can be identified with some of the scribes, if the scribes were the performers who used the manuscript and show, independently of pieces ascribed to them, the ability to compose, it is hard to escape the conclusion that some of the second-layer music may be autograph. Alternatively, each composer/performer worked in such close collaboration with his amanuensis that it is hardly worth drawing a legalistic distinction between composer and amanuensis. The unprofessional character of these hands increases the possibility that the composers themselves were responsible. If employing someone else to copy their music, why did they not engage a professional scribe, and why did such a scribe not act for all of them? In the case of the professional text scribe b this is clearly what did happen, and it is significant that the only scribe who overlaps composer divisions is a professional.

The confused situation over Burrell may indicate that he was unduly modest, either about his compositions or his handwriting. The Sturgeon scribe copied his Credo 65. The professional text scribe wrote his Gloria 12, and an unknown music copyist, X, copied the first page. If OH contains any autograph music by Burrell, the music scribe Y, represented on f.9, is the most likely candidate, because it is in this hand that a number of try-outs (see plate X), since erased, were written.

If the professional text scribe was employed as I have suggested (probably on the initiative of Darnett and Sturgeon),

the case for pronouncing music scribes b and e to be the work of a single hand (see p.141), that of Damett himself, is made stronger. There are erasures and rewritings throughout the b/e, as also the c/f complex. The difficulty of distinguishing, in both cases, is aggravated by the numerous self-conscious differences which creep in when a non-professional scribe tries to emulate a more formal script than he finds comfortable.

Thus, we can tentatively draw the conclusion that the four composers who had physical access to the manuscript played some part in adding their compositions to it. They employed a professional text scribe for some of the work; Cooke, Damett and Sturgeon may have copied all their own music, and Burrell may have copied one page of his, with assistance from Sturgeon and another unknown writer. If Sturgeon copied Leonel's Credo 73 there is no case for suggesting that OH contains any autograph music of Leonel. However, it should not pass unnoticed that the only two substantial recompositions in scribe A's work affect pieces by Leonel - 43 and 117.

I have assumed above that Burrell, Cooke, Damett and Sturgeon had physical access to the manuscript. Strictly speaking, the most we can say is that they belonged to the same institution at the same time, and that their compositions are represented in OH. It is only the details of scribes and erasures, not previously considered closely by scholars of the manuscript, which links them to their compositions and, in turn,

links the manuscript to their institution. This is clearly, in some respects, a circular argument: but the circle joins up very plausibly. At any rate, this is the sole link which can be established between the Old Hall manuscript and the English royal household chapel - a point to be considered in a later chapter.

There remain the compositions of Forest and Dunstable, neither of which have any known connection with the king's chapel. There are no grounds for suggesting that they personally had access to the manuscript, as they had no provable institutional membership in common either with each other or with the four royal chaplains. The different weight and colour of the bifolium containing Dunstable's motet, and scribe Hh's only contribution to OH, has already been remarked.¹ It is just possible that this may have been incorporated as a 'fascicle-manuscript' - a term coined by Charles Hamm to describe a ready-written bifolium or gathering incorporated into a larger volume² - but its rulings are uniform with surrounding items, which may be more than coincidence. Certainly this is the only insertion in the volume which could have been written in advance: the other insertions are grafted onto the existing manuscript, and cannot be seen as independent insertions.

1. On p.42 above.

2. See Charles Hamm, 'Manuscript Structure in the Dufay Era', Acta Musicologica, vol.XXXIV (1962).

The Credo whose two lower parts survive on f.62 (74) is not ascribed to Forest in OH or in either of its concordances (Trent, where it is preserved complete, and OUC where it survives fragmentarily). But the style leaves little room for doubt: in common with Forest's two OH motets it has long duets for the unusual combination (unusual outside isorhythm, that is) of treble and contra-tenor. None of the music by the four royal chaplains survives abroad, as I shall show later. The likelihood that this is not by one of them is increased by the fact that it is not written by one of their scribes.

It is the identification of the scribe of this Credo as the scribe of the Forest motets which dispels the idea of three layers in the compilation of the manuscript.¹ The Credo uses one of the initials left by scribe A's illuminator: and if the presumption that the second-layer scribes used these openings before embarking on their own non-illuminated ones is valid, the Forest scribe appears to have had access to the manuscript during the period when the royal chaplains also had access to it. If it is more than coincidence that one scribe is responsible for the three Forest pieces and nothing else, it would still be going too far to suggest autograph in this case. This scribe shows no revising activity on other music in the volume, and there is no biographical evidence to connect him with the royal chaplains.

1. Harrison, MME, p.221.

omnia facta sunt. Et incarnatus est de spiritu sancto et ex Maria virgine
 et homo factus est. et in manus crucis pro nobis subrogatus. pro nobis passus et sepultus

et ex patre nati sunt omnia te caelestia. facti sunt consubstantialiter patri pro quo

omnia facta sunt. Et incarnatus est de spiritu sancto et ex Maria virgine
 et homo factus est. et in manus crucis pro nobis subrogatus. pro nobis passus et sepultus

omnia facta sunt. Et incarnatus est de spiritu sancto et ex Maria virgine
 et homo factus est. et in manus crucis pro nobis subrogatus. pro nobis passus et sepultus

This image shows a page of handwritten musical notation, likely a manuscript. The page is titled "Plate VIII" in the upper right corner. The notation consists of several staves of music, with a large, ornate initial letter "Q" at the beginning of the first staff. The lyrics are written in Latin and are interspersed between the staves. The text includes "Q uis tollis inimi- cum diabolum et omnia", "Q uis tollis inimi- cum diabolum et omnia", and "Q uis tollis inimi- cum diabolum et omnia". The notation is in a historical style, possibly Gregorian chant or similar liturgical music. The paper shows signs of age, with some staining and wear.

(102)

de i qui tollis pec- ca- ta mun- di coe- nae no- bis in cae-
na
nae tol- lis pec- ca- ta mun- di mis- se- re- re
no- bis. et que- sis- sis qui tol- lis pec- ca- ta mun- di
re- re- no- bis. qui tol- lis pec- ca- ta mun- di

Second-layer activity on the music of the first layer

The most obvious cases of erasure in OH have not been written over, and it is therefore not possible to tell who was responsible for the erasures. The first four-and-two-thirds staves of music have been erased on f.69v: the text remains. Words and music of ff.101v-102 have been wholly erased. The density of ink and clarity of writing found in scribe A's work make total recovery possible. Ultra-violet photographs are reproduced as plates VII-IX; the affected part of 82 is transcribed on pp.155-157, and this is followed on p.157 by a section of 128, the last of the three Agnus settings of ff. 101v-102, where a few bars of the erased top part were themselves a palimpsest. The alternative reading is shown on the small stave above the score.

These erasures are included under the heading of second-layer activity because the most likely explanation is that the second-layer scribes required more room. No more openings for Credo settings remained and, the volume being bound by this time, further insertions would not be easy. In any case, it would *not* ~~only~~ have been possible to insert an extra bifolium into the section of Credos in choirbook lay-out without separating the two halves of one setting from each other. (However, an insertion could have been made before f.58, blank because of the incomplete state of Forest's motet.) Presumably the text on f.69v was not erased because it could be used for another setting.

82. Credo

Ff. 69v - 70

(Priest) (choir)
 Cre-do in u-num De-um, Pa-trem om-ni-po-ten-tem, *(ital)*

Triples 2
 Beat (solo)
 Tenor
 Tenor

fa - - - cto-rem cae - li et ter - - - ra.

5

vi - si - bi - li - um om - ni - um et in - - - vi - si -

10

bi - li - - - um, et in u - num Do - mi-num Je - sum Chri - stum

15

Fi - li - - - um De - i - u - ni - ge - ni - tum,

Triples 1 (choir)
 Counter-tenor
 Contratenor

De - um de De - o, lu - men de lu - mi - ne,
 et ex Pa - tre na - tum an -

20

De - um ve - rum de De - o ve -
 - - - te om - ni - a

82. Credo

Ff. 69v - 70

(Priest) (choir)
 Cre-do in u-num De-um, Pa-trem om-ni-po-ten-tem. *(ital)*

Beat (solo)
 fa-cto-rem cae-li et ter-rae,
 Tenor

5
 vi-si-bi-li-um om-ni-um et in-vi-si-

10
 bi-li-um, et in u-num Do-mi-num Je-sum Chri-stum

15
 Fi-li-um De-i u-ni-ge-ni-tum,

(choir)
 De-um de De-o, lu-men de lu-mi-ne,
 et ex Pa-tre na-tum an-

20
 De-um ve-rum de De-o ve-

te om-ni-a


25

ro, qui pro - pter nos
se - cu - la: ge - ni - tum non



30

ho - mi - nes et pro - pter no - stram
fa - ctum, con - sub - stan - ti - a - lem Pa - tri, per



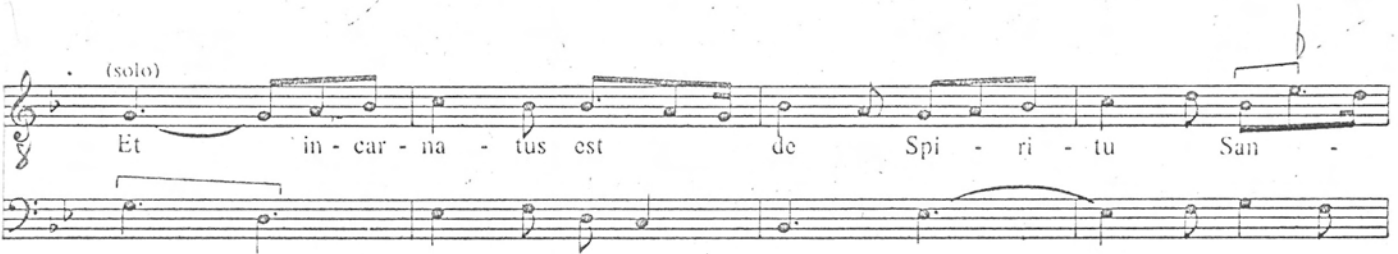
35

sa - lu - tem de - scen - dit de - cae - lis.
quem om - ni - a fa - cta sunt.



(solo)

Et in - car - na - tus est de Spi - ri - tu San -



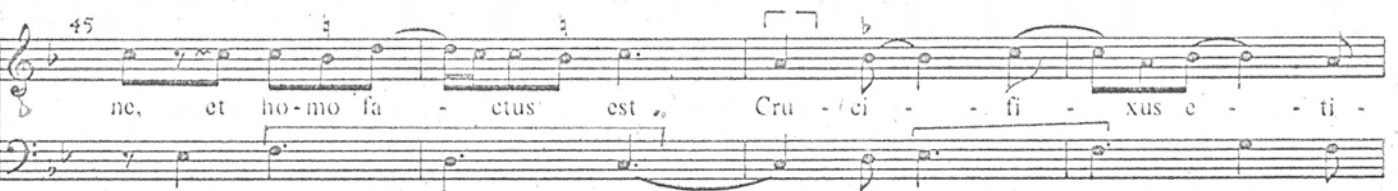
40

cto ex Ma - ri - a vir - gi



45

ne, et ho - mo fa - ctus est Cru - ci - fi - xus e - ti -



50
 am pro no - bis sub Pon - ti - o Pi - la -

55
 to, pas - sus et se - pul - tus est.

Part of Agnus 128

15
 A - gnus De - i, qui
 A - gnus De - i, qui
 A - gnus De - i, qui

20
 tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di,
 tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di,
 tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di,

25
 mi - se - re - re no - bis.
 mi - se - re - re no - bis.

The second-layer scribes made no insertions suitable for Agnus settings - at least, none that have survived. The erasure of ff. 101v-102 may have been to accommodate a second-layer Agnus. The erasure of the text might not have been necessary if score settings were intended. Was the whole opening erased in order to accommodate a choirbook setting?

The names of the composers of 127 and 128, written by scribe A, have also been erased. Done in red paint, they do not respond to ultra-violet light. However, it can be seen from plates VIII and IX that fragments of ascenders and descenders remain, and that fragments of straight or curved strokes can be distinguished. If the names belong to composers appearing elsewhere in OH, the first can only be J.Cooke, the second W.Aleyn. This conclusion was reached after careful tracing and comparison of all composer attributions which could possibly be relevant. The final oke of Cooke are quite plain. Of Aleyn, the W, the split ascender of the l, the dotted y and n are unmistakable.

If W.Aleyn, the composer of this Agnus, is to be identified with the Aleyn who composed Gloria 8 (no initial has survived the trimming there, but there probably was one originally because of the spacing of the surround), he cannot also be identified with the J.Alanus who wrote Sub Arturo plebs. Cooke and Aleyn appear in that order as composers of the last two Glorias in score: and Cooke, as I have yet to show, was probably the composer of the

— see p. 178
 erased Credo 82. The stave-lines have been retouched in red on f.69v, where the erasure was not completed, but not on ff.101v-2 where it was.

Cooke's first-layer Gloria in score (7) has several points of interest, one of which concerns the text. Instead of the usual propter magnam gloriam tuam it gives propter gloriam tuam magnam. This is the only such variant in the text of the Ordinary in OH, but cannot be dismissed as an error.¹ Wickham Legg gives the following rubric with the authority of two sources: In ceteris vero duplicibus festis unum eorum vel unum istorum dicitur pro dispositione ... per gloriam tuam magnam ... having specified for omnibus maioribus festis duplicibus pro dispositione cantoris dicitur Regnum tuum & O rex glorie.²

This Gloria was copied by scribe A with duets for the two outer parts from Domine deus to omnipotens and from Qui sedes to solus sanctus. The only other first-layer piece in score including a duet is 52 (Ave regina), again by Cooke, which opens with a duet for the upper parts but has written-in rests for the

1. However, the Credo 90, of which two voices survive in OH and the other two in LoF, f.13, has in that source the variant et vitam futuri seculi. Archdale A. King, Liturgies of the Religious Orders (London, 1955), p.45, gives this as a Carthusian variant.

2. J. Wickham Legg, The Sarum Missal (Oxford, 1916), pp.6-7.

lower part. Two second-layer score pieces have duets, all for the outer parts: Danett's Beata Dei genitrix (53) and Sturgeon's Sanctus (114).

In 7, however, the middle part of these duets has been filled in, and not by scribe A but scribe D, the scribe of the second-layer Cooke pieces. Surely this strengthens the case for this being the hand of Cooke himself, and certainly it provides a very strong argument for identifying the first-layer composer with the second-layer one. The middle part of the original version as scribe A left it has a C3 clef throughout, which is restated at the return to a three-part section after a duet, both times in the middle of a line and not at the beginning. The middle parts of the duets have a C4 clef, and in both duets the added part extends the range of the existing middle part downwards by a third.

The piece contains some interesting erasures. At bar 8 in the middle part a red sharp has been erased before the second c and rewritten in black before the preceding c, thus avoiding an unnecessary chromatic step. This phrase is very clear in its indications of ficta: see p.162. Scribe A here indicates c⁴ (unusually but not uniquely) by a small letter c, not by b. In this he seems to be following the composer's own practice, or at any rate anticipating the habits of scribe D. The two other first-layer pieces by Cooke also contain interesting examples of erased and rewritten accidentals.

The breves in the middle and lower part at bar 39 have been erased. The a in the middle part must be regarded as correct: the g in the middle part has rightly been replaced by the d below.

Most puzzling is an erasure affecting bars 91-94 (in gloria dei). Scribe A's version still stands for the upper parts, and for the lower to in. Thereafter, his lower part has been thoroughly erased, and the middle part copied onto the lower stave by scribe C. It is hard to suggest any explanation for this. The only difference is that the middle part uses a half-celomed breve for bar 94 while the lower part writes this as a black and a red semibreve (see p.162). The lower part as it now stands uses a leger line, the only one in the manuscript, though this does not take the part outside the range it touches elsewhere with another clef. The erasure has only for one note necessitated a retouching of the middle stave-line (f): the rest of the erasure is above this but cannot now be deciphered, though scribe A's work is invariably dense enough to be legible after erasure. The passage makes a very good duet, and the unison doubling is hardly acceptable. It could be argued that scribe C intended it to be a duet for the outer voices, and planned to erase the middle part, having copied it onto the bottom stave. If the lowest part went up to e, as the correction does, scribe A would have changed clef rather than use a leger line. It is

7

8 9 # # 10 # 11 162

red# erased

c

Lan-da-mus te be-ne-di-ci-mus te

90

tu in glo-ri-a De-

95

i Pa-tris


8

6 7 8 9

Be-ne-di-ci-mus te. Adoramus te. Be-ne-di-ci-mus te. Adoramus te.

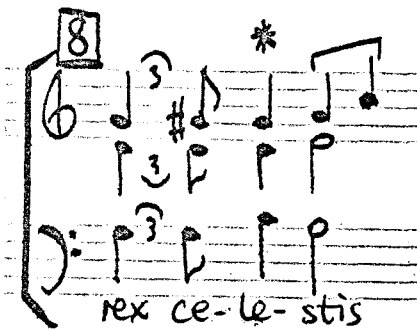
impossible to reconstruct a plausible lower part which descends only to e and goes no higher than d. The situation is further complicated by the cadence on de-i containing three g: no satisfactory reconstruction can take account of these. Whatever the bottom part did originally, it did not double the middle part. It may have been written a third too low in error. Most likely, it was originally intended as a duet, with rests in the bottom part. This would account for their erasure being undetectable. Although duets are usually between the same two parts in any one composition, a distinction may be drawn here between the self-contained duet sections without rests which were later filled in, and a short section a2 with rests.

8 is one case (illustrated at the foot of p.162) in which a second-layer 'improvement' is best ignored. Bar 6 is shown first as modified by a later scribe, C, next as scribe A originally had it. The other variant reading between these two extracts, in bar 8, is equally satisfactory in both versions, though it is not possible to tell who was responsible for erasing the stem and second note of scribe A's ligature, leaving only a breve.

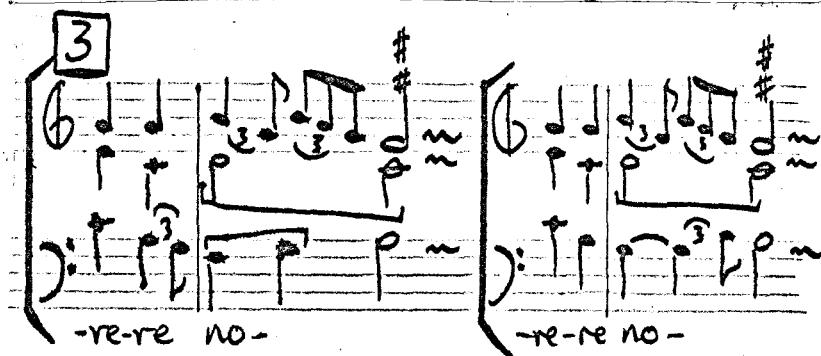
One other erasure in this piece is of interest. At bar 15, the manuscript reading is given in the following example. The note marked * is now a semibreve but originally had a minim stem. This would have made the rhythm of the top part 

with the # falling on the semibreve beat and not anticipating it. In this case it seems legitimate to transfer the # to the note marked *.

Another erasure affecting the musical reading is found in bars 36-37 of 3. The first example below shows the version now in the manuscript. The minim g and the beginning of the ligature (at least) are later



additions: again, probably, by C. The second version below is musically more satisfactory, and assumes the g of the semibreve ligature to have been a breve. The minim p which imperfects it was written by A and has been erased.



However, this version presumes an uncomfortably long gap between the a semibreve of scribe A and the breve g. The ligature is flanked by dots whose significance is unclear. They could be intended as dots of deletion, rare in a musical context, or as

indications of coloration.¹ Such dots are never visible in scribe A's work, and may indicate the initiative of scribe D at this point. Besides, this piece is not of a kind likely to have coloration. No coloration group which could be suggested here makes better sense than the second example above, and this seems to be the best solution.

A change whose significance will be demonstrated later has been made to bars 39 and 40 of Roy Henry's Gloria (16), apparently by scribe C. The present version as it appears in the manuscript is given in the first example below, and uses a mixture of red and void coloration synonymously. The original version copied by scribe A (shown in the second example below) was one breve shorter, and used only red coloration. The semibreve rest imperfecting the breve of the top part has been changed by the later scribe into a breve rest.

16

The image shows two musical examples of bars 39 and 40 of Roy Henry's Gloria. The first example, on the left, is the manuscript version as it appears, featuring a mixture of red and void coloration. The second example, on the right, is the original version copied by scribe A, which is one breve shorter and uses only red coloration. The notation includes a treble clef, a bass clef, and a semibreve rest in the top part.

1. By scribe D. See p.143.

The musical text of 101 has been worked over extensively by the second-layer scribes. It was clearly one of the most widely-circulated (and therefore popular) of the older pieces in the manuscript. Concordances survive in Fountains and BodD, and it is preserved as a square in the Norwich Gradual, B.M.Lansdowne 462. The version transcribed on the following pages lacks editorial barlines and accidentals, to avoid confusing the comparative readings it conveys. The intonation, present in LoF and OH, is omitted here. Ligatures are those of OH and ligature variants are not indicated. The bars through the score are barlines in OH and LoF. Bars through separate staves are little strokes in LoF. BodD survives from venit to the end, and Lan preserves the lowest part only. Text, under the lowest part in all sources, is placed above it here for reasons of spacing. It will be noticed that the original OH version was much closer to its concordances than it is now. The only explanation of the time signatures in the lower part which can be put forward is that they were added as blue-prints for spontaneous embellishment. The upper parts would follow suit - or was this lower part used as a square, a basis for further composition (live or written), without being separately copied?

San- ctus, san- ctus Do-mi-nus De-

OH: ϵ

Lan:

LoF, Lan & orig. OH: p

LoF: both c

us Sa- ba- oth,

LoF: a

not in LoF

Lan

LoF: a , Lan:

OH orig. p

stem or whole note later in OH

ple-ni sunt ce- li et ter- ra glo-ri-

LoF: a

not in LoF

OH: c

LoF

LoF: f

strokes also in OH

ACE in LoF

LoF: #

LoF: #

LoF: #

LoF: #

Lan: f

OH: not in LoF

a tu - a. O - san -

LoF: #

LoF

LoF: #

not in LoF

LoF: #

LoF

LoF: #

OH: erased

not in Lan

OH: not in Lan, LoF

Lan: g

OH: C

na in ex - cel - sis Be - ne - di - ctus qui

#BodD (g & c)

BodD: a g

Lan: g

LoF, Lan: C

OH orig:

and BodD:

and Lan:

Lan, BodD

Lan: O

ve - nit in no - mi - ne Do - mi - ni.

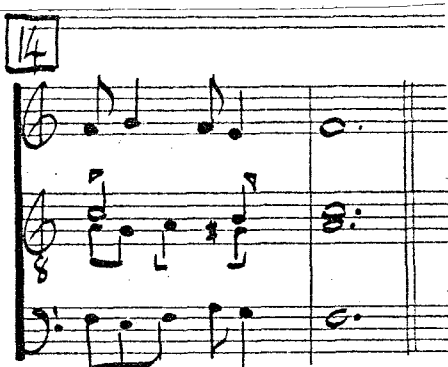
(1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) (8) (9) (10) (11) (12)

OH orig:
OH only
er. OH not in Lan
STEM ER. OH
pLoF
later
OH now:
per dimi-nuonem

LoF BodD
Not in BodD, LoF
OH: half erased to make sb
LoF, both sb
not in LoF
OH only
er. OH
not in Lan, BodD, LoF
OH: br. orig, sb. substituted
Lan:

Second-layer activity on the music of the second layer

The second-layer music texts are virtually palimpsests from beginning to end. Straightforward errors of copying do occur, but are less common than errors of thinking, such as the end of 14 (again by Cooke). The middle part has been altered from the down-stemmed version on the middle stave below, with red coloration (the a may have been a red breve, but this would have made the passage rhythmically as well as pitchwise impossible), to the upstemmed version with void coloration. This is strongly reminiscent of the 'bitonal' cadence at the end of 5 (f.3v), where the offending part should be treated as an intended erasure but for the fact that it carries the plainsong.



Not all the second-layer erasures are so easily detected or explained. For a start, the original writing was much less densely inked than the work of scribe A; the spacing is much less predictable and certainly less generous; and the erasures tend to be more thorough. Erasures within their own

work do not lend themselves to clearcut analysis as do the above cases of their emendations to scribe A's work. No doubt, their own revisions would be much more interesting, often reflecting a composer's own second thoughts about his own composition, if only the first stage in the thought process could be uncovered.

Numerous adjustments affect a few notes only, one or two at a time. The occasional minia has been dispensed with,¹ but more frequently an ornamented form has been substituted. On f.6v, stave 4, the semibreve ligature g a has been replaced by the familiar cadence figure $\blacklozenge \downarrow \blacklozenge \downarrow$; on f.7v, stave 8, the

g f f a

semibreve ligature a a replaces a simple breve a. Originals are usually illegible, but the greater compression of the new version suggests that there are more notes: for example, the coloration group on f.40v (55, Stella celi), the only case in the manuscript of the use of coloration in an English descant piece, has been squeezed in over an uncolored erasure.

Most alterations of individual note pitches make sense as corrections of errors or alternative readings. One interesting case deserves mention. In the contratenor of Coker's Credo 92 (f.79), bar 103 (seventh note from the end of stave 6), the semibreve c has been erased, and the improved reading b substituted, apparently by the same scribe but not at the same time. The concordance in CUL has c at this point. Could it be that CUL or its exemplar was copied from the autograph version in OH before

1. On f.7v, st.2, st.10; f.9v, st.4; f.31v, st.1; f.40, st.9.

this alteration was made?

Extensive alterations affect f.8, st.4, f.8v, st.11, f.10v, staves 10-12. In addition, the first line of the top part on ff.6v, 31v and 91v have been rewritten in a way which clearly differs in melodic line and rhythm from the original version - which sadly cannot be read sufficiently to fit with the other parts in any of these cases. On stave 9 of f.91v, however, there is an erased draft version of the present opening, presumably tried out there before the change was made.

In many cases, certainly the last-quoted, evidence of recomposition is clear. The extent of the alterations is more than could possibly be put down to correction of copying errors; and the lack of similarly extensive changes to the work of the main scribe betray interest of a more direct kind. Undoubtedly, their changes to scribe A's work (which include changes to the very complex pieces 75 and 22) reflect understanding and use. This is an important point, for the notational tour de force found in such pieces may well strain our credulity on the matter of performance. It could be argued that some of these pieces were used not for performance but for study; though study in some of these cases surely demands a score, either in sound (i.e. performance) or in writing.

However, this re-writing took place, together with jottings and drafts, on the present fair copies and not on rough scores. I have no new information to justify re-opening

This page contains a handwritten musical score on five-line staves. The text is written in a Gothic script. The lyrics are Latin and include the following phrases: *aus. Tu solus do mi nis. Tu so lus alaf á mis. Ihu xp ann* (top line), *aus. Tu solus do mi nis. Tu so lus alaf á mis. Ihu xp ann* (second line), *aus. Tu solus do mi nis. Tu so lus alaf á mis. Ihu xp ann* (third line), *aus. Tu solus do mi nis. Tu so lus alaf á mis. Ihu xp ann* (fourth line), and *aus. Tu solus do mi nis. Tu so lus alaf á mis. Ihu xp ann* (bottom line). The notation consists of square neumes on a four-line staff with a red line at the top. There are various musical symbols, including a clef and a time signature, at the beginning of the first line.

speculation about the nature of original working drafts used in the process of composition. Any such drafts were clearly not used for the present revisions; and the presumption can only be that the revisions were made in the light of performance, of a 'sounding' score.

Plate X shows the most extensive erasure in the manuscript which does not relate to the music on that page, nor to anything else I have been able to identify. It occurs on f.9, and is in the hand of the music scribe (Y) of that page. Other similar but smaller jottings have been erased at various places in the manuscript, all at bottoms of pages, and all apparently written by the same scribe:

Plate X shows five musical staves, each with a system number (st.12) and a folio number (f.6, f.20, f.76, f.95v, f.99). The staves contain musical notation, with some parts appearing to be erasures or jottings. The notation includes notes, rests, and stems.

= Juice bar you
 in bar 117
 Tr 87, 117v-8
 x Right 167
 f 31v

The second-layer scribes show almost no activity on the verbal texts of the first-layer music. The only case is on f.78, where two changes have been made to the partially-texted lower parts - only the tenor and part of the contratenor survive in OH, and no concordance has come to light.

After Et resurrexit (scribe A), scribe f has erased some words, presumably tercia die &c, and substituted Et ascendit in celum sedet ad dexteram patris. Where scribe A had written these words (Et ascendit &c), in the tenor part, scribe c (another significant juxtaposition of hands f and c) has erased them and written Et iterum venturus est. Virgine in the tenor coincides with Et resurrexit in the contratenor, presumably because the missing top part rested after ex Maria at that point. Then, following scribe A's reading, the manuscript barline will fall after et homo factus est in the top part, after tercia die secundum scripturas in the contratenor, the tenor being untexted here. The tenor's et ascendit is then treated as a guide to the words sung by the top part at this point, which is a duet for the outer parts and includes et iterum. The effect of Sturgeon's alteration (if indeed this is his hand) is to assign the entire duet to the text et iterum ... mortuos, and presumably to give et homo factus est to the tenor after virgine and tercia die secundum scripturas to the top part after the contratenor's Et resurrexit. The two versions can be shown diagrammatically thus:

Scribe A:

- I [ex Maria et homo factus est. | Et ascendit]
 II Et resurrexit tertia die secundum scripturas. | rests
 III virgine | Et ascendit

Scribe f/c:

- I [ex Maria tercia die secundum scripturas. | Et iterum]
 II Et resurrexit. Et ascendit in celum sedet ad
dexteram patris. | rests
 III virgine [et homo factus est.] | Et iterum

Instances of second-layer activity on the verbal texts of the second-layer music are more numerous though none is as complex as the above. Hand b has erased and re-sited syllables on ff.10, 10v and 92. If, as I believe, he copied the text before its music scribe started work on it in each case, he must have been at hand to make the necessary adjustments afterwards. Because motet texts, composer ascriptions and a rubric (in 13) are involved, he must have copied the texts with the particular pieces in mind, and worked in close collaboration with the music scribes. The colour of the rubric is identical to that of the coloration in this piece. 12 clearly added music to words already copied: the dividing-point between ff.8v and 9 coincides with the end of a word, not of a musical perfection, and the long-tail above altis-
simus is abnormally short. But the fact that on f.9v the syllables

glori overshoot the end of a line might be regarded as evidence that they were accommodating to music which was already in place. Since they are in paler ink than the rest of the text, however, it seems more likely that they were squeezed in to compensate for an omission.

Scribe c has adjusted the placing of syllables on ff.34v and 58v, moving them further to the right where insufficient space was allowed for a melisma. Scribe f's adjustments on f.11v are easily accounted for. Domine deus agnus began the fourth stave of the part: do was erased, and resited in the margin at the end of the previous line. It falls on an upbeat, so the stave-end now functions instead of a dot of division. In the second qui tollis, mundi was originally spaced as in the first qui tollis, and miserere has been erased where deprecationem now appears - an easy enough error to make. The same scribe also had trouble at line ends in copying Burrell's Gloria (65), but as this piece is in score, it was simpler to adjust one musical part to the others and to the words than to change all the elements.

Scribe d has adjusted the placing of syllables on f.32v, and more extensively on ff.90v-91; scribe e has adjusted syllables on f.79v. All these second-layer cases concern adjustment by scribes to their own work. Scribe f/c, alone, seems to have made changes to the work of other scribes. His changes on f.78 have already been given. He also tampered with Danett's Gloria/Credo pair, 39 and 93. Both pieces have red-texted duet sections

for the top and tenor parts, the top being fully texted, the tenor having a red incipit only. Scribe c has added full text to the tenor parts of these duets - a significant action. He is also responsible for erasing a misleading set of mensuration signs after the isorhythmic tenor of Danett's motet 111 (on f.90) and replacing them by a clear set of verbal directions.

Marginalia not already described

Two pen drawings of mythical animals appear in the tail margins of ff.105 and 106; sum (or at least, e followed by five minims) has been written in the tail margin of f.52. Some fairly large letters have been scratched with a dry stylus in the top margin on f.85; they apparently read Bonus puer.

Something, no longer legible, has been scratched out under the ascription to Danett on f.7v. The face incorporated into the same composer's initial D by the same scribe (b) on f.89v is emitting something from its nostrils. This was presumably uncomplimentary and has been erased, though being in red it cannot be recovered by means of ultra-violet light. This small detail might be interpreted to mean that Danett was not himself scribe b, but that he removed this piece of banter during his subsequent access to the book.

The erased red ascriptions in the side margins of ff.39v and 40 have already been mentioned. Careful inspection of the

margins for evidence of ascription, particularly where the facing initial has been removed, yielded only one clue. On f.67v, below the ascription to Excetre, there are two faint red offsets, both the right way round and therefore twice offset (presumably onto a spare sheet of paper or parchment used to avoid blotting). One is Excetre, and no great ingenuity is required to explain its presence. The other, a little lower down, is Cook, or Coeke. No first-layer Credo survives with an ascription to Cooke, and neither neighbouring piece lacks an ascription. Ff.68-69, however, are the central bifolium of gathering XI, and if they were temporarily removed, perhaps for the ink to dry, f.67v would be facing f.70. If f.70, or a spare sheet laid on top of it, bore the reverse offset of its composer's name from f.69v, this could easily be transferred to f.67v, in its present position, provided the manuscript was unbound and the pages not finally aligned. The Credo 82 which occupies ff.69v-70 has suffered both extensive erasure and loss of initial: see pp.154-57 above. It shares its structure of alternating duet and four-part sections with a final section a5 with three other pieces in the manuscript: the Gloria 21 by Leonel and the now anonymous Credo 77 which forms a musical as well as structural pair with this Gloria and is almost certainly by Leonel, and the Gloria 36 by Cooke. 82 has no conclusive musical links with 36, and the fact that it is flanked by Leonel Credos argues

marginally in favour of Leonel as its composer. However, the offset ascription to Cooke affords much more tangible evidence, and we may give the piece to Cooke with reasonable confidence. It will be noticed that both the extensive erasures (on f.69v and ff.101v-102) affect compositions by Cooke.

Such juggling of the unstitched gatherings as I have supposed must have happened frequently if the scribe had several pieces in progress. Other offsets do occur, but none are of comparable significance. Music may be offset from missing folios, but it can never be deciphered clearly enough to tell. The bottom stave of f.17v has been transferred, by a process similar to the above, to f.16v, but does not appear on f.18. A reverse image from f.17 also appears on f.16v. Ff.1v and 2 have offset onto each other in reverse. F.3v carries images from ff.2v and 4v, both the right way round. F.5 has taken a reverse image from f.4v, f.8 from f.7v. F.2v has offset onto f.3 in reverse: this would be impossible by juggling the unbound leaves of the original manuscript. Either my collation is wrong for the first gathering, or the offset was in this case caused by damp at a later stage. The early part of the manuscript has certainly suffered from damp and exposure: stains can be detected (e.g. on f.4v). Someone has inked over some of the more badly faded noteheads and text on f.1 - presumably the 19th-century restorer. The same person may have been responsible

for the attempt to add barlines through the score at the beginnings of ff.1 and 80v.

The small illuminated C at the foot of f.27v has been doubly offset onto f.26v. In the righthand side margin on f.59, by staves 4 and 5, appears the reverse image of a large blue capital P, presumably offset from a missing folio. The facts that it has offset onto a point lower down the page, and that the letter C has been twice offset, demonstrate not only that scribe A had written the manuscript unbound, but that the illuminator worked on it unbound.

The remaining marginalia are signs found at the head or side of various compositions, perhaps indicating performance or pieces to be copied out.

A tiny } marks pieces 7, 9, 10, 12. 101 is marked \oplus , 132 * , 30 X . 111, 113 and 121 are marked + , and the following pieces X : 25, 26, 29, 32, 43, 44, 51, 52, 57, 86, 101, 105, 106, 111, 112, 119, 121, 128, 131, 135, 138, 142. Both layers are represented here. Other indications, done with a brownish, waxy stylus, affect only first-layer pieces: 115, 116, 117, 118, 121, 135 are all marked Iste, and the following (all pieces with gold illumination) are marked 6 : 25, 26, 27, 32, 50, 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 86, 87, 88, 103, 106, 109, 111, 115, 116, 118, 121, 126, 128, 129, 131, 132, 134, 141, 142, 145, 146. This sign also appears by two second-layer pieces with original illumination, 40 and 53.

The plan and execution of the manuscript

Dom Anselm Hughes's analysis of the plan and order of writing of OH leads him to conclude that

Old Hall is in no sense a composite manuscript, but a fairly homogeneous collection written by four different scribes: and if we were to attempt the unearthing of different strata to the extent of discriminating between the work of different generations, we should be going too far.

He is, however, prepared to distinguish two 'layers' within the work of the main scribe, of which the earlier more or less coincides with music copied in score (ff.1-6, 41-51v, 81-89, 101-109v), the later with music in choirbook lay-out.² He fails to take into account folios now missing from the manuscript and does not determine the collation.³ These factors invalidate his calculations about the order of the manuscript and his theory that Roy Henry's Sanctus was a later addition. Rather than take them as our starting-point, we would be safer to go back to Squire's less committal 'In all probability the volume was begun at different places simultaneously'.⁴

All later writers have taken over Ramsbotham's scribal assignments without qualification. Bukofzer still regarded

1. Ramsbotham &c, OH, vol.I, p.xv.

2. *ibid.*, p.xiv.

3. See above, p.34, n.1.

4. Squire, 'Notes ...', p.343.

the contributions of Ramsbotham's scribes B and C as part of the main compilation, though 'Compositions by Dunstable and Forest, more advanced than the rest, have been inserted by a later hand'.¹ Harrison finally made a chronological separation between the work of scribe A from that of B and C, placing all the additions to the original nucleus between 1413 and 1432, the 'final addition of pieces by Dunstable and Forest' towards the end of this period.² However, as Harrison gives no reasons for this dating which bear close scrutiny (see the discussion of Roy Henry in chapter VI below), it will be best to start afresh with the revaluation of scribes and collation.

The overall scheme of the manuscript's contents, by liturgical categories, may possibly reflect a 'received' order - received musically from an exemplar or verbally from the commissioner of the manuscript. Even so, many internal indications make it clear that the scribe himself planned the order of the collection in matters of detail. That is to say, he determined the number of stave-lines to the page, the space to be occupied by each piece, all matters of spacing and lay-out within a piece, and where extra bifolia were to be inserted. It seems too, as I shall show, that the order of pieces within each section was

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1. NOHM, p.167. See also Bukofzer, Studies , p.76.
 2. Harrison, MMB, pp.221-22.

his own responsibility. The fact that he was able to plan to the extent he did means that he must have had copies of a large amount of music in front of him at once, and for quite a long period of time. He had these either in the form of one or more large sources of similar scope (in which case the copying must have been done on location, for no institution would part up with its choirbook for so long) or, more likely, in the form of rough copies collected, perhaps from all over the country and in no particular order, by himself or someone else. Although there is no evidence that the Fountains fragment formed a direct model for part of OH, it is the kind of rough-copy manuscript which might have existed for OH. Even if scribe A did not then make his own exemplar from his collection of rough copies, he at least did a certain amount of musical scanning and calculation of spacing before arranging the final copy as he did.

No one criterion of planning emerges clearly. Within the main sections (Glorias in score, Glorias in choirbook, Antiphons in score, Credos in score, Credos in choirbook, Sanctus settings, Agnus settings, isorhythmic motets), which are strictly respected, suggestions of groupings by composer, style, length and plainsong all appear, and the difficulty lies in knowing which priority the scribe was observing at any one time. In one case a miscalculation of space forced him to change his plan for that point; but in other cases where the intention is unclear, it is never easy

to tell whether he was coping with some late arrivals as they turned up, or whether he temporarily abandoned any attempt to impose a tidy pattern on his collection. Only where the plan can be detected as quite deliberate are we in a position to say that he had the affected music to hand. Let us take each section of the manuscript in turn and try to detect which criterion was uppermost in scribe A's mind as he planned it.

The Glorias in score (occupying exclusively the first gathering, since gathering II is a second-layer insertion) are too incomplete for us to observe any pattern of order by composers: all settings survive anonymously except the last two to be copied, which are by Coker and Aleyn. The stylistically more advanced settings (using coloration and short note values) congregate towards the end of the section; thus the order may reflect a deliberate arrangement. However, there is nothing in this first gathering to prove that the scribe planned it in advance rather than adding pieces to it in order of composition over a long period of time.

The first gathering-and-a-half of Glorias in choirbook arrangement is assembled by composers: one piece by Roy Henry, two by Ryttering, one by Tyes, one by Excetre, five by Leonel and finally three by Pycard. Within these groups, Leonel's two isorhythmic Glorias are adjacent, so are Pycard's two canonic ones. Tyes's placing may not be significant: his

Gloria occupies a single side only, and may have been added there later to fill up the page facing Ryttering's one-side Gloria.

The rest of gathering IV and the beginning of gathering V are devoted to a Gloria each of Rowland, Queldryk, Gervays, Anon, [Zacar], Anon, Pycard and Cooke. Of these, the first, second, third and sixth belong to what I shall call the 'Yorkshire nexus' - which includes music by composers with Yorkshire names or associations, or music with concordances or connections with the Fountains fragment. Rowland's Gloria and the second anonymous Gloria have concordances in LoF; Queldryk and Gervays may perhaps be associated with the abbeys of Fountains and Jervaulx respectively.¹ Whether the other anonymous Gloria and that by Zacar can now be grouped with the Yorkshire pieces remains an open question. Pycard's canonic Gloria (35) is out of place here, perhaps because it was received too late to be placed with his other Glorias. Cooke, again, is near the end of the section: there is no choirbook Gloria by Aleyn.

Too few composer identifications are available for the antiphons, but the order of the surviving ascriptions is: Leonel, Leonel, Ryttering, Fonteyns, Cooke. Cooke is once

1. For the former name, see Bukofzer, Studies —, p.91.

again last, preceded by Fonteyns of the Yorkshire nexus. Byttering's antiphon, which immediately precedes Fonteyns's, has a York concordance. The Leonel pieces are separated from each other by a number of anonymous antiphons, and Byttering is not near enough to the beginning for us to assert that the order of composers followed in the choirbook *Glorias* applied also here. Nor are the antiphons grouped by text: Leonel's setting of Ave Regina is no. 43, whereas Cooke's is 52; the anonymous Regina celi is 44, whereas the planned but unwritten setting of that text would have followed Cooke's Ave Regina; the two Nesciens mater settings are separated as 48 and 50. We might suggest here, most tentatively, that antiphons 41-48, together with the lost settings once interspersed with them, were available to the scribe to start with (no composers or texts which could have been placed adjacently are included); and that those by Leonel, Byttering, Fonteyns and Cooke, 49-52, may form a supplementary group. The antiphons by Byttering and Cooke include the coloration and shorter note values symptomatic of later date.

When the scribe began the *Credos* in score on the centre opening of this gathering, he must have anticipated filling the preceding half-gathering with antiphons. The anomalous position of f.40 may indicate that he had underestimated the quantity, and that the *Credos* in score were started before all the antiphons

were available; they were certainly started before all the antiphons were actually copied (Regina celi never was copied). There is no discernible order in these Credos, unless they reflect the progression of the score Glorias from anonymous, archaic settings to more advanced, ascribed ones. The first three are anonymous, the next is by Oliver, the next anonymous (but lacking initial and site of ascription), and the last two are by Chirbury and Typp. The different range of composers makes comparison impossible on this front. There was room for one uncopied Credo in score (as also for one Gloria of this kind), but to allow for more would have created problems.

The choirbook Credos occupy gatherings X, XI and XII. The composer order, after two lost settings (see p.84), one with lost ascription, one anonymous, and three openings left blank, is: [Pycard?], Pycard, [Leonel], Pycard, Byttering, Excetre, Leonel, [Cooke], Leonel, Leonel, Anon, Swynford, Typp, Quedryk, Pennard, Anon, Anon, Cooke. Cooke, by now predictably, is last, although he is also represented earlier in the group. He is preceded by three representatives of the Yorkshire nexus (and the incomplete anonymous setting 21): a Credo with a LoF concordance, Pennard's Credo (Bukofzer believes the anonymous Gloria no.1 of LoF to be by Pennard on the basis of this, his only other extant composition)¹ and one by Quedryk. Typp,

1. Bukofzer, Studies, p.107.

Swynford, and the preceding anonymous Credo are unplaced; then we are back amongst the composers of the first batch of choirbook Glorias - Ryttering, Excêtre, Leonel and Pycard - but in more confused array. However, all the isorhythmic Credos, 84-90, are placed together; 71 and 75, the two canonic Credos, are separated from each other by three openings which scribe A left blank. Was he here trying to group the compositions according to their composition technique? He could have done this without forfeiting his composer order quite as much as he has done; only one Leonel piece (84) need have been separated from the Ryttering, Excêtre, Leonel, Pycard scheme to make this possible, or only this one isorhythmic piece from the others using this technique, three of which belong to the Yorkshire nexus and are adjacent.

The oddest feature of the Credo section is that scribe A left three blank openings in gathering X, between 71 and 75: blanks which were later filled by second-layer scribes. Nowhere else does this happen. All the score music must have been planned consecutively, and it would have been rash not to copy it consecutively. Choirbook music is a slightly different matter: all such pieces in OH are contained within a single opening, and if necessary the notation is compressed to make that possible. Never did the OH scribes allow themselves to continue a piece overleaf, as was normal procedure in the smaller-format paper manuscripts (Trent, Ao &c). But it may often have been convenient

to copy choirbook music in another order, so that a piece involving different bifolia could be copied while another one was drying: the medieval scribe could not merely blot and turn over. This is a strong practical reason for believing that the scribe would have had more than one section of the manuscript in progress simultaneously. It is not difficult to explain how these three openings in gathering X might have been left unfilled while the scribe was working on another part of this unbound gathering.

But I do not think that this is the real explanation here, although it may have happened incidentally. The next gathering, XI, has three openings ruled with fourteen staves to the page, containing the Credos 79, 80 and 81 by Ryttering, Excetre and Leonel. The notation is very compressed and could not have been reproduced by scribe A on twelve staves. My belief is that these three pieces were intended to occupy the openings left blank in the previous gathering, but that those pages had already been ruled with twelve staves to the page. Gathering XI had not yet been ruled, but when it was, allowance was made for these extra-long pieces.

Moreover, the extra bifolium added to gathering X (ff. 59-61a), with brown margin rulings, has thirteen staves on f. 59 recto, plus an extra half-stave added at the foot of the page. Maybe the bifolium was added for precisely this reason: the gathering had been ruled up with twelve-stave pages, and could

not accommodate all the music planned for it. One bifolium with more staves could be added to the gathering, but not three or four.

The composers of the Credos which began gathering X are not known: two-and-a-half Credos are missing, and the other is anonymous. If these had then been followed, on ff.60v-62 (three openings) by the Credos which now occupy ff.66v-69, the composer sequence (after the unknowns and anonymi) would have been Byttering, Excetre, Leonel, Pycard. Thereafter, the Leonel and Pycard contributions are not kept as tidily separated as in the Gloria section: having broken the order he had successfully adopted for the Glorias, scribe A now abandoned his composer classification and salvaged a technical classification. He was still able to put all the isorhythmic pieces together, and perhaps he hoped for three more canons to fill the openings which should have been devoted to Byttering, Excetre and Leonel. If f.59 was indeed an afterthought for this gathering, added when the scribe began to anticipate trouble with spacing, the three long Credos would have been preceded by three openings and therefore three Credos: close enough to the two openings and two Glorias (by Roy Henry and Byttering) which precede the Byttering-plus-Tyes, Excetre, Leonel sequence in the Gloria section.

The first gathering of Sanctus settings in score (XIII)

itself presents a self-contained plan. The bifolium with brown rulings (ff.81-88) was inserted at an early stage, before any music was copied (the only possible exception being the Roy Henry Sanctus, supposed by Dom Anselm Hughes to be a later addition). Roy Henry is placed first: his setting is not based on plainsong. Then follow two settings each based on the Sarum plainsongs 1, 2 and 3, and one on Sarum 5. Then one by Chirbury, not based on chant, separates these settings on festal chants from the following ferial ones: one on Sarum 9, two on Sarum 4, one each on Sarum 6, 8 and 7, and two on 10.¹ The order of composers cannot therefore be relevant, but the presumption must be that all were available at the outset. They are: Roy Henry, Typp, Leonel, Lambe..., Chirbury. One anonymous setting has a LoF concordance (101), but as it seems to have been a favourite it need not be placed in the Yorkshire nexus.

The opening which links this gathering to the next was left unfilled, and gathering XV was started with four choirbook Sanctus settings by Leonel. These were followed by three further score settings (two by Oliver, one by Excetre) and two choirbook settings (by Tyes and Pycard) which were almost certainly later arrivals.

The Agnus gathering (XVI) shows a similar arrangement

1. This pattern was pointed out by Dom Anselm Hughes in *Ramsbotham &c, OH*, vol.III, p.xv. The order of the chants in the *Norwich Gradual*, B.M. Lansdowne 462, on which their present-day numbering is based, was not sacrosanct.

by chants (two on Sarum 1, one on Sarum 2, two on Sarum 3, one each on 6, 5 and 4: then a Chirbury setting without chant; then one each on the ferial chants 8 and 9, two on 8, one on 7 and two on 10).¹ The composers available for this arrangement were again Chirbury, Leonel, Typp (besides missing and anonymi) and - as shown on p.158 - Cooke and Aleyn. The arrangement by chant surely invalidates Dom Anselm Hughes's attempt to make 'very tentative suggestions for the composers of anonymous items'.²

Two choirbook Agnus settings by Leonel survive at the beginning of gathering XVII, and they are followed by a late-arrival setting in score by Oliver. The isorhythmic motets start on the next opening. If they were not already in place, one might ask, would we have had more Agnus settings by Oliver, Excetre, Tyes and Pycard? Did the scribe practise some exclusion of available material in order not to destroy his pattern, just as he had probably already exercised selection in order to limit the number of settings on any one chant to a maximum of two in the original gatherings (XIII and XVI) of Sanctus and Agnus settings?

There can be no doubt that the last two isorhythmic motets were intended, as Deo gratias substitutes, to be the

1. For Agnus melodies 11 and 12, not in Lansdowne 462, see D.Stevens, 'A Recently Discovered English Source of the Fourteenth Century', MQ vol.XLI (1955).

2. Ramsbotham &c, OH, vol.III, p.xv.

last pieces in the book. The others may have been added backwards in order to ensure this. If the border to 143 has any more significance than to mark the beginning of the section, then the exact number of isorhythmic motets must have been known, and the possibility of adding to them rejected.¹

The order in which pieces appeared in an exemplar (or pile of exemplars) may have determined their order in OH where no other factor was involved. 131 and 134 appear in the same order in LoW, 129 and 134 in the same order in LoF, for what that is worth. One significant factor which connects the respective copying orders of certain sections concerns musically related pieces which have been parted from each other. The indisputable pairs in the first layer are 24 and 84, 21 and 77, 116 and 140, 118 and 141 (all by Leonel or attributable to him).² I am not sure that it is possible to define pairs or non-pairs quite as crisply as some recent studies commend;³ but when musical criteria alone are being drawn upon, strict controls are needed. Other movements may be coupled together more loosely: in some cases the only deterrent to considering them as deliberate pairs is the notation of the two movements at different pitch levels. Since there is no evidence that written

1. This piece is discussed on pp.50-52 above.

2. Andrew Hughes discusses these and other pairs in 'Mass Pairs in the Old Hall and other English Manuscripts', Revue Belge de Musicologie vol.XIX (1965).

