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Appendix A1:- The number of choristers at Wells Cathedral, 1327-1538.

Firstly, the figure of 10 choristers appearing in the Calendar of Patent Rolls¹ may be shown to be an error, and can be dismissed. The copyist making out the Patent Roll² wrote dicte choruste instead of the more grammatical dicti choruste³; and the compiler of the Calendar misread dicte as decem. Secondly, close examination renders it possible to break down the Valor Ecclesiasticus' figure of 13 choristers into several component parts, and they turn out not to have all been choristers at all. The Valor gives the total sum of the choristers' endowments as £27.16. 1d.⁴; this sum appears to have been reached by combing through the Communar's Account for 1534/5 adding up all the relevant sums⁵. So the compiler of the Valor would certainly have seen the item on that account which reads:

Et in Communis Episcopi puerorum et Canonicorum suorum in die
Sanctorum Innocencium viz Episcopo viij d. cuilibet aliorum
Canonicorum suorum ij d. ac Communario j d. - ij s. ix d.

It takes very little elementary mathematics to calculate from this that the Boy Bishop's entourage consisted of 12 "canons" - total number of boys, therefore, 13.

The scribe of the Valor appears then to have assumed that at Wells the Boy Bishop's entourage consisted solely of choristers, and so gave 13 as the number of choristers in his account of the revenue of their endowments. This assumption, however, was not correct. The Communar's Account for 1455/6 had gone into more detail about the breakdown of this payment of 2s. 9d.:- Episcopo viij d et Cuilibet Coriste et Alteriste ij d Et Communario j d. The next surviving account, that for 1461/2, reads differently again:-

Episcopo viij d, cuilibet aliorum Canonicorum suorum
de Choristis et Tabellariis ij d ac Communario j d.

These entries indicate that the Boy Bishop's party consisted not solely of choristers, but of altariste and/or tabellarii as well.

1. CPR 1348-50, p.351.

2. PRO C 66 228 m.17

3. the correct reading does in fact appear in a Wells copy of the same letters patent - WlsDC Liber Albus II fo.197v.

4. VE, vol.1, p.128.

5. The total thus to be derived from this account is actually £27.16. 2d.; but this is close enough to consider the point proven, especially in view of the fact that one item was variable from year to year, and the sum drawn from accounts of other years would be out by not just one penny, but by whole shillings.

It can be shown that the altarists can certainly be distinguished from the chorister-boys. They were three in number, and their work lay not in ministering at divine service in choir, but in serving the priests (vicars-choral or chantry-priests) celebrating chantry-masses at the various side-altars in the cathedral. They were not boys, but youths and young men; they lived and slept not in the choristers' house, but in the cathedral itself; and they lived not on the choristers' revenues from their endowments, but on the hospitality of the canons resident.¹ There is, therefore, no point of contact, or similarity even, with the choristers; the altarists cannot, therefore, be included in the number of singing-boys of the cathedral.

The tabellarii² were also three in number; however, unlike the altarists, they are always to be found in association with the choristers whenever they occur in the records. Indeed, it is difficult to discover in what manner they were distinguishable from each other. The choristers and tabellarii lived and were maintained together at the Choristers' House, out of the same sources of income³; and the duties of successive Instructors of the Choristers were to teach to sing not just the choristers, but the choristers and tabellarii.⁴ The day-to-day clothing of both groups was bought together⁵; the tabellarii's clerical vestments were paid for out of the Biddesham account, as were the choristers'.⁶ Both groups attended obits as a single entity, and were jointly paid as such.⁷

1. The altarists are considered in detail in Appendix A2, p. A008 below.

2. Often spelled tabularii in the MS sources.

3. e.g. WlsDC Communar's A/cs 1437/8 onwards: - de nova pensione ecclesie sancti Cuthberti Wellensis ad usum et sustentacionem Choristarum et tabellariorum ecclesie xx li. See also charter giving details of the grant of this pension to the Choristers' House:- transcription in Liber Albus II ff.162r.-164r.; original charter, no ref., now kept in cardboard box marked "Various charters returned from Norwich Library". See also Liber Albus II fo.311v.