3. E.g. Philip Gossett, 'Techniques of Unification in Early Cyclic Masses and Mass Pairs'. JAN vol.XIX (1966).

pitches were related even to approximate standards of sounding pitch at this period, I do not regard notation at different pitches as a barrier to linked performance by the same people at the same pitch. Who would deny the link between Damett's and Sturgeon's motets (111 and 113) which divide a plainsong between them because one transposes it while the other does not? Excetre's only Gloria and Credo (20 and 80) both alternate three-part writing with long, red-texted duets. Cooke's Gloria and Credo (36 and 82) are identical in structure: alternating four- and two-part sections with a final section a5. 26 and 76, Pycard's four-part Gloria and Credo, are alike in rhythm and each has a 'trick' feature: canon at the fourth and use of red clefs respectively.¹ The possible connection between Pycard's canonic pieces 35, 75 and 123 has already been raised.² Denis Stevens has proposed a pairing between Byttering's Gloria and Credo 17 and 79.³

However loose their musical coupling, all these movements are linked by composer and by at least one structural element. If we place the orderly Glorias in numerical order, and add the

1. 76 is discussed in the appendix to chapter IV.

2. On p.95 above.

3. In a communication to JAMS vol.XX (1967), pp.516-17. The second Byttering pair suggested by Stevens (18 and 85) cannot stand: the ascription to Byttering is in the Strangman hand and has no discernible manuscript authority. The musical relationship is not close enough to argue Byttering's authorship on purely musical grounds.

less orderly Credos alongside their possible partners, this pattern results:

Glorias:	<u>17</u> ,	<u>20</u> ,	<u>21</u> ,	<u>24</u> ,	<u>26</u> ,	<u>35</u> ,	<u>36</u>
Credos:	<u>79</u> ,	<u>80</u> ,	<u>77</u> ,	<u>84</u> ,	<u>76</u> ,	<u>75</u> ,	<u>82</u>
Sanctus:			<u>116</u>	<u>118</u>	<u>123</u>		
Agnus:			<u>140</u>	<u>141</u>			

79 and 80 were to have occupied the openings now filled by 72 and 73, which yields a parallel sequence for the first four pairs as well as for the two Sanctus/Agnus pairs. 35, 116 and 123 were late arrivals: is it possible to conclude tentatively from the above that 75 and 82 were also, and that the unsystematic order of 76, 75 and 82 can be explained by the need to fill up the gaps resulting from the mishandling of gathering X? The order of the Credos is half predictable, half random, and it would be rash to base too much on these parallelisms. One point, hedged with suitable caution can, however, be made.

Leonel's Gloria 22 has certain stylistic and proportional features in common both with his Credos 81 and 83; there is no reason for attaching one rather than the other to the Gloria. 81 was to have been copied where 74 now is: and it shares a distinctive middle cadence (with fermata, g# and c#) with Leonel's Sanctus 115. All three pieces (22, 81, 83) use mensuration signs in conjunction with a numeral (discussed in the next chapter). Although the meanings are identical, the numerals are colored in

22 and 83, black in 81. These small points of contact between 81 and 115, 22 and 83 offer them a tidy slot in the numerical sequence of the above table.

It is impossible to produce from so many unknowns a definitive programme of copying. We cannot tell whether all sections were started simultaneously, whether all works by some composers arrived together, whether one gathering was temporarily abandoned while work on others was advanced. The Glorias 16-28 were undoubtedly available to scribe A before he began copying them. Very probably, their parallel Credo settings reached him at the same time, though we cannot say whether they were copied before, during or after the Glorias. The Glorias of the Yorkshire nexus (29-34) arrived at an unknown stage; so too did the isorhythmic Credos which include the only three Yorkshire contributions to this section. Glorias 35 and 36 were late arrivals; so too was the non-isorhythmic Credo 91 which follows the isorhythmic settings. 75 (like 35 and 123) may have been a late arrival copied into the section scribe A had decided to set aside for canonic settings but was never able to fill. Works by Byttering, Excetre, Leonel and Pycard were apparently available to him before he planned the Gloria and Credo sections. Roy Henry and Tyes may be added to this list. Late arrivals included some music by Pycard, and some (possibly all) of Cooke's compositions.

The composers whose Sanctus and Agnus settings were available before gatherings XIII and XVI were planned are: Roy Henry, Typp, Leonel, Lambé..., Chirbury, Cooke and Aleyn. If all the compositions by Cooke and Aleyn arrived late for some sections, and if they arrived together, it could be that the Agnus gathering (for which they were not late) was written after the choirbook Glorias and Glorias in score; possibly too after the antiphons. The composers of the late-arriving Sanctus and Agnus settings are Excetre, Tyes, Pycard and Oliver. Oliver's Credo in score is well embedded in that section: unless the score Credos were written last, his work must have arrived in two consignments. If Tyes's Gloria was also a late arrival, its placing early in the section may be due to its shortness: it could be fitted in on the blank page facing Ryttering's. Pycard's music certainly came in at least two instalments. The placing of Excetre's Sanctus may be due to its unusual chant, which would not fit the scheme of the main Sanctus gathering.¹

While scribe A almost certainly worked on some parts of the manuscript while others were left to dry, it is clearly impossible to use this sort of speculation to establish which came first. But we can point to the music which was available for planning any one gathering, the music which may or may not have been there from the start, and the music which certainly reached him late.

1. The chant was identified by Andrew Hughes, 'Re-appraisal', p.129.

Scribe A did not work on OH after the illuminator; we have seen that he did not complete his plan. It is possible that the illuminator, likewise, did not quite finish. All the intended gold leaf seems to be in place, but the absence of subsidiary initials for the last three choirbook Glorias and of an initial on f.52v (see p.80 above) may indicate that he had not finished the blue initials. Offsets of music, text, composer ascriptions and illuminations, very few of which can be explained by re-alignment in subsequent re-binding, testify to the unbound state of the book during all those stages.

Although the original plan suffered modification (because of the later arrival of some material) and interruption (before all the planned music was copied), the modified plan was certainly for a complete book, with every page filled. The final death-blow to the idea that OH was intended as an anthology volume, with blanks to be filled by later users, is dealt by scribe A's prescription of illuminations with specific and limited uses, and his curtailment of the Credos in seors and isorhythmic motets by starting them in the middle of a gathering instead of allowing them a fresh one.

At this stage the manuscript came into the hands of the second-layer scribes. As we have seen, from the cases of ff. 39v and 89v, they worked without the co-operation, and presumably without the foreknowledge, of the main scribe and illuminator.

F.40 may already have been inserted, unwritten. They added gatherings II, IX and XIV, with three, three and two bifolia respectively, in each case between two existing gatherings. The manuscript was presumably still unbound when these insertions were made, and then bound before they used it. (Shorter direct-tails in the inside than in the outer margin, as on ff.9v-10, may be an indication of the thick, bound volume affecting writing habits.) The size of the added gatherings must have been determined by the approximate quantity they envisaged adding. But having made the additions and bound them in, they proceeded to use the available space rather ingeniously. They adapted the initials on ff.39v and 89v with resource. And Sturgeon's choirbook Gloria, 15, immediately precedes scribe A's choirbook settings, although it comes at the end of a score section; if it had been anticipated when the insertions were made, a further gathering could have been put between gatherings V and VI to accommodate it. But by the time 15 was copied, satisfactory insertion was precluded by the binding, and ff.34v-35 may already have been filled (as suggested on grounds of semi-minim evidence in the next chapter). Sturgeon could not have used f.89v for his Sanctus, since it has the plainsong in the middle part.

If the additions were made after the manuscript was bound, there would have been no obstacle to making further additions as required in the same way. Moreover, they did

not put their isorhythmic motets at the very end of the manuscript, though the present placing among the Sanctus settings must have cost them yet more ingenious reasoning (see chapter V). And finally, why were the erasures on ff.69v and 101v-102 undertaken if not to make room for further music, erasure at this stage being a simpler task than further insertion?¹

Assuming, then, that the second-layer scribes made their insertions into the unbound manuscript and that they added folios between but not within gatherings, there were only five points at which they could have inserted material without disrupting the existing music. In this way, and by following scribe A's plan as closely as possible, and also by working over his repertory, they show that the book was of interest to them not only by virtue of its empty pages. They used three of the five available positions: the joins between gatherings I and III, VIII and X, XIII and XV (but not those between V and VI or XII and XIII, presumably because they expected the gaps left by scribe A in those

1. Additions to an existing book, followed by rebinding, are recorded by Harrison, *MMB*, p.160: Et in solutis Johannes Cornyshe pro vi quaternis novis unius libri pro choristis ad cantandum Responsoria et antiphonas ordinati cum xs.vid. pro Reparacione et notacione antiquorum quaternorum ligacione et cooperture eiusdem libri xxiiis.viiid. On the same page, Harrison notes the contents of inventories at the same institution (Winchester College), which include a book of polyphony starting with Kyries. It appears from 1404, which is too early for the Winchester connections for OH suggested in chapter I above.

sections to be adequate for their needs). The folios which linked gatherings XV and XVI have gone: it is possible that a further second-layer insertion has been lost from here too. However, if they had had more Sanctus settings to add, one would have ended on f.93, which is blank: similarly, the only other blank folio in OH, f.58, can be accounted for, as it should have carried the continuation of Forest's Ascendit Christus.

The next task is to establish, where possible, under what conditions and in what order the second-layer additions were made. Sturgeon, or his agent, seems to have taken some initiative. Not only are most of the alterations to other people's compositions in his hand, but his compositions straddle the join from old to new gathering in two out of the three places (I-II and VIII-IX).

All composers except Burrell and Dunstable, and all scribes other than those confined to their compositions, have some music totally contained within first-layer gatherings. These, together with Leonel, have much weaker claims to autograph than Danett, Sturgeon and Cooke. The whole manuscript was available to the second-layer scribes: the interrelationships with the first layer are too close for their gatherings to have been compiled separately and added in. However, the different appearance of ff.55-56 has already been noted¹: this piece by Dunstable could have been incorporated separately

1. See pp.42, 152.

and then flanked by other music, which would make its date of composition earlier than that of the binding and second-layer additions. The gathering as a whole was inserted on the initiative of the chapel royal scribes. The fact that Sturgeon was responsible for six of the junction points between old and new, old and old, new and old gatherings, and Damett for the other two, may suggest that there was, after all, a 'close connection' of the manuscript with Damett and Sturgeon, but in rather a different way from that envisaged by Squire, Ramsbotham, Hughes and Bukofzer.

The sequence of composers (and/or scribes) is not the same at each point of insertion. Two contributions by the same composer are seldom adjacent: 53 and 54 by Damett, 67 and 68 by Forest are the only cases.

Music totally contained within first-layer gatherings
(including f.40)

31v-32	Damett (Ee)	40v	Cooke (Dd)
32v-33	Cooke (Dd)	51av-52	[Damett] (Bb)
33v-34	Damett (Ee)	60v-61	Damett (Ee)
34v-35	Sturgeon (CF'c)	61v-61a	Leonel (Ff)
39v-40	Damett (Bb)	61av-62	[Forest] (Gg)
40	Damett (Bb)	78v-79	Cooke (Dd)

It may be fair to assume that the available spaces with original illumination would be used in preference to, and therefore before, the new unilluminated folios. The fact that Sturgeon used an unilluminated opening for his Credo 69 may indicate that the Forest scribe had already used an illuminated opening for 74. If this is so, he must have had access to the manuscript during the period in which it was in use by the chapel royal men.

Music totally contained within second-layer additions

7v-7a	Damett (Eb)	54-55	Burrell (F?f)	90v-91	Cooke (Dd)
7av-8	[Cooke] (Dd)	55v-56	[Dunstable] (Rh)	91v-92	Sturgeon (F'b)
8v-9	Burrell (XYb)	56v-57	Forest (Gg)	92v-92a	Sturgeon (Cc)
9v-10v	Damett (Bb)	57v	Forest (Gg)		
10v-11v	Cooke (Dd)				

Music which straddles old/new or new/old gatherings

Sturgeon: 6v-7, 11v-12, 52v-53v, 58v-58a,
 Damett: 79v-80, 89v-90

There is no tidy pattern, of order within each inserted gathering, special use of centres of gatherings, &c, to support any systematic planning of these additions. The book was undoubtedly used as an anthology at this stage; and this, as we have seen, was not scribe A's intention. There is nothing to suggest that the order of additions was not

consecutive at each point where additions have been made. Paired movements are always scribally similar and were presumably copied at a similar time. No doubt the marked variations between the Cc and Ff facets of the Sturgeon hand and, if they are indeed both his, the b and Ee facets of Damett's, could be analysed by a specialist to determine identity and likely chronological span. For the mere musician, however, similarities help to determine the order of writing (see next chapter).

One second-layer piece was never completed - the only one in the manuscript. This is Forest's Ascendit Christus (68). Four staves of the top part have been completed. A further two-and-a-half staves have been written, but with gaps where red notes were to be entered. They also lack underlay. It is clear that in this piece the scribe wrote a few lines of music at a time before adding text and coloration. In writing a melismatic single part, later addition of text is a sensible procedure. The scribe broke off or was interrupted: he did, however, add the name Forest in the margin at the beginning of the line in which he had stopped (there is no doubt that the hand is the same). This is an abnormal place for an ascription, and is not even by the staff on which the part would end, as the other ascription to Forest is. Did the scribe add the name there because

he knew he was not going to be able to complete the piece?
Could this indicate that this was the last piece to be copied
into the manuscript, even though this scribe had worked on
it before Sturgeon had finished copying (see p.203)? That
is an unanswerable question; further pursuit of the answer
must wait until chapter V.

CHAPTER IV

This chapter deals with notational features which are subject to special usage or significance in OH. It is not a general survey of mensural or notational practice in the manuscript.

Seminims

Seminims are used only in eleven first-layer pieces, and they were all originally black void notes. They appear only in compositions by Oliver (59, 119, 142) and Cooke (7, 52) under a \textcircled{C} signature, By Byttering (17) and Leonel (22, 81, 83) under a \textcircled{O} signature, and also in connection with a specialised use of black void in the Leonel pieces just listed and in one by Pycard (76). The seminims of 16 (Roy Henry), the only other first-layer piece to use them, are governed by \textcircled{C} ; the void forms here have been filled in and supplied with flags by a later scribe.

The significance of flagged seminim forms has yet to be fully explored. Analysis is hampered by the fact that some scribes and composers clearly attached significance to the form used while others, as clearly, did not. Scribe A's seminims are uniformly black void. In view of the alterations to the seminims of 16, and of the flagged seminims

is the only second-layer piece by Cooke which uses any semiminims,¹ it is at least possible that scribe A did not attach significance to the precise form of the semiminim and that here, as in the case of some final notes, he was imposing editorial consistency.

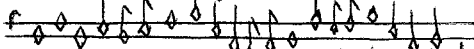
Deliberate use of flagged semiminims may convey information about date and tempo. No manuscript which can be certainly dated before 1415 uses them.² However, there is a substantial body of evidence from fragmentary sources of similar and earlier date with flagged semiminims, and in the light of these, their original exclusion from OH appears all the more to reflect scribal initiative. These sources nearly all use void notation.³

The English sources containing semiminims of either kind, then, fall roughly into the period 1400-1430. Charles Hamm places all the works

1. I.e., scribe A's copies used void semiminims if any; the second-layer piece, possibly autograph, uses the flagged form.

2. The manuscripts which contain the Agincourt song and are therefore later than 1415 both have flagged semiminims: the Selden MS and the Trinity carol roll.

3. They include LoF, f.9v (Rowlard's Gloria, = OH 29); a graffito in Harlton church, Cambridgeshire, where a similar, non-musical graffito probably dates from the time of Henry V's coronation in 1413 (See V.Pritchard, English Medieval Graffiti (Cambridge, 1967), pp.46-47; C.U.L., Add.5943 (the later addition, on f.169, of 'lolay, lolay as y lay'); Oxford, Bodleian, Ashmole 1393; and musical jottings on the last verso of a 13th-century Legenda aurea (lot 205 at Sotheby's sale of 12 December 1966, a.m.). These include minims, flagged semiminims and ligatures without stave, and the following, marked secundi:



This is of interest because ~~it is followed~~ ^{the page is headed} (apparently in the same hand) by: Rycaardus Dei gracia Rex Anglie quod hault este. It is unlikely that this formula would be used except during Richard's reign, and its placing on the page shows that it was almost certainly written later than the musical jottings. Thus we have void notation and flagged semiminims which may have been written earlier than 1400.

of Dufay which contain flagged semiminims between 1423 and 1433. The works he dates between 1415 and 1423 contain no semiminims at all, though he concedes that some may be this early. The semiminims in every Dufay piece known to date from before 1431 are flagged in every manuscript in which they are preserved, and after 1433 they are all colored. The fact that Hamm has been able to use this evidence in establishing his chronology shows that notational details were often preserved from one copy to another.¹

Flagged semiminims are usually associated with major prolation. We have seen that semiminims of any kind are rare in the first layer of OH, and they are almost non-existent earlier than that. 1415-1430 also marks the period in which composers were beginning to write in \bigcirc time with a semibreve beat music which only a few years earlier they would have written in \textcircled{C} with a minim beat. Both layers of OH provide fascinating documentation of this change, and force the first of these two dates back earlier than 1415 to the composition date of the most advanced first-layer music. Most obvious are the six Leonel pieces in which the top part has to be read in diminution to fit the lower parts.

The significance of semiminim forms may have been obscured by scribe A's initiative, but it seems clear from the

1. Hamm, Dufay, chapters 2 and 3.

Dufay works that pieces written in C with flagged semiminims have to be performed with a slower minim beat than the minim of O time pieces. Dunstable's Quam pulcra es provides a classic illustration of the tempo significance of flagged semiminims. The first section, in O , has colored semiminims in all but one (BU) of the seven manuscripts containing it. The final section in C has flagged semiminims in all manuscripts. Minim equivalence between the sections is impossible, on grounds either of musical or verbal sense, though the minim beat under C can be a little faster than the semibreve beat under O .¹

Certainly the beat in 16 has to be on the minim or slow semibreve. It is one of the most overripe major prolation pieces in the first layer, and the one which most needed to have the slow-tempo significance of flagged semiminims applied to it. It might well have been notated in its original form with flagged semiminims. The notation has been emended, or restored, as the case may be.

In the second layer, flagged semiminims are found only in 38 (Cooke), in O time, and in 53 (Dunnett), in C time. In the latter they exercise precisely this function of slowing down the semibreve beat or transferring it to the

1. Bukofzer, Dunstable, no.44.

minim. 38 is the only second-layer piece by Cooke (and the only piece copied by scribe D) to use semiminims; 92, its paired Credo, makes no use of semiminim values. It may be that Cooke attached no special importance to the form of the semiminim and used the flagged form habitually; but the flagged form does happen to be suited to his two major-prolation pieces with semiminims copied by scribe A, who gave them void semiminims.

Sixteen pieces in the second layer - more than 50% - have semiminims. Of these, the two with flagged semiminims have been discussed above. Nine pieces now have black void semiminims, three have red full and two have red void. Several of these have undergone a change of form: these changes are highly significant in establishing the order in which the second-layer music was entered into OH, and therefore the possible order of its composition.

Wherever red minim forms occur in the first layer they are colored minims, not semiminims. The colored semiminims of 12 are shown as red void notes. In the second layer, red semiminims are used in 67 and 68, neither of which has any other coloration. 74 uses red for coloration as well as for semiminims, and is the only other piece in the manuscript besides these two to have red semiminims. These three pieces constitute scribe G's contribution to the manuscript and are probably all by Forest.

69 was originally notated with red full semiminims, but their centres have been scraped out to make red void notes. This may have been done to avoid using identical notation for two distinct functions; red full is retained for normal coloration. The same scribe (Sturgeon) copied 114 with red void semiminims, probably in the light of and therefore after the decision (by him?) to change the form of the semiminims of 69. Here we have further confirmation of the identity between scribes C and F: the semiminim activity attributable to each falls into a single sequence of events. He then copied 73 with red void semiminims, but changed them to black void because he needed red void for the fusae which this piece uses. Sobered by this experience, he then copied 40 and 15 with black void semiminims.¹ All these pieces, except 73, are by Sturgeon. If the changes were made in the order and for the reasons I have suggested, this scribe did not think it sufficiently important to revise the notation of the pieces he had already copied in the light of his final decision in favour of void forms. The C facet of the Sturgeon scribe occurs at points which must have been or could have been the earliest second-layer contributions in their parts of the manuscript (e.g., ff.6v-7), and the F facets are among the last of their groups

1. Probably in that order: see p.199.

(e.g. 11v-12 and 34v-35). It looks as though Sturgeon may have used his neat, small, slow music hand for his earlier contributions, when awed by the calligraphy of the rest of the volume. Later, he slipped into a more comfortable, speedy and messy hand. In 40 he kept up the effort for the first stave, thereafter relapsing into the less troublesome script.

Void semiminims in the second layer occur in 15, 37, 39, 40, 66, 72, 73, 93, 111. 15, 40 and 73 have been discussed above. Only 66 uses void for coloration as well as for semiminims and $3/2$ minim triplets. In all other cases where different functions are required, visually distinct forms are used within a single piece. (An occasional exception has to be made to this principle in the case of normal and sesquialtera coloration, discussed below.) Besides 66, only 65 now uses void for coloration. The semiminims in 37, 39 and 72, like those of 73, were originally red void but have been gone over in black. Scribe E is responsible for 37, 39 and 72, as also for 93.¹ 93, like 73, has red void fusae: wherever else this note value is required in OH a diminution device is used. Scribe E realised, before starting to copy 93, that semiminims and fusae needed distinct forms, and he made the semiminims black void. In the

1. In 39 and 72 some of the semiminims were originally black void, but most are red void blackened.

light of this, it seems that he then went over the three pieces already copied (and of these, 37 had probably been copied first because of its position in the manuscript), and changed the semiminims to black void. 111 has black void semiminims but was copied by scribe B; this does not help us to resolve the identification problem between B and E. We cannot say whether 111 was copied independently of or in the light of the other Damett pieces with semiminims. The parallel experiences of the Damett and Sturgeon scribes in notating their music and revising it may suggest that the final settlement of both in favour of black void semiminims was reached jointly.

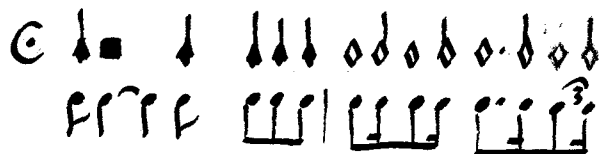
Coloration: black void and red full

Scribe A sometimes uses black void for note values other than semiminims. In the tenor and contratenor of 22 a perfect semibreve of black void is exactly half the perfect semibreve of full black. The signature C is not restated but still governs the evaluation of the note. A minim has to be altered before a full black semibreve, and not before a minim:

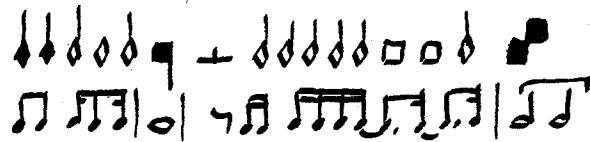
o o o o o o o o o o o o . o o o and o . o o o

(tenor, bars 27-29 and 38-39)

The top part of 22 at bar 18 shows a similar halving of the perfect breve under \circ time. The same usage is found in 81, at the end of the contra part, where red void, logically, is used for $3/2$ triplets within black void notations:



In 83, black void is used under a C signature to the same effect, in bars 44-47 of the contratenor:

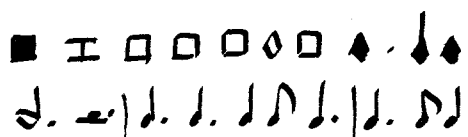


Although the signature makes it impossible to distinguish between exact halving, and reading the notes at the next level down, it is fair to assume that, since all three pieces are by Leonel, exact halving of the breve is again intended. Black void notation is also used in 76 (Pycard). The special circumstances of this piece are discussed in appendix II to this chapter.

In the second layer, apart from 66 which uses black void for all functions ($3/2$ minim triplets, normal coloration, semiminims), void is only used for normal coloration in 65, and for later emendations to 14 and 16.¹ Its only other use in the second layer, apart from semiminims, is under a \circ signature in 72. The value of the perfect breve, again,

1. See pp. 170, 165.

is halved:



(top part, 12-14)

The coloration of ff.6v-7 (9, Sturgeon, C), 7v (10, Danett, E), 8v (12, first page: Burrell, X) and 40 (54, Danett, B) was originally black void but has since been made red. All are second-layer pieces without semiminims. Others may have undergone a similar change, but only in these cases is it possible to be certain.

Before discussing coloration usage any further, it is vital to distinguish two entirely different functions of coloration. Because in practice their effect is often the same, the distinction between them is seldom, if ever, drawn. Most discussions of coloration in general and of sesquialtera in particular are blinkered by projecting 16th-century practice backwards instead of 14th-century practice forwards, a fault inherent in Apel's anti-chronological exposition.

What I shall call normal coloration, in the fifteenth century, renders notes imperfect when they would otherwise be perfect. This means that notes which are potentially perfect (the semibreve under $\textcircled{\cdot}$, the breve under $\textcircled{\circ}$) and notes with perfect components (the breve under $\textcircled{\cdot}$, the long under $\textcircled{\circ}$) are reduced in the ratio $3/2$, but only if they are not already rendered imperfect by other, contextual means. Notes already

imperfect or imperfected suffer no change in value, however else the coloration may affect them (e.g., by causing a change of accent or indicating syncopation). Because normal coloration does not necessarily reduce values, it is not correct to describe it without qualification as yielding a $3/2$ (sesquialtera, hemiola or hemiola) proportion.

Early practice is usually rather precise in this regard. One of Machaut's rare uses of coloration, in the tenor and contratenor parts only of the motet Felix virgo/ Inviolata genitrix/Ad te suspiramus gementes et flentes,¹ specifies Nigre sunt perfecte et rubee imperfecte.

A true sesquialtera is much less common than this 'normal' coloration usage. But if sesquialtera is specified, it is usually intended to be applied literally to all notes. The rubric to 75 says: Notule rubie in tenore et contratenore per proporcionem sesquialteram. In the tenor the result is the same as it would be by normal usage, because only semibreves and breves of C are colored. But in the contratenor, the proportion $3/2$ is applied on a variety of note levels, many of which are already imperfect. Alteration, imperfection and perfection are applied to red and black notes alike. In a true sesquialtera such as this, the notation is interpreted exactly as it would be if black, but it is sung faster, in

1. Paris, B.N. Fr.22546, ff.124v-125. Facsimile in G.Parrish, The Notation of Medieval Music (London, 1957), plates LII-LIII.

$\frac{2}{3}$ of the time it would normally occupy.¹ Red notation is used for both functions in OH and elsewhere, though occasionally a distinct notation is used for sesquialtera. Normal coloration (which might be termed 'color of imperfection') and sesquialtera coloration are the only distinctions in meaning needed to cover all the complexities in OH. Terminology which distinguishes the levels at which coloration operates at the expense of the underlying principles (e.g., Apel's hemiolia major and color prolationis)² does not really help.

The commonest use of sesquialtera gives three red minim triplets in the time of two black minims. They occur in 17 (Byttering), 81, 83, 115 (all Leonel) in the first layer and 37, 39, 72, 93 (all by Danett) in the second layer.

A logical extension of the triplet sesquialtera is the phenomenon usually known as minor color. Apel's definition is inadequate, and he fails to relate it to other manifestations of sesquialtera:

A specially important case of coloration in tempus imperfectum is the so-called minor color, consisting of a blackened S followed by a blackened M - a combination which may also be considered as the half of a color prolationis (half of three blackened S). No doubt this sequence originally indicated triplet rhythm, in conformity with the general meaning of coloration. In the later fifteenth century, however, its meaning changed into a dotted rhythm.

1. The contratenor is discussed in appendix I to this chapter.
2. Apel, Notation, p.131.
3. Ibid., p.128.

The very name minor color applies to an isolated survival of a more far-reaching system, and Apel's preference for the dotted rhythm testifies to his later viewpoint. But his confusion with the 'general meaning of coloration' symptomizes an underlying failure to make the fundamental distinction between functions of coloration.

A red semibreve and minim are used as a $3/2$ triplet group in 17, 25, 81 and 83 in the first layer, 39 and 93 in the second. There are no examples in OH of the isolated use of a red breve plus semibreve as a triplet group (and certainly not as a dotted group). As Apel states, these patterns came to be used synonymously with dotted rhythms ($\square \diamond = \text{dotted eighth}$ and $\square \diamond = \text{dotted quarter}$), and for a short period (around 1425) the precise intention is occasionally ambiguous. In OH there is no doubt that the original, historically correct, triplet interpretation is always meant. These patterns occur without exception in pieces where more thoroughgoing use of the same sesquialtera principles would make a dotted interpretation of isolated portions perverse and out of place. Triplet interpretation never poses any musical problems, such as the simultaneous use in different parts of a triplet and a dotted figure.

Triplet ($3/2$) minims and semibreve-plus-minim triplets are closely related to the pattern which has been dubbed the 'English figure': $\square \diamond \diamond \diamond$ (minim triplet) - another example of genuine sesquialtera coloration. Without a change of signature, it compresses a breve's-worth of \odot into the time of a breve's-

worth of \circ time - one-third less than usual. The full English figure is found in the first layer only in 83 and 115 (both by Leonel) and in the second layer only in 39 and 72 (both by Damett). With two black minias replacing the final semi-breve-plus-minim triplet it occurs, as well as in the above pieces, in 24, 81, 82, 116 in the first layer (all by Leonel) and in 37 (Damett) in the second. Imperfection of both breve and semibreve are applied in addition to the total diminution of the whole figure. The mensuration is clear and is conventionally unsigned. A black signature might be misleading as to the length of the breve, and a red signature might imply further diminution. The red \circ in 93 before a sesquialtera coloration group does not, however, shortenⁿ the breve still further. It follows upon another major prolation signature \circ , and confirms the mensuration of the red notes. Just as first-layer examples of sesquialtera coloration are predominantly in the works of Leonel, so the second-layer examples are exclusively in the works of Damett copied by scribe B: 37, 39, 72, 93.

Consistently with a dotted interpretation of minor color patterns, this figure is often interpreted from later sources as $\text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩}$. It is interesting, then, that 114 writes out this very rhythm, the dotted form of the English figure, quite unambiguously.

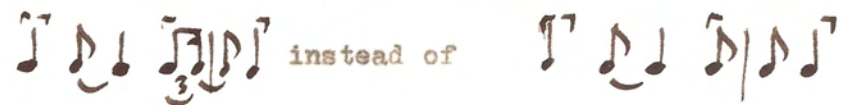
Sesquialtera coloration at the breve and semibreve level occurs in C time in 17, 22, 71 (an isolated example), 81 and 83. Three breves or semibreves, or their equivalent, take the place of two corresponding black notes. Because there is no change of signature, there is no question here of applying alteration to the colored semibreves or perfection to the breves.


22 contains two cases in which the sesquialtera breve is demonstrably perfect (bars 3 and 86 of the top part):



This should at least raise the question whether apparently normal coloration groups in such pieces should not rather be treated as sesquialtera colorations, in view of the care taken by these scribes to use distinct notations for distinct functions within any one piece. Perhaps this is pushing the case too far. But all coloration in 22 yields the same results by a sesquialtera interpretation as it does if a normal interpretation is applied. There is one exception: in bars 23-24 of the contratenor, there is a split coloration group of semibreve, two minims and semibreve under a C signature. Instead of treating the minims as equal notes, equal in value to black minims, each semibreve could be

treated as a perfect semibreve compressed into $2/3$ of its normal space (rather than as an imperfect semibreve), and the minims as constituent parts of a perfect semibreve, the second minim being altered. In transcription this would give



This interpretation could certainly not be applied generally. Many pieces using only normal coloration contain groupings which preclude sesquialtera interpretation. An example is found in 38, bar 2:  75, which alone in OH goes to the lengths of specifying sesquialtera verbally, takes the principle to its ultimate lengths ~~in~~ the contratenor part, especially at bars 21, 63-64:



Apart from 65 and 66, where it is black void, and the special first-layer case of 76, all normal coloration is red full.¹ Only 45 out of the 117 pieces of the first layer have coloration which can be treated as normal imperfection coloration. This number would not increase significantly if the handful of pieces with specialised colorations (e.g., 71, 75, 76)

1. But see p.215 above.

were added. They are as follows:

music in score: 7, 52 (Cooke)
 50 (Byttering)
 59, 119, 120, 142 (Oliver: all his pieces)
 5, 6 (anonymous by accident)¹

coloration in lower voices only:

31 (Gervays)
19 (Tyes, instead of changing to C time)
27 (Pycard: solus tenor only)
70, 91 (anonymous by accident: lower voices only survive)

coloration in any voice:

16 (Roy Henry)
17, 18, 79, 145 (Byttering: thus, all his pieces have coloration)
20, 80 (Excetre)
22, 23, 24, 25, 81, 83, 84, 115, 116, 117, 118, 140, 141 (Leonel)
82 (Cooke)
26, 28, 78 (Pycard)
33 (Zacar)
87 (Typp: his only choirbook piece)
88 (Queldryk)
143, 144 (anonymous by accident)
32, 147 (anonymous)

1. I.e., because a page or initial is missing.

Of these, 19, 20, 23 and 28 use coloration instead of changing mensuration. The presence of coloration in the works of these composers coincides with other evidence suggesting that these are among the most advanced composers in OH: concordance dates, presence of semiminims in C , incipient use of O time in place of major prolation, and innumerable details of musical style (such as the octave contratenor cadence in Zacar's Gloria). All but two of the pieces with coloration have, or could have had, composer attributions - a further supporting factor.¹

Strikingly, all the music of the second layer has coloration, except 67 and 68, the two Forest motets, which are in C time and distinctive in style. In 55 the coloration group has been squashed in and was not included in the original form of the piece, which is the only strict descant composition in the second layer and the only one in the manuscript to have any coloration.

1. This conflicts with Andrew Hughes's contention ('Re-appraisal', pp.118-19) that Excetre is one of the more old-fashioned composers in OH.

It also conflicts with Brian Trowell's dating (in 'A Fourteenth-Century Motet ...') of Sub Arturo Plebs in 1358, which has won general acceptance. This motet is preserved in sources alongside music of almost universally later date: it has a named composer: it uses coloration in one of the upper voices: it has complex overlapping isorhythmic patterns closely akin to those of Cooke's motet 112 (which I shall give reasons for dating 1415 in the next chapter).

Coloration: blue full and red void

Full blue notation appears in two pieces, 75 and 22; the void form is not used. The abnormal colorations used in the canonic upper part of 75 are explained in a verbal canon and do not necessarily reflect normal usage. Blodie notule cum pausis ubicunque inveniantur cantentur secundum proporcionem duplam means that a blue semibreve in \bigcirc is sung at the speed of a black minim in the preceding \textcircled{C} - an exact halving. The fact that the \bigcirc signature is in this case blue does not add extra significance. Perfect blue breves are used under \bigcirc (et ascendit); but the only instance of alteration is in the second blue passage, at the end of this part, which is apparently still governed by the previous blue \bigcirc . This is notⁱⁿ⁻consistent with the exact halving of the blue semibreve rests in the contra: these are governed by \textcircled{C} and not by \bigcirc . A blue \bigcirc within the first \bigcirc passage gives $4/3$. Reversed signatures are discussed below.

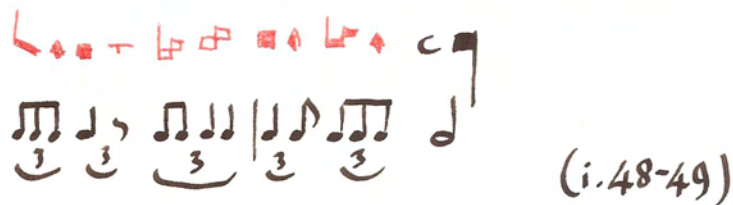
In 22 (bars 51-53), under \bigcirc ,¹ a blue breve contains three semibreves; alteration and perfection are possible. Three perfect blue breves are equal to one imperfect black long of the ensuing \textcircled{C} time; the relationship is $9/4$ semibreves.

1. Signatures are black unless otherwise stated. Numerical proportions are given new/old values unless otherwise stated.

Bars 68-69 show the same proportional relationship, but this passage contains no perfect blue breves - a significant point: the blue notes here were originally red void, but scribe C has filled them in with blue. This appears to be an unnecessary expedient, since the red void passage in 22 (bars 19-21) yields the same relationship as the blue notes do here. The red void notes occur within a passage under C and give nine red void semibreves to four black full semibreves under that signature. This piece already contains at least one example of different notations used synonymously: at bar 18, two black void breves are exactly equal to two black full breves under C - half the preceding perfect breve. The only apparent difference between red void and blue notation is that no examples of perfect breves occur under the former (this is true for the whole manuscript) while they do under the latter, as also in certain cases of red full notation. If this is merely another case of synonymous notation, why did scribe C bother to alter a notation which was already accurate? In fact, the expedient of a different colour removed an ambiguity inherent in the passage as previously notated. The signature of $\overset{\circ}{6}$ is not superseded by another for the blue (formerly red void) notes. While the black O clearly applies to the whole passage, there might be some

doubt as to whether the red 6 applied only to the red full notes or also to the red void. Use of blue notes makes it clear that the 9/4 relationship is calculated under an ordinary black signature not modified by a red 6.

The same usage of a red 6 with a black \bigcirc is found in 83, also by Leonel. Red void minims under this signature are merely used as semiminims within red full notation. But under the signature of \bigcirc with a red 3, red void functions as a coloration group within a red full passage, just as a normal red full passage within full black notation:



This piece makes much use of red full sesquialtera coloration (see p.220), and a device for providing a coloration function within that is required.

In 81 a black 6 is used in conjunction with \bigcirc . This piece explains the colorations in a verbal canon:

In proporcione dupla generat hic \diamond
 in proporcione subsesquitercia capiendō taēm figuram 6 \diamond
 in proporcione dupla sesquiquarta pronunciant tales \square

Black void is used for semiminims and also exactly as in 22 (at conglorificatur and faliogue, bars 99 and 85 of the top part). The verbal designation, proporcione dupla, is identical

to that for blue notation in 75. But for the danger of confusing black void with the special significance given by the rubric to blue notation, it might have been used in this piece. It will be noted that in both cases blue notation is used to avoid confusion which might result from using the simpler notation available. It is a 'joker' notation, given the meaning appropriate to context.

A black 6 followed by full red notes, according to the rubric to 81, is to be subsesquitertia, $3/4$. This works in every case. Red void is to be dupla sesquiquarta, $9/4$. Just as the red full relationship was expressed in terms of the lowest stable note-value, the minim, this relationship is shown in the rubric by a long. The only cases of red void coloration in 81 support this. One occurs in a red full passage under \circ with 6, and suffers a further reduction ($3/2$), or, sesquialtera coloration within sesquialtera coloration:



(bar 74)

The red void is in the proportion $3/2$ to the red full notation, which is itself $3/2$ to what black full notation would yield under the same signature, i.e. $9/4$. But the 6 in the signature places the whole passage in sesquialtera proportion to a passage not so modified, which explains why this red void passage bears

a $3/2$ relationship to the ensuing black full notes under a C signature. The main red void passage in 81 is at bars 49-53 in the top part, and is nine red void longs long. It is preceded immediately by C and followed by C , taking place in the time that four black full longs would occupy under C (i.e. six longs of the ensuing C time):



Two principles become clear:

- 1) proportional relationships are always expressed or understood in terms of colored notes to black full notes.
- 2) proportional relationships apply in terms of the mensuration sign under which the coloration appears.

The latter point makes good sense of the alteration of red void to blue full in 22. Tucke's treatise (in B.M., Add.10336) gives relationships of various colored notations to black notation: blue to black is assigned $3/4$.

Red void notation is used in OH either to indicate sesquialtera or imperfection coloration in relation to red full notes, or to halve the value of red full notes.

Both coloration usages are confined, again, in the first layer to Leonel, in the second to Damett. In 81 (bar 74) red void is used to produce a $3/2$ relationship to red full

sesquialtera coloration, and thus $9/4$ to black notes. In 22 (bars 19-21) nine red void semibreves are equivalent to four black ones under C . The red rest in this passage is, by implication, red void. In 83 (bar 48) red void notes form an imperfection coloration group within red full notation which is itself defined as sesquialtera by a $\frac{0}{3}$ signature. In 37 they likewise form an imperfection group within red full sesquialtera coloration. The same relationship is observed in 72 but the situation is complicated by a reversed mensuration sign, discussed below.

The use of red void to halve the value of red full notes is more widespread. Red void minim forms are used as the normal semiminim to a red minim (see 93, bar 150). In 83, red void semiminims are used within red full coloration, as also in 52, where the imperfection coloration under C does not reduce minim values, so that the red void semiminim in fact has the same value as a black void semiminim:



Three red void minim triplets are used in the time of one black minim ($3/1$) in 142 (first layer), 53 and 92 (second layer). In 142 they are needed to make a distinction from the red full minims used in a coloration group. Where the triplet pattern $3/2$ would be expressed by red full minims,

void is logically used to halve those values.

26 and 76 (both by Pycard) are interesting in that the former uses red void, the latter black void, for identical functions. In 26 the red void notes can be regarded as a halving of normal imperfection coloration. There is no change of signature, but the mensuration appears to change to O as in full red imperfection coloration; the speed is then doubled:¹



The black void notes of 76 halve the imperfect notes of black full notation:



This piece is discussed further in appendix II to this chapter. The effect in both pieces is to remove the need to write very short note values.

There are a few irregular uses of red void in OH. In 69 and 114, as noted above, red void is used for the normal

1. Apel reproduces a monochrome collotype facsimile in Notation, p.366, of the first two staves of the top part. The excerpt is supposed to illustrate the use of black void notation: Apel clearly does not realise that all the 'black' void notes here, as well as the first 'full' breve and two minims, are red.

semiminim to a full black minim. In 73 the semiminims were likewise red void, but have been made black void, leaving red void for fusae, i.e., half the value of black void. These are the only fusae in OH.

In 20 (bars 68-72), the red full breve is in the proportion 3/2 to the black full breve; the red **void** breve, still perfect, is half the black full breve:



Reversed, numerical, colored and proportional
mensuration signs

The obvious point must be made that only C and C are physically capable of being reversed.

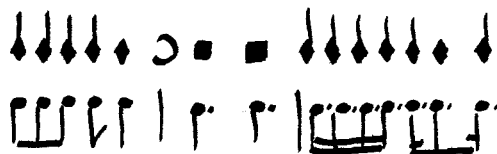
Hamm discusses the confusion which has arisen over the use of C,¹ and cites Prosdocimus for confirmation that this sign yields a 4/3 ratio. He rightly observes that 'all proportions [in the Dufay period] operate at the minim level and their nomenclature refers to this level, no

1. Hamm, Dufay, pp.29-30.

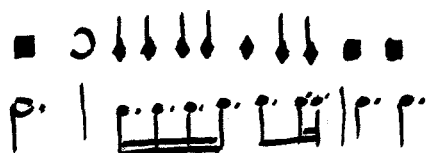
matter what relationships result at the other levels of mensuration'.¹ Hamm's discussion is limited to \textcircled{C} following major prolation signatures, but OH contains more examples of \textcircled{C} after \textcircled{O} than after \textcircled{C} .

\textcircled{C} always contains four minims (two minims to the semibreve, two semibreves to the breve). After \textcircled{C} the new imperfect breve is half as long as the preceding six-minim breve. The six-minim breve of \textcircled{O} is also halved by \textcircled{C} , but not the nine-minim breve of \textcircled{O} . OH's one example of the use of \textcircled{C} after \textcircled{O} in the Amen of 79 shows quite clearly that it is the minim relationship $4/3$ which alone is relevant.

\textcircled{C} follows \textcircled{C} in 25 (bars 98-100):



and in 29 (bars 67-69):



In 76, all parts adopt \textcircled{C} simultaneously after \textcircled{C} , and the same equivalence is assumed, though it cannot be musically verified. \textcircled{C} is also used after \textcircled{C} in 73 (bars 10-12), where all the notes governed by the new signature are red full. The

1. Hamm, Dufay, p.30.

signature yields $4/3$, the coloration $3/2$, and the result is $2/1$:

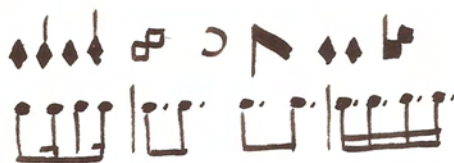


It is tempting to treat this as though the signature C still applied but had to be sung twice as fast. However, the C signature should still have four minims to the breve, and this is supported by analogy with 39 below. It is confirmed by the last note in the group, which is a red void breve in OH, a red semibreve in Ao. Under C the breve would be equal to half a red full breve, i.e., three minims, whereas under C it is half of a four-minim breve, i.e., two minims. The red full semibreve is also worth two minims. Its only disadvantage is a purely theoretical one. The passage under C is worth four-and-a-half breves, an untidy number. By making the last note a breve, albeit a short breve, the OH scribe gives us five breves'-worth on paper.

C follows O in 22 and 81 (both by Leonel), and in the following second-layer pieces: 39, 111 (Damett), 92 (Cooke). Four minims under the new signature are again equal to three of the preceding. This ratio is confirmed by the verbal canon to

111 explaining the tenor proportion as 6:3:2:1. The main signatures in the upper parts for these sections are $\text{O} \text{C} \text{O} \text{O}$ and the relationship between the sections has to be shown, in modern notation, by a tempo relationship marking. The correct tenor relationship is achieved if, in the upper parts, four minims of C are equated with three of the preceding O , a perfect breve of red O taken in the time of an imperfect breve of C , and two semibreves of black O taken in the time of three under red O .

In 22 the breve under C is equal to a black void breve under O . The minims of C are related to normal black full ones in the ratio $4/3$, while void notation halves the value of the six-minim breve. The use of black void notation in the lower parts of this piece makes it clear that the black void breve retains six minims and C mensuration. Black void could not, therefore, have been used for the entire passage under C :



(upper part, bars 17-19).

$\textcircled{3}$ is also used after $\textcircled{0}$ in 39. The $4/3$ relationship can be discerned here only in a black full long and long rest. Most of the passage under this signature is in red full coloration. This has to be read as in \textcircled{C} time with four minims to the breve, but the red breves are in the proportion $3/2$ to black breves under $\textcircled{3}$.

In 75 a blue $\textcircled{3}$ follows a passage governed by a blue $\textcircled{0}$. All the notes affected are blue, and the minims are again in the ratio $4/3$.

Two difficult cases of reversed signatures remain. In 17 the signature $\textcircled{\textcircled{3}}_6$ governs bars 75-83 of the top part after a \textcircled{C} signature. It gives three semibreves in the time previously occupied by four under \textcircled{C} , and with coloration it gives $9/8$. The effect is identical to $\textcircled{\textcircled{0}}_6$ followed by red full notes (see pp.225-228). If $\textcircled{0}/3 \times 3/2 = 3/2$, and $\textcircled{0}/6 \times 3/2 = 3/4$, and $\textcircled{\textcircled{3}}/6 = 3/4$, then $\textcircled{\textcircled{3}}$ must be equal to $9/2$. Morley states that $\textcircled{\textcircled{3}}$ followed by colored notes gives $6/1$, but his formula cannot be reconciled with the present usage.¹ Nor can the top part of 140, which survives in Ao but not in OH, and uses $\textcircled{\textcircled{3}}$ with coloration (black full) to give $3/2$ - a result which is often achieved in OH by coloration without a change of signature.

1. T.Morley, A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music, ed. R.Alec Harman (London, 1952), p.85.

The following interpretation of the usage in 17 is unorthodox, but the only one I can devise which fits.

$\textcircled{2}$ can also be synonymous with the signature $\textcircled{C}2$, applying the relationships of \textcircled{C} time at one note value up: two semibreves in the breve, two breves in the long. $\textcircled{3}$ similarly is synonymous with $\textcircled{C}3$, giving three semibreves in the breve, two breves in the long, rather than three minims in the semibreve and two semibreves in the breve. The example in 17 is clearly more concerned with semibreves and breves than with minims and semibreves. If $\textcircled{2}$ following upon \textcircled{C} gives the relationship of the new breve to the old semibreve across a change in prolation, $\textcircled{3}$ following upon \textcircled{C} might reasonably be expected to do likewise. Instead of $4/3$ minims, we have $6/2$ minims. But if we treat the reversed prolation signature as an augmentation signature, producing the same relationships at the next level of note values, the ratio $6/2$ is concerned with a semibreve which is now minor. If we were to assume a major semibreve, the ratio would be $9/2$ which, divided by the 6 of the signature, yields the desired ratio of $3/4$. This is quite possible, since the value of the semibreve is not expressed in an augmentation signature: $\textcircled{3}$ in these circumstances would give three breves to the long instead of two.

No straightforward cases of C after C occur in OH. This combination of signatures ought, like C after O , C or O , to yield $4/3$. In 72, a red C is used after C , and followed by full red notes. We would expect this to give $4/3 \times 3/2 \times 3/2 = 3/1$, while in fact it gives $3/4$: the effect is identical to that of C in 17 followed by black notation:



(72, bars 58-63)

The red void notation is used for sesquialtera coloration (three breves in the time of two), which is itself somewhat irregular. Much more irregular, though, is the grouping of the red semibreves under C in threes. The licence for this grouping seems to be the only reasonable significance of the redness of the signature, because red notes under C do not themselves, as we have seen, authorise a triple grouping. Otherwise, the signature may be colored merely because it occurs in the course of a passage in red notation. To use it for further sesquialtera diminution only makes the proportion numerically more top-heavy. The only plausible interpretation of this reversed signature treats it as an augmentation signature, yielding one new four-minim breve under C to two

four-minim breves of C time. The coloration then modifies it by $3/2$ to give $3/4$. Disregarding the signature, the red full notes do ~~not~~ make sense in relation to the red void notes: one new red full semibreve is equal to two of the preceding red void semibreves, thus respecting the normal significance of void notation.

Numerals used in isolation are rare. The figure 3, on its own, is applied to the triplet group in 76 (bar 55), presumably to indicate that the full red ~~minims~~ minims are to be taken as $3/1$, not $3/2$. In 73 it precedes the coloration group at bar 14 without affecting the normal meaning of this notation; nor is it used with other coloration groups in this piece. 3 is also placed under the first half of bar 44 in the same piece with no clear significance, unless merely to confirm that the minim and its two succeeding minim rests belong to the same perfect semibreve.