4. Indenture of Richard Hygons:-WlsDC no ref., in brown paper folder labelled "Papers handed in on the death of Miss Parfitt" in box marked "Sundry MSS and papers" (transcription in MMB, p.426); indenture of John Clawsy:- Liber Ruber (part 2) fo.151r.

5. e.g. WlsDC Communar's A/cs 1428/9, 1430/1:- Item Magistro Choristarum pro vj choristis et tribus tabulariis pro eorum vestura lx s.

6. WlsDC Communar's A/cs 1407/8, 1416/7, 1421/2, 1445/6, 1448/9, 1470/1, 1473/4.

7. WlsDC Dean Cosyn's MS fo.8v.:- Et omnes isti ix/ s[cilicet] iij tabell[arii] et vj choriste equaliter percipient cum uno vicario in obitibus.

Indeed, in what ways the duties of the tabellarii differed at all from those of the choristers is far from clear. Certainly, however, they must be distinguished from the single adult tabularius. This latter was one of the vicars-choral, chosen each year to make note, and inform the chapter, of the grosser errors and premature exits from service of such vicars as were present, and of the unlicensed absences of those who were not; his office had been instituted by 1298 at the latest.¹ As a term applied to three of the singing-boys, it clearly has totally different connotations, and has not yet been traced in any source earlier than the last quarter of the fourteenth century.² Speculation on the derivation of the term throws some possible light on its meaning, however.

In the first place, it could be a corruption of thuribularius, meaning "censer-bearer"; bearing the censer and ⁿcensing the choir was a duty regularly deputed to the older choristers, certainly in the Use of Wells.³ The singing-boys of York Minster and its three daughter churches of Ripon, Beverley and Southwell were divided into two groups in this way, of "choristers" and "thurifers".⁴ In support of this idea, the scribe of the Communar's Account for 1497/8 appears to have understood there to have been some connection between tabellarius and thuribulum (thurible); for he mis-wrote Thurrebarius for the first, and the similar-sounding terriberium for the second.

Alternatively, and more plausibly, the term could be derived from tabula, denoting the board on which, each Saturday, were written in due order the names of those members of the foundation who were to take individual parts in the performance of the Opus Dei during the next 7 days, and which was read out in chapter, in Salisbury Use at least,

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1. WlsDC Liber Albus I ff.217v., 218r.; BM Harley 1682 fo.17r.; WlsDC Communar's A/cs passim (stipend of Tabularius = 13s. 4d. p.a.); Liber Ruber (part 1) fo.18v. (930), (part 2) fo.40r.; charter 758. The tabularius and the tabellarii do get confused in SCMA, p.175.
 2. Its earliest appearance yet traced occurs in the heading of one section (of 12 names) on a complete list of the cathedral staff of 1377 - 'Altariste, Tabularii et Coryste':- 1377 Clerical Subsidy Roll, PRO E 179 4/1 m.1. It next occurs in a will of 1401 - ed. F.W.Weaver, Somerset Medieval Wills, 1383-1500 p.6; and regularly thereafter into the sixteenth century.
 3. WlsDC Dean Cosyn's MS fo.20r.; MS Statuta Ecclesie Cathedralis Wellensis p.58.
 4. See above, p. 2013, fn. 3. and MMB pp.17-18.

by one of the senior boys¹. A parallel situation at Wells is indicated by an entry on the Communar's account for 1470/1 which suggests that the magna tabula was normally in the custody of the tabellarii². Further support for this second derivation may be seen in the fact that the collation of the six choristers lay in the hands of the Precentor, the official in charge of the singing at Divine Service; whereas the collation of the three tabellarii lay in the hands of the Chancellor, the official in charge of the reading at Divine Service. That the tabellarii did, nevertheless, remain essentially singing-boys is confirmed by their persistently close identification with the choristers throughout the Wells archive, and by the fact that, although collated by the Chancellor, the services of the tabellarii remained at the disposal (assignatio) of the Precentor.³

Therefore, whichever of these suggested derivations be preferred, it seems clear that the tabellarii were in fact the older singing-boys, appointed to the more responsible duties either of bearing the censer, or of reading in chapter, by virtue of their age and seniority.