Numerals are used in conjunction with normal mensuration signs in 22, 81 and 83 (all by Leonel). The use of a numeral with a reversed signature in 17 has been discussed above. The numerals always appear below the signature, never beside it as is usual for an augmentation signature. The signatures in question occur only in top parts, all three of which are written in augmentation. The numerals are all followed by full red coloration, and all are used

in conjunction with \circ after a passage in C time. There is one example of $\frac{3}{2}$: all the others are $\frac{3}{4}$.

$\frac{3}{4}$ occurs once in 22 (bar 66), three times in 81 (bars 49, 72, 121) and twice in 83 (bars 54, 74). In all six cases, three red semibreves after the signature equal four black semibreves before it. The relationship $3/4$ (subsesquitertia) would be identical expressed in terms of minims, as only minor prolation signatures are involved. In the last instance in each of these pieces the return to black notation is not marked by a new time-signature. In each case, the \circ applies normally in relation to the preceding C , and the $\frac{3}{4}$ qualifies the coloration so that it yields not $3/2$ but $3/4$.

In 83 (bar 47) the \circ is accompanied by a 3, followed by full red notes (three red semibreves in the time of two former black ones). It defines the coloration as sesquialtera, not imperfection.

However, in 22 and 83 all these numerals (though not their accompanying signs) are red, and in 81 they are black. It is clear from the above that their significance is not affected by their colour. The use of a red numeral has one advantage: it clarifies that only the red notes following it are affected. The return to \circ without a restatement of the signature in 81, after a red passage under the black signa-

ture $\frac{9}{6}$, is thus slightly ambiguous.

A red signature may reduce the passage it governs in the proportion of $\frac{3}{2}$ to the preceding notes. Alternatively, it may be colored merely because it affects notes of that colour. OH includes examples of both kinds in both layers, as well as some irregular usages. The meaning of signatures can usually be ascertained empirically.

In 111 (Dunett), both upper parts change simultaneously from C to red O but the relationship at this point (bar 72) is established by the verbal canon applying to the tenor diminution. The red O produces diminution of the ensuing notes in sesquialtera proportion (see also above, p.234).

In 92 (Cooke), two uses of a red circle governing the top part similarly produce a $\frac{3}{2}$ proportion. One applies from bars 56-60, the other from bars 88-93. Both follow a C signature, and the coloration within the passage governed by the red signature is reduced further by $\frac{3}{2}$ so that the red semibreves are in the ratio $\frac{9}{4}$ to ordinary black semibreves of C time.

In 22 (Leonel) a red O at bar 69 is followed by nine red semibreves which are in the ratio $\frac{9}{4}$ ($\frac{3}{2} \times \frac{3}{2}$) to the preceding black ones of C time. The red numerals used with signatures in this piece and in 83 gain no extra significance from their colour (see p.239).

The blue signatures in the upper part of 75 apply to the blue notes which they govern and cause no further diminution.

The colored signatures in the contratenor part of this piece are dealt with in appendix I to this chapter.

In 93, Damett uses two red signatures, each with a different meaning. At bar 149 a red \circ following after a black C does no more than confirm the mensuration of the red notes which follow it. The coloration of the notes themselves establishes their sesquialtera diminution, and no further diminution is required by the signature. However, a black signature might have misled the reader into the expectation of a normal length breve. The red signature applies only to the red notes:



At bar 173 of the same piece, after a passage in \circ time, a red C is used to mean $4/3$ black semibreves, $6/3$ red semibreves. It will be noticed that all the cases given so far of a red signature producing the proportion $3/2$ are of a red \circ following upon a passage in C time. The new perfect breve is equated with the old imperfect one. But it cannot be argued that the breve under red C is being equated with the perfect breve of \circ because it is the new imperfect long which equals the former breve. This usage must be considered irregular:



One problem remains in connection with colored signatures. Damett, as we have seen above, uses red signatures to mean $3/2$, to preserve the status quo, and to yield an irregular relationship. We cannot, therefore, expect guidance from these other pieces in interpreting the colored signatures of his Gloria 13, which is in score and changes signature simultaneously in all parts. Its rubric (literally so, written in red) reads: Cantentur per proporcionem subsesquiterciam \circ C . The preceding black signature is C ; after the red C a return is made to black \circ . Subsesquitercia, $3/4$, yields an uncomfortably slow tempo for the sections governed by the red signatures. If anything, these need to be performed faster than the surrounding sections with black signatures. The most musically satisfactory solution is achieved by treating the verbal canon and the red signatures as cumulative in meaning: $3/4 \times 3/2 = 9/8$. Nine semibreves of \circ time (three bars of $\frac{3}{4}$) are then performed in the time of eight semibreves (two bars of $\frac{4}{4}$) of C time.

All cases of vertically conflicting signatures, and there are many in the manuscript, confirm that minim equivalence is always to be observed, vertically and horizontally, between all signatures, whatever the prolation, unless coloration or proportional signatures indicate otherwise.

The final section of the top part of 24 is written in \circ time with no preceding barline (tu solus, bar 93, to the end). No part has a signature at the beginning, though a signature for the top part could have been removed with the initial. Up to bar 93 there is minim equivalence between the upper and lower parts, which are all in [C]. But after the change of signature, the note values have to be read one level down in order to fit with the lower voices, which have no barline or change of signature at this point, and thus no warning of a change of speed or mensuration. This point begins b1 of the isorhythmic structure: the tenor of this piece is fully written out and has no melodic repeats. For practical purposes, this section has to be taken a little slower: the semibreves under \circ cannot be quite as fast as the minims under C . The minims of the lower parts have to be taken a little slower from this point without written warning. Similar qualifications about tempo apply elsewhere when both signatures are involved: see the section on semiminims at the beginning of this chapter. The lower parts presumably have to follow, to accompany the more florid top part, and to take any necessary tempo indications from it. Isorhythmic relationships are undamaged: no rhythmic repeat spans the join.

A similar situation arises in the final section of 28, also an isorhythmic Gloria. The ratio of the tenor reduction is not indicated, either verbally or by time signs: a red viij shows the number of repetitions. Minim equivalence in the upper parts yields a ratio of 12:9:8:12 between the sections: an unparalleled example of non-diminution for the final section of an isorhythmic structure. Again, no mensuration signs whatsoever are used (and here we can be certain, because the beginning survives intact) until the final section in question, where both upper voices have \bigcirc at bar 93. C is implied up to that point, and all imperfect mensurations are indicated by red coloration, perhaps in order to avoid stating a signature. If the \bigcirc is treated as a diminution signature, as in 24, the ratio becomes the much more acceptable one of 12:9:8:6, though practical considerations demand a slightly slower tempo here as before.

In 31 the signatures are $\text{C} \bigcirc \text{C} \bigcirc$: this Gloria is not isorhythmic. In the tenor, the instruction per diminucionem has been added to the \bigcirc sections, and sicut jacet to the intervening C section, apparently by scribe c. (See p.169 for a similar addition to the final section of 101.) The degree of diminution is not specified: if an exact halving had been intended, the words per dimidiatatem could have been used. The instruction can be taken as an imprecise tempo indication calling

for faster performance, or it can be applied to precise note-relationships on the principle that diminution is concerned with just such precise relationships. In this case, equation of the new breve under \circ with the old breve under C is musically satisfactory and results in sesquialtera proportion. It would be rash to assume that all general directions to apply diminution could be so interpreted.

In 114 the direction sicut jacet is less easily explained, as no diminution is previously called for. The implied preceding signature is C , and minim equivalence works well. This raises the question whether a \circ signature should be treated as a diminution signature unless otherwise stated; however, the cases given above are the only ones where a diminution relationship between two signatures in the same piece is musically sensible. The next section of 114, in C time, does have to be read in diminution, as if the signature were ϕ : otherwise the note-values are impossibly long. This may be, retrospectively, the force of sicut jacet.

Further uses of red

The true tripla proportion ($3/1$) is shown in 76 by the figure three and full red minims. 3 stands for $3/1$, and the colour signifies the notes affected by it. $3/1$ is shown else-

where by red void notes: by second-layer scribes in 53 and 92, and by scribe A in 142 and 81. In the latter piece, red void is used at the end of the contratenor to give 3/1 in relation to black full notes, 3/2 to red void.

Red is used for divisi notes in 5, 56, 106, 109, 110, 122 and 128. In all these except 122, the red notes are alien to the plainsong in the plainsong-bearing part of a piece in score. In 109 one of the divisi notes (the last pair on stave 5, f.88v) is black, although the upper is alien to the plainsong. The divisi notes in 21 and 22, where no plainsong is involved, are black. In 21 a 'solo' part is affected.

Red is used for the plainsong intonation of 122 - an isolated instance in OH, though quite common elsewhere. The canonic indication of 123 and the additional clefs in 76 are red. Black and red full half-coloration (or bi-coloration) is used in 7 and 75 in the first layer, 112 in the second; black full and void half-coloration is used in 76. Red rests are used within red notation (e.g., in 83, 87, 117); red mensuration signs have already been dealt with. Not only was the distinction between different types of coloration lost when black void coloration displaced red in general usage, but the subtlety conveyed by colored signatures was also lost. Instead of using a red breve rest to occupy the space of an imperfect breve (or of a perfect breve reduced in length by sesquialtera), two black rests of the next value down had to be used instead.

Red is used for the texts of duet sections in 20, 80 (Excetre), 21, 77, 116, 140 (Leonel), 36, 82 (Cooke) and 39, 93 (Damett). The device is used in preference to rests, mainly by

scribe A, for sections which can be musically isolated from sections in more parts. Red text is also used for the lower row of text sung to the same music successively in the Agnus settings 128, 138 and 139 (for doma nobis pacem) but not in the similar case of 135 or for double text in canons. The upper ut supra indication of f.104 is red.

Signa congruentiae are used in 75 (see appendix I to this chapter), 71 (a red sign at est) and 67 (second layer). In 74 } appears under est. Manuscript fermatas are used only in 68 in the second layer (67, 68 and 74 all being the work of the Forest scribe), and in 17, 20, 21, 77, 80, 81 (Hyttering, Leonel and Excetre) in the first layer. Signs indicating alteration are used as follows:


- 73, bar 63 of top part, 2 under a minim.
- 65, bar 184 of middle part, 2 under end of semibreve ligature.
- 102, bar 22, both lower parts, 2 under end of semibreve ligatures.



Numbers are also written under many notes of the tenor of 74, perhaps for teaching purposes.

Notational peculiarities in the work of scribe A

Some of scribe A's distinctive features are clearly his own writing habits; for example, his readiness to use the oblique form of ascending ligatures. There is only one example of an oblique rising ligature (semibreves) in the second layer,

in 66. Other characteristics might have a notational significance, but one which has so far proved elusive. They have not been pointed out elsewhere: a brief description follows here.


Some ascending breves in ligature have a superfluous down-stem to the left (). The value of the note is unaffected. The 24 examples are confined to ten settings in score of the Sanctus and Agnus, all anonymous except for two by Chirbury and one by Typp.¹ Three concordances in LoF and in B.M., Add. 49597(0)² do not use these forms, so no great significance can be attached to their concentration in a few pieces. Franco gave this form of ligature as an alternative to lengthening the first note of a ligature by attaching a down-stem to its right:


Si vero tractum habeat a parte sinistra primi puncti descendensem [examples include ], vel dextra quod magis proprium est [examples include ] tunc proprietate carebit.³

There is no question of applying this interpretation to them in ON. But they could be classed as archaic features of notation, preserved as mere writing habits with no significance.

The long with an ascending stem to the right is sometimes used for a clear practical reason (e.g., on f.15v in the contratenor part of 20, to avoid collision with a hole in the parchment, and elsewhere when the long is low on the staff), but

1. Nos. 100, 102, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 129, 131, 134.
2. Described in Bent, 'Fragments ...'.
3. Ars Cantus Mensurabilis, CS, vol.I, p.124.

sometimes the long is drawn with two stems of unequal length (, exactly like the long ascending plica of Franconian notation which is virtually extinct after occasional use in works of Machaut. According to Franco Plica est nota divisionis ejusdem soni in grave et acutum.¹ The use of this form seems to be quite deliberate, and does not merely exaggerate an existing pen-habit of this scribe. But to interpret it as an auxiliary or passing note is in most cases out of the question, and the most satisfactory result musically is obtained by treating the note as a normal long in every case. The melodic contexts and syllables affected are indicated in the table below. The notes occur without exception in tenor and contratenor parts; even if text were to be added to these, the plica-notes would rarely fall on a syllable suitable for liquescence. The occurrences are tabulated on p.250.



There is one isolated example of the form of the breve ascending plica, used to mean a simple breve, in 122 (Tye's Sanctus, f.99v), in the plainsong tenor on the syllable Glo-, on f between f and g. The form  on f.31v is not related, nor is it the 'streinant wit; to longe tailles' of The Choristers' Lament;² it is simply a breve flanked by two inadequately erased minims belonging to the original version.

1. Ars cantus mensurabilis, CS, vol.I, p.123.

2. F.L.Utley, 'The Choristers' Lament', Speculum, vol.XVI (1946), p.197.

Table of longs with the form of the ascending plica

No.	f.	st.	piece	composer	part (# = pl.s)	syllable (affected in caps.)	melodic context (affected note cap.)
<u>31</u>	27	7	Gloria	Gervays	T	TErra	<u>c</u> <u>F</u> <u>c</u>
<u>61</u>	49	9	Credo	Chirbury	C	diE	<u>e</u> <u>D</u> <u>f</u>
<u>117</u>	96	7	Sanctus	Leonel	C	[Sanctus]	<u>c</u> <u>C</u> <u>f</u>
		10			C	[domini]	<u>c'</u> <u>C</u> <u>G</u>
<u>118</u>	96v	9	Sanctus	Leonel	T*	exCElSis	<u>a</u> <u>F</u> <u>G</u>
		10			T*	nomiNE	<u>c</u> <u>F</u> <u>c</u>
<u>121</u>	99	6	Sanctus	Excetre	C	TUa	<u>G</u> <u>C</u> <u>G</u>
<u>122</u>	99v	7	Sanctus	Tyes	T*	SANctus	<u>F</u> <u>a</u>
		7			T*	sanctUS	<u>a</u> <u>G</u> <u>F</u>
		9			T*	excelsIS	<u>e</u> <u>G</u> <u>F</u>
	100	3			top	IN	<u>d</u> <u>C</u>
<u>125</u>	101	12	Agnus	anon.	C	PEccata	<u>a</u> <u>D</u> <u>f</u>
<u>146</u>	112	7	Are post	Mayshuet	C	[Are]	<u>C</u> <u>d</u>

Other notational peculiarities of notation in OH are all of notational significance, and are probably inherited from the composers of the pieces in which they occur. In 21 and 77, at analogous positions in this paired Gloria and Credo by Leonel, an imperfect long (in unstated C time) is reduced still further by a minim. The minim is in each case followed by a dot of division, , confirming the interpretation: . This may be a unique usage, but appears to be

the only way of expressing this rhythm. The nearest I can find to theoretical authorisation is this passage from Vitry's


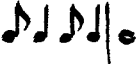

Ars nova:

In modo vero imperfecto simplex longa duo valet tempora nec unquam plus valere potest, nisi punctus apponatur. Duplex vero quatuor, nec potest augeri nec minimi, nisi per solam minimam vel per duas, ut hic:



(But in imperfect mood, the simple long is worth two breves, and cannot be worth more unless it is dotted. The double long is worth four [breves], nor may it be augmented or diminished except by a single minim or by two.)

Vitry is talking about double not single longs, and he does not specify whether his directive applies to minor prolation and imperfect time. It is a long shot: but there can be no doubt about the interpretation of the OH figure.

More puzzling is the end of the contra part of 85 (f.73) which has  to be fitted into the time of two major semibreves. The other three parts agree, and as only the tenor is isorhythmic, this does not help us to establish the correct contratenor rhythm. If the breves were semibreves, there could be no doubt that  was meant, and this is the obvious emendation. However, if coloration was intended, the emendation could be differently reasoned. Black void, used as in 76, would yield: .

1. CS, vol.III, p.20.

Differences in notational usage are rare in the work of scribe A. Most coincide with composer differences and may reflect the composer's own practice. In extreme cases of canonic, isorhythmic and proportional complexity the notation is closely bound up with the act of composition, and the scribe has more responsibility to preserve it intact than in the case of a simple homophonic descant piece, which could almost have been written down from memory or by ear. Accordingly, the descant pieces show greater variety in concordances than do the more complex pieces. This is partly because they are simpler and more widely transmitted, and partly because they were subject to impromptu variation, probably by performers and certainly by scribes.¹

Scribe A certainly exercised some editorial initiative upon the music he copied. I have already suggested that he may have standardised various semiminim forms to a uniform black void. In addition, he invariably writes breves at the ends of intermediate sections in score settings. In the few cases where concordances exist and the relevant notes are visible, these notes are long: in LoF the last note of the first excelsis of 101, the last note of each of the first two nobis of 129 and the first nobis in 134 are all long. In LoW the first nobis in 134 is long. All of these are breves in OH. 134 survives differently in the three manuscripts

1. See the case of 101, pp.166-69 above.

which preserve it, surely reflecting some scribal initiative. LoH gives only the first invocation, indicating by means of directs that the same music is to be repeated for the other two. LoF, as in all its Agnus settings, writes out all three in full with different music. OH preserves the music of the first and third Fountains invocations for its first two invocations, calling for a return (ut supra) for the third invocation. The words dona nobis pacem are not underlaid, but the direction can only mean that the preceding invocation is repeated, as no polyphony is supplied for the words Agnus dei of the first invocation. The plainsong is the same for all three, and so does not help to establish this point. The OH and LoF music of this last section, taken together, form a fascinating illustration of the kind of 'divisions' probably provided in performance upon a basic harmonic structure. The top and bottom staves of the following example give the outer parts, OH with upward stems, LoF with downward stems. The middle three staves reduce this to a skeleton version, with the plainsong in the middle as it appears in both sources. Points at which the two versions are incompatible are left blank in the reduction.

Musical score for the first system, measures 1-6. The score consists of five staves. The outer staves contain notes with stems, while the inner staves contain notes with stems. The central staff contains the lyrics: A-gnus De-i, qui.

Musical score for the second system, measures 7-12. The score consists of five staves. The outer staves contain notes with stems, while the inner staves contain notes with stems. The central staff contains the lyrics: tol-lis pec-ca-ta.

The central score reduces the two texts, where compatible, to one simplified version. On the outer staves, notes with upward stems are in OH; downward-stemmed notes are in LoF. Ligatures and editorial accidentals are not given.


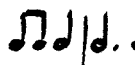

Musical score for the first system. It consists of five staves. The top staff is the vocal line in treble clef, with lyrics: "mun-di, mi-do-na". The second staff is a piano accompaniment in treble clef. The third staff is the vocal line in bass clef. The fourth and fifth staves are piano accompaniment in bass clef.

LoFends here

Musical score for the second system. It consists of five staves. The top staff is the vocal line in treble clef, with lyrics: "re-no-bis no-pa-bis cem". Above the first measure of the vocal line is the marking "(OH#)". An arrow points down to the vocal line in the fourth measure. The second staff is a piano accompaniment in treble clef. The third staff is the vocal line in bass clef. The fourth and fifth staves are piano accompaniment in bass clef.

The similis ante similem rule is meticulously observed by scribe A, with only the merest handful of exceptions. When two potentially perfect notes appear in succession, the first is perfect, even if this causes syncopation. 81, bar 89, is one of many examples:

The more correct solution is nearly always the harmonically more satisfactory one. 7, bar 28, is a borderline case, with the balance slightly in favour of observing the rule, while at 5, bar 20, there is little choice but to flout it:

The latter is an isolated case. The rule is broken in two other pieces, twice in each, but both times at sectional cadences, betraying this scribe's initiative in turning final longs into breves. Chirbury's Sanctus (102) has, in bars 11-12 of the lower parts, , which has to be transcribed . (The upper part is missing with the initial letter.) This should have been notated ; scribe A omitted the tail of the long, but forgot to alter the note preceding it. Exactly the same thing happens at bar 25 in the top part of this piece. Similar cases occur in bars 15 and 30 of the tenor of Leonel's Sanctus 116. In Sturgeon's Sanctus (114) the first semibreve ligature on stave 6 (preceding a breve) was originally written as a semibreve and a breve. The correct version of two semibreves has been substituted.

There is no evidence that scribe A tampered with the entire notation of a piece, by augmenting or diminishing the note values. Pieces with an inconsistent rate of reduction between the parts are nearly all by Leonel, and may therefore be considered more as a mannerism of the composer than of the scribe. If scribe A had been at pains to apply consistency to the note values of the volume as a whole (for example, between the C of 16 and the O of 17) we might reasonably have expected him to slip up on more points of this kind, and not only at ends of sections, where the use of long or breve in different parts is often discrepant.

APPENDIX I TO CHAPTER IV

The contratenor of 75

Bukofzer rightly praises Collins's solution of the problems posed by this piece.¹ Taken together with Collins's own emendations,² there is little to fault in his interpretation, although it must be admitted that at many points it has been achieved empirically and is not fully reasoned. Apel, in attempting to remedy this, fails to take account of Collins's second thoughts.³ His explanation of the contratenor is bedevilled by his chronic confusion about the meaning of coloration, and is best disregarded. His proposed emendations are rarely improvements from a musical point of view, even where they are logically tenable. Collins invariably achieved a musically satisfactory result, and this can usually be justified de post facto. Only at bars 108-110 of the new edition can his version of the contratenor be further improved.




The relevant parts of the rubric, while not actually misleading, are not positively helpful:

Item tenor et contratenor sunt de tempore imperfecto perfecti.
Notule rubie in tenore et contratenore per proporcionem sesqui-

1. Studies, p.54. Collins's transcription is printed in Ramsbotham & Co., OH, vol.II, p.101. Colour facsimile, vol.III, between pp.XXIV-XXV.
2. Given in OH, vol.III, pp.XXX-XXXI.
3. Apel, Notation, pp.432-35.

alteram. Et tam rubie quam nigre in contratenore prefiguras¹
per eandem proporcionem secundum exigentiam figurarum.

The tenor and contratenor are in imperfect time, perfect [prolation]. Red notes in the tenor and contratenor [are] in the proportion 3:2 [i.e., when the stated mensuration applies]. And in the contratenor [only] you prefigure red and black alike in the same proportion, as the signatures make necessary.

The sign .— at bar 74 is not, as Collins says, 'an obscure sign ... to indicate that red and black exchange values', since it occurs at the same point in the tenor part without this meaning. It is one of three signa congruentiae, distinct in shape, which link the contratenor and tenor at bars 55 (), 74 (.—) and 111 (). The roles of red and black are, in part, reversed, though the explanation is less simple than Collins suggests. Nor will Apel's do: 'in this mensuration [] the red notes always indicate 'reversed coloration,' i.e., dotted values'.

The rubric (actually written in black) is our licence for some reversal of black and red functions and for an interpretation which is, in the first instance, empirical. It is plain that we cannot expect a straightforward sesquialtera interpretation in which all red notes are in the proportion 2:3 to black, and in which red signatures give a similar diminution. There is no question of applying imperfection coloration in this situation, though the tenor part yields the same result by either method.

1. Not post figuras, as Collins reads it.

At C the black and red notes do not exchange meanings, as Collins and Apel claim. The black minima remains constant from the previous black signature, and then, keeping this value, assumes a 3:2 relationship to red notes. Apel is, however, correct in regarding the function of red C as reversing the values of red and black, though he fails to observe that this applies between major prolation signatures of either colour, and separately between minor prolation signatures.¹

The sesquialtera proportion of red to black allowed in the rubric (tam rubie quam nigre) applies to those parts of the contra-tenor notated in normal major prolation (with black signatures, stated or understood). Throughout these sections, the specified sesquialtera interpretation has to be pursued rigorously. Apel's assumption of a clerical error (a red semibreve for the red breve at the beginning of stave 4) is unnecessary. Imperfection can take place within sesquialtera coloration, as shown above. Collins's solution is quite correct, and this point does not impair the split black perfection which Apel correctly justifies.

Despite its anomalies, the musically correct solution produces a simpler set of relationships (using factors of 12) than the apparently simpler one, which requires factors of 18. The minima relationships of the right and wrong ways are tabulated (as quavers) on p.261.

1. If Apel (Notation, p.433) is correct in assuming a mistake in the rubric (dupla sesquinona for subdupla sesquitercia), similar reasoning might be applied here to sesquialtera.

A musical score on a five-staff system. The top staff is a treble clef with a common time signature. The other four staves are bass clefs. The music consists of rhythmic patterns of minims (half notes) and crotchets (quarter notes) with stems pointing up or down. Red lines connect the notes across staves, indicating relationships between them. The score is divided into four measures by vertical bar lines.

Table of actual minim relationships

A musical score on a five-staff system, identical in notation to the one above. It features a treble clef, common time, and four bass clefs. The rhythmic patterns of minims and crotchets are the same. Red lines connect the notes across staves, illustrating the application of sesquialtera (a 3:2 ratio) at all levels of the music. The score is divided into four measures by vertical bar lines.

Table of expected minim relationships
(applying sesquialtera at all levels)

From the upper of the two preceding tables it will be noted that the following values are equal:

- the black minim is always constant under a black signature;
- the red minim is always constant under a red signature;
- the black minim under a black signature equals the red minim under a red signature;
- the black minim of a major prolation red signature equals the red minim of a major prolation black signature;
- the black minim of a minor prolation red signature equals the red minim of a minor prolation black signature.

A breve's worth of red notes is equal under the black signatures \odot and C and the red signatures C and O . A breve's worth of black notes is equal under the black \odot and red O signatures, and under the black C and red C signatures.

The following notes-values observe a 3:2 relationship:

- red notes to black notes in a major prolation signature;
- black notes to red notes in a minor prolation signature;
- black minim of a red signature to black minim of a black signature in major prolation;
- black minim of a black signature to black minim of a red signature in minor prolation.

Red semiminims in the contratenor part are shown as red void flagged notes, possibly to prevent alteration being applied to them in a part where normal red notation is subject both to perfection and alteration. The symbol \blacklozenge (black only), borrowed from Italian notation, is used here to mean half a perfect semibreve - a duplet which might otherwise have been expressed by means of void

notation or of a reversed signature. However, the Italian dragma usually occurs as one of three notes to be taken in the time of two semibreves of senaria imperfecta, or the equivalent of a coloration group of three semibreves under C in French notation.

Half-coloration of longs, breves and semibreve ligatures is used. A half-colored breve is normally calculated as a colored tied to an uncolored semibreve. With normal coloration, this produces a note of five minims' length: an imperfect semibreve of two minims tied to a perfect note of three minims. This does not work in the case of the much-discussed half-colored breves followed by blue semibreve rests.¹ The signature is C and the correct order of evaluation is this. Rests, being fixed in value, should be deducted from the value of the note they imperfect before the length of that note can be ascertained. A semibreve rest under this signature is worth three minims, but being blue, it suffers exact bisection, reducing it to $1\frac{1}{2}$ minims. The breve is therefore left with $7\frac{1}{2}$ minims. Red coloration in this part causes not imperfection but sesquialtera, and the half-colored breve is therefore composed of two 'semibreves' related by $3/2$ proportion; $4\frac{1}{2} + 3$ minims + $1\frac{1}{2}$ minims' rest = 9.

Apel's suggested improvements to Collins's reading of the canonic parts result in some uncomfortable musical situations, yet the better readings can be defended quite as properly as Apel's.

1. Collins modified his original interpretation to the correct one (vol.III, p.XXX) without giving full reasons. Apel is wrong again. Andrew Hughes re-affirms the correct solution in 'MP', p.59.

The third canonic part to enter is to be read in \odot . Apel accuses Collins (p.435) of failing to treat the long as perfect on all levels, and submits his reading as no.64b of the appendix. He does not remark that a perfect long may suffer imperfection, nor that his version produces dissonances which are beyond the threshold of tolerance for this piece. The beginning of this part should read thus, as Collins has it. I have barred it to show how incomplete perfections cause long-term syncopation but eventually add up to a complete tally of breves:

Here is Apel's version of the last two lines of the above:

This is a perfectly possible reading of the notes, but makes poor musical sense. It is also unclear why Apel makes the red rest in the third canonic part before genitum perfect. The rubric states that

the first canonic part is in imperfect mood, the second and third perfect (this was the point on which Apel challenged Collins's reading of the beginning of the third canonic part): but that pausa reducitur ad pausam sequentem cum duobus brevi[bulis].

APPENDIX II TO CHAPTER IVBycard's Credo 76

This piece, reproduced as plate XI, contains a considerable amount of black void notation. In effect, such passages shift the mensuration from C to O , neither signature being stated. The imperfect values of black full notes are halved. Perfection and alteration, used within black void passages in 22, are eschewed, black full notes being used where these values are required. That all notes adopt their minimum, imperfect value before being halved is established in, for example, bar 20, where three breves of black void function exactly as they would if they were an imperfection coloration group of three red semibreves. Red void notation, as used in 26, would have shown this more precisely.¹ This is the only first-layer piece which does not use red for normal coloration. In fact, the only red notes are the group of six $3/4$ minim triplets on stave 5 of f.63v. Red notation may have been deliberately avoided so that it could be reserved for the special function which is the main concern of this appendix. Before leaving the matter of black void notes, however, we might question whether the use of black void for diminution may, for some composers and scribes in ON, be associated with the change from C to O time. The change from full to void notation is usually, and reasonably,

1. See p.230, n.1.



associated with the change from parchment to paper as the normal writing surface for music. Both (with numerous exceptions) span the first quarter of the fifteenth century. I believe both to have been contributing factors to the reversal of black and void roles. Had the contratenor of 75 been notated with black void in place of red, the ambivalence of its colorations would have been much more striking to us, and the emergence of some red notes as longer than their black counterparts seemed less unnatural.

The unique feature of 76 is that red clefs (marked in plate XI) are used in conjunction with the black clefs for the central section. The red clef in each of the four parts is a third higher than the black clef of that part. In parts i and iii the red clef makes its first appearance at the beginning of a new stave together with the black clef; in ii and iv the red clef is stated in the course of a stave. In ii and iii the clef is discontinued negatively, merely by failing to reappear on the next stave. In i and iv it is positively discontinued by a restatement of the black clef without the red clef.

Laborious experiments with canon at various pitch levels and mensurations, prompted by Pycard's known propensity for canon, by the use of a red cipher to indicate canon in 123, and by the association of unusual coloration with mensural tricks, failed to produce results.

At no point do directs indicate that the red clefs affect the pitch at which the music is sung. If we were dealing with a simple case of two alternative readings of this section, a third apart, we might reasonably expect red as well as black directs to be used in conjunction with red and black clefs respectively. But all the directs in this piece are black. Another fact which fails to support the theory of alternative readings is that the use of the lower version would extend the total pitch range of each part downwards by a third. If read at the pitch of the black clefs, the section which also has red clefs uses the lowest notes of the range of each part, although it uses the top part of each part-range less. A transposition exaggerates the tessitura of a section which is already slightly bottom-heavy.

Where a red or black clef is placed in the middle of a line, no direct indicates an accompanying change of pitch - and scribe A is normally meticulous about such indications. Where the start or discontinuation of a red clef coincides with a new line, the direct always refers to the pitch of the black-clef note. There can be little doubt that the passage affected takes place at the pitch of the black, not of the red clefs. The possibility of transposition, total or selective, has been extensively explored, but without results.

The hypothesis which follows is the only one to have emerged so far which fits the facts and offers a credible explanation of

the red clefs. It has been used in the new edition.¹

Having pitched his voice according to the black clef, each singer then reads the intervals between successive notes in his part as if the red clef applied: he thinks the music at the pitch of the red clef, while the black clef functions only as an overall anchor of pitch in relation to the rest of the piece. The technique of transposing at sight, or of setting one's sight differently from one's voice, was familiar to the medieval English singer: the anonymous treatise on faburden in B.M., Lansdowne 763 is couched in comparable terms, and Pycard's four-part Gloria, OH 26, requires a similar technique. The canon at the fourth is not written out in full: the canonic part is cued to the correct pitch, but reads from the higher part. Nor is it strange to find an ingenious device such as this in a work by Pycard, who seems to have been a technical wizard and notational innovator of no mean talent and musician^{ship}. Indeed, the use of black void diminution in this Credo serves a purpose parallel to the use of red clefs: the avoidance of irregular, unnecessarily complex notation. By writing extensive sections of the top part in void notation, Pycard avoids the use of visually exhausting minims and semiminims. By using the device of red clefs, he avoids incurring extreme flats, enabling the singer to think in terms of more familiar hexachords.

1. The raw material of this solution was submitted by letter to my co-editor, whose useful suggestions included the use of an editorial key-signature for the affected passage.

Indeed, it was the theory of hexachord transposition put forward in the discussion of musica ficta appended to this dissertation which first suggested that a similar device might be in operation here. While applying the range of accidentals available for a part with no signature (or in the tenor, with one flat), the actual sounding pitch of those accidentals will be those available from a signature of three or four flats respectively. The three extra flats have been supplied editorially as a key-signature in each case. An analogy in modern terms will illustrate the point: a viola part is given to the player of a horn in B \flat , who is then instructed to read it as if it were written in the tenor clef.

It remains to account for the accidentals written in the manuscript. Only the B \flat s are problematical. Clearly, a singer thinking at the transposed pitch of the red clefs will ~~not~~ read them as G \flat s, ^{singing G \flat} yet if he is indeed thinking at the pitch of the red clefs it will be irrelevant that they sound as B \flat s. The section devoted to musica ficta in Ugolino's treatise prompted me to suggest to Andrew Hughes that a manuscript accidental may occasionally indicate chromatic inflection of a neighbouring note and not of the note by which the accidental appears. If a # means mi and a b fa, the use of one or other sign may indicate that the neighbouring note is to be brought to a semitone's distance from it, mi-fa always being a semitone interval. This is sometimes a useful way of handling a difficult accidental, but may create

more problems than it solves. Dr Hughes is a little readier than I am to create musical problems by this means. In bar 72 of the following example, he prefers to naturalise the g, as mi of the hexachord in which the manuscript bb is fa, and so it appears in the new edition. I do not feel that the musical context (cf. bar 73) warrants this interpretation any more than it does the dbs in bar 8 of this piece (not illustrated here) which Hughes proposes. Such a violent chromatic wrench is surely to be tolerated only in the context of a fully-developed secret chromatic art in which it would cease to be a wrench. These are uncharted seas, and I would sail them with caution for the time being. Except where the musical context commends the more adventurous interpretation, bb may be considered as a simple re-statement of the pitch of that note, or as a soft hexachord signature.

The bbs at bars 86 and 87 of the top part can certainly be treated as implying a naturalised g leading-note. The red db in the tenor at the same point is the only red accidental in the piece. If its colour associates it with the red clef, it would be bb. The note is certainly flat at either pitch of notation; if the accidental has more significance than merely to confirm this, it must be to show that c is to be a semitone below it. Thus, the accidentals in both parts at this point establish that the cadence is to be a sharpened leading-note, not a phrygian one.

The only other manuscript flat in this section occurs before bar 103 in the top part. The b is flattened, but the part cadences on c. While the preceding a may be mi, a⁴, the b^b seems to make a phrygian cadence, which is musically acceptable at this point. Two further flats have been erased in the tenor part before bars 101 and 103. Again, these pitches are called for in any case, and erasure need not be taken as an indication that the natural forms were intended. The e^b would have implied that the d below it should be mi, a semitone away, therefore d⁴. This would have necessitated b⁴ in the top part at this point, where b^b is expressly indicated. The removal of the e^b therefore confirms a phrygian cadence.

All the accidentals so far have been interpreted as inflections of the notes to which they apply, even where they also affect the pitch of neighbouring notes. The one remaining accidental in the red-clef section cannot be so treated: the c[#] at bar 92. If it is regarded as a signal that c is mi (of the a^b hexachord), all problems disappear. In bar 93 b^b and a^b will be re and ut: in bar 95 d^b will be fa. Read at the pitch of the red clefs, the c cadence falls on a, and is made phrygian by resta preference. It makes no sense to regard this # as a misplaced b⁴. However, if the c[#] at bar 8 is treated as a misplaced b⁴, that cadence becomes musically acceptable. Assumption of errors must always be a last resort: let us hope that in this case the assumption is

76

273

I Cru- ci- fi- xus e- ti- am pro no-

II Cru- ci- fi- xus e- ti- am pro no-

C

T

bis sub Pon- ti- o Pi- la- to

bis sub Pon- ti- o Pi- la-

70 pas- sus et se- pul- tus est. Et

70, pas- sus et se- pul- tus est. Et re-

rests

extra breve rest

I
re- sur- re- xit 75 274

II
sur- re- xit 6 Long rests

T

I
ter- ti- a di- e se- cun- dum scri- ptu- ras, et a-

T

I
scen- dit in cae- lum, se- det ad dex- te- ram Pa- tris,

T

I
Et i- te- rum ven- tu- rus est cum glo- ri- a 90

II
Et i- te- rum ven- tu- rus est cum glo- ri- a ju- di- ca-

C

T

235

ju-di-ca-re vi- vos et mor- tu- os,

re vi- vos et mor- tu- os,

95

cu- jus re- gni non e- rit fi- nis. Et

cu- jus re- gni non e- rit fi- nis. Et

rests

100

9 Long & breve rest

in Spi- ri- tum San- ctum do- mi-

105

num et vi- vi- fi- can- tem, qui ex Pa-

276

tre Fi-li-o-que pro-ce-dit, qui

cum Pa-tre et Fi-li-o

merely an interim measure, awaiting surer disclosure of a widespread system of transposition than such isolated accidentals can provide.

My interpretation of the middle section of 76 is given on the preceding pages. The exact placing of manuscript accidentals is shown by circled signs (blue for black, red for red accidentals). Plate XII shows the music concealed by the patch on f.64, some of which has been used in the above transcription.

CHAPTER V

Attempts to date OH and to establish its provenance have from the start been plagued by misunderstandings. Many survive an earlier generation of scholarly activity only to furnish an unsound basis for new reasoning. Zealous precaution against discarding any babies with the bath-water has sometimes resulted in some of the bath-water being left behind. Barclay Squire's article contained many assumptions for which he offered no proof. They were surely intended as casual suggestions, pending closer investigation - for example, his statement that the vandal and the restorer were one and the same person. If I have stamped unnecessarily hard on details of this kind, it is merely because they have gone unchallenged for so long and acquired a false respectability.

Squire associated the manuscript with Windsor on the strength of Damett's motet (111) which he considered to 'point directly to some especial patronage of St George of a closer nature than that exercised by the Saint as the protector of England'.¹ He noted the Windsor canonries of Damett and Sturgeon, the dates of which seemed to confirm his surmise

1. Squire, 'Notes ...', p.347.

that Roy Henry was Henry VI, and in the absence of information about their earlier careers, suggested that OH 'might have been the work of some of the musicians attached to St George's Chapel, Windsor'. Although observing that 'in various places other handwritings may be traced', he was unaware of the significance of scribal differences, and failed to realise that the compositions of Damett and Sturgeon do not belong to the original scheme of the manuscript. Ramsbotham sorted out the later additions from the main body of the manuscript, but the introduction by Dom Anselm Hughes retained Squire's reasons for suggesting a Windsor provenance without realising that Ramsbotham's scribal analysis, correct in broad outline, invalidated them. Barclay Squire's extraordinary reasons for suggesting that Sturgeon was 'intimately connected with the Old Hall MS' have been given above (p.147) and need not be restated here.

Dom Anselm Hughes fell prey to the confusion, which has long afflicted music historians, between the peripatetic chapel of the royal household and collegiate foundations enjoying royal patronage, royal free chapels, such as that of St George in Windsor Castle. Bukofzer is still not quite correct when he tries to clear up this point:

However, it would be wrong to assume that all the composers of the Chapel Royal were associated with St. George's Chapel at Windsor Castle. Mr. Harvey has pointed out to me that music historians since Barclay Squire have confused the general institution of the Chapel Royal, which was not fixed to any

one place, with the particular one at Windsor. The repertory of OH is not restricted to composers active in Windsor.

He turns the argument on its head by saying that the large amount of Leonel Power's work in OH suggests 'a close connexion with the Chapel Royal'.² Greene gets it right at last:

St. George's Chapel is a "Royal Free Chapel", a separate foundation serving not the king and court but the Order of the Garter and the residents in the castle. The "chapels royal" were and are staffs of clergy and choristers directly serving the king and court. In Windsor Castle the chapel royal is a chapel in the Upper Ward quite independent of St. George's Chapel.³

He also observes that the assignation of Egerton 3307 to Windsor rests partly on OH's supposed origin there establishing it as a place of musical pre-eminence.⁴ In addition, he exposes the fault of assuming that anything to do with St George must come from Windsor. Many cathedrals had important alters or chapels dedicated to him; he was patron of many guilds, and 'Bond reckons that 126 churches have been dedicated to him'.⁵

1. Bukofzer, Studies, pp.77-78.

2. In NOHM, p.172.

3. Greene, 'TMM', p.2, quoting N.F.Bond, The Inventories of St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle (Windsor, 1947), p.265.

4. See above, p.102.

5. Greene, 'TMM', p.5. Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche, ed. J.Höfer & K.Rahner (2nd.edn: Freiburg, 1960), vol.IV reckons at least 160.

With new biographical data, Bukofzer was able to push the date of the manuscript back to the reign of Henry V, but failed to observe that Damett and Sturgeon, 'the two masters who directly participated in or supervised the compilation of our manuscript'¹ are not represented in the main body of OH. Greene made the important point that Damett and Sturgeon were not canons of Windsor at the same time, and noted that

there is no published biographical evidence connecting the composers named in Old Hall with Windsor within the limits of time now accepted as those of the writing of Old Hall, at least of its older sections

and

If the MS is to be assigned to a specific location, it can more reasonably be associated with Westminster than with Windsor, where Henry V was rarely to be found.²

Nor did the canonries of Damett and Sturgeon at St Paul's run concurrently. The only institution to which they both belonged at the same time was the royal household chapel of Henry V.

Harrison, naturally, does not confuse royal institutions. But his claim that OH was 'Written for the Royal Household Chapel'³ shows that he has not adequately scrutinised the shady pedigree of this theory. No firm identifications are possible between first-

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1. Bukofzer, Studies, p.76.
 2. Greene, 'TMM', pp.33, 34.
 3. NOHM, p.101.

layer composers and royal chaplains. A coincidence of names is rarely conclusive, and unless a broader connection with the royal household chapel can be established, there is no reason why any first-layer composer should be identified with a royal chaplain, rather than with any other candidate having evidence of education. The presence of two compositions by Roy Henry is not in itself sufficient to establish that the manuscript containing them was ever associated with his chapel.

Reasons for believing that some of the second-layer music may be holograph have already been given.¹ The four composer-scribes Burrell, Cooke, Damett and Sturgeon were all members of the royal household chapel. They first appear in this capacity in 1413, the first year of Henry V's reign. Although the wardrobe books for the previous four years are missing Damett and Sturgeon, at least, would have been too young to serve in this capacity much earlier; the dates of their schooling at Winchester establish birth-dates of around 1390 for both of them. This makes them very nearly exact contemporaries of Henry V, who was born in 1387.

The identity of these four men is beyond reasonable doubt. The names of Damett and Sturgeon are, like Leonel Power's, unusual, and their appearance together in a suitable occupation at a suitable date is all but conclusive. Burrell and Cooke are identified with the royal chaplains purely because royal chaplains of those names appear at the same time as Damett and Sturgeon, rather than in

1. See p.147.

their own right. However, once a connection of the second layer of OH with the royal household chapel has been established, probability is on the side of these identifications. Indeed, the scribe/composer identifications and the composer/chaplain identifications are mutually supporting. The latter offers the opportunity for personal contact demanded by the former: the former makes sense of the coincidence of the latter. Summary biographies of these men follow.

Danett

A Papal dispensation of 5 March 1422 allowed him to hold several benefices simultaneously, and refers to an earlier dispensation now lost which allowed him to take holy orders even though he was the son of a married man and an unmarried woman.¹ A bastard often took his mother's name; in this case, however, we learn from his will that his niece (and presumably therefore his brother) was also called Danett. Nothing has come to light about his paternity, but as the illegitimate son of a gentleman he might well have qualified for one of the few vacancies for commoners at Winchester. He was at Winchester College, but not as a scholar; his name appears in the Hall book for 1406/7 from Michaelmas 1406 until the seventh week of the third quarter, May/June 1407. He is not in the previous surviving Hall

1. CPL.

book, 1401/02, although the Archivist of Winchester College, Mr Peter Gwyn, who kindly answered my queries, thinks 'it is almost certain that he was in the school before Michaelmas 1406'. There is no record that he went on to New College, Oxford, as many Wykehamites did, but it is quite likely that he did spend the next few years at university.

We next encounter Damett in 1413, when he was presented to the rectory of Stockton, Wiltshire (where he acquired a godson) and appears in the wardrobe accounts of Henry V's household chapel. He must surely have been at least 23 by 1413, by which year he was presumably ordained priest, and not older than 18 in 1407 - the statutory leaving age for all Wykehamites who were not founder's kin. He was presumably born 1389/90.

He is listed with the royal chaplains and clerks in 1413, 1430/31, and in 1421 as 'Dominus'.¹ He also went with the chapel to Harfleur in 1415.² The witnesses of a charter of 5 May 1420 relating to Norfolk included Thomas Damett and Thomas Pycharde, rector (CCR). He died 1436/37, at which time his mother was still living. This we learn from his will.³

1. Details are given in Trowell, Plantagenets.

2. P.R.O., E101/45/5 (described in Lists and Indexes, vol. XXXV as 'Extracts from the Pells Issue Roll') lists the royal chaplains on m.11 under the date 6 June 3 Henry V: Magistro Edmundo Lacy Decano Capelle... Magistro Stephano Morpath Johanni Seward Johanni Woburn' Thome Kyllum Thome Damet Thome Gyles Johanni Prentys Johanni Arondell Johanni Burrell' Johanni Cook Thome Walker Nicho Sturgeon Willo Cave Johanni Hereford Capellanis Fr Alano Hert Fri Johi Brotherton' Willo Bontemps Johanni Hunte Nicho Peynton Ricardo Elythe Roberto Uber (?) Alano Kyrketon Johanni Chamberlain Johanni Kyngman Stephano Peynton Johi Selby Thome Batcombe Thome Mansfeld Magistro Johi Comper & Magistro Johanni Coll' servienti de la Revestr' ...

3. Somerset House, P.C.C. 21 Luffenham; printed in translation by John Harvey, Gothic England (London, 1947), pp.181-83.

References in this

interesting document to Stockton and St Paul's Cathedral confirm that he is the same man who was presented to the rectory of the former in 1413 and succeeded there in 1435,¹ and the same man who was presented by Henry V to the prebend of Rugmere in the latter on 22 November 1448, a stall taken over by his successor on 5 August 1436.² By the same date he had vacated the prebend in St George's Chapel, Windsor which he had held since 16 February 1431.³ This may mean that he died between making his will on 15 July 1436 and losing both posts on 5 August of that year, although the will was not proved until 14 April 1437.

Names mentioned in the will have not led to further discoveries, though I have searched for them in indexed archival publications. The John Selby for whose soul 20s was to be distributed may be the vestry servant of this name who appears in the list of chapel personnel accompanying the king to Harfleur in 1415,⁴ or he could be the ecclesiastic who left a will on 12 January 1427.⁵ Seuar Acres, grocer of London (also spelt Seyar Acres) may be connected with William Sevenoaks, grocer, mayor of London in 1419, who founded a school at Sevenoaks by his will of 1432.⁶

1. See The History of Modern Wiltshire, ed. R.C. Hoare (London, 1822-44), p.287.

2. CPR; and Le Neve, Fasti 1300-1541, vol.V, p.60.

3. CPR; and Le Neve, Fasti, vol.III, p.385.

4. See p.283, n.2.

5. York, Dean and Chapter Register 1321-1493, ff.223v-24v. The assistant Librarian of the York Minster Library kindly reported that Damett's name does not appear in this will, so it seems unlikely that Damett was paying off an old score in this direction.

6. Somerset House, P.C.C. 16 Luffenham.

More likely, however, is a reference on 8 July 1439 to 'Saier Acre, grocer' and on 14 April 1458 to Saier Acre and John Acres, formerly wardens of the mistery of grocers.¹

The will gives a clue about Damett's other benefices: Somercotes and Ouynton may have been the parishes he was allowed to hold concurrently with Stockton. A link with the London Charterhouse seems almost certain.²

The portion of the Phillipps collection sold at Sotheby's on 29 November 1966 included an English 15th-century roll of arms.

One of the crests labelled and illustrated was assigned to 'domett' and looked roughly like the accompanying sketch.



Sturgeon

The fullest account of Nicholas Sturgeon's life, not hitherto referred to by music historians, is that given by Emden (BRO). He was a scholar at Winchester but left for Oxford before Damett started his education there, although they were virtually the same age. Sturgeon appears in the Hall book for 1401/02 until the first week of the third term, i.e., April/May 1402. At various times he held

1. Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls, ed. Philip Jones (Cambridge, 1961), vol.I, p.162; vol.II, p.1.

2. For the charterhouses and their libraries see D.Knowles, The Religious Orders in England, vol.II (Cambridge, 1957), p.234, and D.Knowles & R.N.Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales (London, 1953), pp.49-50.

prebends at Wells, St Stephen's, Westminster, Hastings Castle, Karkebi Castle, Exeter, St George's, Windsor, and St Paul's Cathedral, where he was precentor from 1442 until his death in 1454. Neither his Windsor nor his St Paul's canonries coincide with Damett's tenure of prebends in these institutions.

On 16 October 1442 he was required by the privy council to choose six singers of England for the emperor (Friedrich III),¹ and his will, dated 31 May 1454, was proved on 8 June 1454.² Emden records that Sturgeon was subdean of the chapel royal in 1428 but omits his presence in the wardrobe books in 1413, 1421, 1430/31, 1436/37, 1441/42, 1443/44, 1446/47, 1447/48, 1450/51, 1451/52,³ and his mention in a privy council act of 14 February 1431.⁴ His presence at Harfleur in 1415 has been noted above.

Other parishes mentioned in his will which may also have a place amongst the benefice listed by Emden include Henstridge (Somerset), Asperton (Herts.) and St Augustine's 'next powles chircheyrd'. He left money to 'the wurshipful Monasteryes of Christchirch of Canterbury, of seynt Awstyn in the same towne, and of seynt Albanes ... in remembrance of my Fraternite the

1. Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England, ed. Sir N.H.Nicolas (Record Commissioners: London, 1834-37), vol.V, p.218.
2. Somerset House, P.C.C. 10 Rous. Printed in F.J.Furnival, The 50 Earliest English Wills in the Court of Probate (Early English Text Society: London, 1882), pp.131-34.
3. Details are given in Trowell, Plantagenets.
4. Proceedings ... (see n.1 above), vol.IV, p.77.

more specially they to pray for me'. There is no record that Sturgeon belonged to the fraternity of Christ Church, Canterbury. His elder brother Richard became a scholar of Winchester in 1397, two years before Nicholas, and is described as coming from 'Ashburton, Devon' (near Totnes), instead of merely from 'Devon' as is Nicholas. Richard Sturgeon reached high office in the king's household as a civil lawyer. Other relatives (named Shipton, Dowrigge, Frowyk and Ryke: the former two are female and therefore may have these names by marriage) have not furthered our knowledge of Nicholas himself, though the Frowyks make several appearances in contemporary records. Henry Frowyk, named in the will, was an alderman of London in 1441.

There are numerous references to Sturgeon in calendared rolls of the period.¹ Others which have eluded Eaden include his membership of the Gild of Parish Clerks: as a founder member (Dominus) in 1449, and among the fratrum defunctorum (as Magister) in 1455.² Barclay Squire cites some references 'from the Windsor archives';³ material from Windsor relating to Sturgeon appears as the first appendix to this chapter.

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1. More are given in Trowell, Plantagenets. On one occasion he is called 'Sir'.
 2. Guildhall Library, MS4889/PC. See also Baillie, London Churches.
 3. Squire, 'Notes ...', p.348.

Burell

A royal chaplain of this name appears on the wardrobe lists of 1413, 1415 and 1421 (where he is styled 'Dominus').¹ Andrew Hughes reports that Burell and Cooke were royal chaplains in 1402:² however, neither appears in the wardrobe book for this year.³ A John Burell, varlet of the king's stables, listed in that year, is hardly likely to be the composer. Greene notes his tenure of canonries at Chichester, Hereford and York, and gives details of his corrody at Meaux Abbey (1416-37) which confirm that this man was indeed a clerk of the king's chapel.⁴ The John Burell who was precentor of York for a mere ten days in 1410 left this post for the church of Gilling East, in the North Riding. This connects him with the John Burell who died in 1439, leaving a will in the York registry⁴ which he speaks of 'my parishioners' at Gilling.⁵ He also requests burial in the chapel of St Mary and Holy Angels in York Minster. This perhaps permits identification with Greene's Burell (and hence with the royal chaplain) who became a prebendary in this chapel in 1424.

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1. Trowell, Plantagenets.
 2. 'Re-appraisal', p.110.
 3. P.R.O., E101/404/21.
 4. 'TMM', pp.31-33.
 5. Transcribed in appendix II to this chapter.

Cooke

Cooke and Leonel are the only composers to be represented in both layers of OH. Leonel will be discussed among the composers of the first layer, as there is no reason to associate him personally with the compilation of the second layer, while the scribal evidence suggests that Cooke was associated in the capacities of composer, performer and scribe.

Cooke is not given an initial in OH, though the capital C on f.78v, now partly trimmed away, may have been intended as a monogram of J.C. There is no reason, musical or notational, to doubt that the first- and second-layer Cooke is one and the same man. There are, however, two men named J.Cooke who appear in the royal wardrobe accounts, the later one sometimes being spelt Coke, the earlier usually Cook. The OH composer is variously spelt Cook and Cooke. The earlier chaplain appears in the wardrobe book for 1413,¹ and was one of the chaplains going to Harfleur in 1415.² No Cooke appears in the 1421 list, and a reference to a man of this name as 'late clerk of the chapel of the household' on 25 July 1419 surely implies his death by this date, and not in 1433 as Harrison states.³ The later John Cooke appears on various

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1. Trowell, Plantagenets.
 2. See p.283, n.2.
 3. CPR; MME, p.456.

chapel lists between 1441 and 1452¹ and received a grant for 26 years' good service in the household chapel in 1455 (GPR), although he does not appear in the wardrobe book for 1430/31. Of the four composers, only Sturgeon was still a royal chaplain by the time the later Cooke's name first appears, so that the earlier man is much more likely if identification is to rest on his less commonly named colleagues. Other reasons, given below, make a chaplain in Henry V's chapel the only plausible candidate.

Terminal date for the second-layer music

Cooke's death in 1419 marks the end of the six-year period during which the four composers could have had regular access to a single book. Because of the position of his 'autograph' compositions in the apparent order of copying, all copying activity must have ceased quite soon after his death; his compositions were often the last to be entered into any particular section of the manuscript. Even if an amanuensis was responsible and not Cooke himself, it is unlikely that he would continue an exclusive association with Cooke's music after the death of the composer. If Cooke had died before the manuscript reached its most complete stage, we might then have expected bulk addition of the surviving works, whereas they continue to take their place in piecemeal sequence with music by the other chaplains.

1. Trowell, Plantagenets.

The very piecemeal nature of the copying suggests that much of the second-layer music was entered soon after composition and not accumulated. A date of about 1420 seems appropriate for the completion of the second-layer music and its copying.

The only piece included in this estimate which is likely to raise eyebrows is Dunstable's four-part motet Veni Sancte Spiritus, placed at the centre of an added gathering, and flanked by music which was almost certainly in position by this date, presumably copied around it. A later date cannot be completely discounted, but would rest on the unlikely assumption that this opening in the manuscript was reserved for it, perhaps for several years, without any trace of this intention being left on the manuscript itself.¹

Dunstable's motet was copied by a distinctive hand which made no other contribution to the manuscript. Any suggestion that this piece might be autograph would rest solely - and dangerously - on the belief that the pattern of the royal chaplains' music in the second layer could be extended despite Dunstable's lack of proven connection with the chapel. Dunstable, Leonel and Forest have no known associations with the royal household, and nothing links them with the activities of Burrell, Cooke, Damett and Sturgeon, whose physical proximity to each other increases the likelihood of

1. See pp.152, 201-202 above. Appendix IV to this chapter presents a newly-discovered composition by Dunstable which casts light on a general perspective of his output.

autograph in their cases. Anyone might have copied the Dunstable piece. For Dunstable's biography I can add nothing to the now well-known facts gathered by Bukofser,¹ nor can I advance any preferences in respect of other possible identifications. There is no conclusive evidence that the John Dunstavyllle who was a canon of Hereford from 1419-40 is the same man as the composer.²

A slightly stronger case can be made out for suggesting that Forest's compositions may be autograph or pseudo-autograph. Two pieces (67, 68) are assigned to him. The latter is incomplete;³ text, ascription and music are undoubtedly the work of one hand, and the interruption of a kind to provoke the unusual placing of the 'Forest' signature. Clearly, the exemplar did not merely come to an end at this point: the different places at which text, black notes and red notes stop can only indicate the scribe's working method. Yet the position of the signature suggests that completion was not envisaged. The same scribe was responsible for 74 (reasons for attributing this piece to Forest have been given above, p.153), and for no other pieces in the manuscript besides these three.

1. Bukofser, 'John Dunstable: a Quincentenary Report', *MQ*, vol. XL (1954).

2. Le Neve, *Fasti 1300-1541*, vol.II, p.47.

3. See pp. 204-205.

Forest

This composer cannot be identified with certainty. He has no forename initial, either in OH or in any continental source containing his music. The name is not a common one, and the only plausible candidate to have emerged so far is John Forest, onetime dean of Wells. Full details of his ecclesiastical preferments are given by Emden (BRO), summarised here without source references.

By 1390 he had obtained a Papal dispensation to take holy orders although born illegitimate. He was probably born, therefore, c.1365-70. Emden has identified his generous bequests to 'my college at Oxford' as referring to Lincoln College, and he had lifelong tenure of prebends in Lincoln Cathedral. At various times he held canonries at Durham, York, Lichfield, Southwell, Salisbury and Wells. He was rector of Middleton Stoney, Oxon, of Wonston, Hants, and of Wheathampstead, Herts,¹ and also held a prebend at St Mary's, Shrewsbury. At various stages in his life this wealthy pluralist was granted Papal dispensations to hold additional benefices. He was Archdeacon of Surrey from 1415 and Dean of Wells from 1425 until his death on 25 March 1446, having obtained in 1429 a Papal indult to visit his archdeaconry

1. Abbot John of Wheathampstead wrote one of Dunstable's epitaphs, but it would be rash to posit any connection here. Forest was almost certainly an absentee incumbent.

by deputy for five years, owing to old age, failing sight and infirmity. This has cast doubt upon the identity of this John Forest with Forest the composer, because it has been assumed hitherto that Forest's music dates from around 1430. If I am right in believing that all the additions to OH had been copied by c.1420, this identification becomes much more credible. He would then have a full quarter-century in which to decline, without any presumption on his creative talents. In any case, he cannot have been totally decrepit in 1429 if he lived on until 1446; it was probably in his own interests to paint a gloomy picture of his condition in order to obtain the indult. If he was the composer, he would have been a close contemporary of Leonel Power (discussed in chapter VI). I have found further reference to Forest in the records of the Fraternity of Christ Church, Canterbury. He was received into the Fraternity on 28 June 1429, and his obit was kept not on 25 March but on 6 July.¹ A further Christ Church entry relating to him is given in appendix III to this chapter.

Forest was particularly active in the Winchester diocese. He may have held the archdeaconry of Surrey from 1415 until his death. He was Master of Godshouse, Portsmouth, from 1408, and of St Cross hospital, Winchester, from before 1415. From 1417-25 he was vicar general of Cardinal Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester. Cardinal Henry Beaufort, second son of John of Gaunt, was previously

1. This date is also given in Lambeth Palace, MS 20, f.198v. See Le Neve, Fasti 1300-1541, vol.VIII, p.5.

Bishop of Lincoln. Some personal patronage, perhaps connected with Forest's obscure parentage, may be involved. Moreover, in a second codicil to his will, dated 11 September 1447 (after John Forest's death), he mentions magistrum Thomam Forest, magistrum sive custodem hospitalis Sancte Crucis juxta Winton.¹ Forest's own will appoints as one of his executors 'Master Thomas Forest, my kinsman, rector of Stonham'.²

If the Forest music in OH is, by remote chance, autograph, if this John Forest is the composer, and if the manuscript was in his hands for a time, perhaps for the purposes of entering his own music, and if the incomplete state of Ascendit Christus in any way supports a personal link, then his Winchester connections may be the very ones we were prompted to seek in chapter I. The two motets, being past the middle of the gathering, could have been added later than our terminal date of c.1420. But the Credo 74, using the illuminated initials of a first-layer gathering, was surely there before Sturgeon's Credo 69 had to be copied into an unilluminated opening.

Dating the music

Having established some anchorage for the composers of the

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1. A Collection of all the Wills, now known to be extant, of the Kings and Queens of England ... (The Society of Antiquaries: London, 1789), p.340.
 2. Translated in Somerset Medieval Wills, ed. F.W.Weaver, [First Series] 1383-1500 (Somerset Record Society: 1901), pp.152-155.

second layer, can we do anything to date their music more closely than 'before 1420'?

Andrew Hughes suggests that Cooke's Stella celi may be connected with 'Henry IV's physical precautions in 1407 to avoid the plague centre of London'.¹ This is not impossible, but the piece cannot have been copied into OH at such an early date. The text survives so widely, however, that it seems hardly necessary to specify a particular outbreak of the disease. Appendix V to this chapter is devoted to settings of this text.

More hopeful, from the dating point of view, are the three motets by Damett, Cooke and Sturgeon (111, 112 and 113), which have attracted some attention on account of the topical references in their texts, and offer our only internal clue for dating any of the music of the second layer. No occasion has yet been convincingly suggested for the composition of Dunstable's Veni Sancte Spiritus, though Harrison's suggestion that it may have been written for Henry VI's French coronation (by Cardinal Beaufort) on 16 December 1431 is suitable but for its lateness.²

Isorhythmic motets can often be associated with specific occasions, and the non-liturgical texts of these three OH pieces by the chaplain composers are indeed ripe with allusions. They

1. 'Re-appraisal', p.104.

2. NME, p.244. Harrison suggests that the mass Da gaudiorum premia may also have been written for this occasion. Jeremy Noble's suggestion of the signing of the Treaty of Troyes on Trinity Sunday 1420 for the composition of this mass is more attractive in the light of the new evidence (made in 'JD'Ø).

combine supplication for peace and for delivery from affliction with rejoicing in victory already won. The saints addressed in all the texts are Mary and George, the two most commonly invoked - and thanked - by the English at the time of Agincourt.¹

The text of the middle part of Cooke's metat petitions George, then Mary, then both together, for victory and for peace:

Christi miles inclite
Georgi sanctissime
qui es decus militum;
celum nunc inhabitas
ubi tua sanctitas
choro fulget martirum.

Quicquid tu oraveris
impetrare poteris
propter tua merita;
regnum serves Anglie
que non ruat misere
nostra per demerita.

Matris totius gracie
instes tu clemencie
ferat ut auxilium
terram suam protegat
regemque custodiat
ab incursu hostium.

Virgo decus virginum
regi sis refugium
quem serves ab hostibus;
quicquid vis ut faciat
semper tibi placeat
in ipsius actibus.

1. The texts are printed in classicised form in Ramsbotham & Co, OH, vol. III, pp. xxxiii-xxxiv, and will be printed with translations in the new edition.

O columpne auree
 pacem veram poscite
 nostris in temporibus;
 date seu victoriam
 et post mortem gloriam
 regnis in celestibus.

The opening words are addressed to St George: Christi miles, soldier of Christ. We have several accounts of Henry's reception in the streets of London on 23 November 1415, after the Agincourt victory. One of them, quoted more fully below, hails him with these very words, miles Christi, thus endowing him with the attributes of St George, whose feast-day was formally declared a greater double feast after Agincourt.¹ The date of St George's adoption as patron saint of England is not known,² though his cult grew, particularly from the mid-14th century onwards when, together with Mary and Edward, he became a dedicatee of the Garter Chapel at Windsor. The Brut chronicler reports that Henry 'ordeynt be holy chirch that saint George day shuld be kept hye and holy, and so was it never before that day!'.³ The celebration of St George's day in 1416 was actually deferred until 24 May, when the Emperor Sigismund was installed as a Knight of the Garter. In 1418 Henry held the feast of St George at Caen and knighted many members of his household on that occasion.⁴

1. See The Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury 1414-1443, ed. E.F.Jacob (Canterbury & York Society, vol.XLVI: Oxford, 1945), vol.III, p.8: proclamation dated 4 January 1416.

2. However, he was declared protector of England by the 18th-century Pope Benedict XIV. Butler's Lives of the Saints, rev. H.Thurston & D.Attwater (London, 1956).

3. B.M., MS Harley 53, f.157v.

4. Gesta, p.231. Perhaps including Sturzeon? See n. 287. n. 1.

The tenor of Cooke's motet uses the words and plainsong melody of the rogation litany for peace: Ab inimicis nostris defende nos Christe. The rogation days for 1415 were 6-8 May. They occurred at the most anxious time in the peace negotiations between the French and the English. Talks had broken down, and the truce which was due to expire on 1 May had been extended to 8 June in a last desperate effort to avert war.¹ This would be a naturally appropriate time to write a motet of supplication for peace, glossed in the upper parts by appeals to Mary and George to secure victory for England.

St George literally figured large at Henry's arrival. A verse account of the pageant tells us:

To londonn Brigge thanne roodoure Kyng
 The processions there they mette hym ryght
 Ave Rex anglorum thei gan syng
 Flos mundi thei seide goddys knyght [i.e., niles Christi]
 To londonn Brigge whan he com right
 Up on the gate ther stode on hy
 A gyaunt that was full grym of syght
 To teche the frensshemen curtesy.

And at the drawe brigge that is faste by
 To toures there were up pight
 An Antelope and a Lyon stondyng hym by
 Above hem seynt George our lady knyght
 Benedictus thei gan syng
 Qui venit in nomine domini goddes knyght
 Gracia dei with yow doth spryng.²

1. See, for example, E.F.Jacob, The Fifteenth Century (Oxford, 1961), p.141; DNB, s.v. Henry V, p.498.

2. B.M., MS Harley 565, f.112v.

Beside this we can place the version of a related prose chronicle:

Where as he was riolly receyvet with precession and song ave anglorum, flos mundi, miles Christi, and when he come to Londonn brigge where as were ij turrets on the drawbrige, & a gret Gesunt and on the turrets stondyng a lyon and a antlope with many angeles syngyng Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini. And so rode he forth in to london.

It is well known that the two motets by Damett and Sturgeon display a rare and deliberate kind of collaboration, since they share a plainsong, dividing it between them at the midpoint. The plainsong is Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini, with the trope Marie Filius (Sarum 3). Damett transposes it down a tone; Sturgeon uses it untransposed. It is a nice coincidence that Damett's will includes the bequest of 1 ciphum argenteum chaced & coopertum cum scriptura & benedictus qui venit in nomine domini.

The relationship between the various accounts of Henry's reception in London is by no means easy to unravel, and the following makes no pretence to be a full discussion. The Gesta (the so-called 'chaplain's account') is reckoned to be the earliest and most authentic version, written by an eye-witness, who has been identified by B. Williams, editor of the Gesta, with Jean de Bordin, on the grounds that only he and the Dean of the chapel, Edmund Lacy, were known to have accompanied Henry to France, but the relevant public records were not then accessible.² Moreover, Williams argues French

1. B.M., MS Harley 53, f.157v.

2. Gesta, p.vii. On the state of the public records see Nicolas, Agincourt, pp.159-60.

authorship. J.H.Wylie identifies him with Elmham; neither of these, however, is listed with the chaplains accompanying Henry to Harfleur in 1415.¹ The Gesta account is considerably detailed but, sadly for us, leaves gaps at many points where titles of music sung at the pageant should have been inserted. Many of these are supplied by later authors who follow the Gesta account closely but draw on some other source of information independent of the versions of the Gesta which have survived. The details of titles suggest that this source may derive from an eye-witness account, if not from another recension of the Gesta itself. I have drawn on two of these later sources, both in English. One is a long poem, attributed to Lydgate although its literary merits are questionable. It is preserved in B.M., MS Harley 565.² The other, the prose chronicle also quoted above, is one of the continuations of the Brut chronicle, preserved in B.M. MS Harley 53.³ It is a 15th-century manuscript, compiled sometime after 1436 when its account comes to an end. The Gesta version of this part of the pageant is as follows:

Et progressu ulterius usque ad pontem tantillum, inventa est ex utroque latere ante eam una columna procera ad modum turriculi, non minus subtilis quam elegantis structuræ opere lignario, quæ cooperiebatur panno lineo depicto colore albo

1. See J.H.Wylie, The Reign of Henry V (Cambridge, 1914-29), vol. II, p.79, and p.233, n.2 above.

2. The whole poem is printed, with some inaccuracies, in Nicolas, Agincourt, p.327, and in E.Tyrell & N.H.Nicolas, A Chronicle of London from 1089 to 1483 (London, 1827), p.231. A different version of the same poem in Cotton Vitellius D.xii perished in the Cottonian fire; for this we are dependent on the copy by T.Hearne, included at the end of his edition of Thomas de Elmham Vita et Gesta Henrici Quinti (Oxford, 1727), pp.359-375.

3. The Brut or the Chronicles of England, ed. F.W.D.Brie /contd. ...

marmoreo et viridi jasperino quasi ex quadratis et sectis lapidibus opere lithotomorum. Summitas vero columnae in dextro latere effigiem antilupi erectam habuit cum clypeo resplendentium armorum regalium pendentium a collo, quae in dextro pede extenso sceptrum regium deferebat. Cacumine vero alterius columnae leonis imaginem etiam erectam extulit, quae hastile cum expanso vexillo regio dextris unquibus tenuit elevatum: desuper vero pedem pontis in transversum itineris elevabatur turris operis et picturae ad instar dictarum columnarum, in cujus medio sub uno tabernaculo splendido stetit imago formosissimam sancti Georgii, armata, excepto capite, quod ornabat laurea conserta gemis interlucentibus ad instar lapidum pretiosorum, habens de post dorsum tapetum coccineum cum armis suis rutilantem in scutorum multitudine. Et in dextera sua pendebat galea sua triumphalis, et in sinistra clipeus armorum suorum magnitudinis congruentis; dextera sua manu capulum mucronis quo cingebatur tenebat, laeva vero rotulum extensum per propugnacula, continentem haec verba; **"Soli Deo honor et gloria!"** Et signabat turrim in fronte hoc congratulationis propheticum;

"FLUMINIS IMPETUS LAETIFICAT CIVITATEM DEI"

venustabantque eam super hastae expansorum armorum regalium in celaturis et propugnaculis prominentes. Et in domo contigua de post turrim erant innumerosi pueri representantes hierarchiam angelicam, vestiti candido, vultibus rutilantibus, auro, alis interlucentibus et crinibus virgineis consertis laureolis pretiosis, qui concinebant in adventu regio suavi vocis modulatione et organis, literam prosequentes, hanc Anglicanam [Sloane hanc angelicam] cantilenam;¹

I have quoted this at length to demonstrate the detail of the account, and the cumulative effect of this passage towards the musical titles which are not there. It seems much more likely that they were omitted because the scribe left them to be done in a different colour than that it was a casual oversight; it

3. . . . cntd./ (Early English Text Society: London, 1906-08). For the above, see vol.II, p.558. For details of sources, see F.W.D.Brie, Geschichte und Quellen der mittelenglischen Prosachronik The Brute of England oder the Chronicles of England (Marburg, 1905).

1. Gesta, pp.62-63, using B.M.Cotton Julius E.iv, f.113, of which Sloane 1776 is a careless copy (Williams's judgment).

lends weight to the suggestion that the titles may come from another copy of the Gesta.

Other titles of greetings, possibly musical, given by the Gesta include: Quoniam Rex sperat in Domino,¹ Cantate Domino canticum novum,² gloriosa dicta sunt de te, civitas dei,³ Welcome Henry the Fifte, Kyng of Englonde and of Fraunce, Te deum laudamus,⁴ and Deo gratias.⁵

These same chronicles document the claim made above (p.287) that Mary and George were the objects of particular devotion at this time:

Ego qui scribo et multi de residuo populo in coelum anare suspeximus ad superni respectus clementiam, Virginemque gloriosam et beatum Georgium, sub quorum protectione viguit ab olim invictissima corona Angliae, pro mediatione inter Deum et populum interpellavimus, ut desolationi totius Angliae in pretio sanguinis nostri compateretur.

Sed tamen postquam rex putasset fere omnes evectiones huiusmodi venisse ad dorsum suum, in nomine Jesu, cui flectitur omne genu coelesticum, terrestrium et infernorum, Virginisque gloriosae et sancti Georgii, appropriavit versus hostes, appropriarunt et hostes adversus eum.

The same source tells us that the Black Prince invoked the aid of St George at Poitiers and Najara. A verse petition invokes

1. I.e., Psalm 21 (Vulgate 20), v.8.
2. Psalm 98 (97), v.1.
3. Psalm 87 (86), v.3.
4. J.H.Ramsay, Lancaster & York (Oxford, 1892), vol.I, p.226, saw the whole Agincourt welcome as a staged Te deum.
5. Probably the Agincourt carol; possibly the gracia dei of the verse chronicle.
6. Gesta, p.40 (14 October 1415) and p.51 (25 October 1415).

the help of George, Edward, Mary and Thomas:

Help Seynt George, our Lady knyght;
 Seynt Edward that is so fre,
 Oure Lady that arg Godys bright,¹
 And Seynt Thomas of Caunterbure.

After the victory

the quen with alle here lordes also wente fro seynt Poules unto Westm', and offred at seynt Edwardes schryne aforeseid or the meire took his charge; and whanne the meier hadde taken his charge, every man come rydyng hom fro' Westm' on horsbak, and were joyful and glad for the good tydynges that they hadde of the Kyng, and thankyd our lord J'hu Crist, his modir,² Marye, and seynt George and alle the holy company of heaven.

The texts of the upper parts of the OH motets do not correspond directly to anything in the chronicles of Henry's homecoming, though the text of the middle part of Damett's motet, addressed to St George, has precisely the right ingredients for the occasion: confidence in the strength, the superiority of England and of Henry, combined with supplication for constant peace from then on:

O Georgi deo care
 salvatorem deprecare
 ut gubernet Angliam;
 ipsum teque commendare
 valeamus et laudare
 deitatis gratiam.

1. Nicolas, Agincourt, p.320, quoting Harley 565. He also quotes Hearne's version of the lost Cotton source:

Helpe, Sent Jorge, oure Lady knyzt,
 Sente Edward, that ys so fre,
 Owre Lady, Godys moder, bryzt,
 And Sent Tomas of Caunterbery.

2. Nicolas, Agincourt, p.291, quoting Harley 53.

Tu qui noster advocatus
 es jus tui patronatus
 defendas ab hostibus;
 et Anglorum gentem serva
 pace firma sine guerra
 tuis sanctis precibus.

Miles fortis custos plebis
 Sis Henrici nostri regis
 presens ad consilium;
 contra hostes apprehende
 arma scutum archum tende
 sibi fer auxilium.

Gloriosa spes Anglorum
 audi vota famulorum
 tibi nunc canencium;
 per te nostrum ut patronum
 consequamur pacis donum
 in terra vivencium.

Jubilance is mixed with the spirit of pious humility which Henry himself displayed. The Gesta account of Henry's demeanour reads:

Sed et rex ipse, inter haec laudum praeconia et apparatus civium, indutus veste purpurea, non in elato supercilio, equitatu pompatili seu multitudine gravi, sed in vultu solido, incessu venerando et paucis concomitantibus domesticis fidelissimis incedebat; sequentibus eum, in securitate militum, dictis ducibus, comitibus et marescallo, captivis. Ex ipsa quidem vultus taciturnitate, mansueto incessu et progressu sobrio colligi poterat quod rex tacite rem gerens in pectore, soli Deo, non homini, grates et gloriam referebat.¹

Damett's text refers to the bow, literally the instrument of victory at Agincourt, and the deliberations of Henry, which may well be the long-drawn-out treaty negotiations which followed. Here Cooke's motet, particularly suited to the previous truce negotiations,

1. Gesta, p.68. See also DNB, s.v. Henry V, for his general discouragement of personal acclaim.

would have become topical again.

The text of the top part of Damett's motet is a Marian sequence, part of which has been replaced by lines requesting eternal life for Henry (the ^{variant} ~~regular~~ and ^{regular} ~~variant~~ versions are here shown parallel):

Salvatoris mater pia
mundi hujus spes Maria
ave plena gracia;
porta celi templum dei
portus maris ad quam rei
currunt cum fiducia.

Summi regis sponsa digna
cunctis clemens et benigna
operum suffragio;
cecis lumen caecis via
nudis Martha et Maria
mentis desiderio.

Inter spinas flos fuisti
sic flos flori placuisti
pietatis gracia;
verbo verbum concepisti
regem regum peperisti
virgo viro nescia.

Tutrix pia tui gregis
memor sis Henrici regis
pro quo pete filium;
ut exutus carne gravi
vite scriptus sit suavi
post presens exilium.

Regi nato adhaesisti
Quem lactasti et pavisti
More matris debito;
Quae coniuncta nunc eidem
Es regina facta pridem
Operum pro merito.

Regis nostrique regina
ora natum ut ruina
relaxetur debita,
et regnare fac renatos
a reatu expurgatos
pietate solita.

Reis ergo fac regina
Apud regem, ut ruina
Relaxentur debita;

1. Some sources have relaxetur. This extract is taken from the normal version of the text as printed in Lateinische Sequenzen des Mittelalters, ed. J. Kehrein (Mainz, 1873), no. 182.

The regular text of this sequence is widespread, the OH variant unique.¹

Some of the interpretations which have been put forward for the OH version seem quite unwarranted, and often fail to take into account the text from which it deviates. Dom Anselm Hughes suggests 'for whom pray that he may have a son' as a possible rendering of pro quo pete filium.² Andrew Hughes interprets carne gravi as a reference to Henry IV's long illness 'which often incapacitated him from 1406 onwards',³ when it is surely no more than a reference to the mortal state in general. I cannot agree with his view that the two texts of the motet refer to two different reigns and that 'the earlier verses probably lost their precise political meaning very quickly and were not fully understood even a few years later'. His translation of stanza 4 otherwise conveys the right sense. But for stanza 5 I suggest:

And, O Queen of our King [i.e., Mary], pray [thy] Son
with [thy] usual faithfulness, that the downfall due
[to us] may be alleviated and that, reborn and cleansed
from sin, [we] may reign [with thee in heaven].

1. Kehrein's text is specified for the Conception. He quotes Mone, who used only a 'Handschrift des Seminars zu Trient'. Kehrein also uses the 1511 Halberstadt Missal, which has relaxetur, and St Gall MS 546. According to Squire, 'Notes ...', the text occurs not in Mone, but besides OH in a Briggittine missal from which it is printed in A.de Balinghem, Parnassus Marianus (Douay, 1624) [p.353]. It is in F.J.Mone, Latéinische Hymnen des Mittelalters (1853-55), vol.II, p.317. According to Kehrein, the Trent source has a melody: so too does it in a Briggittine Liber cantus (C.U.L., Add.6668, f.47v). There are many minor variants, but one is universal: all sources except OH have verbum verbo, not verbo verbum.

2. Ramsbotham &c, OH, vol.III, p.xi.

3. 'Re-appraisal', pp.106-07.

Damett's whole motet could be interpreted as a song of welcome for somebody whom God has upheld ('Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord'¹), glossed in the middle part by a supplication to St George to preserve the peace now that England held the whip-hand over France, to preside over the treaty negotiations, and to warn Henry if his enemy started to re-arm; and glossed also, in the top part, by thanksgiving to Mary for deliverance, and a prayer for recovery - which is itself glossed with a plea that Henry should be immortalised.

Sturgeon's motet is simply votive to the virgin and contains no topical references, though it is linked by its tenor plainsong to the Damett motet. While the evidence is hardly strong enough to assert that these were the motets sung to welcome Henry, the Damett/Sturgeon pair could possibly be the Benedictus qui venit that the angels sang to him, and Cooke's rogationtide motet with one part beginning Christi miles could possibly be the miles Christi which the chronicler reports.

Cooke's motet might have been considered suitable because it addresses Henry as 'holy George, most brilliant of soldiers', who 'guards the realm of England', or even have had its text adapted to express these sentiments. A text survives beginning O Christi miles

1. See, for example, E.F.Jacob's interpretation of Henry's view of his own role; The Fifteenth Century (Oxford, 1961), pp.123-24.

inclyte (Chevalier, no.12796), but it continues: Joannes voce et opere. Another possible Miles Christi is a setting of a different text in the Selden manuscript. This is not addressed to St George, but is an antiphon of St Thomas of Lancaster (d.1322), as R.L.Greene has pointed out.¹

Harrison associates Alma proles and Salvatoris generally with Henry's campaigns.² Hughes dates Salvatoris c.1415, but on a questionable interpretation of the texts. Bukofzer suggested that the motets by Danett and Sturgeon, placed as they are in the middle of the Sanctus settings copied by the main scribe, 'can be regarded as elaborately troped settings of the Sanctus. In view of the kinship between trope and motet it is hardly a coincidence that both motets begin with the syllable Sa'.³ After the Sanctus was one of the places prescribed for polyphony.⁴ Either of these reasons may have influenced the placing of these motets in the manuscript, though the fact that there was room to insert them here (as the motets of gathering IX were inserted) is as likely.

Even if our motets were not sung in the streets, they catch much of the vocabulary and spirit common to accounts of the pageantry. The precise reporting of titles is something we might expect from an eye-witness, and it is ironical that they do not survive with the account

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1. 'TMMX', p.3. The setting is on ff.8v-9 of the Selden MS.
 2. MMB, pp.246-47.
 3. Studies, p.70.
 4. ... ad Missam post Sanctus poterunt organizare cum vocibus vel organis (MMB, p.111; see also pp.107-08).

of the Gesta chaplain. However, such details may have been supplied by a royal chaplain, perhaps by one involved in performing the music. It is possible, too, that if musical talent for occasional pieces was drawn into the royal chapel, writers of occasional verse were similarly on call.

The music of the second layer, then, was composed by 1419 or a little later, and from 1415 or a little earlier. How much earlier can only be a matter of speculation, built on to considerations of dating the first-layer music. It is not possible to say at what stage the motets occurred in the course of adding the second-layer music. The semininim forms have not been subject to alteration and may point to a relatively late stage. However, if the professional word scribe b was hired to copy all his texts in one consignment, this must have happened relatively early.

APPENDIX I TO CHAPTER VPayments to Sturgeon from the Windsor Treasurers' Rolls

(All call-numbers refer to documents in the Erary)

XV.34.41 (1441-42)

Johannes Howeden precentor

Corpora prebendarum ... Nicholaus Sturgeon xl s. ... in plenam solutionem corporum prebendarum suarum de toto tempore huius compoti, ut patet pro eorum indenturam super hunc compotum ostendum, visum et examinatum. ...

Et solutio domino Willelmo Buntemps nuper canonico, per manus domini Nicholai Sturgeon, in plenam solutionem cotidianarum suarum videlicet pro mensibus Julii, Augusti de anno xix et Septembris de anno xx, ut patet prout indenturam super hunc compotum ostendum, visum et examinatum, £4.12s. ...

Et solutio eidem domino Willelmo, per manus domini Nicholai, in plenam solutionem cotidianarum suarum videlicet a prima die Octobris anno xx^{mo} usque xx^{mo} diem Februarii eodem anno xx^{mo}, in quo die obiit dictus dominus Willelmus, ut patet pro indenturam super hunc compotum ostendum, visum et examinatum, £7.14d.

Et solutio Nicholao Sturgeon canonico, in partem solutionem xlvi s., pro cotidianis suis sibi a retro, ut patet in compoto Thesaurarii de anno xxi^{mo}, videlicet cum xii d. pro mense Februarii de anno xx^{mo}, xxi d. pro mense Aprilis de eodem anno xx^{mo}, et v s. pro mense Junii de eodem anno xx^{mo}, prout billam super hunc compotum ostendum, visum et examinatum, xxvii s. ...

Et xix s. debiti prefato domino Nicholao Sturgeon canonico de residuo dicte summe xlvi s., pro cotidianis suis sibi a retro, videlicet pro mensibus Julii et Augusti de anno xx^{mo}, Septembris de anno xxi: nichil computatur hic in allocatione quia nondum solvitur, ^{sed remanet} ad solven-

APPENDIX I TO CHAPTER VPayments to Sturgeon from the Windsor Treasurers' Rolls

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XV.34.41 (1441-42)

Johannes Howeden precentor
 Corpora prebendarum ... Nicholaus Sturgeon xl s. ... in plenam
 solutionem corporum prebendarum suarum de toto tempore huius compoti,
 ut patet pro eorum indenturam super hunc compotum ostendum, visum et
 examinatum. ...

Et solutio domino Willelmo Bontemps nuper canonico, per manus domini
 Nicholai Sturgeon, in plenam solutionem cotidianarum suarum videlicet
 pro mensibus Julii, Augusti de anno xix et Septembris de anno xx, ut
 patet prout indenturam super hunc compotum ostendum, visum et examina-
 tum, £4.12s. ...

Et solutio eidem domino Willelmo, per manus domini Nicholai, in plenam
 solutionem cotidianarum suarum videlicet a prima die Octobris anno xx^{mo}
 usque xx^{mo} diem Februarii eodem anno xx^{mo}, in quo die obiit dictus do-
 minus Willelmus, ut patet pro indenturam super hunc compotum ostendum,
 visum et examinatum, £7.14d.

Et solutio Nicholao Sturgeon canonico, in partem solutionem xlvi s.,
 pro cotidianis suis sibi a retro, ut patet in compoto Thesaurarii de
 anno xxi^{mo}, videlicet cum xii d. pro mense Februarii de anno xx^{mo},
 xxi d. pro mense Aprilis de eodem anno xx^{mo}, et v s. pro mense Junii
 de eodem anno xx^{mo}, prout billam super hunc compotum ostendum, visum
 et examinatum, xxvii s. ...

Et xix s. debiti prefato domino Nicholao Sturgeon canonico de residuo
 dicte summe xlvi s., pro cotidianis suis sibi a retro, videlicet pro
 mensibus Julii et Augusti de anno xx^{mo}, Septembris de anno xxi:
 nichil computatur hic in allocatione quia nondum solvitur, ^{sed remanet} ad solven-

fatum dominum Nicholaum et eundem dominum Johannem Thesaurarium inde facta et super hunc comptum ostendum, visum, probatum et debito modo examinatum. Et de lxiii s. v d. receptos de prefato domino Nicholao canonico et Senescallo dicti Collegii infra dictum tempore huius compti, ut pro redditum nuper a retro per Johannem Coryngham pro uno tenemente quo conducit nuper ad firmam infra villam de Wyndesore, de duandos super cotidianas eiusdem Johannis, ut patet infernis in titulo cotidianarum et pro probatione teste eiusdem Johannis.

XV.34.43 (1447-48)

Et solutio domino Nicholao Sturgeon canonico, in partem solutionem fix. xvi s. pro cotidianis suis sibi a retro, videlicet pro mensibus Octobris, Novembris, Decembris, Januarii, Februarii, Martii, Aprilis, Maii, Junii de anno xxiii^o per unam indenturam super hunc comptum ostendum, fvi. xii d.

Et lxxv s. debitos prefato domino Nicholao de residuo dicte summe fix. xvi s. pro cotidianis suis sibi a retro, videlicet pro mensibus Julii, Augusti de anno xxiiii^o, et Septembris de anno xxv^o, non computatur hic in allocatione quia nondum solvitur, sed remanet ad solvendum per manus Thesaurii in anno sequenti, ii^o.

Et lxxviii. iii s. debitos prefato domino Nicholao pro cotidianis suis sibi a retro, videlicet pro mensibus Octobris, Novembris, Decembris, Januarii, Februarii, Martii, Aprilis, Maii, Junii, Julii et Augusti de anno xxv^o et Septembris de anno xxvi^o, non computatur hic in allocatione quia nondum solvitur, sed remanet ad solvendum per manus Thesaurarii in anno sequenti, ii^o.

Et lvi. v s. debitos prefato domino Nicholao pro cotidianis suis sibi a retro, videlicet pro mensibus Octobris, Novembris, Decembris, Januarii, Februarii, Martii, Aprilis, Maii, Junii, Julii, Augusti et Septembris de toto tempore huius compti, non computatur hic in allocatione quia nondum solvitur, sed remanet ad solvendum per manus Thesaurii in anno sequenti, ii^o.

XV.34.45 (1450-51: the wording is as above)

lvi. v s.: Oct., Nov., Dec., Jan., Feb., Mar. de anno xxvi^o

lxiii s.: Apr., May, June, July, Aug. de anno xxvi^o, et Sept. de anno xxvii^o

ci s. : Oct. - Aug. de anno xxvii^o, et Sept. de anno xxviii^o

lvi. vi s.: Oct. - Aug. de anno xxviii^o, et Sept. de anno xxix^o

lvi. ii s.: Oct. - Aug. de anno xxix^o, et Sept. de anno xxx^o.

APPENDIX II TO CHAPTER VBirell's Will

In dei nomine amen ultimo die mensis Junii Anno millesimo cccc^{mo} xxxix Ego Johannes Birell clericus compos mentis & sane memorie cecido et ordino testamentum meum in hunc modum. In primis lego & commendo animam meam omnipotenti deo creatori mei eiusque genitrici marie virgini gloriose beato Johanni Apostolo & beato Christofero ac omnibus sanctis celestis curie corpusque meum ad sepeliendum in ecclesia cathedrale beati Petri Eboracum infra Insulam borealem ante ostium capelle beate Marie & sanctorum angelorum ibidem. Item lego cuilibet canonico infra dictam capellam existenti xii d et cuilibet capellano eiusdem viii d, et cuilibet diacono ibidem iij d. Item lego cuidam capellano idoneo & honesto pro anima mea celebratur in capella beate marie & sanctorum Angelorum supradicta per unum annum proximum post decessum meum viii marcas. et volo quod ille idem capellanus devote dicat qualiter septimana ter placebo dirige pro anima mea. Item lego aliis capellano idoneo & honesto pro anima mea patris & matris meorum ac omnium & singulorum parichianorum meorum in ecclesia de Gyllyng in Ridale & in cimiterio eiusdem requiescentium celebraturo per unum annum apud Gyllyng predicta proximum post decessum meum C s. Et volo quod ille idem capellanus devote dicat qualiter septimana ter placebo dirige pro anima mea & animabus supradictis. Item lego ad usum ecclesie parochialis de Gyllyng predicta unum manuale ad provisionem executorum meorum. Item lego domino Nicholo Bovey capellano unum salarium argenteum sine cooperculo Item lego ad usum ecclesie de Gyllyng predicte ad unum portiforium emendum vi s vii d Item lego Johanne uxori Ricardi Curlewe optimam meam togam preter meum principale & unam vaccam non obstantibus certis bonis & Jocalibus contentis & specificatis in quodam scripto dictis Ricardo & Johanne uxori sue per me prius facta prout in eodem scripto plenius poterit apparere quod quidam scriptum & omnia & singula in eodem contenta ratifico & confirmo per presentes Item lego Agneti filie predictorum Ricardi & Johanne unam vaccam Item lego Emme Lyndeley unam Invenculam Et volo quod omnes alie expense mee funerales fiant penes discrecionem & ordinacionem executorum meorum subscriptorum Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum superius non legatis do & lego executoribus meis ad disponendum

inde pro salute anime mee prout eis melius & salubrius crederint expedire Huius autem testamentum mei facio & ordino predicte Ricardum Curlewe & Johannam uxorem suam executores meos ad omniam emissa fideliter perimplendum Et insuper volo quod post fidelem applicacionem bonorum meorum & que sint que executores mei predicti emere velint quod ea habeant secundum precium eorundem pre omnibus aliis eius contradictione aliqua In cuius rei testimonium presentibus sigillum meum apposui datum Eboracum die & anno domini supradictis Et insuper volo & ordino dominum Johannem Appilton predictorum executorum meorum supervisorem.

Proved on 8 September of the same year.

in quibus venerabiles et Religiosi viri bone memorie dominus Thomas Chylynden quondam prior istius ecclesie et capitulum et ipsorum successores eidem magistro Johanni Forest et aliis coexecutoribus suis in eadem obligatione nominatis absque aliqua condiciones vel diffidencia eiusdem obligationis penes ecclesiam istum relicta habita vel optenta extiterant realiter obligati'.

In pleno capitulo dicte die et anno coram toto conventu huic ecclesie testatuebat et in manibus Willelmi Molassh' tunc prioris tradidit et graciosse reliberavit cuius rei gracia concessimus eidem magistro Johanni Forest quod sit particeps omnium beneficiorum que in coram nostram sicut improprium. Et cum dies obitus sui nobis inistuit ipsa die quisque sacerdos missam per eo celebrabit specialem ceteri viris inferioris ordinis spalinas dicant quinquaginta. Et nomen suis in martilogio nostro ascribetur ut dicetur obitus eius et obsequale quo animarum tacitetur et ut moris est ibidem ipsius anima absolvatur.

per priorem dompnum Sellyng Willelmus

[Willelmus is written in a different ink and apparently a different hand, giving it the appearance of a signature. Then follow a dozen or so further lines of writing which have been very thoroughly erased and do not respond to ultra-violet rays. In the middle of this passage, the words Johannem eidem have been avoided by the eraser, and the date 1429 can be detected in the erased portion.]

APPENDIX IV TO CHAPTER VA newly-discovered Dunstable motet

I have already suggested that Dunstable's motet Veni Sancte Spiritus may have been composed and copied into OH by about 1420.¹ The popularity which this piece now enjoys undoubtedly rests heavily on the assurance and maturity of its style; this is no tentative essay by an inexperienced composer. On purely musical grounds, there is a strong temptation to place this composition at a late stage in Dunstable's output as made known to us through Bukofzer's edition - Dunstable's output as known to the compilers of continental collections up to the middle of the century. The revised datings suggested for OH now bring this into question; hence the inclusion of this appendix. Are our musical judgments totally untrustworthy when it comes to dating? Is this not, after all, a relatively advanced work? Or did Dunstable's composing life come to an end quite soon after this date, perhaps by about 1430, leaving him a quarter of a century in which to consolidate his reputation as a mathematician and astronomer?

It is well known that Dunstable's music comes to us almost entirely through the filter of non-English scribes and of their processes of selection and editing. Now that Brian Trowell has identified the Kyries to the masses Rex seculorum, De gaudiorum

1. See pp.291, 296 above.

premia and Sine nomine (to be printed in the revised edition of Bukofzer, Dunstable), and that further English Kyries of the mid-15th century (noted in Bent, 'DDP') have come to light, it is quite plain that the English did, after all, write Kyries for their masses. The long Sarum tropes were rejected by the continental scribes, not by the English composers. The absence of Kyries from OH distorts the statistics of native Kyrie survival, and this is an added reason for suspecting that the original compilation may have included them.

In the meagre English survivals we can glimpse parts of the picture which have been submerged by continental filtering. The Kyries are one and perhaps the most important example. The survival abroad, and almost the only survival, of Dunstable's works is another. If those of his works which crossed the channel and found their way into continental manuscripts are related to the apparent date of Veni Sancte Spiritus, and if Dunstable's style is not thereafter to be branded static and retrogressive, we must consider the possibility that the market for his music, or the channels of communicating it, dried up by about 1430. This does seem unlikely if, as is generally assumed, he was at this time enjoying the patronage of the Duke of Bedford at one of the most prestigious periods of the latter's career. But we have no evidence to confirm this association.

We do know, however, that Dunstable's music remained in favour in England after his death. The only musical evidence of

this continuing esteem survives in the isolated Kyrie tenor in Lansdowne 462 and the textless puzzle canon in Henry VIII's book, presumably included for its cleverness. The esteem had turned sour by 1597, when Morley ridiculed a setting of Nesciens mater by Dunstable which has not survived, but to which Morley presumably had access. But the portion of tenor which Morley quotes offers us nothing new by way of insight into Dunstable's later style; it could well be from an early work. More to the point is the presence of 'Dunstabylls Exultavit' in a set of part-books containing contemporary music listed in an inventory of 1529 from King's College, Cambridge,¹ and the presence of a five-part motet, Gaude flore virginali, in the Eton choirbook. Dunstable is given as the composer in the index: the music has not survived.² Very few of Dunstable's surviving works could have remained in favour at such a late date. The lost Magnificat was in a set of six part-books, which does not prove that it was in six parts; but certainly we have no surviving music of his comparable to the five-part Gaude with a range of 21 notes lost from Eton. The Eton music is very much a native repertory, and the continental dissemination of English music had certainly slowed down by the time of Frye. Later music by Dunstable may still lurk anonymously in continental sources, but a new English source has turned up with an ascription to him.

1. See NMB, pp. 332-33.

2. But see Bent, 'DDP'.

This is B.N., Add.54324, a set of six paper leaves recently removed from the Stourton Psalter and described in 'DDP'. The date of this fragmentary source is about 1475. The two parts attributed to Dunstable which it contains are fortunately complemented by a single parchment leaf of earlier date, removed from a will register of the Consistory Court of Canterbury (PRC 32/1), whose documents were at Christ Church, Canterbury before the abolition of ecclesiastical probate courts in 1857. It is now marked f.20 in a bundle of separate leaves marked PRC 49.

This is Dunstable's only surviving non-isorhythmic motet in four parts. Though clearly later in date than the remainder of his known output, the ascription to him is wholly credible, with its long fluid vocal lines, constant displacement of accent, avoidance of rhythmic tautology, triadic exploitation and declamation (note especially the handling of feverters). The tenor is marginally slower-moving than the other parts, but the amount of movement is fairly evenly distributed between the parts. The piece has a high content - about 50% - of overlapped duet writing. The first six notes of the top part are those of the plainsong Descendi in ortum meum: the remainder suggests a free paraphrase, but uses a narrower range. The motet is transcribed on the following pages.

De-
De-

scen-
scen-
[De-] scen-

10

15 323

De-scen-

20 # di in or- tum 25

di in or- tum me-

in or-

di in or-

me- um, ut vi- 30

um, ut vi-

tum me- um,

35 324

de-
de-
rem
[vi-] de-

40

rem
po- ma con- val-
rem po- ma con- val-

45

[conval-] li-
li-
con-

50 325

um, et in-
um, et in-spi-ce-rem
um, et
val-li-um, et

55

spi-ce-rem si flo-ru-is-sent vi-
si flo-ru-is-
in-spi-ce-rem si flo-ru-is-
in-spi-ce-rem

60

ne-e et ger-mi-nas-
sent et ger-mi-
sent et ger-mi-
si flo-ru-is-

65
 sent ma-la pu-ni-
 nas- sent ma-la
 nas- sent ma-la pu-
 sent et ger-mi-nas-

70
 ca; re-ver-te-re su-na-mi-
 pu-ni-ca re-ver-te-re, re-ver-te-re, su-na-mi-
 ni-ca re-ver-te-re su-na-mi-
 sent su-na-

75 90
 tis; re-ver-te-re, ut
 tis; re-ver-te-re, re-ver-te-re,
 tis re-ver-te-re, ut
 mi-tis

in- tu- e- a-

in- tu- e- a-

nt

nt

90

in- tu- e- a- mur

mur

in- tu- e- a- mur

95

mur

30

te.
te.
te.
te.

The image shows a musical score for four voices: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The score is written on four staves. The lyrics 'te.' are written below each staff. The music is in a medieval style, using square notes on a four-line staff. The Soprano part starts with a treble clef and a sharp sign. The Alto part starts with a C-clef. The Tenor part starts with a C-clef. The Bass part starts with a bass clef. The score is divided into two systems by a vertical bar line. The first system contains the first three measures of music, and the second system contains the next three measures. The lyrics 'te.' are repeated under each staff in both systems.

London, B.M., Add.54324, f.3, Dunstaple, ii and iii only, void notation
 Maidstone, Kent, County Archives Office, PRC 49, f.20v, i and iv only,
 black notation

All parts of this Marian antiphon are incomplete, though the gaps are short enough to warrant reconstruction. There is no overlap or duplication between the two sources, whose conflict at certain crucial points (e.g. bars 48, 53, 56, 63) may indicate that they represent incompatible variant readings. Both manuscripts are badly defaced (Maidstone the more so), and the interpretation of individual parts must often lean heavily on solution of the others (for example, as to whether a vertical stroke is a rest or a note-stem).

i: 18.3-5, note-heads only/ 27.5, later changed to two semiminims f e/
 44.1, #/ 46.2-3, stems only/ 57.5 h/ 91.2-4, changed from minim, semi-
 breve, two minims f d c b/
 ii: 43-46, badly defaced/ 47.1, stem only/ 50-53, note-heads only/ 75.2,
 breve with fermata/
 iii: 34.2, stem only/ 53.1-2, stem added later/
 iv: 1-14, breve rest too many; also at 30-42/ 57-63, floruerunt/ 90.2,d.

APPENDIX V TO CHAPTER VStella celi

This antiphon, a supplication for relief from plague, occupied no official place in the service books of the principal rites. The melodies which do survive for it, and the polyphonic settings of the text, show clearly that no one tune was associated with it. The available plainsongs were probably composed in the centuries - 15th, 16th and 17th - from which they survive. There is only one source for each melody and for each polyphonic setting. None of the plainsongs is used in any of the polyphonic settings, some of which are probably based on yet other melodies.

Solange Corbin discusses continental sources of Stella celi in her Essai sur la musique religieuse portugaise au moyen[^]age (Paris, 1952), pp.374-78. She quotes in full a plainsong

- 1) from a Braga MS, the Antiphoner no.5 of the Museo Machado de Castro at Coimbra, and refers to another melody
- 2) in Nunes da Silva, Summa da Arte de Canto-chaõ (Lisbon, 1685), p.31. Two other plainsongs, pointed out to me by Mother Thomas More, survive
- 3) in a 15th-century Liber Cantus (C.U.L., Add.6668, ff.112-12v) and
- 4) in a 15th/16th-century Dutch choirbook, possibly of Augustinian use (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam MS 46, ff.152v-53v). Another melody

- 5) forms the tenor cantus firmus of a four-part setting in Florence, Panc.27, ff.69v-70 (not f.63v, as Professor Corbin states), kindly transcribed for me by Jeremy Noble. The intonation Stella celi, however, has the clef of the top part.


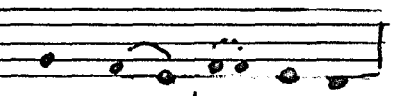
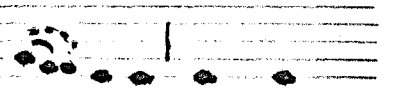

The five melodies are given on pp. 331-33.

None of these plainsongs bears any clear relationship to any of the polyphonic settings listed below, though there are some striking resemblances. The melodic contour d-a-c, for example, occurs in the earlier of the Cambridge plainsongs, in the Lansdowne tenor, and in the tenors of the Trent and Prague settings.

The text is found in the printed Sarum Hours, and quite frequently in manuscript Hours of earlier date (e.g., Fitzwilliam MSS 268 and 375). A roughly chronological division can be made between texts which do not include the last three invocations and those which do. In the earlier category (ending at dire mortis ulcere) come the oldest verbal text used by Solange Corbin - that found in the Book of Hours written for Charles of Orleans during his English captivity, c.1420 (Paris, B.N. MS lat.1196, f.231v), the earlier Cambridge plainsong, and the OH and Christ Church settings listed below:

Stella celi extirpavit	Ipsa stella nunc dignetur
que lactavit dominum	sidera comescere
mortis pestem quam plantavit	quorum bella plebem cedunt
primus parens hominum.	dire mortis ulcere.

1 |  stella celi extirpa- vit que lacta- vit dominum,
 mortis pestem quam plantavit primus parens hominum.
 Ipsa stella nunc dignetur sidera compescere, quorum
 bella plebem cedunt dira mala ulcere. O pi-issima
 maris stella a peste succurre nobis. Audi nos
 domina nam Filius tuus nihil negans te honorat.
 Sal-va nos Jesu pro quibus virgo mater te orat.

2 |  Stella caeli extirpavit que lactavit Do- mi-num
 mortis pestem, quam plantavit primus parens hominum.
 Ipsa stella nunc dignetur sydera compescere, quorum
 bella plebem caedunt dirae mortis ulcere. O piissima


 Stella maris, a peste succurrere^[sic] nobis. Audi nos Domina


 nam Filius tuus nihil ne- gans te honorat. Salva


 nos Jesu, pro quibus Virgo Mater te o- rat.


 3 Stel-la celi extirpa- vit que lacta- vit do- mi-


 num, mortis pestem quam plantavit primus pa- rens


 ho- mi-num. Ipsa stella nunc dignetur sidera com-


 pescere, quorum bella plebem cedunt di-re


 mor-tis ul- ce-re.


 4 Stella celi exstirpavit que lactavit dominum


 mortis pestem quam plantavit primus parens ho- minum


 Ipsa stella nunc digne- tur sidera compescere quorum

333

bella plebem cedunt dire mortis ulcere. O piissima
 stella maris a peste succure nobis Au-di nos
 Domina nam te filius nihil negans honorat
 salva nos Jesu pro quibus vir-go mater te o-rat.

5 | *Stella celi* [first staff only. No text underlaid]

Incipit of textless piece by Frye: see p.337.

In the later group, together with the three later plainsongs, come settings c) - g) below, and nearly all surviving copies of the text alone, one of which is printed in AH (vol. XXXI, p. 210, = Chevalier no. 19438). The main text given in AH, however, has the two above verses and four others beginning respectively: Virga Jesse; Ipsa virgo; Mater Dei; Ipsa mater. The editors note that the first two verses appear without the others in a manuscript of the sisters of St Clare from Portugal - interesting in view of the Portuguese and Briggittine connections of this version. Barclay Squire tracked down the OH version 'with three more verses' to the Officium Rakocsianum (Styrae, 1732).¹

More relevant to us are the three lines following v.2 quoted by AH from a Roman Breviary (Antwerp, 1734):

O piissima stella maris, a peste succurre nobis,
Audi nos domina nam filius tuus nihil negans te honorat.
Salva nos Jesu pro quibus virgo mater te orat.

This agrees with the Braga and Nunes da Silva texts. Sources of continental origin which include these final lines appear to be unanimous in starting them O piissima, while English sources give O gloriosa and a different version of the second line:

O gloriosa stella maris, a peste succurre nobis
Audi nos nam te filius nihil negans honorat.
Salva nos Jesu pro quibus virgo mater te orat.

Other, minor, variants show a less consistent pattern. Professor Corbin's speculation that 'le livre d'heures de Charles d'Orléans

1. 'Notes ...', p. 351, quoting Danko, Vetus Hymnarium Ecclesiasticum Hungariae (Buda Pesth, 1893).

represente-t-il une tradition anglaise primitive?' is strongly supported by the precedence of the English version ending at ulcere, by archival references to the use of this antiphon (see MMB, p.85, for late 15th-century examples) and by musical settings of the text in English sources of the 15th and early 16th centuries, listed here:

- a) OH, f.40v, setting by Cooke in descant style in score, a3.
- b) Oxford, Christ Church, Okes 253, two parts from a setting in at least three parts.
- c) B.M., MS Lansdowne 462, f.152v, isolated mensural tenor part. (This setting is unique in incorporating an Alleluia after ulcere.)
- d) Eton Choirbook, opening v4-5, setting by Walter Lambe, a4.
- e) Ritson MS (B.M., Add.5665), ff.3v-4, anonymous setting a3.
- f) Ritson MS, ff.64v-65, setting by Sir William Hawte, a3.

g) B.M., MS Royal Appendix 58, ff.26-26v, isolated medius part.

h) Baldwin MS (B.M., Royal 24.d.2), ff. 161v-162, setting a3 by Mr John Thorne ^{of} York.

i)

Baldwin MS, ff.162v-164, setting a3 by Cooper.

It may be no more than coincidence that the Selden setting

of Miles Christi (sup. 309 above, in connection with Cooke's setting of Christi miles) arouses suspicions of textual relationship with Stella celi (set by Cooke in OH):

Miles Christi gloriose
 laus spes tutor anglie
 fac discordes graciose
 reduci concordie
 noster natur plebs clamorse
 dire mortis vulnere.

This is two lines shorter, though the scansion is the same. Miles

Christi has the intonation c d c d e e.

There are several settings in continental sources, including the anonymous Florence one mentioned above, and a five-part setting by Piero da Lodi.¹

Two other 15th-century settings from continental sources should be mentioned here. One is a setting a4 in Trent 88, ff. 11v-13 (anonymous, but see below). The other is a setting a3 of

[N/V]obis iustat carminis odas laudibus armonias unilita
symphonisate Nam ylantis choros laudibus angelicis usque
sidera ascendit virgo maria in hac sacra solempnitate
potius uclis (?) nos concaudio /-it.

This text is underlaid to discant and tenor, and the setting is in Prague, Strahov, D.G.IV.47, pp.471-72 (ff.236v-37). At the end of the tenor part, the words of Stella celi (down to ulcere) have been copied. It is unclear whether this is intended as a second verse, as it does not match the above in length or metre. The placing after the tenor part may suggest that the text in some way belonged to the tenor more closely than to the other parts. Indeed, the similarities between the tenors of the Trent and Prague settings are too close for coincidence, though there is some rearrangement of motives. The Trent tenor is itself identical in pitch with that of Walter Frye's chanson So ys emprentid, as Bukofzer suggested,² in addition to sharing features with other Stella celi melodies. This surely invites speculation on the sacred or secular origins of Frye's tenor. Could this be yet another case of contrafactum?³ The style

1. See K. Jeppesen, Die mehrstimmigen Italienische Laude um 1500 (Leipzig, 1935), pp.60-61 (with music example).

2. NOHN, p.132.

3. See S.W. Kenney, 'Contrafacta'.

of the Trent motet by no means precludes attribution to Frye, but Miss Kenney does not consider it in her collected edition of this composer. Yet she includes Salve virgo mater on only marginally stronger evidence.¹

She also omits a two-part textless piece in Strahov, D.G. IV.47, p.489 (f.245v) ascribed to Walterus Frye, whose opening is given above at the foot of p.333. Two further sources of Frye's Ave Regina, not noted by Miss Kenney, were pointed out to me by Professor Dart. One was painted on the ceiling of an oratory in 1480 for the d'Harcourt family, and has particular interest as a dated source.² The other is a Hungarian source; Kassa, Dominican Library, Incunab.III.36.³

The Trent Stella celi is transcribed in the following pages. The manuscript, apart from being hard of access, is badly damp-stained, and it is not possible to produce a reliable version from microfilm; I was able to use the manuscript itself for the following. Musically, the affinity with Frye's known works is striking, not to mention the similarity of its duet writing to the new Strahov piece. Textually, it is odd, and may even carry signs of the text being a later addition

1. Walter Frye, Collected Works, ed. Sylvia W.Kenney (Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, vol.19; Rome, 1960).

2. See Micheline de Grandmaison, 'Montreuil-Bellay, a great Anjou border castle', The Connoisseur, vol.CLXIII (1966), pp.72-76, including a facsimile of the music on p.75.

3. See Musica Antiqua Europae Orientalis, vol.1, ed. Z.Lissa (Warsaw, 1966). Bars 1-38 are transcribed on pp.232-34, and there is a facsimile on p.233.

to existing music. Note the declamation without words at dominum, and the uneven distribution of text which gives only twelve bars to the last two lines of text, while the first two had forty. This may be because the music of cedunt (bar 122) offered a ready-made opportunity for word-painting, for the sake of which it was worth squashing the end of the text.

The tenor has the notes of the tenor of Se ys emprentid (in a different rhythm) as follows:

A	bars 13-39
B	bars 40-79
A	bars 80-128.

Notes:

- i: 1-12, 6 longs rest/ 64.2-3, e f /
- ii: 1-12, 6 longs rest/ 62 minim rest, not semibreve/ 102-115, 7 longs rest/
- iii: 41.2, stem erased from semibreve/ 39.2, dot erased after semibreve/ 72.1 g/ 102-115, 7 longs rest/
- iv: 56.4, f/ 95.2-3, c b.

Stel- la ce-

The first system of music consists of two staves. The upper staff is a vocal line in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 6/8 time signature. It contains the lyrics "Stel- la ce-". The lower staff is a piano accompaniment in treble clef. The system concludes with a double bar line.

The second system of music consists of two staves. The upper staff is a vocal line in treble clef. The lower staff is a piano accompaniment in treble clef. The system concludes with a double bar line.

li ex-tir-

The third system of music consists of two staves. The upper staff is a vocal line in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 6/8 time signature. It contains the lyrics "li ex-tir-". The lower staff is a piano accompaniment in treble clef. The system concludes with a double bar line.

The fourth system of music consists of two staves. The upper staff is a piano accompaniment in treble clef. The lower staff is a piano accompaniment in bass clef. The system concludes with a double bar line.

20

The fifth system of music consists of four staves. The upper staff is a piano accompaniment in treble clef. The second staff is a piano accompaniment in treble clef. The third staff is a piano accompaniment in treble clef. The lower staff is a piano accompaniment in bass clef. The system concludes with a double bar line.

25 340

pa- vit que lac-ta-

30 35

vit do-

40

mi- num

Handwritten musical score for a vocal piece, featuring three systems of staves. The lyrics are: "mor-", "tis pes-", and "tem quam plan-". The score includes treble and bass clefs, various musical notations, and measure numbers 45, 50, and 55.

System 1 (Measures 45-49):
Vocal line: *mor-*
Measure numbers: 45, 341

System 2 (Measures 50-54):
Vocal line: *tis pes-*
Measure number: 50

System 3 (Measures 55-59):
Vocal line: *tem quam plan-*
Measure number: 55

60 342

65

ta- vit pri-

70

mus pa- rens

Detailed description: This is a page of handwritten musical notation, likely for a vocal or instrumental piece. The page is divided into three systems, each containing four staves. The first system (measures 60-64) shows a vocal line with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The second system (measures 65-69) includes the lyrics 'ta- vit pri-' under the vocal line. The third system (measures 70-74) includes the lyrics 'mus pa- rens' under the vocal line. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and dynamic markings. The page number '342' is in the top right corner.

ho-

Musical score for measures 75-79. The system consists of four staves: vocal line, piano right hand, piano left hand, and bass line. The vocal line has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics "ho-" are written under the first measure. Measure 75 is marked with a double bar line and a repeat sign. Measure 79 ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

mi- num. *pp*

Musical score for measures 80-84. The system consists of four staves: vocal line, piano right hand, piano left hand, and bass line. The lyrics "mi- num." are written under the first measure, and "*pp*" is written under the second measure. Measure 80 is marked with a double bar line and a repeat sign. Measure 84 ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

sa stel-

Musical score for measures 85-89. The system consists of four staves: vocal line, piano right hand, piano left hand, and bass line. The lyrics "sa stel-" are written under the first measure. Measure 85 is marked with a double bar line and a repeat sign. Measure 89 ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

90

la

Musical score for measures 90-94. It consists of four staves: vocal line, piano accompaniment (right hand), piano accompaniment (left hand), and a bass line. The vocal line begins with the syllable 'la'. The piano accompaniment features a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes.

95

nunc dig-ne-

Musical score for measures 95-99. It consists of four staves. The vocal line continues with the syllable 'nunc dig-ne-'. The piano accompaniment continues with a similar rhythmic pattern.

100

tur

si-

de-

tacent

Musical score for measures 100-104. It consists of four staves. The vocal line continues with the syllables 'tur si- de-'. The piano accompaniment continues with a similar rhythmic pattern. The word 'tacent' is written below the piano accompaniment staves.

105 345
com-pe-

110 115
sce-re

120
quo-rum bel-la plebem ce-

125
dunt di-re mor-tis ul-ce-re.

CHAPTER VI

When was the original compilation of OH begun? For what patron or institution was it undertaken? When and why was it interrupted? These are perhaps the most material questions of all, but answers are not yet forthcoming. The quest was not entirely barren; hence the existence of this chapter. The rewards are those of the journey rather than of the destination.

OH has no conclusive links with any specific place. Given the failure of some early scholars to isolate the main body of the manuscript from the later additions by royal chaplains and others, and the perennial confusion between St George's Chapel, Windsor and the royal household chapel, the mantle fell easily and conveniently upon the latter as the instigator of the collection and its original provenance. And why not? Until details of scribes and gatherings were sorted out, there was no reason to suspect interruption of the kind I have demonstrated, no reason to posit a change of destination between the work of scribe A and the use of the manuscript in Henry V's chapel. From regarding OH as the commissioned repertory of a single institution, it was a short and slippery step to speak of the composers belonging to that institution. The music has been described in such terms as 'a sample of what one great musical institution could produce from among its own members' and 'the local homespun of the

chapel royal'.¹ As well as misunderstanding the nature of the chapel royal, Bukofzer fails to take Ramsbotham's separation of the scribal layers into account when he writes that OH was 'used side by side by the composers of the Chapel Royal',² and takes over Barclay Squire's view that Damett and Sturgeon were closely associated with the original compilation. Harrison acknowledges the separation of the layers but still writes that OH was 'Written for the Royal Household Chapel'.³ Composers 'of' the chapel royal are hard to assemble from first-layer names; the sole link between OH and the chapel royal is through the composers of the second layer. It would be reasonable to project this association back to the first layer, despite the absence of composer identifications, but for the nature of the interruption between the layers, which suggests a change of destination.

Dom Anselm Hughes's rather parochial view of the repertory has gradually been eroded by discoveries in two areas: some biographical information about first-layer composers, with a negative return from chapel royal accounts, and the emergence of English concordances from different parts of the country, helping to define OH as a national, not merely a local repertory.

Concordances

Concordances to both layers of the manuscript will be dealt with here, because the different patterns they form afford constructive comparison. It is unnecessary to dwell at length upon the musical gain;

1. Ramsbotham &c, OH, vol.I, p.xii.
2. Bukofzer, Studies, p.74.
3. NOHM, p.101.

seven more pieces can be completed, and some of the variants are of substantial interest. The first concordances to be noted, by Barclay Squire and Bessler, were all in continental manuscripts. English concordances discovered by Bukofzer and Dom Anselm Hughes were included in the list published by Bukofzer in 1951, but continental sources were still predominant.¹ His total of thirty concordances distributed amongst twenty pieces can now be raised to forty-three concordances in twenty-seven pieces. Only two of the recent discoveries are continental concordances, and they are to pieces already surviving abroad.

The most striking increase is in the number of English concordances to the first layer of OH. It can no longer be reckoned an isolated survival of English music of the period around 1400. As fragments re-emerge from bindings to testify to the existence of other manuscripts, it becomes plain that they are offering us different facets of the same repertory that we know from OH. And because these fragments can often be anchored to one part of the country (when they have been used for the near-contemporary binding of local records), and shown (from composers' names) to have a locally biased repertory, we are forced to concede that OH, with no one local bias, lacks any signs of anchorage to a single place.

There are still only five sources containing English

1. Studies, pp.38-39.

concordances to the first layer, and they range in size from six leaves down to a single leaf. However, if we add to these the few other leaves containing music which falls within the style range covered by the first layer of OH, we find that there is roughly one concordance for every two surviving leaves - an amazingly high incidence. If the manuscripts to which these fragments once belonged had survived complete, and if OH itself had survived complete (what we have amounts to about three-quarters of what the original scribe actually wrote, and only two-thirds of his planned repertory), then we could expect to find virtually the whole repertory reduplicated several times over. This rate of duplication places a firm limit on the size of the total corpus of English music at this crucial and little-charted stage in its development. OH apparently preserves a representative selection of this total corpus, and quite a high proportion of it. Pertinently, there is no stylistic overlap with the music of the Worcester fragments, nor have any OH concordances yet turned up in sources which have concordances with the Worcester music. Not all the styles represented in OH have concordances; none of the canonic pieces, or pieces in more than four parts, are known from other sources. It could be that some styles, even some composers, were uniquely associated with OH.

The music of the original layer was composed, probably, over a period of some forty years. This is a generally accepted judgment, made on stylistic grounds. But it is strikingly reflected

in the distribution of the music among the sources containing concordances. Squares will now be excluded: although they give important clues about the later distribution of certain pieces, being isolated parts extracted from polyphony, they are not in themselves relevant to primary chronology.¹ This leaves sixteen first-layer pieces sharing twenty-three concordances and eight second-layer pieces sharing fifteen concordances. Styles can be distinguished chronologically in the first layer, and this is shown in the different columns of the following table. The datings are approximate, and convey a relative chronological framework, the whole of which may have to be shifted when further firm datings are known. The suggested date structure rests mainly on paleographical estimates of the manuscripts concerned, and reasonable life-spans for composers. Brief characterisations of the styles covered by each column follow:

1370-1390: simple English descant, in score, homophonic, moving mainly in breves and semibreves. C or O is usually implied, though a mensuration sign is never given at the beginning. A change of signature is rare.

1380-1400: choirbook layout, music in three or four parts, more often four. Lower parts are slow-moving, often isorhythmic. Again, no mensuration sign appears at the beginning; C or C is usually implied. The mensuration and rhythms resemble Machaut, and coloration is exceptional, as it is in the works of Machaut. (In this group it is confined to the contratenor of 90.)

1. Mother Thomas More and I plan to pool our recently-discovered material on squares to produce a monograph on the subject.

Concordances to the first layer

Approximate date of music	1370-1390	1380-1400	1390-1420	1400-1410	1405-1415
Pieces with conc. No. of conc.	5 7	4 5	1 1	3 6	3 4
Sources containing conc., followed by OH numbers contained * = English source.	*BodL:47, 101 *LoF: 101, 129, 134 *LoN: 131, 134	*P: 89 *LoF: 29, 34 (bis), 90	*Y: 50	BL: 31, 33, 83 MuEm: 33 WarU: 33 Pad: 33	As: 17, 116, 140 Trent 87: 116
Composers	all anon., in all sources	all conc. are preserved anon. Rowland (29) and Pennard (89) are named in OH while 34 & 90 are incomplete in OH and might have been ascr.	Rytering (OH only)	31 ascr. to Gervays in OH & BL. 83 ascr. to Leonel in OH de Anglia in BL. 33 ascr. to Zacar in all except OH (where incomplete & might have been ascr.) and WarU.	Rytering (17, OH only); Leonel (116, OH only); 140 anon both sources (OH in complete), but probably by Leonel (pair to 116).
conc. = concordances ascr. = ascribed					
Ff. 37 and 38 of MuEm, containing Zacar's Gloria 33, are now missing from the MS, which was rebound in January 1966.					

1390-1410: more advanced descant, using shorter note-values, often in C or O, with mensuration sign often indicated and liable to change during the piece. Coloration is often present.

1400-1415: choirbook lay-out, in three parts, usually in C or O time with near-equal movement between parts. Also pieces with a faster top part, C tending to give way to O time (doubled values); with complex proportions, much longer phrases and less dissonance.

All the concordances listed in the first three columns of the preceding table are anonymous, and all except LoW are smaller in format than OH. Insofar as the size of a musical manuscript reflects its date at this period, this means that most of the first-layer concordances are older than OH itself, anonymous preservation also symptomising 14th-century practice. This also confirms the paleographical evidence: while the music was composed over a relatively extended period of time, the copying took place in a much shorter span at the end of the period of composition.

The second-layer music was composed within a much more limited period of time and, unlike the first-layer music, was apparently copied into OH fairly soon after composition. The columns in the following table, then, represent not chronological differences but the distinction between chapel royal and non-royal composers. This corresponds to a striking separation of English

Concordances to the second layer

Chapel royal composers	anon.	non-royal composers
<p>Of 25 pieces by these men, 3 have concordances (1 each)</p> <p>*OUC: 93, 72 *CUL: 92</p>	<p>1 piece with 3 concordances</p> <p>*OUC: 74 Trent 90,93: 74 bis</p>	<p>All 4 pieces in this category have concordances & 9 between them.</p> <p>ModB: 66, 67, 68 Ac: 66, 73 Trent 92,90,93: 66, 67 bis Mul: 66</p>
<p>Cooks (92, OH only) Danett (93, both sources) Danett (72, OH only)</p> <p>* = English. OUC and CUL belonged to the same manuscript (see Bukofzer, 'Changing Aspects' so that the concordances of the royal chaplains' compositions are confined to a single English source. 92 and 72 survive incompletely in their concor- dances and may have had ascrip- tions to their composers.</p>	<p>anon. in all sources, but probably by Forest (see p. 153), and therefore belonging to the non-royal group.</p>	<p>66 ascribed to Dunstable in ModB, Trent, Ac. 67 & 68 ascribed to Forest in OH, 67 to Plummer, 68 to Dunstable in ModB. 73 ascribed to Leonel, OH only.</p>

from continental sources containing concordances: only one anonymous piece [Forest] has both an English and a continental concordance.

No first-layer piece with an English concordance, or within the style range of the pieces which do have English concordances, has turned up abroad; nor do any of the English sources containing concordances to the first layer of OH have any continental concordances. All music notated in score falls within this statement; so too do all the isorhythmic pieces in OH except Dunstable's second-layer Veni Sancte Spiritus (66). This may suggest that the more flexible and varied isorhythmic structures used by English composers before Dunstable's classic form was established, were unacceptable abroad, although present to a slight extent in Sub Arturo plebs. Later English sources do have continental concordances. No first-layer piece with a continental concordance has yet turned up in an English manuscript apart from OH; but since their presence in OH is evidence that they were available to at least one English scribe, this is probably fortuitous. Also, it is safer to base predictions on the presence or absence of music in the larger continental sources than in the scanty (and not fully representative) English survivals.

No concordances have yet appeared between pieces in any English fragments which cover the date and style range of the first-layer repertory, except where they also share that concordance with OH. However, a fragment preserved at Stratford,¹

1. Willoughby de Broke Collection (Item 1744).

roughly contemporary with OH, preserves two pieces which are relevant here. Both are incomplete. One is a Credo, ascribed to Picart, in a style very close to that of Pycard's OH contributions, though it cannot be directly linked to any of them. The other is an anonymous Credo which follows the style and design of Rowland's Gloria in OH (29) so closely that he may be the composer of the Credo. The two movements at least rate as a possible pairing. Rowland's Gloria is also in LoF. Bukofzer pointed out a musical link between Pennard's Credo (OH 89) and an anonymous Gloria in LoF, assigning the Gloria to Pennard on these grounds.¹ The Pennard Credo, too, has a concordance.

The English concordances to OH's first layer furnish approximate chronological anchorage in the late 14th century. While we cannot be sure of their provenance, their use in bindings at a fairly early stage at least gives us more clues than does OH, the all-but-complete source. LoF was removed from the binding of a memorandum book of Fountains Abbey relating to the period 1446-60.² LoW was removed from the binding of a Legendae ad Usum Sarum (printed for Caxton in Paris, 1488) from St Mary's Warwick. BodD was used to bind deeds at St Mary's Priory, Daventry,³ and Y was taken from the binding of an Act Book of the Consistory Court of York for 1563-65.

1. Bukofzer, Studies, p.107.
2. ibid., p.87.
3. Hughes, 'New Sources', p.171.

The present whereabouts of P is unknown. The concordance was noted by Harrison,¹ but despite Dr Harrison's kind reply to my query, and despite subsequent exhaustive enquiries on both sides of the Atlantic by Andrew Hughes and myself, the leaf seems to have gone underground. I have not seen it, and know nothing about its provenance.

It seems that only English music later than c.1400 eventually found its way into continental sources.² Of columns 4 and 5 on p.354 the former, representing stylistically earlier music, has concordances in the earliest of the north Italian manuscripts, BL, in addition to later copies of one of these pieces irrelevant to dating. The slightly later styles of column 5 have concordances in the middle generation of Italian sources (in this case, Aosta and Trent 87). The second-layer music with continental concordances has them also in the later Trent manuscripts and in ModB.

The first-layer music, duplicated in English sources earlier than or just contemporary with OH itself, and in continental sources slightly later than OH, is a selection from the overall English repertory of the time. It is not an attempt at a complete assemblage since it exhibits both exclusion (of certain styles) and limitation (e.g., of the number of Sanctus settings on each plainsong to one or two, and of the total number of isorhythmic motets). As to the second-layer music, OH is marginally earlier than its English concordances in the fair-copy manuscript CUL/OUU (see p.353), and is represented in the middle and later generation of continental sources. This pattern of concordance

1. MGG, s.v. Old Hall-Manuskript.

2. Sub Arturo plebs, once again, being an exception.

distribution anchors the dating of musical styles to the physical chronology of manuscripts.

Absence of musical datings

None of the first-layer motets can be placed or dated convincingly. There are no strong grounds for associating any of them with specific occasions, or even for seeking specific dates. It is just possible that in some cases a missing part may have carried topical references, but nothing now surviving points to an occasion more special than the feast-day of the saint addressed. The music sung by the English at the Council of Constance on the feast of St Thomas might have included the OH motet Carbunculus ignitus lilie (143), but there are no grounds for supposing that it was written that late or for that purpose.¹

Bukofzer linked Byttering's En Katerine (145) with the wedding of Henry and Catherine in 1420,² but in view of the second-layer dates this is clearly too late for a first-layer piece. A wedding motet, an occasional piece, would surely have included a mention of Henry in one of its texts, if not a whole text in his honour. The second text of this piece, Virginalis confio, was certainly not newly-composed.³ It is the tenor, sponsus amat

1. For the chronicle account of this occasion, see Harrison, MME, p.243.

2. Studies, p.71.

3. It occurs in a 14th-century Durham manuscript. See F.Ll. Harrison, 'Ars nova in England: a new source', MD, vol.XXI (1967).

sponsam, which has given rise to suggestions that this is a wedding motet. The OH scribe gives it a misogynous turn by writing sponsus amat sponsum. Andrew Hughes makes some suggestions,¹ and to these I would add that on 8 May 1402 Henry gave his assent in London to a proposed marriage between himself and Catherine, sister of the young king Eric of Denmark.² It is surely going too far to suggest occasions of this kind. Hughes and I are in agreement that no occasion other than the saint's day need be sought.

Composers of the first layer

Almost none can be identified confidently, either with names from archives or with composers named in other manuscripts. Byttering, Fonteyns, Gervays, Lambe, Mayshuet, Pycard, Queldryk, Rowland and Swynford are given no initial in OH or by concordance. Zacar, named only in concordant sources, has no initial. Oliver (on f.45v) and Pennard (on f.76v) may have had an initial in each of these places: a straight-backed capital appears, in both cases, to have been trimmed away. J is the most likely letter. However, neither letter is followed by scribe A's usual dot of punctuation.

There are no outstanding candidates for any of these from archival description, though there is no shortage of men

1. 'Re-appraisal', pp.105-06.

2. DNE, s.v. Henry V.

bearing these names.¹ I have not introduced doubtful identifications into the present discussion, biography being a means and not an end to my purpose. The possibility of French nationality has been raised for some of these composers;² however, Fonteyns's and Olyver's OH contributions are exclusively in score, which makes English nationality much more likely.³ Gervays is called Gervasius de Anglia in the BL concordance to his Gloria.

The only two composers for whom non-English origin seems likely are Mayshuet and Zacar.⁴ Hughes also suggests a possible identification of Rowlard with Frater Rolandus Monachus de Padua, scribe or composer of some pieces in Paduan fragments.

Rowlard, Pennard, Queldryk, Gervays and Fonteyns may have personal as well as musical connections with Yorkshire. The Thomas Pycharde who witnessed a charter together with Damett in 1420 (see p. 283) may, for this reason, have some claim to be the composer. There are no outstanding candidates in a comprehensive genealogical work devoted to one branch of the family.⁵

1. A number are rounded up in Trowell, Plantagenets, Hughes, 'Re-appraisal' and Harrison, MMB; I have collected many more.

2. For Fonteyns and Rowlard by Harrison, MMB, p.228; for Olyver by Hughes, 'Re-appraisal', p.113.

3. I know only of one isolated case of an English score piece with a continental concordance: Selden ff.3v-4v, Sancta Maria virgo appears also in Aosta, not in score. There seem to be no instances of a continental piece being put into score by an English scribe.

4. Hughes, 'Re-appraisal', pp.113-16.

5. The Picards or Pychards of Stradewy (now Tretower) Castle, and Scethrog, Brecknockshire; (London, 1878).

Identifications with other composers are not much more fruitful. Lambe... could be the Lampens of the lost Strasbourg manuscript, or the Lambertus whose Kyrie square survives in a Vatican manuscript.¹ Pycard might be the Biquardus of MuEm (which could equally well be a corrupt latinisation of Richard), and is almost certainly the Picart of Stratford (see p.355). The pairing of Rowland's OH Gloria with a Credo in Stratford, and a concordance to his Gloria in LoF, make an English origin for this composer more likely.

Aleyn is usually assumed to be the Johannes Alanus who composed Sub Arturo plebs.² This identification is not corroborated by the only OH piece so far known to be by him (3), which has no initial. If 128 is indeed by W.Aleyn (see p.158), and if there are not in fact two composers of this name in OH, the equation with Johannes Alanus may be discredited.

The first-layer composers who have initials in OH are R.Chirbury, J.Excetre, J.Tyes and W.Typp. The latter two are more easily dealt with because of the shortage of candidates. Indeed, the nearest claimant so far submitted is a John Dyes, organist of Winchester in 1402. But a John Tyes was charged as a commoner of King's Hall, Cambridge in 1415-16, when he would have been aged

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1. Vatican, Reg.Lat.1146.
 2. See Trowell, 'A Fourteenth-Century Motet ...'.

between 14 and 21.¹ This is probably too late to be the composer. A Johannes Tyse was a founder member of the Gild of Parish Clerks in 1449,² and a John Tyes, priest, was presented to chantries in 1390 and 1413.³ None of these can be identified with each other or with the composer. With Typp we are on safer ground. Harrison has already observed that he was precentor at Fotheringhay in 1438.⁴ An unusual surname, combined with the correct initial and a musical occupation brings us as close to identification as we are ever likely to come. In addition, a William Tippe was a fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in 1408/09 and was still there in 1413/14.⁵

The name Robert Chirbury or Cherbury occurs frequently in archives, and clearly more than one man is involved. A Robert Cherbury is listed as a secular member of the Gild of Parish Clerks from 1457-75, surely too late to be the composer. Matilda Cherbury, probably his wife, appears in the same list. Robert Chirbury appears in the chapel royal accounts in 1421 (where he is styled 'Dominus'), 1436/37, 1441/42, 1443/44, 1446/47, 1447/48.⁶ The other known references may apply to the same man but cannot

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1. Eaden, HRC.
 2. Guildhall Library, MS 4889/PC, f.2.
 3. Trowell, Plantagenets.
 4. MMB, pp.26-27.
 5. Eaden, HRC.
 6. Trowell, Plantagenets.

at present be linked. A man of this name was vicar of Presteign, Hereford, from 1 January 1426 - 1 April 1428.¹ A Windsor chaplain of the same name was concerned in property transactions there in 1442 and 1455.² Yet another claimant is the Robert Chirbury who was Dean of St Mary's Warwick (the possible provenance of LoW) in 1443.³

John Excetre was active as a royal clerk between 1372 and 1396.⁴ It has generally been assumed that this identification is the most likely for the OH composer (barring the confusion introduced by Bukofzer's reading of his initial as W.), and the royal chaplain identification the most likely for the OH Chirbury, for the sole reason that OH is assumed to be a royal chapel manuscript. This is a circular argument. Now that the only demonstrable connection between OH and the royal household chapel affects the second-layer additions, and that it seems to have gone there after a change of destination, chapel membership is not in itself sufficient to establish the identity of a first-layer composer. Excetre's connection with the chapel ends c.1396, while Chirbury's begins c.1421. Cooke, as we saw in the last chapter, belonged to the chapel from c.1413 to 1419, when he died.

1. Registrum Thome Spofford, episcopi Herefordensis, A.D. 1442-1448, ed. A.T.Bannister (Canterbury & York Society: London, 1919).

2. Windsor MSS XV.45.140 & XV.45.197. See J.N.Dalton, The Manuscripts of St George's Chapel, Windsor (Windsor, 1957).

3. Harrison, NMB, p.456.

4. Trowell, 'A Fourteenth-Century Motet ...', p.71.

Thus, the only three first-layer composers who may have been royal chaplains cannot be shown to have held these posts at the same time as each other, even for one year. Even if the composers were the chaplains, their chaplaincy clearly has nothing to do with the compilation of the manuscript. The other objection to identifying Chirbury and Excetre with the royal chaplains of those names is that they are, chronologically, the wrong way round. Chirbury's music belongs to the earlier style-range which has only English concordances, Excetre's to the later category which we might also expect to find abroad.

In Sub Arturo plebs J.Oxonia is described as a composer with whose art Canterbury had shone for many years. Trowell believed the OH composer to be William, while pointing out that Oxonia might well be a misreading of Exonia. If the 1358 dating for this motet is correct, this man is most unlikely to be the OH composer. If the motet is later, they would well be the same.¹ The association of the OH composer with Canterbury may be supported by Andrew Hughes's discovery of the rare plain-song used by Excetre in his Sanctus (121) in a missal of Canterbury provenance.²

Of all the first-layer composers, only Typp can be identified with reasonable confidence. We can add Cooke, known from the second

1. See appendix to this chapter.

2. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 135.

layer, and Leonel Power.

Leonel Power

His surname is never given in OH, but there can be no doubt that he is Leonel Power. Although his full name appears in many continental sources of his music, none of his OH pieces are ascribed to him in their foreign concordances. He is the most fully represented composer in the manuscript, contributing 23 pieces to the old layer. No other first-layer composer has more than 7 to his name, though Cooke has 10, divided between the layers. 20 pieces are ascribed to Leonel in OH.¹ So is 73, the only second-layer piece ascribed to Leonel or likely to be by him. 24, 77 and 140 can, in addition, be assigned to him because they form pairs with movements actually ascribed to him. All three are anonymous through loss of a folio or illuminated capital.

The prominence accorded to Leonel's music may indicate some seniority among the composers represented. It may indicate that he had some close connection with the process of compiling the manuscript, or with the institution for which it was compiled. It may merely reflect his status as the foremost composer of his generation and show recognition of the remarkable quality of his music. By the time the first layer of OH was compiled, he had mastered all the styles represented in the main body of the

1. Nos. 21, 22, 23, 25, 43, 49, 81, 83, 84, 96, 99, 109, 115, 116, 117, 118, 133, 137, 138, 141.

manuscript, although in his case concordances to the earlier ones do not happen to survive.

Our knowledge of Leonel's life is still tantalisingly slender, but it is even so more substantial than we can put together for the equally distinctive talent with the less distinctive name of John Dunstable. As I shall show, Leonel enjoyed a life-span of more than average length. Although he died only nine years before Dunstable he may have been virtually a generation older if Dunstable lived an average span. It is likely that Dunstable was in the service of the Duke of Bedford. It is likely that he continued to compose after much of his music - that contemporary with the Leonel generation - had crossed the channel.¹ There is no similar evidence for Leonel, who may have written nothing or very little after 1430, a date late enough to accommodate ^{that part of} his known output which was probably written after OH. Such a difference in the ages of these two composers would account for Dunstable's absence from the main compilation, where absence of chapel royal associations for him certainly does not. If Dunstable wrote non-exportable English descant pieces (as his Lansdowne Kyrie square may indicate), they have not survived because we lack for his generation a compilation similar to OH for Leonel's. Dunstable's achievements were better remembered at the time of his death than were Leonel's. This could indicate that he

1. See appendix IV to chapter V.

was active within a few years of his death, while Leonel may have passed a long, inactive retirement.

On 14 May 1423 the following were admitted to the Fraternity of Christ Church, Canterbury, by John Wodnesburgh, prior:

Johannes Ardenne subthesaurius Anglie; Ricardus Knyghtle; Robertus Birtone; Nicholaus Crane; et Leonellus Powere. Joye sains fyne.¹

No explanation of this final tag is forthcoming, and an extensive search in heraldic and other sources has produced nothing. It could be linked with the motto \square joy \square longeur (= long joy, bref longeur) attached to the mass Quem malignus spiritus in C.U.L., MS J1.V.18, but Leonel's authorship does not otherwise seem likely. The motto may have no connection with Leonel, as it is written over an illegible erasure, perhaps of another name.

Joye sans fin, however, is listed as a basse danse in Anthonius Arena, Ad suos compagnones studentes ...² No tune survives for the dance, and any connection must remain conjectural.

The next reference to Leonel is in CCR under 1444:

Lionel Power of Canterbury esquire to Thomas Ragoun. General release of all personal actions, plaints and demands by reason of debt, account, purchase, sale, covenant, contract, trespass or otherwise. Dated Canterbury, 20 September 17 Henry VI [- 1438]. Memorandum of acknowledgment, 19 April this year [- 1444].³

1. B.M., MS Arundel 68, f.62v.

2. Published in Lyon; edition of 1546 but not of 1529 includes it. It is also in the 1533 edition; see Daniel Hertz, 'The Basse Dance', Annales Musicologiques, vol.VI (1958-), p.335.

3. Nothing relating to Thomas Ragoun has come to light, except a mention of Thomas Ragon in the Calendarium Inquisitionum Post Mortem sive Excaetarum, ed. J.Caley & J.Bayley, vol.IV (London, 1828), p.147.

Harrison quotes the Bodleian manuscript Tanner 165 as proof that Power appears on the livery lists of Christ Church, Canterbury '(which were made out yearly at Easter) covering the years 1441-5'.¹ He also suggests that this implies employment. In view of Leonel's age at this time,² the payment is more likely to have been some kind of old-age allowance, perhaps related to his fraternity or to earlier services rendered. In fact, these lists, with rare exceptions, were made out at Christmas. 'Leonell Power' is listed at Christmas in 1439, at Easter in 1441, and at Christmas in 1441, 1442, 1443, 1444.³ The issues are labelled alternately generalis and privata, the latter being shorter but still including Leonel. Where the names are divided between London and Kent lists, Leonel appears with the latter. This is confirmed by the description 'of Canterbury' in the release. He also appears with the armigeri or, as they are called in the later lists, generosi, confirming the 'esquire' status of the release as well as his laity.

Three notices of Leonel's death survive. One calendar records under the nones of June (i.e. 5 June):

V.B.N. O[biit] Leonellus Power anno domini M^oCCCCXLV^o.⁴

1. NMB, p.42.
2. At least 60; see below.
3. ff.156-163.
4. B.N., MS Cotton Tiberius B.III, f.4v.

This manuscript is now known to be from Canterbury. It was once erroneously assigned to Winchester; hence the statement in some much-used reference books that Leonel died there.¹ B.M., MS Arundel 68 includes 'Leonellus power' among the obits for 6 June. This is the date given for his burial by the chronicler John Stone. In 1445 he writes:

Item hoc anno obiit Leonellus Power, armiger istius ecclesie, in hospicio versus curiam, et sepultus est iuxta portam cimiterii viii^o idus Junii hora prandii,² Et habuit omnia sacramentalia a monacho huius ecclesie.

This is one of the very few deaths recorded by Stone of people who were not monks. The privilege of dying thus in monastic hospitality does not seem to have been an automatic right for armigeri or members of the Fraternity; if it was, Stone does not record the passing of others of similar status. Leonel may have earned it by past service to the community. As a layman, he would be precluded from holding a specifically musical post in the cathedral. And Stone's failure to describe him more closely may imply that the nature of his contribution was too well-known to need stating. All this is speculation: only Leonel's presence in Canterbury during the later years of his life seems certain.

1. Hans Joachim Moser, Musik Lexikon (4th rev. edn: Hamburg, 1955) and Grove.

2. The Chronicle of John Stone, Monk of Christ Church 1415-71, ed. W.G. Searle (Cambridge, 1902).

Also Lambeth 20

'It is regrettable that we have no details regarding the early life of Lionel Power', writes W.H.Grattan Flood, notorious for his exaggerations and failure to name sources.¹ It is a sentiment we may well echo, for Leonel's OH compositions must have been written before our first knowledge of him in 1423. None of the foregoing references were known to Flood, not even Leonel's death date. It is therefore all the more remarkable that he continues thus:

but it is almost certain that, like many of the younger sons of the wealthy Anglo-Irish in Ireland, he went over to Oxford to study and became a cleric. [Flood notes here that 'In the thirteenth century students from Ireland were very numerous at Oxford University. However, we read that, in 1423, Irish students were expelled from England'.] His relative, Milo Power, was Bishop of Leighlin from 1321 to 1347, and another, Sir Maurice Power, was Knight of St John of Jerusalem in 1415. We can unhesitatingly assign the period of his musical works as about 1380 to 1395, although Davey supposes him to have outlived Dunstable, which could only hold good unless we assume Power to have lived to the age of 120, which is improbable.²

An earlier passage reads:

The history of English Music during the first half of the fourteenth century is almost a blank, and the only two names that adorn the latter half of that century are Anglo-Irish - namely John D'Exeter and Lione[1] Power. Of the former very little is known save that he was of the D'Exeter family, Lords of Athleathan or Ballylahan, now known as Strade, barony of Gallen, Co. Mayo, and he wrote some sacred music now preserved in the Old Hall Ms. a most valuable repertory of fourteenth and fifteenth-century English composers.³

Flood then describes OH in a footnote as 'a transcript made in the

1. A History of Irish Music (Dublin, 1905), p.94, brought to my notice by Thurston Dart.

2. Ibid., pp.94-95.

3. Ibid., pp.93-94.

latter part of the 15th century' and refers to Squire's article, where the suggestion of 14th-century music is certainly not entertained. Proceeding to Leonel:

Concerning the latter, we are, fortunately, in a better position. To Lionel Power, a worthy Anglo-Irishman, of Co. Waterford, is due the first English treatise on Music, about the year 1390 [the next paragraph identifies this as B.M., MS Lansdowne 763] and his nationality is placed beyond question by another Anglo-Irish contemporary who styles him noster Lionel.

We are faced with a situation not unlike that of the reference to a Winchester provenance for OH. How much importance can we attach to the testimony of a witness of dubious reliability who may have compiled his report on the basis of evidence no longer extant? It is well known that Flood worked extensively in the Public Record Office in London; he also had a hand in editing Irish archival sources. It seems more than likely that he used the Irish Record^{Office} in the course of compiling this history, and the acknowledgments in his preface imply that he did. A careful search of the printed and manuscript sources of Irish archival and literary material available in the British Museum has not revealed sources for Flood's statements. However, the Irish Record Office was destroyed in 1922, and it is hardly worth speculating about what sources Flood may have used and which no longer exist. ¹

1. For the state of the Irish records see Handbook of British Chronology, ed. Sir F.M.Powicke & E.B.Fryde (Royal Historical Society: 2nd.edn, London, 1961), pp.302-06.

Flood's dating of Milo Power's bishopric has the ring of truth: the Handbook of British Chronology gives Miler le Poer's election as 1320, his consecration 1321, and can state the termination of his tenure no more precisely than that it was before April 1349, because the next bishop took office in March. None of Flood's other information, however, has it been possible to verify. His dating of Lansdowne 763 is rather unlikely; but if it rested on certain knowledge of Power's activity in the late 14th century, who can blame him? The state of musical knowledge at the time Flood wrote his book pointed to OH as a 15th-century repertory, Power as a 15th-century composer. If his biographical assertions were merely invented embellishments to what was already known, he could more plausibly have contained them within the 15th century.

However much he dressed them up in the interests of chauvinism and good story-telling, Flood's statements usually had some basis in fact. How do these particular ones compare with the known facts of Leonel's life? If Flood had known Leonel's birth-date he would probably have said so. The confident precision of '1380-95' for his musical activity suggests that Flood believed him to have reached manhood by this time. If, even to die in the same year as Dunstable, he would have reached the patriarchal age of 120, Flood implies a birth-date around 1333. This sets his active prime (1380-95) rather late, and looks equally improbable beside his actual death date in 1445.

It is just possible that Leonel could have lived to 80. Assuming birth c.1365 and a precocious start as a composer (c.1380), Flood's dates could be squared with Leonel's known date of death. Flood could, of course, have been misled by too early a dating of the elusive Anglo-Irish contemporary. No record of Leonel having been at Oxford is given by Eaden, though it is curious that the very year in which 'Irish students were expelled from England' should be the year in which we encounter Leonel at Christ Church. His student days were certainly long past, but there could still be a link. No genealogies of the Poers or Powers include a Leonel; but the name was unusual, and could point to a godparent - possibly even Lionel, Duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III. He was born in 1338, married at the age of four, became Earl of Ulster in 1347 and died in 1368, and would have been old enough to be godfather - or even natural father - to a child born between 1360 and the year of his death. Assuming birth c.1365, such a wild shot would confirm Flood's dating admirably.¹

The musical styles in OH correspond to distinct generations of concordant manuscripts. These generations of composing fashion overlap but span, in all, about 40 years. It would be quite possible for a composer to assimilate the earlier part of this range during his apprentice years and to encompass the full range of styles in a shorter period of time than this.

¹. Pursuit of Excetre on these lines has been in vain, but the linking of his name with Leonel's may point further to Canterbury associations.

However, it seems to me unreasonable to allow Leonel less than 15 years' work in which to span the stylistic range he covers in OH, particularly in view of his later output, known only from continental sources - for there are no English concordances for any of Leonel's work yet - and of its relationship to the firmer datings which are available for parallel repertoires.¹ If he lived to 70 - a generous span² - his OH music can be placed no earlier than c.1395-1410. If we give limited credence to Flood and allow him fourscore years and a precocious start, he could have completed his OH music by 1400 at the earliest. Such an estimate would, however, place an odd complexion upon our received view of chronology and influence, our entire understanding of which hangs on the fragile framework of a few biographical facts, a few dated compositions. The evidence of Dufay's mensural practice leads Hamm to suggest that Leonel may not have been composing as early as 1414.³ And unless we are prepared to assume that Leonel anticipated by a whole generation the developments attributed by contemporaries and modern scholars primarily to Dunstable, the terminal date of the first-layer compositions cannot be more than a few years earlier than this. It cannot be later without impinging upon the period 1415-19 now assigned to the second layer

1. E.g. Hamm, Dufay, and the various dates put forward for the motets of Chantilly by Gilbert Reaney and Ursula Günther.

2. Henry V of England addressed Charles VI of France in 1415 as being 'of so mature and so advanced an age' (Nicolas, Agincourt, pp.3-4). Charles was then 46 years old.

3. Hamm, Dufay, p.48.

work.

The complete break between the first and second layers (established on paleographical grounds) and the dating of the Agincourt motets constitute sound evidence that Leonel was an old man by any standards when he died in 1445. If he composed his OH music in the 15-20 years up to about 1410, his birth-date can hardly be later than 1370: Grattan Flood's estimate is too close to be pure guess-work.

Unless we are to plead exceptional longevity and precocity for all the OH composers, a date of about 1410 must be considered the earliest terminal date for the composition of the music available to scribe A when he planned the collection. Typp, after all, was still alive, and apparently musically active, in 1438. The work of compilation and copying may have occupied about a year: possibly longer if scribe A was also responsible for collecting the music. One first-layer composer remains to be discussed: his identity is highly pertinent to any estimate of when, between about 1410 and 1415, the compilation took place.

Roy Henry

There is no point in exhuming the case for Henry VI as the royal composer. This would assume a composition date of 1435 at the earliest for his contributions, which is clearly irreconcilable with the datings now available.

The first suggestion that Roy Henry might be Henry V was

made by V.Lederer in what Harrison calls 'a rather extravagant treatment of this question'.¹ Don Anselm Hughes had already branded Lederer thus:

Heinrich Bessler (Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, VII, 225 Leipzig, 1925) holds that the handwriting is before 1420; but as he says that in this he is following one Lederer, a discredited fantastic, the weight usually to be attributed to Dr. Bessler's scholarship must be discounted.²

One of Lederer's main grounds for backing Henry V was his identification of the Thomas addressed in Carbunculus ignitus lillie (143) with Thomas Arundel, the archbishop of Canterbury who died in 1414. Although this claim must certainly be waived in favour of St Thomas (Becket) of Canterbury, Lederer did assemble most of the literary evidence since used to support Henry V. Bukofzer argued for Henry V when John Harvey's researches had yielded information linking second-layer composers with his household chapel. Earlier dating of their work was now plausible, and the uncomfortable hiatus of Henry VI's infancy obviated. But by dating En Katherine (145) in 1420, the occasion of Henry V's marriage to Catherine of Valois, he failed to take account of the layer separation of the manuscript. Indeed, he claimed that the Damett and Sturgeon dates were 'important with regard to the "Henrician" question because they prove irrefutably that the two

1. MMB, p.221, of Über Heimat und Ursprung der mehrstimmigen Tonkunst (Leipzig, 1906), vol.II, chapters 3-4.

2. Ramsbotham &c, OH, vol.III, p.xi.

masters who directly participated in or supervised the compilation of the manuscript were associated with Henry V'.¹ Thus, both protagonists of Henry V had reached their conclusions for the wrong reasons.

Harrison superimposes the correct separation of the first and second layers onto Bukofzer's framework and argues that, since the second layer can be associated with Henry V's chapel from the beginning of his reign, and since the second layer is later than the first layer, the first layer must belong to the previous reign and Roy Henry be Henry IV. The style of the music, he says, is more in keeping with such a dating.² True, much of the music was undoubtedly composed during Henry IV's reign. No scholar supporting Henry V would require that all the music was composed during his reign; nor does Harrison claim that it was all written during Henry IV's reign. But Harrison reverts to a confusion which Bukofzer explicitly avoided, that between the date of composition and the date of compilation.³

Most of Harrison's composer identifications are dubious and can easily be countered with later names. Coincidences of names such as those he puts forward could be multiplied indefinitely, and monastic identifications are, on the whole, unlikely.⁴

1. Studies, p.76.

2. MMB, p.220.

3. Studies, p. 73.

4. E.g., MMB, p.222, n.2. It is hard to recall any conclusive monastic identifications for non-Italian composers of the 14th or 15th centuries.

The other mainstay of his argument is contemporary literary evidence of musical ability. Such documentation must be approached with extreme caution, as it is not infrequently distorted by conventional praise and poetic licence, and rarely offers judgments which enable us to make comparative statements about different monarchs. Stowe's Annales tell us that Henry V 'delighted in songs, meeters ...' and quotes Titus Livius, the biographer who states that Henry V musicis delectabatur. These presumably form the basis of Harrison's assertion that 'While there are many indications of Henry V's encouragement of music and his support of a large musical establishment, there seems to be no contemporary evidence that he had musical ability'.¹ However, 'There is contemporary testimony to Henry IV's talent for music in a chronicle of his reign written by John Strecche, Canon of Kenilworth Priory, who describes him as a brilliant musician',² The relevance of Strecche's description must be assessed in context. It occurs in the account of Henry IV's coronation, and lists his attributes thus:

Et fuit [interlined] coronatus hic rex Henricus. Forme fuerat elegantis, viribus fortis, miles strenuus, in armis acer, in omni actu tirocinii [MS: torocinii] sagax et circumspectus, in bello semper fortunatus, in factis felix, et victor ubique gloriosus, in musica micans, et mirabilis litterature, et maxime in morali.

in manly virtues And so King Henry was crowned: he was comely of form, strong ~~among men~~, an active soldier, bold in arms, wise and circumspect in all his acts of knighthood, always fortunate in war, prosperous in deeds, and glorious victor everywhere: brilliant

1. MMB, p.221.

2. Ibid. Henry is described as in musica micans et mirabilis litterature: Harrison wrongly gives litteraturis.

at music, and marvellous at letters, above all at moral philosophy.

Taken in relation to Henry's known attributes, I submit that this list is, at best, conventional flattery. For his coronation psalm, the chronicler has pandered to euphonic alliteration in selecting attributes for praise. Musica and litterature may be intended to imply respectively the quadrivium (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music) and the trivium (grammar, rhetoric and logic), and thus merely to suggest that Henry was an educated man. This is made all the more probable by the qualification of litterature with his mastery in moral philosophy. I cannot believe that musica, in this context, refers to anything more mundane than the speculative, Boethian discipline. It certainly deserves no higher rating than the parallel evidence for Henry V (from the Vita) which claims that 'he was in his youth a diligent follower of idle practices, much given to instruments of music, and fired with the torches of Venus herself'.² It is quite possible that these 'idle practices' may have included the unkingly activity of musical composition. Certainly, the most likely time for a king to compose is during the years before he takes on the responsibilities of kingship. The OH composer need not have been king, roy, when he wrote them, only when the OH scribe made his attribution. Absence of literary evidence for the

1. B.M., Add.35295, f.262. I acknowledge the help of Messrs. A.Petti and P.Dronke in confirming my reading and interpretation of this passage, and of Mr A. Hyatt King who kindly offered an emendation.

2. Quoted in DNB, s.v. Henry V, pp.496-97.

ability to compose is no obstacle to either identification, especially in the case of Henry V whose military prowess, displayed so early in his reign, inevitably overshadowed his drawing-room accomplishments in accounts of his achievements.¹ The calls of kingship offer a further explanation for his absence from the second layer; and it is much more credible that Henry V wrote the music during the last few years of his father's reign than that Henry IV did, either before about 1405, an uncomfortably early date, or during the declining years of a sick, world-weary man which followed.

Much more to the point is Brian Trowell's discovery of an Alleluia ascribed to Henrici quinti, copied in the reign of Henry VI on the dorse of a roll in the Worcestershire Record Office.² The ascription is unequivocally attached to the composition and could serve no other purpose. There is no stylistic similarity between the Alleluia and the OH pieces; nor, for that matter, is there much similarity between the OH Gloria and Sanctus. There would have been no question of attributing one of these to the composer of the other on grounds of style. Stylistic evidence, here, is negative and does not disprove a connection. What it does establish is that Henry V was thought, by a near-contemporary, to be a composer of music, and that it was necessary, in the new

1. The literary evidence for both monarchs is assembled by Trowell in MGG, s.v. Heinrich IV, Heinrich V.

2. See The Pelican History of Music, ed. A. Robertson & D. Stevens, (London, 1963), vol. II, p. 53. The MS is in Worcestershire Record Office, b705:4 BA 54; Brian Trowell kindly showed me his photograph and transcription.

reign, to distinguish him from his infant son, Henry VI. The attribution of the Roy Henry pieces proves no more than that the scribe believed them to be by the king, and presumably the reigning king. Barclay Squire makes the point that 'Roy Henry' may not actually have composed the music; it 'may have been the work of some member of the Windsor choir and have passed under the name of the monarch who both in his life and after his death was so intimately associated with the place'[i.e. Henry VI].¹ One is reminded here of the Calixtine manuscript of Compostela, whose pages are headed with the names of French ecclesiastical dignitaries. Such a prestige-seeking gesture may even underlie the OH descriptions.

Henry V acceded to the throne on 21 March 1413, the day after his father's death. The date at which the first-layer copying was interrupted is the main factor relevant to deciding who Roy Henry was. Only if composition was mostly complete by 1410, and if compilation and copying, including the addition of the few pieces not available to start with, were complete by early in 1413, can we be sure that he was Henry IV. If the manuscript were prepared under Henry IV for the use of his chapel, the king's death might have been the unexplained cause of its interruption. Even so, this hypothesis would rest on one assumption. If OH was compiled in the last few years of Henry IV's reign, if he was

1. Squire, 'Notes ...', p.346.

Roy Henry, and if Henry V's chaplains indeed took over the book early in the new reign, would they or would they not have revised an outdated ascription by adding to it quarti or ultimi? This is the crux.

There is substantial evidence of Henry's close and good relationship with his chaplains. They benefited under his will.¹ He knighted 'many members of his household' at Caen in 1417.² Some of them were, as I have shown, his contemporaries. Of these, Damett and Sturgeon were young to enjoy high office as royal chaplains. It may not be without significance that Roy Henry's Gloria shares more features with the music of Damett than with any other music in the first layer. Its low range and flat signatures are shared by a mere handful of other first-layer pieces (by Leonel and Excetre). The chromatic angularity of the Roy Henry Sanctus is surpassed only by the second-layer Stella celi, and the change of mensuration in the Sanctus marks it as a relatively late first-layer work.

Yet the two pieces by Roy Henry were not, as Anselm and Andrew Hughes have implied for the Sanctus, later additions to their respective sections. Analysis of the gatherings and scribes, not

1. The legacy is not mentioned in Henry's last surviving will, printed in A Collection of Royal Wills ... (see p.295, n.1), pp. 236-243, but the notes refer to 'a writ from Henry VI. to make good the payment of the legacy of £200. to the clerks of Henry V's chapel' printed in Rymer's Foedera, vol.X, p.506.

2. See p.298.

available to either of these scholars when making their assessments, shows beyond reasonable doubt that they were available when the scribe started work. Had they been later additions, the case for Henry V would have been even stronger.

One other feature which might indicate that the Gloria was added later is that it is the only first-layer piece to have flagged semiminims, a notational characteristic found more often after 1410 than before. However, as stated on p.206, these were originally void forms, filled in and flagged by a later scribe. It is hard to believe that such care would have been lavished on a relatively insignificant task, and that other musical alterations should have been made to this piece (see p.165), while the important composer attribution was left unmodified if it were outdated. The second-layer scribes were meticulous in making their own composer ascriptions: every piece in the second layer whose opening survives has been ascribed except Dunstable's motet (66). Surely they would have shown equal concern in respect of their monarch, contemporary and master? The evidence is not conclusive; but the protagonists of Henry IV have not yet demolished the claims of his son.

The provenance of the manuscript

Having confined the period of compilation of the first layer to 1410-1415 and determined in some detail the order and method followed by its scribe, almost nothing can be said about its original provenance. Discovery of this provenance, should more evidence ever become available, would be of academic interest only, because the schedule of compilation and addition is too tight for more than a fleeting period of use to have preceded the book's use by Henry V's chaplains.

This applies to the only place for which there is any evidence: Winchester. While it is not impossible that Winchester was the original destination, actual 'use' there, unless very temporary, must have been after its use in the chapel royal. This, as already stated, would be corroborated by Stafford Smith's equation of Roy Henry with Henry VI.

A Yorkshire provenance seems unlikely, despite the large proportion of pieces with Yorkshire connections by name or concordance. All this music may have been received as a single consignment, not necessarily at the very beginning of compilation, because it does not appear to be fully integrated into the plan of the Gloria section, while it was a prime ingredient of the eventual order of the Credos (which may for that reason be later).

Another possible line of enquiry is the search for a link between the composers most fully represented, some of whom

are also among the composers whose music arrived after the orderly place for its insertion had been filled. If no institution is forthcoming, concentration in one area could imply ease of physical access to each other and, by deduction, to the scribe. The south-east of England -Canterbury and Hastings in particular - has some claim on our attention.

The composers most prominently featured (after Roy Henry) are, as shown already, Byttering, Excetre, Leonel and Pycard. In the case of the last two, the scribe had access to what must be a considerable proportion of their output. Composers whose work reached him, also or solely, at a later stage include Excetre, Pycard, Oliver, Tyes, and possibly Byttering and Leonel as well. Cooke's substantial contribution may fall entirely into this group of late arrivals, together with Aleyn's more modest output. Leonel certainly and Excetre possibly had Canterbury connections. Names of first-layer composers which coincide with ~~some~~ those of canons of the royal free chapel in Hastings Castle or with those of incumbents whose churches bear the names of prebends include Byttering (1405, 1408), Pycard and Gervays (who exchanged an incumbency in 1382) and Aleyn (1409). Later appointments include those of the royal chaplains Robert Chirbury, John Cooke and Nicholas Sturgeon.¹ No conclusions are possible. Moreover, Leonel has no known association with Canterbury until 1423.

The high proportion of his work in the manuscript and the

1. See Charles Dawson, History of Hastings Castle (London, 1909).

nature of the erasures affecting it may indicate that Leonel was in some way involved in the project, wherever he was at the time in question. But the strongest candidate for a personal bridge between the two layers is Cooke, the only other composer to be represented in both layers. He is the only first-layer composer to have had a connection with the chapel royal during the time in which the manuscript was being compiled and for which royal accounts survive. His compositions occur last or penultimately in most of the sections of the manuscript to which he contributed and which appear to have been copied consecutively. Stylistically, he is in a unique position. The peculiarities of 7 have been recounted. He appears to be the only first-layer composer to have written duets in pieces in score, and the only second-layer piece of English descant is his Stella celi. Of the second-layer claims to autograph, his is the most clear-cut. The two major erasures of first-layer music appear to affect works of his (82 and 127). The Gloria 36 (and to a lesser extent the Credo 82) reflect the form of Leonel's Gloria and Credo 21 and 77 so closely that some direct influence seems likely; Leonel's treatise on counterpoint may qualify him as a teacher.

If Cooke was instrumental in bringing OH to the royal household chapel, Forest, in time, may have been responsible for taking it to Winchester, where he had numerous roots. The question mark which hangs over Cooke's erasures hangs, too, over Forest's incomplete motet.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VI

Sub Arturo Plebs¹

This appendix offers no new material: it merely asks questions and was too long for a footnote.

Brian Trowell has put forward the date 1358 for the composition of this motet, the occasion of the special Garter celebrations which followed the victory at Poitiers. He offers identifications of many of the names enumerated in the text of the top part, dated references falling mostly within a generation of the proposed date. These identifications are ingenious and persuasive, and have won general acceptance to the extent of justifying earlier dates for other music - including the Old Hall repertory.

Doubts arise on two fronts: are the identifications really watertight, and can the music really be so early?

Striking juxtapositions of names are not difficult to produce. 'Pycard' appears at three different dates with three different forenames in company with other OH names.² Membership of the chapel royal does not necessarily imply musical ability: there is in general an embarrassing shortage of royal links for composers of known distinction, and it seems that even the composer-chaplains of the second layer were in much more limited circulation

1. See Trowell, 'A Fourteenth-Century Motet ...'.

2. See Harrison, MMB, p.222, n.2, and above, pp.385, 283.

than their colleagues outside the chapel. None of Trowell's dated identifications have more concrete musical connections than membership of the chapel royal. None of his musical identifications have concrete dates.

Musical evidence places the early date under strong suspicion. The only English precedent for isorhythm is found in the Bury motets of Oxford, Bodleian, E.Mus.7, which exhibit only straightforward examples of tenor repetition. There is no isorhythm in the upper parts, no proportional reduction, no overlapping patterns. From the substantial and varied body of 14th-century English music now known there is nothing remotely comparable to Alanus's motet (excluding the OH pieces whose dates have been stretched backwards solely in order to bridge the stylistic gap to Sub Arturo). No isorhythmic motet of Machaut uses Alanus's classical 15th-century structure, coloration in a part other than the tenor or rhythmic overlaps in the final section (paralleled in OH only by Pycard's Gloria 25 and Cooke's motet 112). BL and Chantilly contain no other music which can be dated so early.

The rhythmic comparison with Cooke's Agincourt motet is sufficiently close to prompt speculation as to whether the happy event being celebrated by the English might, again, be Agincourt and not Poitiers. Only by the later date do we know that isorhythmic motets had ceremonial connotations. Who more suitable than Henry V to be addressed as Arthur? The reference to a warlike prince need

not introduce another person; it can easily be taken as a synonym for Henry, or Arthur. The 'tyrants' who were present might be the captive French lords who were paraded through the streets of London.¹ A later dating would not necessarily rule out some of Trowell's identifications: if the text is a 'modern' historical catalogue to match the antique one of Fons citharisancium, we might expect to find earlier names.

To regard Sub arturo as a 15th-century piece has certain advantages. Richard Blythe can then be identified comfortably with the royal chaplain who died in 1420. It is hardly credible that he would have survived Henry V's spring clean of chapel personnel if his reputation was established by 1358. Candidates for the laurels of G.Martini and Nicholas de Hungerford might be the composers of two squares in B.M., Lansdowne 462 (undoubtedly 15th-century composers): Martyn and d.h. respectively. I have not searched for biographical data relevant to the later period. Identity between J.Oxonia and the Excetre of OH now seems more plausible. Another composition which might have been laid beside Sub Arturo is the tantalising fragment beginning Fons origo musicorum in CWU.L., Add.4435.²

1. The tenor of Sub Arturo, the versicle In omnia terram, is v.5 of psalm 18 (Vulgate): it would have gone nicely with the psalm quotations given from the Gesta on p.303 above.

2. It has not previously been noted that isorhythm can be demonstrated on these fragments, despite their small size.

APPENDIXMusica ficta

The dilemma facing the editor of early music in this matter is twofold; there is insufficient evidence to enable him to provide a sound solution, yet he must provide notes which can be sung: and the evidence which does survive, in theoretical testimony and manuscript accidentals, is apparently in conflict. I believe it can be demonstrated that these two bodies of evidence are, in fact, complementary, and that taken together they point clearly in the direction of a practical solution.

The present working hypothesis formulates the main theoretical evidence in the light of the accidentals actually written in the Old Hall manuscript. The main function of manuscript accidentals is to guide the detailed interpretation of theoretical principles, and they are not analysed in the following short exposition.

The first demand of a set of principles for applying accidentals is that it can be reconciled with both available bodies of evidence: previous investigators have often rejected one or other of the two. Acceptance of theoretical evidence alone led Richard Hoppin to adopt primarily harmonic criteria which 'neither reject the theorists with impunity nor hope to establish rules on a purely melodic basis'.¹ The present approach differs from his in being

1. Hoppin, 'Partial Signatures', p.199.

fundamentally practical and therefore melodic, although theoretical principles are vital both to its melodic and harmonic aspects. Rejection of the theorists led Apel to formulate rules based entirely on melodic progression.¹ The problems are not alleviated by the fact that some of the most commonly-stated 'rules' of ficta, taken out of context, can be applied in either a vertical or a horizontal sense; anyone who has grappled with them knows that it is impossible to avoid harmonic and melodic tritones all the time.

The second condition is a simple assumption: that the 15th-century singer had in front of him the manuscript which has come down to us, and that the accidentals written in it were adequate visual clues for performance. In other words, the application of unwritten accidentals was essentially part of the medieval performer's art. Modern performers are no longer able to perceive instinctively the choices and problems involved, though judgment can no doubt be inculcated in this as it has been (in a few performers) in the spontaneous ornamentation of baroque music. At the moment, the editor must act for the performer, suggesting decisions which the medieval performer would have made himself. His task is to uncover the criteria of musicianship, the methods of teaching singing,² and the theoretical principles which regulated chromaticism. These he must apply as far as possible to the actual situations he finds in the manuscripts.

1. Apel, 'The Partial Signatures'.

2. That much depended on teachers is suggested by Anonymous XI. See CS, vol. III, p.429.

There are two corollaries to this practical approach. In the first place, if the editor is to simulate a performance practice, then he should formulate practical rules of thumb which a singer could grasp and apply on the spot. Secondly, by its nature as a performing art, there must have been some room for flexible application of the rules, even after full allowance has been made for differing local traditions, and varying degrees of skill, conservatism, and contact with fresh or foreign ideas. We cannot expect, here or in any comparable performing technique, to uncover rules which would yield infallible results at first sight of a new piece, even for experienced singers working within a single tradition. But techniques which evolve practically, and ultimately instinctively, rarely lend themselves to logical formulation in manuals of instruction at any period of musical history, partly because contemporary writers take them for granted and did not themselves learn them by rote. There are bound to be equally acceptable alternatives, just as there are for the editor who realises a figured bass; and the figured bass is an appropriate analogy, because an impromptu realisation is likely to incur discussion and mutual adjustment between players in rehearsal.

The operation of one or other of these two variables in the performance of medieval music is occasionally implied by the presence of conflicting written accidentals in concordances. (Differences may be complementary; they do not necessarily conflict.) Thus, what the editor supplies may be only one of several ways of performing a piece.

If the singer was responsible for applying accidentals, he must have done so in the first instance to the single part in front of him, using melodic principles. Cadences and structural harmonic points can normally, in any case, be anticipated by identifying the characteristic cadential figures appropriate to each single line of the polyphony. The simultaneous result, the superimposition of each part upon the others, could then be adjusted in rehearsal to meet any overriding harmonic considerations which individual singers had been unable to anticipate. The fact that most of these additions and adjustments were memorised need not tax our credulity too severely: medieval singers were subjected to disciplines which must have equipped them for life with enviable musical memories.¹

Individual theorists give little help on the subject of ficta, and in order to assemble evidence in reasonable quantity it is tempting to draw it from a wide chronological range. It is hardly surprising that, in these circumstances, the results are at variance with each other and with the musical situations they are applied to. Some theoretical tenets remain constant throughout the late middle ages, enshrined in writings which were recopied and quoted generation after generation - the teachings of Guido, Franco and Jean de Muris. Yet it is dangerous to assume that the same applies to rules about harmonic and melodic progression, which need modifying as musical styles change. Performance practices, similarly, are always closely tied to stylistic and technical changes. Earlier teaching may be absorbed

1. See, for example, Harrison, MME, pp.5-6.

into later practices: the treatises of Jean de Muris are of great value in dealing with the Old Hall music a century later, when they were still respected and recopied. But while the OH composers had been brought up on teachings of the fourteenth century, or even earlier, 16th-century theory was not an ingredient of ~~their~~ their musical training. This is obvious enough, but has too often proved a stumbling block to the handling of ficta at an earlier date. Only if we strip our minds of anachronistic teachings can we hope to see the problems and solutions through their eyes and to tackle them with their tools. We would not go to Schumann's writings to uncover the secrets of baroque ornamentation, nor to Caccini for advice on the authentic performance of Palestrina. Geographical frontiers are less rigid than chronological ones; theorists have not been excluded on grounds of nationality. There are no major contradictions on the subject of ficta between theorists from different countries during the period in which the music of OH was composed, recopied and performed: c.1360-1440.

The principles governing musica ficta are closely related to general contrapuntal rules. As the collisions of successive counterpoints, built around a tenor, gave way to something approaching accompanied melody, so angular chromaticism and false relations gradually disappeared in favour of smoother melodic contours and more euphonious chromatic inflections. The date limits of OH are themselves wide:

but it was a single performing repertory, and a single group of singers must have been able to make any necessary stylistic adjustments themselves. We might expect to find greater consistency in the accidentals written by the main scribe and the royal chaplains who used the manuscript than in the same quantity of music copied by different scribes in different manuscripts.

Some scholars have rejected theoretical help on the grounds that it deals primarily with harmonic reasons for chromatic inflection and refers only to two-voice progressions. The chief difficulty is to bridge the gap between this and the polyphony of the 14th and 15th centuries in three or more parts where each singer had nothing but his own line in front of him. The answer to this lies, again, in the principle of successive composition. The author of the Quatuor principalia gives rules for three, four and even five-part writing:

Qui autem triplum aliquod operari voluerit, respiciendum est ad tenorem. Si discantus itaque discordat cum tenore, non discordat cum triplo, et e contrario, ita quod semper habeatur concordantia aliqua ad graviolem vocem, et procedat ulterius per concordantias, nunc ascendendo, nunc descendendo cum discantu, ita quod non semper cum altero tantum.

Qui autem quadruplum vel quintuplum facere voluerit, inspicere debet cantus prius factos, ut si cum uno discordat, cum aliis non discordat, ut concordantia semper habeatur ad graviolem vocem, nec ascendere vel descendere debet cum altero ipsorum, sed nunc cum tenore nunc cum discantu, &c.[†]

He who wishes to fit a third part to something must look to the tenor. If the discantus is discordant with the tenor, it should not be discordant with the third part, and vice versa, so that there is always some concordance with the lower voice, and that if it [the lower part] proceeds by concords with the discant, rising and falling, there is not always so much [consonance] with the other. He who wishes to compose a fourth or fifth part must look at the

†. CS, vol.IV, p.295. See also Anonymous XI (CS, vol.III, pp.465-66) for a mid-15th-century directive on counterpoint in more than two parts.

parts already written, and see that if it is discordant with one of them it is not discordant with the others, and that there is always consonance with the lower part; neither ought it to ascend or descend with any one part, but now ~~with~~ with the tenor, now with the discant, &c.

This tells us that each added voice must always agree with at least one of the others voices, and that it should not be discordant with more than one other voice at any one time. Above all, added voices must adjust to the lowest voice: we have no indication that it is ever adjusted to them. To some extent an existing part, especially if it is a plainsong tenor, is regarded as fixed. This is confirmed in Ugolino's chapter on musica ficta, where he determines the tenor progression, including its chromatic notes, before showing how the upper part must be made to fit to it by the rules of permitted consonance, and in these musica ficta plays an important part. This means that where an inflection is demanded by the vertical relationship between the two parts, and where there is an equal choice between inflecting the top voice, and inflecting the tenor or lowest voice, the upper, added part should be modified.

In practice, the tenor should take priority for the application of melodic rules. Its melodic integrity should be preserved even if other voices have to compromise theirs as a result. The lowest voice (usually the tenor, but another voice may cross below it) takes priority where harmonic considerations are concerned, and the other voices have to conform to it. This distinction applies particularly to English descant, where the tenor plainsong is usually the middle voice. The basic duet between the two lower parts is considered in this style before

any adjustments are made to the upper part.

Following these principles, it is quite possible to apply all that the theorists have to say about ficta in two-part progressions to polyphony in three or more parts, provided always that one is dealing with successively-composed music: the principles have to be modified somewhat before they can be applied to the more harmonically-orientated music of the mid-15th century.

This removes one common objection to using theoretical evidence. The other, that the theorists deal primarily with harmonic reasons for chromatic inflection, ~~is~~ is ultimately not justified. Some of our most valuable evidence is given in purely melodic terms - a statement each from Quatuor Principalia and Jean de Muris. In most other cases, the evidence of two-voice progressions is, from the composer's or choirmaster's point of view, harmonic, but with melodic implications. From the point of view of the individual singer, it is melodic with harmonic implications. Most inflections are concerned with cadential figures, often recognisable melodically. The 'harmonic' bias of most theorists must be related to the purpose of the treatise: for it is in manuals of counterpoint that musica ficta is usually given separate treatment, as part of the basic training not of singers but of composers. Lowinsky has drawn attention to the fact that 'the composer of early music was faced by a problem with regard to accidentals when he was writing, as is the modern scholar when editing'.¹ The writers of counterpoint treatises are concerned to prevent would-be composers from building

1. Lowinsky, 'Conflicting ~~Signatures~~ Signatures', p.238.

impossible situations into their music. Of course, this does not guarantee that near-impossible situations will never confront the performer, but it does give many apparently difficult situations the stamp of normality. It provides the harmonic guidance we need for our singers' mutual adjustment in rehearsal, as well as incidental melodic hints derived from their interval progressions. Once we have admitted distinct functions in different treatises, we can see that many 'contradictory' statements are in fact complementary. Prosdocius's exhortation to be sparing in the use of musica ficta is often reckoned to be inconsistent with his own music examples, which show angular chromaticism. But if he is encouraging composers to avoid situations in which the singer would be forced to apply ficta where an alternative solution could be found, or if he is telling them not to write too many accidentals but to leave them to the performer, his advice is not relevant to singers, schooled orally in a performing art, nor to the modern editor who acts on the performer's behalf. Prosdocius does not claim to help singers to solve problems: he tries to eliminate problems before the singer has to tackle them.

The procedure of applying melodic rules and backing them up with harmonic adjustment has some theoretical support. Anonymous XI and several other theorists give rules for ficta in application to plainsong. It is in the plainsong part of the Quatuor principalia that the hints on ficta come. But other theorists give strong hints that more ficta was needed for polyphony than for plainsong. Vitry, for example, makes the point in a word-play on vera and falsa:

non falsa, sed vera et necessaria, quia nullus motetus, sive rondellus sine ipsa cantari non possunt.

not false, but true and necessary, for no motet or rondellus can be sung without it.

John of Garland, in the middle of his plainsong treatise, inserts the following, without giving any intimation that musica falsa is relevant to cantus planus:

Videndum est de falsa musica, que instrumentis musicalibus multum est necessaria, specialiter in organis. Falsa musica est, quando de tono facimus semitonium, et e converso. Omnis tonus divisibilis est in duo semitonis, et per consequens signa semitonia designantia in omnibus tonis possunt amplificari.²

It should be observed of falsa musica that much is necessary in instrumental music, particularly in organa. Falsa musica is when we make a tone into a semitone and vice versa. Each tone is divisible into two semitones, and consequently the signs designed for semitones can be extended to all notes.

Indeed, though it is never explicitly stated, there is a strong tendency to equate ficta causa necessitatis with harmonic reasons and ficta causa pulchritudinis with melodic reasons for chromatic inflection. The theoretical statement which most nearly supports this claim is from an anonymous Seville treatise:

Boecius autem invenit fictam musicam propter duas causas, scilicet causa necessitatis et causa pulchritudinis cantus. Causa necessitatis est quando non poteramus habere consonantias in omnibus locis ut supradictum est. Causa vero pulchritudinis ut patet in cantilenibus.

Boethius contrived musica ficta for two reasons: because of necessity and because of beauty of song. It is 'of necessity' when we are unable to have consonances in every place as stated above [i.e., harmonic necessity, the correction of vertical perfect intervals]. It is used for beauty as applied to cantilenas [melodic reasons].

1. CS, vol.III, p.18.
2. CS, vol.I, p.166.
3. I owe my knowledge of this treatise to Andrew Hughes, who kindly sent me a film. The manuscript is Biblioteca Colombina, 5.2.25,f.97.

Another possible interpretation of causa necessitatis and causa pulchritudinis is given by Lowinsky: 'Necessity deals with rules pertaining to perfect consonances, beauty with rules pertaining to imperfect consonances'.¹ This is apparently true for writers who give us only harmonic or contrapuntal guidance: the perfection of consonances is regarded as necessary. The two different interpretations of beauty, however, can easily be reconciled: the 'colouring' of dissonances (or imperfect consonances)² involves a two-chord progression and therefore a melodic consideration.

Perhaps the most important guidance we draw from the theorists is insight into the basic musical equipment of singers - and it was certainly through singing that a medieval musician acquired his fundamental training, terminology and musical thought processes. We need this insight before we can approach the manuscript accidentals through their eyes. For present purposes, the crucial part of this equipment is the solmisation system, whereby the notes forming the recognised total compass of music were represented in overlapping hexachords, and came to be shown mnemonically as finger-joints on a hand (the so-called Guidonian hand, although this particular device does not occur in Guido's own treatises) which was used throughout the middle ages for teaching singing. Its great value is that it enables the choirmaster to demonstrate to his pupils where semitones occur, by pointing to the joints of his own fingers. The musical memory of the chorister is reinforced by verbal reminders (the solmisation names for the notes) and by the physical

1. Musica Nova, pp.viii-ix.

2. See p.421.

act of tracing out the steps on his own hand.

The notes included in this basic system of hexachords are called by the theorists musica recta or vera. They include the bb below and the bb above middle c, as well as the b⁴ adjacent to each, but not the bb below those.¹ The system caters for the three most common semitone steps: e-f, b-c, a-bb. These are always solmised mi-fa, and mi-fa is always a semitone. Free transition between these hexachords was permitted, and the point of change was termed a mutation. The note on which the mutation was made had to have a solmisation name (vox) in both the old and the new hexachord. Which of the two names was actually sung is not always clear; sometimes both may have been used. In order to preserve the clear demonstration of semitones, mutation was not permitted between mi and fa. Thus, a bb c b⁴ c would be solmised mi fa sol/fa mi fa, with the mutation on c, where sol must yield to fa because of the semitone step which follows it.

In the course of the fourteenth century the system was extended by theorists to cater for an increasing amount of chromaticism, so that other chromatic steps could be indicated by the same mnemonics. This was achieved by the transposition of recta hexachords to 'alien pitches', 'unaccustomed places', where they classed as musica ficta or falsa. All chromatic notes so derived have their basis in ficta hexachords; the hexachord is created for the sake of the semitone step, mi-fa. We must emphasise again that all bbs except the lowest one in the gamut count not as musica ficta but as musica recta. It is

1. The inclusion of bb is confirmed by medieval directions for

/contd. ...

therefore not correct to equate musica ficta with editorial accidentals. Manuscript accidentals ~~must~~ include both recta and ficta inflections, and are therefore not different in kind from accidentals added in performance. The editor must decide how many more of each kind to add to the handful he finds in the manuscript. In so doing, he must assess whether the written ones were notated because they were in some way abnormal, or whether they constitute an arbitrary sample of normal treatment.

All this may seem unnecessarily cumbersome to the musician schooled in the key system and with reference to a fully chromatic, equally tempered keyboard. If all degrees of the chromatic scale were available (which is almost true by the late 14th century), would not some system closer to our own have been more convenient, based on a chromatic division of the whole octave? Any idea of a set arrangement of tones and semitones for one composition must be rejected. B^b, b^b, f^b, f[#], c^b, c[#] will often be used by one voice in close succession, and the system of mutations was undoubtedly the most practical way of keeping in tune. Moreover, a careful distinction was observed in theory (and probably in practice by the meticulous) between major and minor semitones. Mi-fa, the normal semitone step, is always a minor semitone (e.g., a-b^b, f[#]-g). B^b-b^b and f-f[#] are major semitones, rare in practice, and not susceptible to regular solmisation. When, for harmonic reasons only, it was necessary to use major semitones, the hexachord was changed without mutation on a common note; this change was called a disiuncta. The difference between the two semitone steps

... ontd./ tuning the monochord by musica recta (e.g., Ugolino's) and also the cymbala. For the latter, see J. Smits van Waasberghe, Cymbala (Bells in the Middle Ages) (Musicological Studies and Documents, vol. I: Rome, 1951) and D. V. Thompson, 'Cymbala ...', Speculum, vol. XLII (1967).

which fall within any one tone of musica recta (e.g., eb-d#) is the so-called comma of Didymus or apotony which Marchettus designated as a fifth of a tone, but which later theorists (including Ugolino) more correctly recognise to be not an aliquot part of a tone. Each tone consists of one major and one minor semitone. Both semitone pitches are catered for in the sophisticated monochord tuning systems of Prosdocimus and Ugolino, but would be too unwieldy for a fixed-pitch performing instrument. The singer is not often concerned with pitching major semitones. Where he is, he is invariably helped by the vertical sonority of a perfect interval: the overriding harmonic factor which has forced the use of an irregular melodic interval.¹ Provided the choirmaster knew his way around the hexachord transpositions, the chorister still needed to bother only about the position of semitone steps, which he sang when his master pointed to the appropriate knuckle.

The system does indeed have limitations as a vehicle for advanced theoretical thought, but it was not designed for this. That solmisation as a musical aide-mémoire was spurned or discarded by experienced singers is perhaps implied in the late 14th-century poem The Choristers' Lament: 'you read it off and it's none the better for it. I sol-fa and sing afterwards, and never come the nearer to the right tune'.² Why, then, should it concern us in dealing with music which must have been sung only by experienced singers? First, because all explanations by con-

1. E.g., the written chromatic step at the beginning of OH 101.

2. See p.240, n.2.

temporary theorists concerning contrapuntal progressions, permitted intervals, melodic progressions, singing practices and musica ficta are given in terms of hexachords. An explanation couched in universally-understood terminology is more generally useful than one given in more sophisticated but less familiar terms. It is therefore vital to understand how the system worked, and where it was inadequate at any point in time, in order to understand the theorists' statements. Second, if we approach the manuscript situation with the medieval singer's training in mind, and not a later one, we are more likely to reason in his terms and approach his solutions.¹

Modes have no apparent relevance to ficta in the early 15th century. So long as the mode of a composition is open to dispute, it is more likely to prejudice than to help arguments based on modal assignments. The modes are fundamentally fixed arrangements of tones and semitones. If chromatic inflection can be superimposed on these arrangements without altering the modal definition, how can assignment to a mode help in the application of editorial accidentals? Theorists before Tinctoris rarely attempt to superimpose the modes onto polyphony. The Paris anonymous is one of the exceptions: but his short excursion into the modes and polyphony is not worked out in detail, nor is it applied to the exhaustive treatment of hexachords

1. The connection between ficta and solmisation is also attested in vernacular poetry. References of later date include the well-known musical section in Martin le Franc's Le champion des dames (see Reese, MR, p.13) and the words 'solf' and 'fayne' are used adjacently in two passages quoted by John Stevens in Music and Poetry at the Early Tudor Court (London, 1961), pp.285, 314.

and mutations which precedes it.¹ Without further guidance from contemporary theorists, it is not possible to apply the modes to any but the simplest polyphony. The solmisation system itself does not, of course, solve the problem of added accidentals. If any melody, however angular, can be solmised, we cannot assign accidentals on the basis of what is or is not susceptible of solmisation. By the late 14th century the system had, indeed, been extended to cope with all chromatic progressions. The theorists' explanations help us to fix priorities, tentative rules governing choice of hexachords, permitted harmonic and melodic progressions, and thus the actual accidentals to be applied. Having deduced the rules, the mnemonics are no longer necessary to us in fixing semitone positions: solmisation ex post facto is a superfluous frill.

The theorists of the 14th century imply ficta hexachords. They speak of 'false mutation' (Vitry), 'mental transposition' (Paris anonymous) and call a ficta sharp and its adjacent semitone mi and fa (Muris). But not until Ugolino is the full system of ficta hexachords exhaustively tabulated. For normal purposes this full formulation cannot have been necessary, and the flaws revealed by Ugolino's attempt were probably of no practical hindrance.

The primary rule for applying accidentals is that musica recta should be used rather than musica ficta where possible. Vitry, for example, writes:

Et ideo oritur questio ex hoc videlicet, que fuit necessitas in musica regulari de falsa musica sive de falsa mutatio, cum nullum regulare debeat accipere falsum, sed potius verum.²

1. For this treatise, now at Berkeley, see Richard L. Crocker, 'A new source for medieval music theory', Acta, vol. XXXIX (1967). The modal portion is mentioned on p.165. See also M. Bent, 'A postscript on the Berkeley theory manuscript', Acta, vol. XL (1968), p.175. 2. CS, vol. III, p.18.

And thus arises another question, namely, why it was necessary for music to be regulated by false music, or false mutation, since by no rule ought one to accept what is false, but rather what is true.

The Seville anonymous says:

Et ideo quando non possumus habere consonantias per rectam musicam tunc debemus recurrere ad fictam seu inusitatem et eam operari.¹

Prosdocius allows the use of musica ficta 'provided the consonance could not be coloured in any other way than by musica ficta', and says that it is never used 'except where the context requires'. Ugolino tells us not to use ficta 'except in places of cogent necessity'.² Musica ficta, according to the theorists, is a last resort. However, many theorists were discontented with the terminology, being reluctant to call 'false' or 'feigned' something which was necessary to musical results. The reference by the anonymous Seville theorist above to the 'unusual' is typical. Recta preference takes priority over most other rules, including that of plainsong preference, unless the cantus prius factus has a very strong melodic claim to use or incur ficta, or if for some reason it is treated as immutable. It may be impossible to use musica ficta

1) if the use of a recta $b\flat$ incurs the use of other more extreme ficta flats than a solution using just one or two ficta sharps;

2) if a manuscript accidental (perhaps representing the composer's decision) requires the use of ficta;

1. Seville, f.97.

2. Prosdocius's main statement on musica ficta is in his Tractatus de Contrapuncto (CS, vol.III, pp.198-99). Ugolino's is chapter xxxiv of Ugolino urbevetani declaratio musice discipline, ed. Albert Seay (Rome, 1959-62), vol.II.

- 3) if the music has already been forced into a clearly ficta 'gear'
- 4) if it is desirable to preserve exactly a close imitation, voice-exchange, a repeating or sequential figure, or to match one cadence to another in the same piece.

Most theorists confine their explanations to two symbols: b mollis (b) and b durum (# or ♯, usually interchangeable). Some, however, do observe a distinction between # and ♯, but we can never be sure that this distinction can be applied to a particular source, which may use both indiscriminately.¹ The modern # sign (often written diagonally) ~~may~~ may serve as warning of a major semitone. Marchettus says that this sign is peculiar to mensural music; if he means polyphony, this will accord well with what we have already said about the use of the major semitone, that it is only required by vertical, harmonic considerations. This usage of the # sign cannot be applied consistently, because then the ensuing minor semitone, f#-g, will have the # sign instead of its normal b durum ♯. Scribes, possibly unaware of this distinction, may use exclusively one or other sign for b durum, a hybrid form not certainly identifiable with either, or an apparently haphazard mixture of the two forms perhaps deriving from different layers of activity underlying the exemplars. The distinction may occasionally be meaningful, but we cannot depend on it, and are forced to regard it as having more theoretical than practical importance. One distinct meaning of # is to designate the hard hexachord on g, ♯ sometimes being used for the natural hexachord

1. See CS, vol.III, p.258, where Prosdocimus claims to have elucidated the difference between # and ♯ in his counterpoint treatise. No such passage occurs in the surviving sources. For Marchettus, see CS, vol.III, p.89.

on c. According to the Paris anonymous:

Unde cuiuslibet deductionis cantus habens originem in c cantatur per naturam, in f per b, in g per #.

Whence, a melody in any hexachord starting on c is sung natural, on f soft, on g hard.

b and ḅ are sometimes used for the bb below and above middle c respectively. The latter is probably a survival of the use of a double row of letters (b_p) for higher octaves. This would be a convenient means of distinguishing the only two bbs available by musica recta, but again, manuscript evidence is inconsistent. Often, as in the case of # and ♯, we are faced with the confusion which results when one unthinking scribe has combined different practices. Other signs used in OH, particularly by the second-layer scribes, include the letters c, f, g for the 'soft' forms of those note-pitches, ḅ being reserved for b in those pieces.

The universal rule for interpreting the manuscript symbols (here given in Prosdocius's version) is:

Unde ubicunque ponitur b rotundum sive molle, dicere debemus hanc vocem fa, et ubicunque ponitur ♯ quadrum sive durum, debemus dicere hanc vocem mi, sive tales voces ibidem sint sive non; cuius ratio est quia in hac ditione b fa ♯ mi, in qua ponitur utrumque istorum B, immediate ante fa ponitur b rotundum sive molle, et tali voci fa famulatur; immediate vero ante mi ponitur ♯ quadrum sive durum, et tali voci famulatur mi; et ideo ad ḅ rotundum sive molle dicimus fa, et ad ♯ quadrum dicimus mi.

Thus, wherever ḅ is placed we ought to call that sound fa, and wherever ♯ is placed we ought to call that sound mi, whether the voces are the same or not [i.e., whether or not they would normally have those solmisation names]. The reason for this is that in b fa ♯ mi, where either of these ḅ can be placed, immediately

1. Berkley MS, p.4.
2. CS, vol.III, p.198.

before fa b is placed and that note called fa, immediately before mi # is placed and that note called mi; therefore we say fa when we see b and mi when we see #.

Rarely do we find a direct admission that b lowers a note or that # raises it, though it is invariably possible to place that interpretation upon a theorist's statement. Of the theorists used in the present study, the Paris anonymous states this meaning most clearly:

Item ubicunque ponitur signum b debet de prami sonus verus illius articuli per unum maius semitonium ~~lowered~~ & dici fa.
Et ubi signum # ponitur sonus illius articuli debet per maius semitonium elevari ~~raised~~ & dici ibidem mi.

Wherever the sign b is placed, the recta sound of that note on the hand should be ~~lowered~~ by a major semitone and called fa. Wherever the sign # is placed it should be raised by a major semitone and called mi.

But elsewhere he uses the signs simply to show the position of mi and fa.

Prodocimus words his definition with an ambiguity which may be deliberate:

- 1) in a rising interval b diminishes the ascent and # augments it
- 2) these signs can add or subtract no interval other than the diatonic or major semitone.

The ascending interval is diminished by a b, but this may be effected by raising the lower note rather than by lowering the upper note. If the sign adds or subtracts an interval, it will be a major semitone, but it may not be necessary to alter the recta pitch of the note. For example, the minor semitone between e and f may be reinforced by # on e or by b on f: neither pitch will be altered. The minor semitone f#-g

1. p.6.

2. CS, vol.III, p.198.

will normally be shown by \sharp on \underline{f} , which will raise the pitch of that note by a major semitone. Less often, but equally legitimately, the same interval may be shown by \flat on \underline{g} , indicating fa , making mi a minor semitone below it, on $\underline{f}\sharp$. The signs \flat and \sharp locate the position of the semitone, causing inflection only if necessary. Sometimes both may be indicated, as in the examples given on p.20 of the Paris treatise. Ugolino indicates $\underline{f}\sharp$ by placing a \flat in the space above, on \underline{g} . Thus, some care is needed in handling accidentals which are apparently placed carelessly. It would be wrong to treat every instance as meaningful (see Appendix II to chapter IV), but some undoubtedly are. The context will usually determine whether or not the less usual interpretation of a symbol makes musical sense.

Each letter-name had only two positions, indicated by \sharp and \flat , and this was bound to lead to some ambiguity. And where the \sharp sign does have a distinct meaning from the \sharp , it cannot be equated with the modern distinction. \underline{D} is normally the only ambiguous note in practice, but others are encountered in theoretical systems which try to cover all possibilities. These are the normal meanings:

\flat	\underline{bb}	\underline{eb}	\underline{ab}	$\underline{db}/\underline{d}\sharp$	$\underline{g}\sharp$	$\underline{c}\sharp$	$\underline{f}\sharp$
\sharp	$\underline{b}\sharp$	$\underline{e}\sharp$	$\underline{a}\sharp$	$\underline{d}\sharp/\underline{d}\flat$	$\underline{g}\flat$	$\underline{c}\flat$	$\underline{f}\flat$

In OH a written \underline{db} appears in 76, a $\underline{d}\sharp$ in 55.

However, when theorists attempt to cover both meanings in a single sequence, confusion arises. For example, when the Paris anonymous gives a hexachord on \underline{a} with the semitone position shown by $\underline{c}\sharp$ and \underline{db} , is he talking about the hexachord on $\underline{a}\sharp$ with $\underline{c}\sharp$, or the hexachord on \underline{ab}

with db, or both? Similar problems arise with the hexachords on b, e and d, which are available in 4 and b forms.

Hothby was one of the first theorists to find a way around this confusion; although he still admits hexachord mutation (E mutando il nome ufficiale sempre si muta la schiera),¹ each note was assigned three instead of two ~~more~~ possible positions. The first order of sounds, he says, is associated with the notes a, b[♯], c, d, e, f and g. The second order of sounds, shown by b, is associated with the sound immediately below each of these, and the third order of sounds, shown by #, with the sound immediately above. In other words, he is merely paying lip-service to hexachords and mutations, and virtually adopting our modern system. But Hothby is too late, already, to help us in dealing with the ambiguities posed by a two-position system. This is another very strong reason for using evidence which is not anachronistic; the other, as stated already, being the special contrapuntal problems arising from successive composition.

Several theorists tell us that accidentals need not be written in, even though their use is taken for granted. We have already referred to Prosdocius's admonition against using too much ficta, and suggested this as a possible interpretation. More clearly, the Paris anonymous says:

Circa hec sciendum est quod in cantu inveniuntur duo signa scilicet signum b ~~mollis~~ mollis & signum b quadrati demonstrantis ubi fa & mi debeant cantari & possunt poni in diversis locis manus ut patebit inferius de coniunctis: sed ipsa frequenter sunt in b fa b mi virtualiter licet semper non signentur.²

1. From La calopea legale, printed in E. Coussenaker, Histoire de l'harmonie au moyen-âge (Paris, 1852), p. 295 ff.
2. Berkeley MS, p. 3.

On this matter you should know that two signs are found in song, soft b and square b, showing where fa and mi should be sung, and they can be placed in various places on the hand, as we shall show below in dealing with coniuncte. But these are, legitimately, virtually never indicated in b fa b mi [i.e.: in practice you almost never find them marked in].

Later, Tinctoris says almost the same thing:

Neque tunc b mollis signum apponi est necessarium, immo si appositum videatur, asininum esse dicitur, ut hic probatur.¹

Neither is it necessary to put the sign of b mollis in; indeed, if it is seen written in, it is said to be asinine, as shown here. [The musical example requires bs but has none written in.]

One exception is necessary in practice to the rule that b always means fa and *b* always means mi. If a more extreme flat or sharp in the same hexachord is either written in or is required in performance, they cannot both be called fa or mi, as they will not both have an adjacent semitone. The rule must be modified so that it is the mi of the hexachord which is called mi, even if re is also sharp, as in the e hexachord where re, f#, might be notated, and g#, mi, only implied. Ideally, only the more extreme sharp should be notated. In practice, it was often more helpful to determine the hexachord by sharpening re if necessary. For a performer familiar with the procedures, there was no more need to mark in every accidental than there is for an accomplished executant to mark in his copy the bowing or fingering of every note - yet every note is played, and its bowing or fingering could be notated if necessary. In either case, there will be a tendency for markings at points of possible ambiguity, irregularity or changes of 'gear', but they will still not necessarily be full markings. For

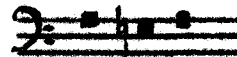
1. CS, vol.IV, p.22.

the same reason, an excessive number of accidentals may show that a piece has been used for teaching. This apparently casual attitude to written accidentals only makes sense in the context of performing reminders. To the singer learning his part without reference to a fixed-pitch keyed instrument, the placing of semitones was much more important than the precise pitch names of the notes. His problems might be compared to those of the modern singer sight-reading a part in an unfamiliar transposition, clef or key, who locates his semitones as much by aural adjustment to the other parts as by accidentals marked in or absent from his own part. The medieval singer, however, was able to apply a series of rational principles when performing 'blind' with others. Lowinsky's thesis of a secret chromatic art in the polyphony of the late 15th and early 16th centuries is absolutely in keeping with this,¹ though the details of his reasoning take us too far from the present chronological limits. Once a series of chromatic hexachords has been initiated in performing a piece, there may be greater need to indicate that an uninflected note is required than to indicate all the inflections of the chromatic hexachords.

The next concern is with the melodic rules relevant to ficta stated by the theorists. They are few and simple, and in most cases carry the harmonic implications of a cadence figure. The basic rule is stated by Jean de Muris:

Quandocumque [recte quandocumque] in simplici cantu est la sol
la, hoc sol debet sustineri et cantari sicut fa mi fa, us:

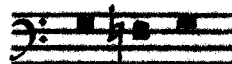
Whenever in a melody there is la sol la, this sol should be suppressed and sung as fa mi fa, thus:



1. E.E. Lowinsky, Secret Chromatic Art in the Netherlands Motet (New York, 1946).

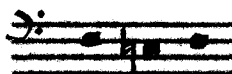
Quandocumque habetur in simplici cantu sol fa sol, hoc fa sustineri debet et cantari sicut fa mi fa, ut:

Whenever in a melody sol fa sol is found, this fa should be suppressed and sung as fa mi fa, thus:



Quandocumque habetur in simplici cantu re ut re, hoc ut sustineri debet et cantari sicut fa mi fa, ut:

Whenever in a melody re ut re is found, this ut should be suppressed and sung as fa mi fa, thus:



He instructs us to sharpen lower returning notes, and at the time he was writing this was normally applied only to f, c and g. However, in a previous example he uses a d#.

The author of the Quatuor principalia, in the course of a section clearly addressed to singers, complains¹ of two debasements of which modern singers were guilty:

Intervalla etiam vocum perfecte pronuntientur, ut semitonium pro tono pleno non fiat, et e contrario. In hoc autem multi modernis temporibus sunt vitiosi, quoniam cum de re, per fa, in sol ascendunt, et vix inter fa et sol semitonium ponunt. Insuper cum sol, fa, sol aut re, ut, re pronuntiant, semitonium pro tono mittunt, et sic genus diatonicum confundunt, ac planum cantum falsificant. Interroganti quidem qua ratione sit ut semitonium pro tono pronuntiant; pro auctoritate enim atque ratione, cantores de magnatorum capellis allegant. Dicunt etenim eos non sic cantasse sine ratione, cum optimi sint cantores, sicque aliorum vestigiis decepti, et unus post alium omnes sequuntur errores.²

Also the intervals of hexachord names should be correctly recited, so that a semitone is not sung instead of a whole tone, and vice versa. In these modern times, however, many [singers] are at fault in this matter, for when they ascend from re to sol via fa, they scarcely ever place a semitone between fa and sol [as they ought]. Moreover, when they say sol fa sol, or re ut re, they

1. CS, vol.III, p.73.

2. CS, vol.II, p.250.

sing a semitone instead of a tone, and thus they throw the diatonic order into confusion, and falsify the chant. When asked for what reason they recite [the solmisation names for] a semitone instead of a tone, they allege that their reason and authority are the singers in magnates' chapels. And they say that they would not do this without reason, since they are the best singers, and thus deceived by the traces of others they all follow each other into the errors.

The author is complaining here about singers who fail to sharpen melodic leading notes - they hardly ever sharpen the f, in which case it would not be called fa - and thus fail to apply ficta where they should. He also objects to singers who correctly sharpen lower returning notes, but use the wrong solmisation names. If they followed the rules of Jean de Muris they would know that these progressions have to be solmised fa mi fa.

Both authors are telling us to sharpen melodic leading notes. The same rule is given in harmonic terms (as 'harmonised' leading notes) by Jean de Muris, Prosdocimus and Ugolino. Jean de Muris is particularly clear. His two-part examples stress the leading-note function of the melodic progression in the top voice (it is, after all, in his Ars discantus) as well as the interval progression.

To this rule must be added one provision, that of recta preference. The singer of the top part, in cadencing on a, may feel the lower part moving down to cadence on the a below, via b, and he may have to allow that part to exercise the recta preference and sing bb, forgoing his own ficta g#. The justification for this rule, which is surmised rather than stated, is that ficta is only used 'where necessary', and where a satisfactory result could not be achieved by means of recta notes.

It is surely possible that singers developed quite refined harmonic senses by learning to anticipate what their companions were about to do. Instead of merely interpreting their own lines regardless of others, and leaving all adjustments until afterwards, they may even have used some form of hand signals to indicate to their fellow-singers their own mutations, the direction of their own contrapuntal lines and the ficta they were incurring. It is also possible that this is how singers reading the same melodic line co-ordinated their efforts in choral performance, and this could be the explanation of the slightly raised hands seen in many pictures of 15th-century choirmen.

The Seville anonymous gives another melodic rule - one which is more often taken for granted by modern writers than stated by medieval theorists. He is talking about the use of bb, and adds to the causa necessitatis and causa pulchritudinis the causa tritoni:

Causa tritoni tunc est quando cantus ascendit de f grave usque a [recte ad?] b acutum, et non ascendit amplius, et descendit in f grave, et tali modo cognoscitur quando b molle habetur causa tritoni, quod debemus vitare in mutationes sane intelligere boecius, quando ubique cantus habetur de f grave usque in b acuto ...

The reason of the tritone [for using bb] is when the melody rises from f to b, ascends no further, and descends to f; and in this way you can tell when you should have bb on account of the tritone, which [the tritone] we ought to avoid in our mutations, if we understand Boethius properly, when the melody moves from f to b.

The paragraph which follows is extremely obscure and apparently deficient.

However, it deals with the progression f b c and appears to indicate that when the b serves as a leading note to the c it is a semitone below c and therefore natural, the melodic tritone from f being permitted in this case.

1. Seville, f.56.

It seems, then, that a melodic tritone (with or without intervening notes) within a single phrase should be avoided, provided that it returns within itself. This will only be overruled, in practice, by the need to perfect a strong vertical consonance, if both claims cannot be met. However, if the ascent of a tritone does not return within itself, the melodic leap of a tritone is quite permissible. It will usually occur in a context such as the f b c progression already mentioned, where the b functions as a leading note. The melodic leading note function, with its harmonic implications, is the strongest melodic reason for inflection, and must be honoured before melodic tritones can be eliminated. The clearest theoretical example and justification for this is in Prodicimus's two notorious examples in the Libellus monocordi and the single one in the Tractatus de contrapuncto.¹ The ligaturing of the latter precludes Lowinsky's belief that it presents four separate cadential situations:²

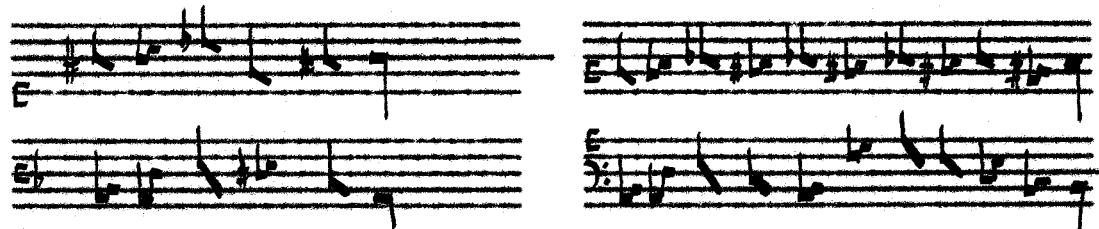
cantus superior



cantus inferior



1. The latter is printed in CS, vol. III, p. 199, the former two (notoriously misprinted) on pp. 254 and 256. Recte:



2. Lowinsky, 'Conflicting Views', p. 202.

The speculative reasoning which determined the intervals permitted in counterpoint also lay behind the harmonic reasons for chromatic inflection. These two considerations are, in any case, virtually inseparable. The most perfect intervals are those derived by the simplest ratios - the first few notes of the harmonic series in relation to the fundamental (octave 2:1, twelfth 3:1, fifteenth 4:1), and the fifth (3:2). Most theorists are somewhat reticent on the status of the fourth. Franco writes: Consonantiarum tres sunt per se, et perfecte, scilicet: unisonus, diapason, et diapente.¹ Prosdocius adds to these the third and sixth, calling them combinationes consonantes sive concordantes, while his list of dissonantes, sive discordantes, sive dissonantias auribus humanis resonantes includes the second, fourth, seventh and their octaves.² While the fourth has some claim to be classed as a perfect interval on mathematical grounds, it is not considered fit to stand on its own harmonically by the 15th century. This appears to be the dilemma: however, the fourth is never included as a perfect interval for purposes of ficta.

The nearer an interval can be brought to perfection, the greater its quality becomes (in speculative terms), whether this be achieved by fair means (recta, the preferable way) or foul (ficta). If the interval cannot itself be made more perfect by chromatic inflection of either or both of the written pitches, then it can acquire some 'virtue' from being as close as possible to the interval which follows it, and if that is already

1. CS, vol.I, p.154.

2. CS, vol.III, p.195.

perfect, so much the better. In Ugolino's words, it gains propinquiorem adhaesionem ad suam immediate sequentem consonantiam. The final cadence of a phrase carried strong philosophical connotations of perfection, as the point to which all the intervals preceding it aspired.

The first essential harmonic rule (given full and lucid expression by Ugolino and Jean de Muris) is that vertical perfect intervals (unisons, fifths, octaves and their octaves) should be perfect. If the interval cannot be made perfect by musica recta, facta is used. The question of tenor priority may condition the choice. Prosdocius states the same rule more briefly. It is usually given in the form of a prohibition against sounding mi contra fa in perfect intervals.¹ The qualification 'in perfect intervals', and the strict application to vertical combinations (i.e., the usual meaning of contra) are of central importance. If mi contra fa were to apply to imperfect intervals we should always be forced, for example, to flatten the b in the progression $\underline{a} \underline{g} \underline{f\#} \underline{g}$ so that it could be solmised not sol fa mi fa but $\begin{array}{c} \underline{c} \underline{b} \underline{a} \underline{g} \\ \text{sol fa mi fa} \\ \text{fa mi re ut} \end{array}$ sol fa mi re, avoiding the mi contra fa of the sixth, b g, which is the only solmisation permitted by the placing of the semitones if b^b is sung. Clearly, a rule which permitted us to approach g only through b^b would be musically untenable, and the theorists do not call for it.

If mi and fa sound simultaneously in a perfect interval, this may be symptomatic of either of two faults. First, and most important, the interval which should be perfect may in fact be augmented or diminished.

1. For Jean de Muris's statement, see CS, vol.III, p.71.

This must be put right. Second, even if the perfect interval itself is correct, it may be immediately preceded by an augmented or diminished interval. This could result from two simultaneous applications of accidentals which are incompatible, and the sounding of mi contra fa on the cadence chord would serve ^{to the tone-deaf} as a warning that something had gone wrong. Mi would incidentally sound against fa on the antecedent chord, but only because each was a semitone away from the final chord. Only the first of these faults is illustrated by the theorists. Examples of how both arise include:

$\frac{a}{a}$	$\frac{f}{b}$	=	la	fa	but	$\frac{a}{a}$	$\frac{f\#}{b}$	=	sol	mi	or	$\frac{a}{a}$	$\frac{f}{b\flat}$	=	la	fa	(Recta names are used where available. No mutations are used in the present examples.)					
$\frac{a}{a}$	$\frac{b}{b}$	=	re	mi		$\frac{a}{a}$	$\frac{b}{b}$	=	re	mi		$\frac{a}{a}$	$\frac{b\flat}{b}$	=	mi	fa						
$\frac{a}{c}$	$\frac{b\flat}{b}$	=	mi	fa	but	$\frac{a}{c}$	$\frac{b\flat}{b}$	=	mi	fa	or	$\frac{a}{c}$	$\frac{b}{b}$	=	re	mi						
$\frac{c}{c}$	$\frac{b}{b}$	=	fa	mi		$\frac{c}{c}$	$\frac{b\flat}{b}$	=	sol	fa		$\frac{c}{c}$	$\frac{b}{b}$	=	fa	mi						
$\frac{d}{f}$	$\frac{c\#}{e\flat}$	$\frac{d^1}{d}$	=	fa	mi	fa	but	$\frac{d}{f}$	$\frac{c}{e\flat}$	$\frac{d}{d}$	=	sol	fa	sol ²	or	$\frac{d}{f}$	$\frac{c\#}{e}$	$\frac{d}{d}$	=	fa	mi	fa
$\frac{f}{f}$	$\frac{e\flat}{e}$	$\frac{d}{d}$	=	sol	fa	mi		$\frac{f}{f}$	$\frac{e\flat}{e}$	$\frac{d}{d}$	=	sol	fa	mi		$\frac{f}{f}$	$\frac{e}{e}$	$\frac{d}{d}$	=	fa	mi	re

It is clear from the examples given by the theorists that this rule applies to perfect intervals which have a cadence function, although this proviso is never explicitly stated. False relations do occur in the manuscripts in contexts where the conflicting accidentals seem well justified on linear grounds. ~~These~~ instances invariably concern passing or auxiliary chords and not strong beats (such as the last interval of a cadential progression or the first of a phrase). The conflict usually occurs between a leading note function of the upper voice and tritone avoidance in the lower. Unless a melodic tritone is admitted as an adjunct to a leading note (f b c) or to avoid a vertical tritone or a

1. This progression actually occurs in OH 16 and must be the result of two incompatible alternatives finding their way onto a single copy.
2. This could also be la sol la or re ut re.

false relation on a strong beat (the strength being to some extent a matter of subjective judgment), it should be avoided. Tritones and false relations are admissible as vertical intervals in auxiliary positions, more on the evidence of manuscript accidentals than of theoretical statements, though Tinctoris gives later support to this principle.¹ These clashes may also be admitted between two voices, each of which has a correct relationship with the tenor or lowest voice. In

the progression $\begin{array}{ccc} e & f & e \\ c & b & c \\ a & d & c \end{array}$ the imperfect fifth between f and b is

allowable because each upper part observes a correct relationship with the lowest voice, and the chord resulting is on an auxiliary not a strong beat. If two parts each have a strong melodic claim to lines which result in a simultaneous false relation, the clash is permitted provided it is on a weak beat.

The other harmonic rule given by the theorists requires thirds and sixths preceding fifths and octaves to be major, where the upper note of the first interval rises a single step to the second one. Thirds preceding unisons or fifths should be minor if the top part descends one step. The clearest statement, again, is by Jean de Muris, accompanied by exhaustive examples.² These can easily be inverted to apply to a lower part where the inflection of the upper part is determined by manuscript accidentals, though the tenor is treated as a fixed part to which the others adjust in this exposition and in Ugolino's. If the tenor progression is governed by recta priority, as in $\begin{array}{cc} f & a \\ b & a \end{array}$, this will

1. CS, vol.IV, p.127.

2. CS, vol.III, pp.71-73.

be applied instead of inflecting the upper part: in this case the lower part will have $\flat a$ instead of $\sharp a$ in the upper part. Instead of having a discantus part proceeding by step, we now have a tenor proceeding by semitone step, but the perfect octave is still preceded by a major sixth. The speculative basis of the rule is stated explicitly by Ugolino, who gives two reasons for applying ficta to imperfect intervals:

Sed talem musicam etiam in consonantiis imperfectis sive dissonantiis colorandis fingimus, causa vero fictionis huiusmodi duplex est, scilicet, causa harmoniae dulcioris habendae, et causa propinquioris perfectionis acquirendae ...

Prosdocius gives a shorter but otherwise similar account of the detailed application of this principle, the main difference being one of terminology. Prosdocius calls thirds, sixths, tenths etc. imperfect consonances, major or minor accordingly. Ugolino calls them imperfect consonances or dissonances and usually refers to them as dissonances.

Chromatic inflection applied to these imperfect consonances or dissonances is often called 'coloration' - i.e., a musical ornament, like the chroma of Marchettus. The fact that this is 'ornamental' rather than 'necessary' places this kind of inflection in the causa pulchritudinis category. Prosdocius gives the reason as 'for the sake of sweeter harmony'. The third preceding a fifth does not need to be made more perfect except for its own good; thus its perfection classes as ornamental. Some confusion may arise from the constant distinction drawn between major and minor semitones. Ugolino, for example, in his Tractatus monochordi, says:

Nam potest intelligens organista maiore uti semitono atque minore, altero quidem ad perfectionem, altero vero ad colorationem.

For the intelligent organista can use major and minor semitones, the one for perfection, the other for coloration.

This might legitimately be interpreted to mean that major semitones are used to perfect intervals which should be perfect, minor semitones to adjust the size of an imperfect interval proceeding to a perfect one. In fact, Ugolino makes it clear in the chapter de ficta musica in the Declaratio that he means: in order to perfect an interval (e.g., b-f) a major semitone must be added to one of the notes (i.e., f-f# or b-bb), while the 'coloration' of an imperfect consonance, regarded as an ornament to the ensuing perfect consonance, is achieved by making one outer note of the imperfect interval a mere minor semitone away from the perfect interval (e.g., a g requires f#: although f-f# is a major semitone, f#-g is a minor semitone). Major semitones are occasionally required melodically for reasons of vertical perfection.

One important rider to the rule that imperfect consonances should be major when they proceed to perfect consonances concerns the application of the rule to successive part-writing. If each upper voice in the cadence figure $\begin{array}{ccc} \underline{a} & \underline{b} & \underline{c} \\ \underline{g} & \underline{f} & \underline{g} \\ \underline{e} & \underline{d} & \underline{c} \end{array}$ is considered together with the lowest voice, a double leading note cadence (with f#) will result, not because it is necessary to perfect the fourth between the upper parts but because each of the upper parts has a leading-note function. If the middle part fell to e, the f would be natural.

The problem of 'key'-signatures has formed the starting-point for many recent articles devoted to ficta: no survey of ficta at this period can overlook them. One of the most far-reaching consequences of the

distinction between recta and ficta, and the prior claims of the former, is its effect on the interpretation of these signatures. Absence of a flat signature in an upper part (one or both lower parts having a flat signature) need not restrain us from applying b₂ to that top part. B₂ forms part of the normal recta scheme for an unsigned part, and any b can be sung b or 4 with no prior claim by the uninflected form.

The normal solmisation procedure for any piece of music is by musica recta. This gives a built-in system of priorities for applying editorial accidentals. What difference does a flat signature make? Having rejected modal anchorage for early 15th-century polyphony, I also reject interpretations based on modal transposition. There is no question of applying a modern interpretation: the recurrent problem of partial signatures is that signatures sometimes have to be overruled, while unsigned parts sometimes need flats. If a b₂ signature were to eliminate b⁴ as a recta note, only two recta hexachords would remain. If a signature of b₂ and e₂ were so interpreted, only one hexachord could be used without incurring ficta, and the entire balance of priorities would be upset because a ficta note (e₂) was given priority by the signature.

The set of three hexachords on c, g and f represents a set of relationships. The terminology natural, hard and soft reflects these relationships, for the arrangement of each individual hexachord is identical in terms of tones and semitones. Elimination of one or more of the recta hexachords would severely restrict the available mutations and

the exercise of recta priority, as well as producing a very different pattern of inflection for a signed part. Flat signatures appear to effect a transposition of the basic recta system of three hexachords one degree flatwards for each note flattened in the signature. They might therefore be termed 'hexachord signatures'. The process is treated as recta transposition rather than as ficta because the whole system is moved, together with its built-in rules for applying accidentals; isolated hexachords are not transposed for the sole purpose of creating chromatic notes. This interpretation solves a number of puzzling features. Signed parts tend, as has been observed, to occupy a pitch-range roughly a fifth lower than their unsigned upper parts, and yet the result is not bitonal. A part with one flat signature has two hexachords of recta in common with an unsigned part on the one hand and with a two-flat-signature part on the other, and it therefore shares a high proportion of actual recta preferences. Just as bb is a legitimate recta note in an unsigned part, b⁴ is a legitimate ficta note in a part with one flat, corresponding exactly to the position of f[#] in an unsigned part. Similarly, eb becomes a recta note in a part with one flat signature; and ab is added to the recta range in a part with two flats, where e⁴ becomes a ficta note.

Double-leading-note cadences are bound to be the normal result in successively-composed unsigned pieces, as already shown. The same applies to a partially-signed piece with a flat signature only in the lowest of three parts. Where both the lower parts have a bb signature, the middle part will tend more often to forego cadential

patterns incurring extreme ficta sharps, and single-leading-note cadences would then result. It must be emphasised that the presence of a signature does not override the sharpening of leading notes. However, the 4 ♭ ♭ signature pattern does seem to supersede 4 ♯ ♭ as traces of successive composition begin to weaken and single leading notes become more satisfactory on musical grounds. Recta transposition is supported by Ugolino's discussion of a 'double hand where all the solmisation names of musica reata and musica ficta are set out' and 'another hand of musica ficta and musica reata starting a fifth below [] , on C, equivalent to the first [hand] except for its low pitch'.¹ Morley, in an extraordinary passage on signatures which seems to borrow much of its terminology from Latin ficta explanations (e.g., 'in such a key as it is not naturally': ubi per se non est) without accepting medieval theory on the matter (Morley calls f fa whether it is sharp or natural), implies transpositions:

And as for them who have not practised that kind of songs, the very sight of those flat clefs ... make them mistranscribe their notes and go out of tune, whereas by the contrary if your song were pricked in any other key any young scholar might easily and perfectly sing it.²

I have found no satisfactory explanation for the signature of eb only which occurs in OH 21 and 82. However, the clefless flat signatures found in some pieces in BL and Escorial offer some comparison. Tous desplaisir, for example (Escorial, ff.7v-8) has a signature of two flats for each of the three parts, in each case on the second and fourth lines of the staff. The clefs have to be read as C1 for the top part, C3 for the lower two.

1. Declaratio, vol.II, chapter xxxiv, paragraphs 52-56.
2. Plain and Easy Introduction (see p.48, n.3), pp.261-62.

The flats therefore fall on e and b in the upper part, a and e in the lower two. The relationship is that of the signature b bb bb, the placing one degree flatter. (A signature involving more flats than conventional notation permitted was achieved by Pycard in a unique way: see appendix II to chapter IV.) The distinction between a signature and an accidental is not always clear in manuscripts, and may not always have been clear to scribes. The flat signature functions as a kind of clef to the use of musica recta: some accidentals may be treated as temporary signatures in this way. A manuscript accidental may be placed well in advance of the note it affects precisely for this reason, and to give prior warning of the intended solmisation and therefore of the intended inflections.

Another phenomenon presents some problems of definition: the coniuncta.¹ At first sight it would appear to be a synonym for ficta:

Est ficta musica quando de tono facimus semitonium, et e converso ..²

Coniuncta, secundum vocem hominis vel instrumenti, est facere de tono semitonium et e converso ...³

Est enim coniuncta quedam acquisita canendi actualis attributio in qualibet facere de tono semitonic & e converso ...⁴

... aliquis inusitatus cantus quem aliqui scilicet male falsam musicam appellant alii fictam musicam alii vero coniunctas eam nominant & bene. ... coniuncte ut cantus antedictis irregularis per eas ad regularitatem quodammodo duci posset.⁵

1. See also the recent study by A. Seay: The 15th-century Coniuncta: A Preliminary Study, in Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music, ed. Jan LaRue (New York, 1966), pp. 723-27.

2. Vitry, Ars Contrapunctus. CS, vol. III, p. 26.

3. Anonymous XI. CS, vol. III, p. 426.

4. Paris anonymous. Berkeley MS, p. 8.

5. Ibid., p. 7.

The Paris treatise (which is dated 1375) was not known to Seay and anticipates by a century Faxolis's exact wording:

coniuncta est alicuius proprietatis seu deductionis de loco proprio ad alienum locum secundum sub vel supra intellectualis transpositio.

Transposition never features in a straightforward definition of ficta. Although the Paris theorist refers only to the transposition of single hexachords, he nevertheless refers to the coniuncta as a means of regularising the irregular and to ficta as an incorrect name for the coniuncta. Examples show complete systems, of hard, natural and soft hexachords (whose only meaningful distinction rests, as we have seen, in their mutual relationship), not isolated hexachords. Coniuncte are defined in the same terms, as the transposition of a specific hard or soft hexachord. Could it be that the coniuncta differs from ficta by transposing recta systems (or relevant parts of them) and preserving the hexachord relationships which are disrupted by the use of isolated ficta hexachords?

The Paris treatise is the only source known to me which introduces the disiuncta, a device (or rather an excuse) for coping with irregular melodic intervals. Major semitones, augmented seconds, tritones and even minor sixths are among intervals which cannot be solmised with proper mutation, as no one hexachord of recta or ficta contains both boundary notes of the leap. Yet all these intervals are used:

1. Berkeley MS, p.6; Seay, p.730, n.19.

Quia ab una deductione sepe sit transitus ad aliam in cantu quod absque mutatione vocum bono modo fieri non possit licet aliquis [MS aliquum?] fiat per disiunctas. Est enim [MS .ii.] disiuncta vehemens transitus ab una deductione, in aliam absque quacunque vocum mutatione ibi fieri possibile.

The disiuncta, then, is a forced transition from one hexachord to another where no mutation is possible; i.e., where there is no pivotal note in the old and new hexachords. In practice the disiuncta should be avoided unless harmonic considerations make it necessary.

Three further points may guide the singer's inflections. One is the principle of remaining in one hexachord until forced to change to another. In a lower voice cadencing c b a g, for example, the choice between the two recta notes bb and b⁴ may be conditioned by the hexachord in which the preceding notes fell. Thus $\overset{e}{d} \overset{c}{\underset{b}{c}} \underline{b^4} \underline{a} \underline{g}$ and f a c bb a g would be likely choices, other things being equal.

Another relates to the adage una nota super la semper est canendum fa. Although this is constantly referred to as a time-honoured statement of medieval theory, I have been unable to find it in this form earlier than Riemann's Geschichte der Musiktheorie im IX.-XIX. Jahrhundert (1898). Such latinisations carry a misleading ethos of authenticity. If Riemann did have an early authority for the statement, it cannot have been earlier than the abuses of solmisation which set in by the end of the 15th century. It is usually taken to mean that a b a should be performed a bb a. Even if 16th-century practice admitted la fa la as a proper means of solmising this progression (thus destroying the whole purpose of solmisation - location of semitones), by the standards of the 15th and earlier centuries only mi fa mi could be used. When an

1. Berkeley MS, p.4.

upper returning note is flattened, as it frequently is, the reason is usually either the avoidance of a melodic tritone outline, or the achieving of a correct 'adhesion' between an imperfect and a perfect interval (e.g., $\frac{a}{f} \frac{bb}{g} \frac{a}{d}$) by the rules of Jean de Muris. But it may also result from purely aural considerations. What the singer hears happening around him may, in practice, be the strongest influence upon his own solution. In the absence of keyboard anchorage, or of any prejudice that b is to be sung natural unless marked flat, the singer is unlikely to persist with b^b if the lower parts are constantly using

bb: $\frac{a}{a} \frac{bb}{d} \frac{a}{c} \frac{g}{bba} \frac{a}{a}$ is more likely than $\frac{a}{a} \frac{b^b}{d} \frac{a}{c} \frac{g}{bb} \frac{a}{a}$.

The third is Prosdocius's extension of the 'adhesion' principle to adjacent imperfect intervals. He justifies the primam & quadrum in cantu inferiori in the example quoted above (p.416) thus:

quum talis sexta in sua minoritate minus distat a loco ad quem immediate accedere intendit, scilicet ab alia sexta immediate sequenti, quam in sua majoritate.

Clearly, as in the case of mi contra fa, this rule cannot be accorded universal application. To make all consecutive thirds major, or all minor, would incur numerous musical anomalies. But it may sometimes be used in the context in which Prosdocius himself uses it; the pre-penultimate chord is made closer to the penultimate and thus to the final perfect interval. It could also be regarded as a leading note to a leading note.

These are incidental. The main conditions, of recta preference, vertical perfection, progression from imperfect to perfect intervals (usually by means of a leading note) have been set out above, and are formulated as a set of practical rules in the introduction to the new edition.

TABLE I: COLLATION

TABLE II: INVENTORY AND INDEX OF CH

TABLE I: COLLATION

The present foliation of OH is retained.

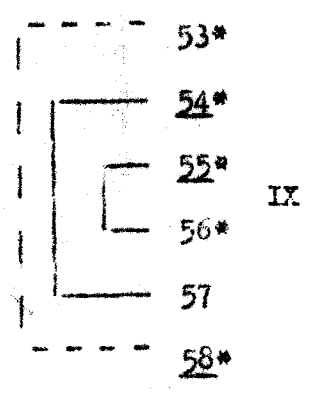
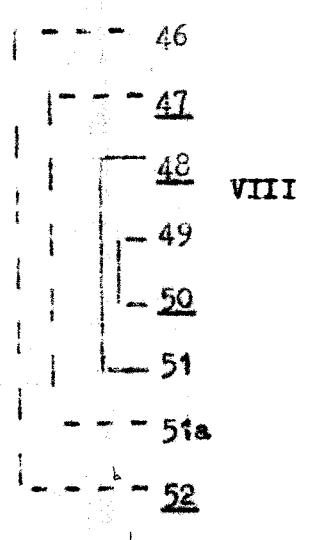
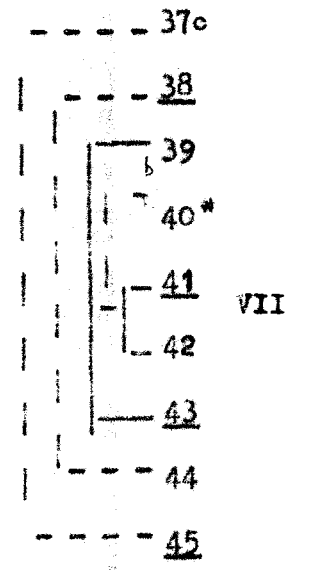
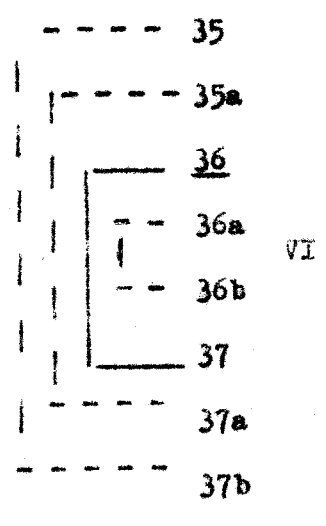
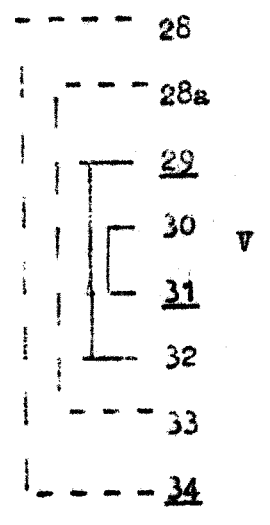
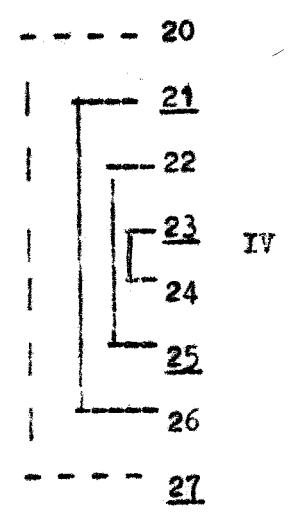
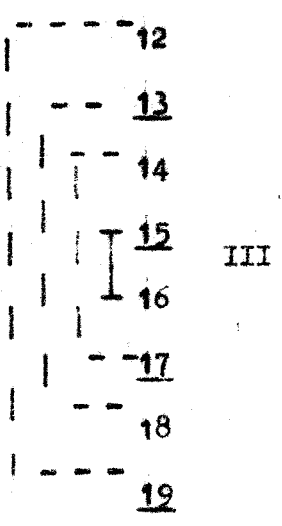
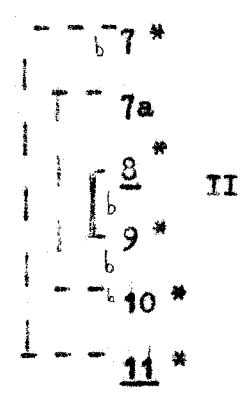
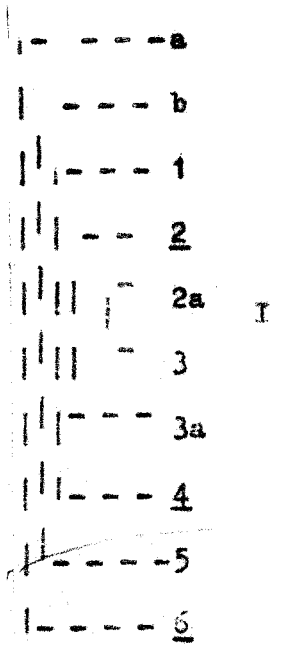
Folio numbers qualified by a, b, c stand for missing folios which once followed that number, and occur only at points where gaps have to be assumed.

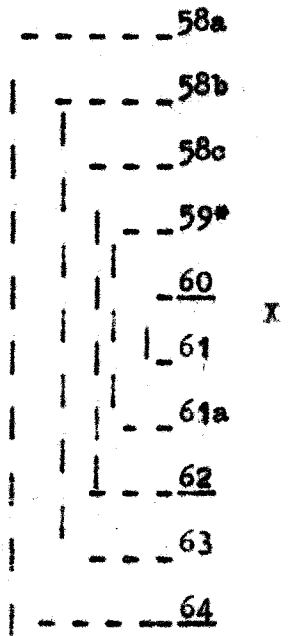
Underlined (italicised) numbers are used for folios whose recto is the hair side of the parchment.

Solid lines indicate bifolia which are still intact; dotted lines indicate those which were originally joined.

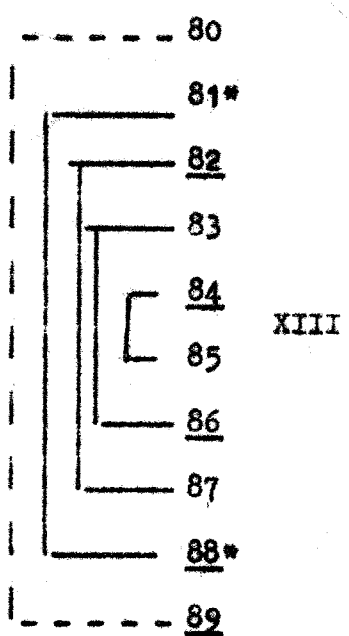
* indicates a folio with brown margin rulings; all others have violet rulings.

Gatherings II, IX and XIV are the second-layer insertions.

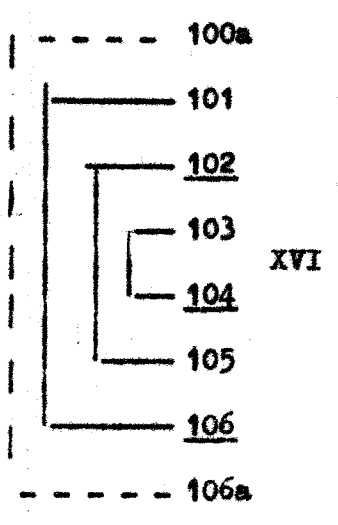




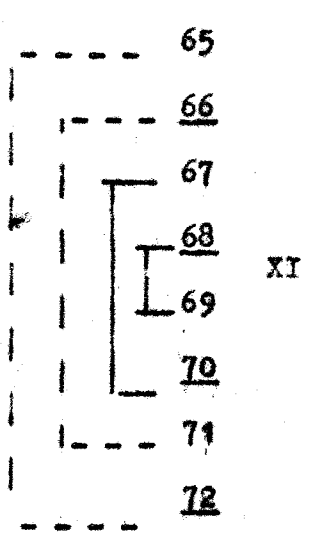
X



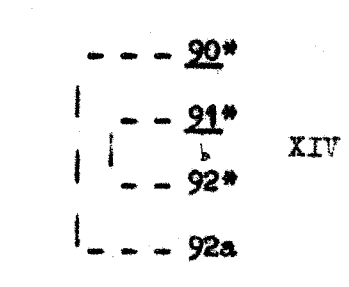
XIII



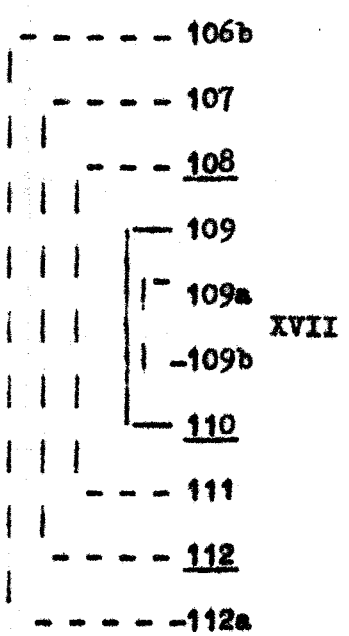
XVI



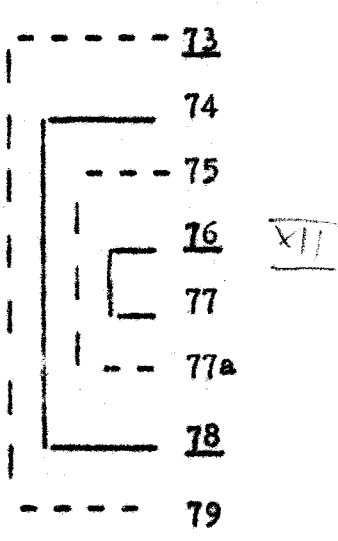
XI



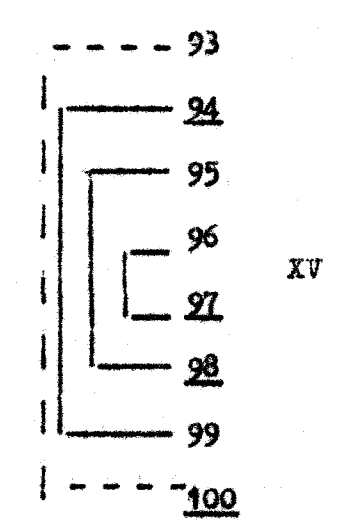
XIV



XVII



XVII



XV

TABLE II: INDEX TO OH PIECES, WITH PAGE NUMBER IN DISSERTATION

<u>1</u>	46	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>2</u>	46, 55-56	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
<u>3</u>	pl. II, 164*	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
<u>4</u>	46, 127	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>
<u>5</u>	46, 49, 117*, 170, 222, 246, 256*	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>
<u>6</u>	125-26*, 222	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>
<u>7</u>	159-63*, 180, 206, 246, 256*, 385	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>
<u>8</u>	117*, 162-64*, 360	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>
<u>9</u>	66, 130, 146, 171, 180, 203, 215	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>
<u>10</u>	69, 130, 132, 146, 180, 203, 215	<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>
<u>11</u>	130, 146, 203	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>
<u>12</u>	69, 130, 132, 146, 150, 175, 180, 203, 215, pl. X	<u>12</u>	<u>12</u>
<u>13</u>	69, 130, 132, 146, 175, 203, 242	<u>13</u>	<u>13</u>
<u>14</u>	69, 130, 146, 170*, 203, 214	<u>14</u>	<u>14</u>
<u>15</u>	46, 69, 130, 146, 199, 203, 211, 212	<u>15</u>	<u>15</u>
<u>16</u>	46, 49, 52, 165*, 206-09, 214, 222, 257, 381, 419	<u>16</u>	<u>16</u>
<u>17</u>	108, 117*, 194-95, 206, 217-18, 220, 222, 235, 38 [*] , 247, 257, 351	<u>17</u>	<u>17</u>
<u>18</u>	102, 121*, 127, 194, 222	<u>18</u>	<u>18</u>
<u>19</u>	102, 127, 222, 223	<u>19</u>	<u>19</u>
<u>20</u>	194-95, 222-23, 231, 246-48	<u>20</u>	<u>20</u>
<u>21</u>	49, ^{106,} 178, 193, 195, 246-47, 250, 364, 38 ⁵ , 425	<u>21</u>	<u>21</u>
<u>22</u>	117*, 126, 172, 195-96, 206, 213*, 220*-22, 224-26, 228-29, 233-34*, 238-40, 246	<u>22</u>	<u>22</u>
<u>23</u>	46, 87-90*, 106, 110, 121*, 127, 222-23, 364	<u>23</u>	<u>23</u>
<u>24</u>	46, 49, 118*, 127, 193, 195, 219, 222, 243 ⁻⁴ , 364	<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>
<u>25</u>	118*, 180, 218, 222, 232*, 364	<u>25</u>	<u>25</u>

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	Squire	old edn	new edn	scribes	concordances	pairings, &c
	<u>1</u>	1	III[1]	I1		
	<u>2</u>	2	III[3]	I2		
	<u>3</u>	3	III[6]	I5	Square in iii-Munday I	
	<u>4</u>	3a	III xix	I7		
	<u>5</u>	4	III[8]	I9		
	<u>6</u>	4a	III[11]	I11		
	<u>7</u>	5	I1	I13		
	<u>8</u>	6	I7	I18		
	<u>9</u>	7	I11	I11	Cc	
	<u>10</u>	8	III[13]	I15	Eb	
	<u>11</u>	8a	III[16]	I17	Dd	
	<u>12</u>	9	I17	I19	XYb	
	<u>13</u>	10	I22	I13	Bb	
	<u>14</u>	11	I28	I17	Dd	
	<u>15</u>	12	III[18]	I22	Ff	
	<u>16</u>	13	I34	I21		
	<u>17</u>	14	I39	I24	As ff.242v-244	pair to <u>79?</u>
	<u>18</u>	15	I47	I29		
	<u>19</u>	16	I50	I32		
	<u>20</u>	17	I55	I36		pair to <u>80?</u>
	<u>21</u>	18	I60	I40		pair to <u>77</u>
	<u>22</u>	19	I65	I44		i aug. X 2
	<u>23</u>	20	III[23]	I49		
	<u>24</u>	21	III[32]	I55		pair to <u>84</u> i aug. X 2 in Amen
	<u>25</u>	22	I70	I60		

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	no.	ff.	title	[see key for abbreviations]	composer	
<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	1	Gloria	score, b.m.	b	<u>1</u>
<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	1v-2	Gloria	score	i	<u>2</u>
<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	2-2v	Gloria	score, e.m.	m	<u>3</u>
<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	3	Gloria	a4: 3 in score, contratenor separate.	b	<u>4</u>
<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	3v	Gloria	score, e.m. G5 in ii.	i	<u>5</u>
<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	4	Gloria	score, b.m.	b	<u>6</u>
<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	4v-5v	Gloria	score	[C]ooke	<u>7</u>
<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>	5v-6	Gloria	score	Aleyn	<u>8</u>
<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>	6v-7	Gloria	score	Sturgeon	<u>9</u>
<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>	7v	Gloria	score, e.m.	Danett	<u>10</u>
<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>	8	Gloria	score, b.m.	[Cooke] s	<u>11</u>
<u>12</u>	<u>12</u>	8v-9	Gloria	score	Burrell	<u>12</u>
<u>13</u>	<u>13</u>	9v-10v	Gloria	score	Danett	<u>13</u>
<u>14</u>	<u>14</u>	10v-11v	Gloria	score	Cook (on f.11)	<u>14</u>
<u>15</u>	<u>15</u>	11v-12	Gloria		N.Sturgeon	<u>15</u>
<u>16</u>	<u>16</u>	12v-13	Gloria		Roy Henry	<u>16</u>
<u>17</u>	<u>17</u>	13v-14	Gloria		[B]lytteryng	<u>17</u>
<u>18</u>	<u>18</u>	14v	Gloria	a4: canon 2 in 1	[B]lytteryng	<u>18</u>
<u>19</u>	<u>19</u>	15	Gloria	iso	J.Tyes	<u>19</u>
<u>20</u>	<u>20</u>	15v-16	Gloria	G5 in 1, up 4th.	J.Excetre	<u>20</u>
<u>21</u>	<u>21</u>	16v-17	Gloria	a4: final section a5.	Leonel	<u>21</u>
<u>22</u>	<u>22</u>	17v-18	Gloria		Lyonel	<u>22</u>
<u>23</u>	<u>23</u>	18v-19	Gloria	a4: iso	Leonel	<u>23</u>
<u>24</u>	<u>24</u>	19v-20	Gloria	iso; T [Ad Thome], down 5th.	[Leonel] b, p	<u>24</u>
Amen.	<u>25</u>	20v-21	Gloria		[Leonel]	<u>25</u>

KEY TO INVENTORY

Some additional details are given in Andrew Hughes and Margaret Bent, 'Old Hall: the Inventory', MD, vol. XXI (1967), pp. 130-147.

OH numbers are given here at right and left sides of each page.

The left-hand page (bound into volume) is an index to mentions of OH pieces in the present volume.

The centre page gives the following information:

- a) Squire's numbering, with Rukofzer's emendations as letters (a, b &c)
- b) location (volume, page) in Hansbootham &c, OH.
- c) location (volume, page) in forthcoming Hughes/Bent edition.
- d) scribes (scribe A unless stated).
- e) concordances (see index of MSS for abbreviations) and squares (Munday I means Munday's first mass upon the square in B.M. Add. 17802-5).
- f) note of certain or possible pairings and of parts written in aug[mentation] or dim[inution] in relation to others.

The right-hand page gives the following information:

- a) folios.
- b) title (and tr[ope] if any: S & A = Spiritus et alme).
- c) description, as follows:
 - i) all pieces are a unless stated otherwise.
 - ii) all are in choirbook layout unless specified 'score'.
 - iii) b[eginning] m[issing] and e[nd] m[issing] indicate state of completeness in OH.
 - iv) canon and iso[rhythm] are noted but not detailed.
 - v) presence of plainsong noted; 'pl.s.' means that the plainsong corresponds to the title unless noted.
i, ii &c = no. of part, counting down; T = tenor.
mig. = migrant.
Plainsong untransposed unless the degree of transposition is given: 'up 5th', &c: var. = various degrees.
G5 = 5th Gloria chant in the Sarum Gradual (similarly S3 = 3rd Sarum Sanctus); C IV = 4th Credo chant in Roman Gradual.
seq. = sequence.
- d) composer, if given: names or letters supplied are in brackets. Reasons for anonymity or ascription are indicated thus:
 - i = initial missing
 - b = beginning of piece missing
 - m = margin trimmed close
 - an. = never had an ascription
 - er. = erased
 - s = scribal grounds
 - p = attribution on grounds of musical pairing
 - c = composer known from concordance

<u>26</u>	117*, 118*, 121*, 127, 180, 194, 195, 222, 230	<u>26</u>	<u>26</u>
<u>27</u>	117*, 118*, 127, 180, 222	<u>27</u>	<u>27</u>
<u>28</u>	100, 117*, 222-23, 244, 387	<u>28</u>	<u>28</u>
<u>29</u>	116*, 180, 232*, 351, 355	<u>29</u>	<u>29</u>
<u>30</u>	116*, 127, 180	<u>30</u>	<u>30</u>
<u>31</u>	222, 244, 250, 351	<u>31</u>	<u>31</u>
<u>32</u>	46, 101, 180, 222	<u>32</u>	<u>32</u>
<u>33</u>	46, 49, 117*, 123, 222, 351	<u>33</u>	<u>33</u>
<u>34</u>	351	<u>34</u>	<u>34</u>
<u>35</u>	93, 95, 101, 127, 185, 194, 195-96	<u>35</u>	<u>35</u>
<u>36</u>	70, 71, 116*, 178, 194, 195-96, 246, 385	<u>36</u>	<u>36</u>
<u>37</u>	66, 108, 130, 146, 202, 212-13, 217, 219, 249	<u>37</u>	<u>37</u>
<u>38</u>	66, 69, 130, 146, 202, 209-10	<u>38</u>	<u>38</u>
<u>39</u>	66, 69, 130, 147, 176, 202, 212, 217, 218, 219, 233, 235, 246	<u>39</u>	<u>39</u>
<u>40</u>	46, 66, 130, 146, 180, 202, 211, 212	<u>40</u>	<u>40</u>
<u>41</u>	46, 49	<u>41</u>	<u>41</u>
<u>42</u>		<u>42</u>	<u>42</u>
<u>43</u>	111*, 124*, 151, 180, 186, 364	<u>43</u>	<u>43</u>
<u>44</u>	76, 180, 186	<u>44</u>	<u>44</u>
<u>45</u>	46	<u>45</u>	<u>45</u>
<u>46</u>	46, 49	<u>46</u>	<u>46</u>
<u>47</u>	351	<u>47</u>	<u>47</u>
<u>48</u>	119-20, 186	<u>48</u>	<u>48</u>
<u>49</u>	364	<u>49</u>	<u>49</u>
<u>50</u>	180, 186, 222, 351	<u>50</u>	<u>50</u>

<u>26</u>	23	I76	I65		pair to <u>76?</u>	<u>26</u>
<u>27</u>	24	I84	I70			<u>27</u>
<u>28</u>	25	I92	I78		i & ii aug. X 2 in final section	<u>28</u>
<u>29</u>	26	I104	I89	LoF ff.9v-10		<u>29</u>
<u>30</u>	27	I109	I93	&III[62]		<u>30</u>
<u>31</u>	28	I114	I96	BL ff.22v-23, Gervasius de Anglia		<u>31</u>
<u>32</u>	29	III[37]	I100	(MuEm ff.37v-38v, Zacharie maius ☉ BL ff.86v-88, Zaccar WarU, ff.18r-v Pad, f.2 (Contratenor & end of T), Doūs Cacharias LoF f.10v (i & T) LoF ff.13v-14		<u>32</u>
<u>33</u>	30	III xx	I105			<u>33</u>
<u>34</u>	31	III xx	I112			<u>34</u>
<u>35</u>	32	I119	I115			<u>35</u>
<u>36</u>	33	I124	I120		pair to <u>82?</u>	<u>36</u>
<u>37</u>	34	I132	I126	Es		<u>37</u>
<u>38</u>	35	I138	I130	Dd	pair to <u>92</u>	<u>38</u>
<u>39</u>	36	I144	I135	De Square in T-Ludford (eria iv. pair to <u>93</u>		<u>39</u>
<u>40</u>	37	III[44]	I140	CFe		<u>40</u>
<u>41</u>	38	III[51]	I125			<u>41</u>
<u>42</u>	39	-	I127			<u>42</u>
<u>43</u>	40	I151	I127			<u>43</u>
<u>44</u>	41	I153	I129			<u>44</u>
<u>45</u>	42	III[54]	I131			<u>45</u>
<u>46</u>	43	III[56]	I133			<u>46</u>
<u>47</u>	44	III[57]	I135	BodD, leaf A verso (virtually completes OH)		<u>47</u>
<u>48</u>	45	III[58]	I136			<u>48</u>
<u>49</u>	46	I156	I138			<u>49</u>
<u>50</u>	47	I157	I139	Y, f.1v (incomplete)		<u>50</u>

<u>26</u>		21v-22	Gloria	a4: canon 2 in 1	Pycard	<u>26</u>
<u>27</u>		22v-23	Gloria	a5 (& solus T): canon 4 in 2	Pycard	<u>27</u>
<u>28</u>		23v-24	Gloria	a5 (& solus T): iso: T <u>Johannes</u>	Pycard	<u>28</u>
			tr.S & A	<u>Jesu Care. (seq. Johannes Jesu Christo)</u>		
<u>29</u>		24v-25	Gloria		Rowland	<u>29</u>
<u>30</u>		25v-26	Gloria	a4: iso	Queldryk	<u>30</u>
			tr.S & A			
<u>31</u>		26v-27	Gloria		Gervays	<u>31</u>
<u>32</u>		27v-28	Gloria	Amen is iso. and Gloria la	an.	<u>32</u>
<u>33</u>		28v	Gloria	OH lacks T and end of Contra-	[Zacar] c	<u>33</u>
				tenor. Contra is troped <u>Gloria laus</u> in all concordances.		
<u>34</u>		29	Gloria	OH lacks i and T	b	<u>34</u>
<u>35</u>		29v-30	Gloria	a5: canon 2 in 1	Pycard	<u>35</u>
<u>36</u>		30v-31	Gloria	a4: final section a5	Cooke	<u>36</u>
<u>37</u>		31v-32	Gloria		Danett	<u>37</u>
<u>38</u>		32v-33	Gloria		Cooke	<u>38</u>
<u>39</u>		33v-34	Gloria		Danett	<u>39</u>
<u>40</u>		34v-35	Gloria		Sturgeon	<u>40</u>
<u>41</u>		35v	[? Maria] laude	score, b.m.	i	<u>41</u>
<u>42</u>		36	... venie	score, end only	b	<u>42</u>
<u>43</u>		36	Ave regina	score: pl.s. in ii	Leonel	<u>43</u>
<u>44</u>		36v	Regina celi	score: pl.s. in ii up 5th.	an.	<u>44</u>
<u>45</u>		37	... et propitia	score, b.m.	b	<u>45</u>
<u>46</u>		37v	[Pia mater] salvatoris	score, b.m.	i	<u>46</u>
<u>47</u>		37v	Salve mirifica	score, e.m.	an.	<u>47</u>
<u>48</u>		38	[Nesciens mater]	score: pl.s. in ii up 5th, b.m.	b	<u>48</u>
<u>49</u>		38	Beata progenies	score: pl.s. in ii up 5th.	Leonel	<u>49</u>
<u>50</u>		38v	Nesciens mater	score: pl.s. nig.all parts, var.	[B]iteryng	<u>50</u>

(H)

<u>51</u>	180	<u>51</u>	<u>51</u>
<u>52</u>	127, 180, 206, 210, 222, 229	<u>52</u>	<u>52</u>
<u>53</u>	66, 74, 130, 132, 141, 146, 160, 180, 202, 209, 229, 246	<u>53</u>	<u>53</u>
<u>54</u>	69, 130, 134, 141, 146, 202, 215	<u>54</u>	<u>54</u>
<u>55</u>	69, 130, 146, 171, 202, 223, 296, 335, 381, 385	<u>55</u>	<u>55</u>
<u>56</u>	180, 246	<u>56</u>	<u>56</u>
<u>57</u>	180	<u>57</u>	<u>57</u>
<u>58</u>	180	<u>58</u>	<u>58</u>
<u>59</u>	180, 206, 222	<u>59</u>	<u>59</u>
<u>60</u>	46, 49	<u>60</u>	<u>60</u>
<u>61</u>	122, 180, 250	<u>61</u>	<u>61</u>
<u>62</u>	125*	<u>62</u>	<u>62</u>
<u>63</u>	130, 141, 146, 202	<u>63</u>	<u>63</u>
<u>64</u>	69, 130, 132, 140, 146, 203	<u>64</u>	<u>64</u>
<u>65</u>	69, 123, 126, 130, 139, 146, 148, 150, 176, 203, 212, 214, 221, 247	<u>65</u>	<u>65</u>
<u>66</u>	130, 146, 203, 212, 214, 221, 248, 291-92, 296, 318-19, 353-54, 382	<u>66</u>	<u>66</u>
<u>67</u>	130, 143, 146, 202, 203, 210, 223, 247, 292, 353	<u>67</u>	<u>67</u>
<u>68</u>	130, 143, 146, 202, 04, 210, 223, 247, 292, 353	<u>68</u>	<u>68</u>
<u>69</u>	69, 130, 146, 211, 230	<u>69</u>	<u>69</u>
<u>70</u>	222	<u>70</u>	<u>70</u>
<u>71</u>	118*-19, 121, 127, 188, 220, 221, 247	<u>71</u>	<u>71</u>
<u>72</u>	66, 130, 146, 202, 212, 214-5*, 217, 219, 237*, 353	<u>72</u>	<u>72</u>
<u>73</u>	56, 66, 130, 146, 148, 202, 211, 212, 231, 232-23*, 247, 353, 364	<u>73</u>	<u>73</u>
<u>74</u>	46, 66, 128, 130, 146, 153, 195, 203, 210, 247, 292, 353	<u>74</u>	<u>74</u>
<u>75</u>	46, 49, 57, 93, 95, 127, 172, 188, 194, 96, 216, 221*, 224, 227, 235, 240, 246, 247, 258-65*	<u>75</u>	<u>75</u>

<u>51</u>	48	II59	II41	
<u>52</u>	49	II61	II42	
<u>53</u>	50	II64	II45	Bb
<u>54</u>	51	II66	II47	Bb
<u>55</u>	52	II68	II48	Dd
<u>56</u>	53	II1	II47	
<u>57</u>	54	II8	II52	
<u>58</u>	55	II15	II59	
<u>59</u>	56	II22	II64	
<u>60</u>	57	II30	II71	
<u>61</u>	58	II36	II76	
<u>62</u>	59	II44	II82	
<u>63</u>	60	III[59]	II51	Bb
<u>64</u>	61	II 51	II53	Fb
<u>65</u>	62	II58	II59	Ff (ModB, ff. 109v-111, Dunstaple Trent 92, ff. 182v-184, Jo Dunstabl)
<u>66</u>	63	II66	II66	Hh (Ao, ff. 74v-175, 176v-277, Dunstapell MuL, pp. 5-6 (end of i, part of contratenor, T))
<u>67</u>	64	II77	II74	Gg (ModB, ff. 111v-112, Polmier Trent 90, ff. 337v-338; Trent 93, ff. 363v-364)
<u>68</u>	65	II xiv	II77	Gg ModB ff. 98v-99, Dunstaple
<u>69</u>	66	II xiv	II80	Gc
<u>70</u>	67	-	II89	
<u>71</u>	68	II82	II95	
<u>72</u>	69	II93	II82	Be OUC, f. 27a, recto (part of i). Contratenor dim. X 2
<u>73</u>	70	II xv	II87	Ff Ao ff. 238v-240
<u>74</u>	70a	II xv	II90	Gg OUC, ff. 27b v-27c (parts of i & contratenor) Trent 90, ff. 207v-209; Trent 93, ff. 278v-280.
<u>75</u>	71	II101	II201	

	<u>51</u>	<u>51</u>	38v-39	Regali ex progenie	score: pl.s. in ii up 5th	Fonteyns	<u>51</u>
	<u>52</u>	<u>52</u>	39-39v	Ave regina	score	Cooke	<u>52</u>
	<u>53</u>	<u>53</u>	39v-40	Beata Dei	score	Danett	<u>53</u>
	<u>54</u>	<u>54</u>	40	Salve porta	score	Danett	<u>54</u>
	<u>55</u>	<u>55</u>	40v	Stella celi	score	Cook	<u>55</u>
	<u>56</u>	<u>56</u>	41-42	Credo	score: pl.s. in ii up 5th.	an.	<u>56</u>
	<u>57</u>	<u>57</u>	42v-43v	Credo	score: pl.s. in i up 5th.	an.	<u>57</u>
	<u>58</u>	<u>58</u>	44-45	Credo	score: pl.s. in ii up 5th.	m	<u>58</u>
	<u>59</u>	<u>59</u>	45v-46v	Credo	score: some use of pl.s. in i. [?]	Oliver	<u>59</u>
	<u>60</u>	<u>60</u>	47-48	Credo	score: C IV in i up 8ve	i	<u>60</u>
	<u>61</u>	<u>61</u>	48v-50	Credo	score	Chyrbury	<u>61</u>
	<u>62</u>	<u>62</u>	50-51v	Credo	score: pl.s. mig.i-ii, var.	W.Typp	<u>62</u>
	<u>63</u>	<u>63</u>	52	Credo	score, b.m.	[Danett] s	<u>63</u>
	<u>64</u>	<u>64</u>	52v-53v	Credo	score	Sturgeon	<u>64</u>
	<u>65</u>	<u>65</u>	54-55	Credo	score	Burrell	<u>65</u>
ior, T)	<u>66</u>	<u>66</u>	55v-56	Veni sancte/Veni creator a4: iso: T Mentis tuorum (hymn Veni creator, also paraphrased in 1)	[Dunstable] c		<u>66</u>
r-364	<u>67</u>	<u>67</u>	56v-57	Qualis est		Forest	<u>67</u>
	<u>68</u>	<u>68</u>	57v	Ascendit Christus	OH has beginning of 1 only. T Alma redemptoris down 5th.	Forest	<u>68</u>
	<u>69</u>	<u>69</u>	(58 blank) 58v	Credo		N.Sturgeon	<u>69</u>
	<u>70</u>	<u>70</u>	59	Credo	OH has T and contratenor only	b	<u>70</u>
	<u>71</u>	<u>71</u>	59v-60	Credo	a5: canon 3 in 1	an.	<u>71</u>
or	<u>72</u>	<u>72</u>	60v-61	Credo		Danett	<u>72</u>
	<u>73</u>	<u>73</u>	61v	Credo	beginning of pl.s. in i up 8ve	Lyonel	<u>73</u>
enor) v-280.	<u>74</u>	<u>74</u>	62	Credo	OH lacks i	[Forest] b,s & style	<u>74</u>
	<u>75</u>	<u>75</u>	62v-63	Credo	a5: canon 3 in 1	[?Pycard] i & style	<u>75</u>

<u>76</u>	46, 101, 111-12, 120-21, 194-95, 206, 214, 221, 230, 232, 245-46, 251, 266-76*, pls XI, XII	<u>76</u>	<u>76</u>
<u>77</u>	46, 49, 127, 178, 193, 195, 246-47, 250, 364, 385	<u>77</u>	<u>77</u>
<u>78</u>	106, 127, 222	<u>78</u>	<u>78</u>
<u>79</u>	189, 193, 195, 222, 232	<u>79</u>	<u>79</u>
<u>80</u>	189, 194, 195, 222, 246, 247	<u>80</u>	<u>80</u>
<u>81</u>	46, 83-84*, pl. IV, 189, 195-96, 206, 214*, 217-20, 222, 226-28, 233, 238-40, 246, 247, 256*, 364	<u>81</u>	<u>81</u>
<u>82</u>	46, 49, 56, 127, 154-57*, pl. VII, 159, 178-79, 194, 195, 219, 222, 246, 385, 425	<u>82</u>	<u>82</u>
<u>83</u>	127, 195-96, 206, 214*, 217-20, 222, 226*, 229, 238-40, 246, 351, 364	<u>83</u>	<u>83</u>
<u>84</u>	49, 101, 188, 193, 195, 222, 364	<u>84</u>	<u>84</u>
<u>85</u>	127, 194, 251	<u>85</u>	<u>85</u>
<u>86</u>	127, 180	<u>86</u>	<u>86</u>
<u>87</u>	109*, 127, 180, 222, 246	<u>87</u>	<u>87</u>
<u>88</u>	127, 180, 222	<u>88</u>	<u>88</u>
<u>89</u>	127, 351, 355	<u>89</u>	<u>89</u>
<u>90</u>	120, 159, 351	<u>90</u>	<u>90</u>
<u>91</u>	174-75, 187, 196, 222	<u>91</u>	<u>91</u>
<u>92</u>	66, 69, 130, 146, 171, 202, 210, 229, 233, 240, 246, 289, 353	<u>92</u>	<u>92</u>
<u>93</u>	46, 66, 69, 83, pl. III, 130, 146, 176, 203, 212, 217, 19, 241*, 246, 353	<u>93</u>	<u>93</u>
<u>94</u>	34, 43, 46, 49, 52-53, 57, 59-63*, 83, pl. III, 381	<u>94</u>	<u>94</u>
<u>95</u>	46, 49	<u>95</u>	<u>95</u>
<u>96</u>	46, 124*, 364	<u>96</u>	<u>96</u>
<u>97</u>	46, 108	<u>97</u>	<u>97</u>
<u>98</u>	46	<u>98</u>	<u>98</u>
<u>99</u>	364	<u>99</u>	<u>99</u>
<u>100</u>	248	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

<u>6</u>	<u>76</u>	72	II114	I210			<u>76</u>
<u>7</u>	<u>77</u>	73	II125	I217		pair to <u>21</u>	<u>77</u>
<u>8</u>	<u>78</u>	74	II135	I223			<u>78</u>
<u>2</u>	<u>79</u>	75	II149	I230		pair to <u>17?</u>	<u>79</u>
<u>0</u>	<u>80</u>	76	II158	I238		pair to <u>20?</u>	<u>80</u>
<u>1</u>	<u>81</u>	77	II167	I245		i aug.X 2 T aug.X 4	<u>81</u>
<u>2</u>	<u>82</u>	78	II176	I252		i aug.X 2 in duets	<u>82</u>
<u>3</u>	<u>83</u>	79	II185	I259	BL, ff.109v-110, de Anglia	pair to <u>36?</u> i aug.X 2	<u>83</u>
<u>4</u>	<u>84</u>	80	II194	I264		pair to <u>24</u>	<u>84</u>
<u>5</u>	<u>85</u>	81	II203	I270			<u>85</u>
<u>6</u>	<u>86</u>	82	II213	I276			<u>86</u>
<u>7</u>	<u>87</u>	83	II224	I282			<u>87</u>
<u>8</u>	<u>88</u>	84	II232	I287			<u>88</u>
<u>2</u>	<u>89</u>	85	II241	I293	P (incomplete)		<u>89</u>
<u>0</u>	<u>90</u>	86	III[68]	I300	LoF, f.13 (ii & contratenor)		<u>90</u>
<u>1</u>	<u>91</u>	87	-	I307			<u>91</u>
<u>2</u>	<u>92</u>	88	II252	II96	Dd CUL, f.13 (T & contratenor)	pair to <u>38</u>	<u>92</u>
<u>3</u>	<u>93</u>	89	II261	II101	De Square in T - Ludford feria ^{iv}	pair to <u>39</u>	<u>93</u>
<u>4</u>	<u>94</u>	90	III1	I312	OUC, f.27a verso (Contratenor & part of T)	Danett	<u>94</u>
<u>5</u>	<u>95</u>	91	III4	I314			<u>95</u>
<u>6</u>	<u>96</u>	92	III7	I316			<u>96</u>
<u>7</u>	<u>97</u>	93	III9	I318			<u>97</u>
<u>8</u>	<u>98</u>	94	III12	I321			<u>98</u>
<u>2</u>	<u>99</u>	95	III15	I323			<u>99</u>
<u>00</u>	<u>100</u>	96	III18	I325			<u>100</u>

<u>76</u>	<u>76</u>	63v-64	Credo	<u>a4</u>	Pycard	<u>76</u>
<u>77</u>	<u>77</u>	64v-65	Credo	<u>a4</u> : final section <u>a5</u>	[Leonel] 1, p	<u>77</u>
<u>78</u>	<u>78</u>	65v-66	Credo	<u>a4</u>	[F]ycard	<u>78</u>
<u>79</u>	<u>79</u>	66v-67	Credo		[Ry]tering	<u>79</u>
<u>80</u>	<u>80</u>	67v-68	Credo		Excetre	<u>80</u>
<u>81</u>	<u>81</u>	68v-69	Credo		Leonel	<u>81</u>
<u>82</u>	<u>82</u>	69v-70	Credo	<u>a4</u> : final section <u>a5</u> : pl.s. in ii up 4th.	[Cooke] offset	<u>82</u>
<u>83</u>	<u>83</u>	70v-71	Credo		[Ly]onel	<u>83</u>
<u>84</u>	<u>84</u>	71v-72	Credo	iso: T <u>Open nobis</u> down 5th	Leonel	<u>84</u>
<u>85</u>	<u>85</u>	72v-73	Credo	<u>a4</u> : iso	an.	<u>85</u>
<u>86</u>	<u>86</u>	73v-74	Credo	<u>a4</u> : iso	Swynford	<u>86</u>
<u>87</u>	<u>87</u>	74v-75	Credo	iso: T <u>Benedicam te domine</u>	Typp	<u>87</u>
<u>88</u>	<u>88</u>	75v-76	Credo	iso	Qweldryk	<u>88</u>
<u>89</u>	<u>89</u>	76v-77	Credo	<u>a4</u> : iso: T <u>Te iure laudant</u>	[?] Pennard	<u>89</u>
<u>90</u>	<u>90</u>	77v	Credo	<u>a4</u> : OH lacks ii & contratenor: iso.	an.	<u>90</u>
<u>91</u>	<u>91</u>	78	Credo	OH has T and end of contratenor only.	b	<u>91</u>
<u>92</u>	<u>92</u>	78v-79	Credo		[J?] Cooke	<u>92</u>
<u>93</u>	<u>93</u>	79v-80	Credo		Danett	<u>93</u>
<u>94</u>	<u>94</u>	80v	Sanctus	score	Roy Henry	<u>94</u>
<u>95</u>	<u>95</u>	81	Sanctus	score: S1 mig.all parts, var.	W.Typp	<u>95</u>
<u>96</u>	<u>96</u>	81v	Sanctus	score: S1 in ii up 5th	[Le]onel	<u>96</u>
<u>97</u>	<u>97</u>	82-82v	Sanctus	score: S2 in ii up 5th	Lambe[...]	<u>97</u>
<u>98</u>	<u>98</u>	82v-83	Sanctus	score: S2 mig.ii-iii up 2nd	W.Typp	<u>98</u>
<u>99</u>	<u>99</u>	83-83v	Sanctus	score:S3 mig.ii-iii	Leonel	<u>99</u>
<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	84	Sanctus	score: S3 mig.ii-iii	an.	<u>100</u>

<u>101</u>	166-69*, 180, 191, 244, 252, 351, 402	<u>101</u>	<u>10</u>
<u>102</u>	46, 49, 53, 123, 247, 248, 257	<u>102</u>	<u>10</u>
<u>103</u>	180	<u>103</u>	<u>10</u>
<u>104</u>	106-07*, 248	<u>104</u>	<u>10</u>
<u>105</u>	109*, 120*, 180, 248	<u>105</u>	<u>10</u>
<u>106</u>	180, 246, 248	<u>106</u>	<u>10</u>
<u>107</u>	248	<u>107</u>	<u>10</u>
<u>108</u>	122, 248	<u>108</u>	<u>10</u>
<u>109</u>	180, 246, 364	<u>109</u>	<u>10</u>
<u>110</u>	246	<u>110</u>	<u>11</u>
<u>111</u>	66, 69, 72-74, 130, 132, 146, 177, 180, 194, 203, 212-13, 233-34, 240, 277, 296, 300-09	<u>111</u>	<u>11</u>
<u>112</u>	70, 130, 146, 148, 180, 203, 223, 246, 296-99, 308-09, 387	<u>112</u>	<u>11</u>
<u>113</u>	70, 130, 132, 140, 146, 180, 194, 203, 296, 300, 308-09	<u>113</u>	<u>11</u>
<u>114</u>	70, 130, 146-47, 160, 203, 211, 219, 230, 245, 257	<u>114</u>	<u>11</u>
<u>115</u>	111, 180, 195-96, 217, 219, 222, 364	<u>115</u>	<u>11</u>
<u>116</u>	46, 101, 180, 193, 195, 219, 222, 246, 257, 351, 364	<u>116</u>	<u>11</u>
<u>117</u>	46, 49, 110*, 151, 180, 222, 246, 250, 364	<u>117</u>	<u>11</u>
<u>118</u>	46, 49, 180, 193, 195, 222, 250, 364	<u>118</u>	<u>11</u>
<u>119</u>	46, 49, 51-52, 180, 206, 222	<u>119</u>	<u>11</u>
<u>120</u>	120, 222	<u>120</u>	<u>12</u>
<u>121</u>	180, 250	<u>121</u>	<u>12</u>
<u>122</u>	46, 246, 248, 250	<u>122</u>	<u>12</u>
<u>123</u>	46, 49, 82, 87, 92-95*, 194-96, 246	<u>123</u>	<u>12</u>
<u>124</u>		<u>124</u>	<u>12</u>
<u>125</u>	250	<u>125</u>	<u>12</u>

<u>101</u>	97	III20 & III[76]	I327	Square in iii = Lan, f.1v LoF, f.11v BodD, f.2	<u>101</u>
<u>102</u>	98	III22	I329		<u>102</u>
<u>103</u>	99	III24	I331		<u>103</u>
<u>104</u>	100	III26	I333		<u>104</u>
<u>105</u>	101	III28	I335		<u>105</u>
<u>106</u>	102	III30	I337		<u>106</u>
<u>107</u>	103	III32	I339		<u>107</u>
<u>108</u>	104	III34	I341		<u>108</u>
<u>109</u>	105	III36	I342		<u>109</u>
<u>110</u>	106	III38	I344		<u>110</u>
<u>111</u>	107	III40	II108 Bb		<u>111</u>
<u>112</u>	108	III46	II114 Dd		<u>112</u>
<u>113</u>	109	III51	II119 Fb		<u>113</u>
<u>114</u>	110	III55 & [61]	II123 Cc		<u>114</u>
<u>115</u>	111	III58	I346		<u>115</u>
<u>116</u>	112	III66	I350	Trent 87, ff.105-105v Ao, ff.257v-258	<u>116</u>
<u>117</u>	113	III70	I353		<u>117</u>
<u>118</u>	114	III76	I357		<u>118</u>
<u>119</u>	115	III81	I361		<u>119</u>
<u>120</u>	116	III86	I364		<u>120</u>
<u>121</u>	117	III90	I367	Square in iii = Lan, f.1v	<u>121</u>
<u>122</u>	118	III94	I369		<u>122</u>
<u>123</u>	119	III xv111	I373		<u>123</u>
<u>124</u>	120	-	I376		<u>124</u>
<u>125</u>	121	III100	I376		<u>125</u>

i aug. X 2
pair to 140

pair to 141

<u>101</u>	<u>101</u>	84v	Sanctus score: S5 mig.ii-iii	an.	<u>101</u>
<u>102</u>	<u>102</u>	85-85v	Sanctus score	R.Chyrbur[y]	<u>102</u>
<u>103</u>	<u>103</u>	85v-86	Sanctus score: S9 in ii up 5th	an.	<u>103</u>
<u>104</u>	<u>104</u>	86	Sanctus score: S4 in ii up 5th	an.	<u>104</u>
<u>105</u>	<u>105</u>	86v	Sanctus score: S4 in ii up 5th	an.	<u>105</u>
<u>106</u>	<u>106</u>	87	Sanctus score: S6 in ii up 4th	W.Typp	<u>106</u>
<u>107</u>	<u>107</u>	87v	Sanctus score: S8 in ii up 5th	an.	<u>107</u>
<u>108</u>	<u>108</u>	88	Sanctus score: S7 mig.all parts up 5th.	R.Chirbury	<u>108</u>
<u>109</u>	<u>109</u>	88v	Sanctus score: S10 in ii up 3rd	Leonel	<u>109</u>
<u>110</u>	<u>110</u>	89	Sanctus score: S10 in ii up 5th	W.Typp	<u>110</u>
<u>111</u>	<u>111</u>	89v-90	Salvatoris/O Georgi iso: T <u>Benedictus</u> <u>Marie Filius qui ve</u> (S3)down 2nd Daxett		<u>111</u>
<u>112</u>	<u>112</u>	90v-91	Alma proles/Christi miles iso: T <u>Ab</u> <u>inimicis nostris</u> (Rogation litany) Cook		<u>112</u>
<u>113</u>	<u>113</u>	91v-92	Salve mater/Salve templum iso: T con- tinues <u>111</u> untransposed. Sturgeon		<u>113</u>
<u>114</u>	<u>114</u>	92v (93 blank)	Sanctus score: iii has intonation S1: chant otherwise not used. Sturgeon		<u>114</u>
<u>115</u>	<u>115</u>	93v-94	Sanctus S1 mig.ii-iii up 4th	[Leo]nel	<u>115</u>
<u>116</u>	<u>116</u>	94v-95	Sanctus S2 in i up 5th	Leonel	<u>116</u>
<u>117</u>	<u>117</u>	95v-96	Sanctus a4: S3 in i up 4th	Leonel	<u>117</u>
<u>118</u>	<u>118</u>	96v-97	Sanctus a4: S5 in T	Leonel	<u>118</u>
<u>119</u>	<u>119</u>	97v-98	Sanctus score: S2 mig.i-ii up 5th	Olyver	<u>119</u>
<u>120</u>	<u>120</u>	98-98v	Sanctus score: S5 in i up 5th	Olyver	<u>120</u>
<u>121</u>	<u>121</u>	99	Sanctus score: pl.s. from Arsenal 135 in i. Excetre		<u>121</u>
<u>122</u>	<u>122</u>	99v-100	Sanctus a4: S5 in T	J.Tyes	<u>122</u>
<u>123</u>	<u>123</u>	100v	Sanctus a5? OH has i & ii (canon 2 in 1) tr.Marie Filius and T. S3 in i-ii. Pycard		<u>123</u>
<u>124</u>	<u>124</u>	101	Agnes score: A1 in ii up 5th	br	<u>124</u>
<u>125</u>	<u>125</u>	101	Agnus score: A1 in ii up 8ve	an.	<u>125</u>

<u>126</u>	154, 180, pl.VIII	<u>126</u>	<u>126</u>
<u>127</u>	154, pls VIII-IX, 158, 385	<u>127</u>	<u>127</u>
<u>128</u>	154-57*, 180, 246-47, 360, pl.IX	<u>128</u>	<u>128</u>
<u>129</u>	180, 193, 248, 252, 351	<u>129</u>	<u>129</u>
<u>130</u>		<u>130</u>	<u>130</u>
<u>131</u>	107, 180, 193, 248, 351	<u>131</u>	<u>131</u>
<u>132</u>	180	<u>132</u>	<u>132</u>
<u>133</u>	364	<u>133</u>	<u>133</u>
<u>134</u>	180, 193, 248, 252-55*, 351	<u>134</u>	<u>134</u>
<u>135</u>	180, 247	<u>135</u>	<u>135</u>
<u>136</u>	120	<u>136</u>	<u>136</u>
<u>137</u>	84-87*, pl.V, 364	<u>137</u>	<u>137</u>
<u>138</u>	46, 180, 247, 364	<u>138</u>	<u>138</u>
<u>139</u>	46, 49, 53, 120, 247	<u>139</u>	<u>139</u>
<u>140</u>	193, 195, 222, 235, 246, 351, 364	<u>140</u>	<u>140</u>
<u>141</u>	180, 193, 195, 222, 364	<u>141</u>	<u>141</u>
<u>142</u>	46, 180, 206, 222, 229, 246	<u>142</u>	<u>142</u>
<u>143</u>	46, 49-52, 111, 193, 222, 357, 375	<u>143</u>	<u>143</u>
<u>144</u>	222	<u>144</u>	<u>144</u>
<u>145</u>	101, 120, 180, 222, 357-58, 375	<u>145</u>	<u>145</u>
<u>146</u>	180, 250	<u>146</u>	<u>146</u>
<u>147</u>	222	<u>147</u>	<u>147</u>

<u>126</u>	121a	III102	I378			<u>126</u>
<u>127</u>	121b	III104	I379			<u>127</u>
<u>128</u>	121c	III106	I381			<u>128</u>
<u>129</u>	122	III108	I383	LoF, f.12		<u>129</u>
<u>130</u>	123	III111	I385			<u>130</u>
<u>131</u>	124	III113	I387	LoW, no.2		<u>131</u>
<u>132</u>	125	III116	I389			<u>132</u>
<u>133</u>	126	III118	I390			<u>133</u>
<u>134</u>	126a	III120	I391	LoF, f.12v		<u>134</u>
<u>135</u>	127	III122	I392	LoW, no.3		<u>135</u>
<u>136</u>	128	III125	I394			<u>136</u>
<u>137</u>	129	III128	I395			<u>137</u>
<u>138</u>	130	III132	I397			<u>138</u>
<u>139</u>	131	III133	I398			<u>139</u>
<u>140</u>	132	III xviii	I399	Lo, ff.245v-246	pair to <u>116</u>	<u>140</u>
<u>141</u>	133	III136	I402		pair to <u>118</u>	<u>141</u>
<u>142</u>	134	III141	I405			<u>142</u>
<u>143</u>	135	III xviii	I408			<u>143</u>
<u>144</u>	135a	III xviii	I410			<u>144</u>
<u>145</u>	136	III145	I415			<u>145</u>
<u>146</u>	137	III150	I419			<u>146</u>
<u>147</u>	138	III xix	I424			<u>147</u>

<u>126</u>	<u>126</u>	101v	Agnus	score: A2 in ii up 4th.	an.	<u>126</u>
<u>127</u>	<u>127</u>	101v-102	Agnus	score: A3 in ii up 4th.	[? J.Cooke] er.	<u>127</u>
<u>128</u>	<u>128</u>	102	Agnus	score: A3 in ii up 4th.	[?W.Aleyn] er.	<u>128</u>
<u>129</u>	<u>129</u>	102v-103	Agnus	score: A6 in ii up 5th.	an.	<u>129</u>
<u>130</u>	<u>130</u>	103-103v	Agnus	score: A5 in ii up 5th.	a.	<u>130</u>
<u>131</u>	<u>131</u>	103v-104	Agnus	score: A4 mig.ii-iii	an.	<u>131</u>
<u>132</u>	<u>132</u>	104	Agnus	score:	R.Chirbury	<u>132</u>
<u>133</u>	<u>133</u>	104v	Agnus	score: A12 mig.ii-iii up 2nd.	Leonel	<u>133</u>
<u>134</u>	<u>134</u>	104v-105	Agnus	score: A9 in ii up 5th.	an.	<u>134</u>
<u>135</u>	<u>135</u>	105	Agnus	score: A6 in ii up 5th.	W.Typp	<u>135</u>
<u>136</u>	<u>136</u>	105v	Agnus	score: A6 in ii up 5th.	an.	<u>136</u>
<u>137</u>	<u>137</u>	105v-106	Agnus	score: A7 in ii up 4th.	Leonel	<u>137</u>
<u>138</u>	<u>138</u>	106	Agnus	score: A10 in ii up 4th.	Leonel	<u>138</u>
<u>139</u>	<u>139</u>	106v	Agnus	a4: 3 in score, contratenor separate: A10 in ii up 5th.	i	<u>139</u>
<u>140</u>	<u>140</u>	107	Agnus	OH lacks i, which has A7 up 4th.	[Leonel] p	<u>140</u>
<u>141</u>	<u>141</u>	107v-108	Agnus	a4: A12 in T.	[Leo]nel	<u>141</u>
<u>142</u>	<u>142</u>	108v-109	Agnus	score: A6 in i up 8ve	Clyver	<u>142</u>
<u>143</u>	<u>143</u>	109v	Carbunculus ignitus	iso: i only survives.	[?Wilkinson]	<u>143</u>
<u>144</u>	<u>144</u>	110	Mater munda	iso: T labelled <u>Mater sancta Dei</u> , perhaps text of missing i.	b	<u>144</u>
<u>145</u>	<u>145</u>	110v-111	En Katerine/Virginalis	iso: T <u>Sponsus amat Biteryng sponsum [recte sponsam] (R.Virgo flagellatur)</u>		<u>145</u>
<u>146</u>	<u>146</u>	111v-112	Are post libamina/Nunc surgunt	iso: a5	Mayshuet	<u>146</u>
<u>147</u>	<u>147</u>	112v	Post missarum	a4: OH has only i & contratenor: iso.		<u>147</u>

BIBLIOGRAPHY

INDEX OF MANUSCRIPTS

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES AND TITLES

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INDEX OF MANUSCRIPTS

Sigla or other short references are given at the left-hand side, page references to the present volume on the right. All MSS listed under Cambridge, London, Maidstone, Oxford, Padua, Prague, Trent and Windsor have been inspected personally; films or facsimiles have been used for the Aosta, Berkeley, Berlin, Bologna, Madrid, Modena, Munich, Seville, Stratford, Warsaw, Worcester and York sources.

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351, 356, 359.
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426-28.
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(Lochamer Liederbuch) 119
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Inventory by H.Bessler, MD, vol.VI (1952). 119, 209.
- Cambridge,** Fitzwilliam Museum, 46 329
268 330
375 330
Trinity College, O.3.58 207
University Library, Add.4435 388
Add.5943 207
Add.5963 (OUL) 103, 107, 353, 356.
Add.6668 307, 329.
Nn.vi.46 35
Pembroke 314 128
- Chantilly,** Musée Condé, 1047. Inventory by G.Reaney,
MD, vol.VIII (1954). 387

Chelmsford, Essex Record Office, D/DC 23/664	13
Coimbra, Museo Machado, Antiphoner no.5	329
Compostela, Biblioteca de la Catedral, Codex Calixtinus	380
C.U.L.: Cambridge University Library.	
CUL: See Cambridge University Library, Add.5963.	
Escorial: see Madrid.	
Essex Record Office: see Chelmsford.	
Eton Choirbook: Eton College, 178	35, 48, 320, 335.
Fitzwilliam: see Cambridge.	
Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Panciatichi 27	330
Fountains: see London, British Museum, Add.40011B.	
Guildhall: see London.	
Henry VIII MS: see London, British Museum, Add.31922.	
Kassa, Dominican Library, Incunab.III.36	337
Lochamer Liederbuch: see Berlin	
LoF: See London, British Museum, Add.40011B.	
London, British Museum, Add.5665 (Ritson)	335
Add.5937	14, 17.
Add.10336	228
Add.17840	6
Add.23624	6
Add.24293	6
Add.29704-5	45
Add.30513 (Mulliner)	8, 20.
Add.30930	6
Add.31922 (Henry VIII)	320
Add.33235	6
Add.34608	48
Add.35295	378
Add.40011B (Fountains)	102, 159, 166-69, 185, 187, 191, 207, 248, 252-5, 351, 355, 360.
Add.49597(0) (LoW)	248, 252, 351, 355.
Add.54324	321, 328.
Arundel 68	316-17, 368.

Cotton Julius E.IV	302
Cotton Tiberius B.III	367
Cotton Vitellius D.XII	301
Cotton Vitellius F.XII	14
Egerton 3307	102-05, 279.
Harley 53	298, 300-01, 304.
Harley 565	299, 301, 304.
Lansdowne 462	166-69, 191-92, 320, 335
Lansdowne 763	371
Lansdowne 860 A-B	14-17
Royal 24.D.2	17
Royal Appendix 58	335
Sloane 1776	302
Guildhall Library, 4889/PC	287, 361
Lambeth Palace, 20	294
Public Record Office, E 101/45/5	283
E 101/404/21	288
Royal College of Music, 952	6
953	6
1147	6
Somerset House, Prerogative Court of Canterbury Wills	
43 Essex Ducarel	5
16 Luffenham	284
21 Luffenham	283
30 Luffenham	295
510 Oxford	5
10 Rous	286
629 Stowell	7
119 Teignmouth	8
Madrid, Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo el Real de El Escorial, V.III.24	425
Maldstone, Kent County Record Office, PRC 32/1	321
PRC 49	321-28
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- OUC: see Oxford, Bodleian Library, University College 192.
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 1393 207
 Arch.Selden b.26 207, 309, 335.
 D.D.Ch.Ch.c 34 (D.R.3*) (BodD) 166-69, 351.
 E.Mus.7 387
 Lat.Liturg.d.20 (Worcester Fragments) 349
 Tanner 165 367
 University College 192 83, 103, 128, 153,
 353, 356.
 Christ Church, Okeas 253 335
- P: Fragment of unknown whereabouts with Pennard concordance 356, 351.
- Pad: Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, 1225. Inventory by Kurt von Fischer, Acta, vol.XXXVI (1964). 351
- Paris, Bibliotheque de l'Arsenal, 135 363
 Bibliotheque Nationale, fr.22546 216
 lat.1196 330
- Pembroke: See under Cambridge, University Library.
- Phillipps MSS: see under Berkeley; also p.285.
- Prague, Strahov, D.G.IV.47 336-37
- P.R.O. London, Public Record Office.
- R.C.M. London, Royal College of Music.
- Ritson: See London, British Museum, Add.5665.
- Rome, Vatican, reg.lat.1146 360
- Seville, Biblioteca Colombina 5.2.25 398, 405, 415.
- St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 546 307

- Strasbourg, M.222 C.22 (destroyed 1870) 360
- Stratford, Shakespeare Birthplace Library, Willoughby de Broke Collection (Item 1744) 354, 360.
- Trent: Trent, Castello del Buon Consiglio, MSS 87, 88, 90, 92; Archivio Capitolare, B.L. [wrongly known as MS 93]. Inventories by G.Adler, O.Keller, R.von Ficker, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich, vols VII, XXXI, XL (1900, 1924, 1933). 35, 119, 153, 188, 336, 351.
(see also 307)
- Trinity: see Cambridge.
- WarU: Warsaw, University Library, F.I.378. 351
- Windsor; Erary, XV.34.41; XV.34.42; XV.34.43; XV.34.45 311-313
XV.45.140, XV.45.197 362
- Worcester fragments: see Oxford, Bodleian, Lat.Liturg.d.20.
- Worcester, Worcestershire Record Office b705:4 BA 54 379
- York (Y): Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Mesciens mater fragment 351
- York, Dean and Chapter Library, Will register 1321-1493, 284, 314-15.

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES AND TITLES

Variant spellings are not usually recorded. Titles are italicised, names of OH composers in capitals. Manuscripts are indexed on pp.436-40. OH compositions are also indexed separately; see table II, p.430. Italicised numbers in the following pages represent numbers of OH pieces and refer the reader to the index in that table.

- Acres 284-85
 Agincourt 149, 297-310, 387-88
 Alceck 6-7, 20
 ALEYN 8, 128; 158, 360, 384, 387
Alma proles regia 112
Analecta Hymnica 334
 Anon.XI 390, 397, 426
 Apel 217-18, 230, 258-65, 390
 Appilton 315
 Ardenne 366
Are post libamina 146
 Arena 366
 Arundell, J. 283
Ars cantus mensurabilis (Franco)
 248-49
Ars contrapunctus (Vitry) 426
Ars discantus (de Muris) 414
Ars nova (Vitry) 251
 Arthur 387-88
 Arundell, T. 375
Ascendit Christus 68
 Ashburton, Devon 287
 Asperton, Herts 286
 Attwater 298
Ave Regina 43, 52; Frye, 337
 Baillie 287
 Baldwin 17
 Balinghem 307
 Banckworth 13
 Bannister 362
 Batcombe 283
 Bayley 366
Beata Dei genitrix 53
Beata progenies 49
 Beaufort, Cardinal 294-96, 316
 Bedford, Duke of 319, 365
 Benedict XIV 298
 Bent 55, 60, 128, 248, 319, 321, 404
 Büsseler 348, 375
 Bishop 64, 98
 Black Prince 303
 Blythe 283, 363, 388
 Bode 14
 Boethius 398
 Bokyngham 316
 Boleyn 17
 Bond 279
 Bontemps 283, 311
 Bordin 300
 Bovey 314

- Boyd 8
 Brie 304
 Brotherton 283
 Brut 298, 301-2
 Bukofzer 56, 115, 128, 181-2, 185, 187, 209, 278-80, 292, 309, 318-9, 348, 355, 357, 362, 376
 BURELL 12, 65, 139, 145-6, 148-52, 258, 283, 288, 314-5
 Burtone 366
 Butler 298
 BYTTERING 17, 18, 50, 79, 145; 11, 12, 194
 Caccini 393
 Caen 298, 381
Calendar of Plea & Mem Rolls 285
Calendarium Inq. Post Mortem 366
 Galey 366
 Carmelite Missal 45, 47
 Cambridge:
 Corpus Christi College 361
 King's College 320
 King's Hall 360
 Peterhouse 12, 78
Cantate domino 303
 Canterbury: 363, 366-68, 384
 Christ Church 286-7, 294, 316-7, 366-7
 St Augustine's 286
Carbunculus ignitus lillie 143
 Catherine of Valois 357, 375
 Cave 283
 Caxton 355
CGR 283, 366
 Charles VI 373
 Charterhouse 285
 Chichester 288
 Chevalier 309, 334
 Chirbury, Matilda 361
 CHIRBURY, Robert 61, 102, 108, 132, 361-2
Chorister's Lament, The 249, 402
 Christ Church: see Canterbury
Christi miles 112
Chronicle of John Stone, The 368
 Chylyndenn 317
 Clarence, Lionel Duke of 372
 Cold Norton, Essex 4
 Comper 283
 COOKE 7, 11, 14, 36, 38, 52, 55, 82, 92, 112, 127; 142-3, 146, 148-52, 158, 178, 207, 283, 289-90
 Coll' 283
Collection of ... Wills 295, 381
 Collins 258-65
 Corbin 329-30
 Cornyshe 200
 Corynghan 312
 Cotten 12
 Coussemaker, 128, 249, 251, 390, 394, 398, 406-8, 410-13, 416-17, 420, 426
 Covent Garden, St Paul's 8
CPL 282
CRR 284, 289-90
 Crane 366
 Curlewe 314-5
 Crocker 404

- De gaudiorum premiis 296, 318
 Dackomb 24-26
 Dalton 362
 Danko 334
 Dantey 11
 DANETT 10, 11, 37, 39, 53, 54,
 63, 72, 93, 111; 97-98,
 131-33, 137, 140-41, 146-52,
 202, 212-13, 280-85, 300
 Dart 8, 337, 369
 Daventry, St Mary's 355
 Davey 369
 Dawson 384
Declaratio musicae disciplinae
 (Ugolino) 405, 422, 425
Deo gratias 192, 303
Descendi in ortum meum 318-28
 DNB 299, 305, 358, 378
 Domesday 28-29, 77
 Dorigge 287
 Dronke 378
 Dufay 208-9
 DUNSTABLE 66; 48, 86, 115, 124,
 127-9, 152, 209, 291-2, 318-
 28, 365-6, 369, 373

Edmundian, The 21
 Elmham 301
 Emden 285-6, 293, 361, 372
 Emison 13
En Katherine 145
 Eric of Denmark 358
 EXCEPTE 20, 80, 121; 362-3, 369,
 372, 384, 388
 Exeter 286

 Exonia 363

 Faxolis, Florentius de 427
Felix virgo 216
 Ferrers 16
 Flood 369-74
Fons citharisancium 388
Fons origo musicorum 388
 FONTEYNS 51; 358-59
 FOREST 67, 68, 74;
 John 129, 152-3, 210, 292-95,
 316-7, 385
 Thomas 295
 Foster 3, 8, 9
 Fotheringhay 361
 Fountains Abbey 355
 Fowkes 13
 Franc, Martin le 403
 Franco 248-49, 392, 417
 Friedrich III 286
 Frowyk 287
 Frye 320, 336-38
 Fryde 370
 Furnivall 286

 Garland 398
Gaude flore virginali 320
 Gaunt, John of 294
 Gerbert 406
Gesta 298-310
 Guild of Parish Clerks 287, 361
 Gilling, Yorks 288 314
 GERVAYS 31; 358-59, 384

- Gloriosa dicta sunt 303
 Godshouse, Portsmouth 294
 Gossett 193
 Grandmason 337
 Gray 79
 Greene 279-80, 288, 309
Grove 2, 6, 8
 Gwyn 283
 Gyles 283
 Günther 127
 Guido 127, 392, 399

 Hadcock 285
 Hadleigh, Essex 12
 Hamilton & Bird 8
 Hamm 207-8, 152, 231-2, 373
Handbook of British Chronology
 370-1
 Hanrott 45, 47
 Harborough 13
 Harcourt 15
 d'Harcourt 337
 Harfleur 149, 283-4, 289
 Harman 48, 235
 Harrison, 23, 29, 92, 153,
 182, 200, 280, 289, 296, 309,
 356-7, 359, 361-2, 367, 375-
 77, 392
 Harvey 278, 283, 375
 Hastings 286, 384
 Hawkins 1
 Hawte 335
 Hearne 301
 Hearts 366

 Hennessy 3, 4
 Henry IV 376-79
 Henry V 149, 298-310, 357, 373, 379-
 82, 387
 Henry VI 48, 50, 278, 296, 383
 Henstridge, Somerset 286
 Hereford 283, 288
 Hert 283
 Hoare 284
 Höfer 279
 Helcombe, Somerset 8
 Holmes 38
 Hoppin 389
 Hothby 410
 Howden 311-12
 Hughes, Andrew 193, 223, 263, 269-71, 288
 296, 307, 309, 355, 356, 358, 363, 381, 398
 Hughes, Anselm 2, 7, 34, 48, 55, 57, 59, 181,
 191, 278, 348, 359, 375, 381
 Hungerford 388
 Hunt 8
 Hunte 283
 Husk 2

In omnia terram 388

 Jacob 299, 308
 Jenkinson 29
 Jeppesen 336
 Jervis 4
 Jones, L.W. 39
 Jones, P. 285

- Karġebi castle 286
 Kassa 337
 Kehrein 306-7
 Kenilworth 377
 Kenney 336-37
 Ker 18, 25
 King, A.A. 159
 King, A.H. 6
 King, H.W. 14
 Knowles 285
 Knyghtle 366
 Kyllum 283
 Kyries 21-24, 37, 200, 318-20

 Lacy 283, 300
 LANBE.. 27; 335, 360
 LaRue 426
Lateinische Sequenzen 306-7
 Lederer 375
 Legg 159
Legendae 355
 Leighlin 369
 Le Neve 284, 292, 294
 Leonel: see Power
Lexikon für Theologie .. 279
Libellus monocordi (Prosdocius)
 416
Library, The 24, 34
 Lichfield 6
 St Chad Gospels 34, 38, 39
 Lincoln 295
 Lissa 337
 Lodi 336
 Lovell 11, 17

 Lowinsky 396, 399, 412, 416
 Lydgate 301
 Lymnour 78
 Lyndeley 314

 Machaut 216, 350, 387
 Magnificat 320
 Mansfeld 283
 Marchettus 402, 406
 Martin 388
 Mary, Virgin 297-309
Mater munda, Mater sancta Dei 144
MAYSHUFT 146
 McPeck 102-5
 Meaux 288
 Metcalfe 12
MCG 356, 379
 Middleton Stoney, Oxon 293
Miles Christi 112
 Molassh' 317
 Monarchs ... Exhibition 10
 Mone 307
 Morant 13
 Morley 48, 61, 127, 235, 425
 Morpath 283
 More 329, 350
 Moser 368
Musica Antiquae Europae Orientalis 337
 Muris, Jean de 392-3, 396, 404, 412,
 414, 418, 420, 429

 Najara 303
 Neckham 38, 41
Nesciens mater 48, 50; 48, 127, 320

New College: see Oxford
Nobis iustat: see Vobis iustat
 Noble 296, 330
NOHM 92, 182, 279-80, 336
Nunc surgunt 146

O Christi miles 442
O Georgi 111
O quam suavis 35
OLYVER 59, 119, 120, 142;
 358-9, 384
 Orleans, Charles of 330, 334
 Ouynton 285
 Owen 12
 Oxford:
 Bodleian Library 10
 New College 283
 Worcester College 3
 Oxonia 363, 388

 Palestrina 393
 Paris anonymous: see MSS index,
 Berkeley
 Parker 2-7, 20, 27
Parnassus Marianus 307
 Parrish 216
Pelican History 379
PENNARD 89;
 Petti 378
 Peynton 283
 Phillimore 3
 Phillipps 285; see also MSS
 index, Berkeley
Pia mater 46
The Picards ... 359

Poitiers 303, 386-87
Post missarum solemnia 147
 Powell 34
POWER, Leonel 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 43,
 49, 73, 77, 81, 83, 84, 96, 99,
 109, 115, 116, 117, 118, 133,
 137, 138, 140, 141; 48, 279,
 364-74, 384-5
 Power, Maurice, Milo 369, 371
 Powicke 370
 Prentys 283
 Presteign, Hereford 362
 Pritchard 207
 Prodecimus 397, 405-8, 414, 416-17,
 421, 429
 Prust 78-79
 Psalms 303
PYCARD 26, 27, 28, 35, 75, 76, 78, 123;
 283, 358-60, 384-87

Qualis est dilectus 67
Quam pulcra es 209
Quatuor principalia 127-28, 394,
 396-97, 413
QUELDRYK 10, 88
Quem malignus spiritus 366
Quoniam rex 303

 Ragoun 366
 Rahner 279
 Ramsay 303
 Ramsbotham 2, 10, 11, 34, 45, 55, 57, 59,
 74, 78, 96-100, 129-30, 147-48, 181,
 191, 192, 258, 278, 297, 307, 375
 Reading, St Lawrence's 6
 Reaney 373

Reese 403
Regina celi 44; 75-77, 186-87
Register of Henry Chichele 298
Registrum Thome Spofford 362
Rex seculorum 318
 Rickert 45
 Riemann 428
 Robertson 379
 ROWLARD 29; 358-59
 ROY HENRY 16, 94; 48-52, 374-82; see also Henry IV, V, VI
 Ryke 287
 Rymer 380

 St Alban's 9, 286
 St Augustine's: see Canterbury
 St Botolph, Billingsgate 3
 St Chad see Lichfield
 St Cross, Winchester 294-5
 St Edward 304
 St George 279-309
 Botolph Lane 3
 see also Windsor
 St Mary: see Mary, Virgin
 see also Shrewsbury, York
 Daventry, Warwick
 St Paul's Cathedral 29, 280, 284, 286
 St Paul's: see Covent Garden
 St Stephen's Westminster 286
 St Thomas 304, 357, 375
 St Vincent, Earl of 3-4
 Salmon 13
Salvatoris mater pia 111

Salve mater 112
Salve mirifica 47
Salve porta 54
Salvettemplum 112
Salve virgo mater 337
Santa Maria virgo 359
Sancte Georgi see 111
 Schofield 102
 Searle 368
 Seay 405, 426
 Sellyng 317
 Selby 283-84
 Sevenoaks 284-85
 Seward 283, 300
 Shaw 47
 Shipton 287
 Sigismund 298
 Silva, Nunes da 329, 334
Sine nomine 319
 Smith 1, 2, 7-9, 20, 45, 47-49, 54, 59-61, 63, 383
So ye emprentid 336, 338
 Society of Antiquaries 12, 25, 295
 Society of Genealogists 8, 13
 Somercotes 285
Somerset Medieval Mills 295
 Sotheby²⁶⁷ 285
 Squire 1, 2, 11, 20, 27, 33, 35, 50, 53, 58, 59, 96, 97, 147, 181, 277-78, 287, 307, 334, 348, 370, 380
Stella celi 55; 337-45
 Stevens, D. 192, 194, 379
 Stevens, J. 403
 Stone 368
 Stonham 295

- Stockton, Wilts 283-84
 Stowe 12, 377
 Strade, Gallen 369
 Strangman 11-17, 194
 Strecche 377
 Strunk 111
 STURGEON, Nicholas 2, 15, 40, 64,
 69, 113, 114; 11-12, 97-98,
 133-40, 146-52, 202, 211-13, 280-
 83, 285-87, 311-13, 384
 Sturgeon, Richard 287
 Sturton 48
Sub Arturo plebs 158, 223, 354,
 356, 360, 363, 386-88
 SWYNFORD 86

Te Deum 303
 Tenterden, Kent 21
 Terry 2, 7, 10
Textus Evangelii 79
 Thompson 38, 65, 401
 Thurston 298
 Tinctoris 403, 411
The Times 4
 Titus Livius 377
 Tordiffe 8-10, 21-22, 53-54
Tous desplaisir 425
Tractatus de contrapuncto
 (Prodocimus) 405
Tractatus monocordi (Ugolino) 421
 Trowell 223, 283, 286-90, 318-19,
 359-63, 379, 386-88
 Troyes 296
 Tucks 228
 Tucker 3

 TYES 19, 22; 360-61, 384
 TYPPE 62, 87, 95, 98, 106, 110,
 135; 361
 Tyrrell 301

 Uber 283
 Ugolino of Orvieto 395, 401, 402,
 404-5, 414, 418, 420-21
 Utley 249, 402

Veni Sancte, Veni Creator 66
 Venn 12, 13
Virginalis contio 645
Visitations of Essex 12
 Vitry 251, 397-98, 404, 426
Vobis iustat carminis 336

 Waesberghe 401
 Walker 283
 Warwick, St Mary's 355, 362
 Warner 25
 Waterford 370
 Watson 24-25
 Weaver 295
Welcome Henry the Fifte 303
 Wells 286, 293
 Westminster Cathedral 10
 see also St Stephen's
 Wheathampstead, John of 293
 White 4
 Wilkinson 48-52
 Williams 300-2
 Winchester 21-26, 50, 200, 282-83,
 285, 287, 294-95, 360, 368, 370,
 383, 385; see also St Cross

Windsor, St George's 17, 277-80,
286-87, 298, 346, 362

Wiser 119

Woburn 283

Wonston, Hants, 293

Worcester College: see Oxford

Wormald 24

Worshipful Co. of Musicians 10

Wright 24

Wylie 301

York, Consistory Court 355

Minster 288, 284, 314

St Mary and Holy Angels
288, 314

Yorkshire composers 185-8, 191, 196

Zacar 33; 358-9

Zarlino 111