The Boy Bishop's entourage, with which this enquiry began, thus appears to have been composed not just of the singing-boys, but of all the boys and youths on the staff of the church. So far the six choristers, the three tabellarii and the three altarists have been identified within it⁴; there was only one more boy or youth on the staff, namely the sacrist's garcio, and presumably he was the thirteenth member of the party.⁵

1. ed. W.H. Frere, The Use of Sarum, vol.1, pp.41,51.

2. Et solut' Thome Wexmaker pro ceracione magne tabule pertinentis ad tabellarios x d.

3. WlsDC Dean Cosyn's MS fo.8v., a list of all the members of the cathedral foundation c.1505:- item tres tabellarii ex collacione cancellarii et ex assignacione precentoris vel a suo loco tenentis [sic] / Item sex choriste ex collacione precentoris vel succentoris absente precentore. (For the respective roles of Precentor and Chancellor, see the Statuta Antiqua in WlsDC Liber Ruber part 1 fo.4lv.; here the Archiscola is, in fact, the Chancellor - see the text of the "Historia Maior", ed. J.A. Robinson, in ed. T.F. Palmer, Collectanea I, 39 Somerset Record Society (1924), p.62:- ...Cancellarius, quem vocant Archiscolam...)

4. The list of all the Altariste Tabularii et Coryste of the cathedral on the 1377 Clerical Subsidy Roll (PRO E 179 4/1 m.1) similarly totals 12.

5. The sacrist's boy is mentioned at regular intervals in the Wells archive:- alongside the three altarists on a will of 1311:- WlsDC charter 179; on the Clerical Subsidy Roll of 1377 (PRO E 179 4/1 m.1); in the statute concerning the duties of the Treasurer (BM Harley 1682 fo.3v., and therefore earlier than c.1400, the date of this MS.); in the statutes of 1495 (WlsDC Dean Cosyn's MS ff.3v.-4r.); and on the Communar's A/c for 1504/5.

The number of the Boy Bishop's entourage seems not to have altered at all throughout the whole period under review; the same sum of 2s. 9d. was paid by the Communar to its members on every surviving account, from the earliest of 1327/8 until the last before the abolition of the ceremony in 1541, that for 1537/8. There is no evidence to suggest that the internal composition of these 13 ever fluctuated at all. So it seems fair to conclude that throughout the period 1327 - 1538 at least, Wells Cathedral maintained a team of nine singing-boys. All nine seem to have been known as choristers, possibly until about the last quarter of the fourteenth century, when the three seniormost boys began to be selected by the Chancellor as tabellarii. All nine, however, remained essentially singing-boys throughout.

Appendix A2:- The attendance of non-choral staff at service in the secular cathedrals.

At Salisbury, there were five distinct chantry priests in 1349, and seven in 1390¹. At Wells there were nine in 1377², and 14 by the time bishop Harewell incorporated them as a college in 1401³. The chantry priests existed primarily to discharge the cathedral's obligations to its benefactors by the daily celebration of mass for the soul of the deceased; this obligation did not extend to requiring the chantry priests to attend the services sung daily in the choir by the vicars and choristers. Nevertheless, on the greater festal occasions, the glory of God could best be served by as full an accumulation of personnel in choir as possible; therefore, it was laid down by the statutes of 1319 at Salisbury that the old custom whereby the chantry priests and altarists had, at least on feasts of nine lessons, formerly attended service with the vicars in choir, should again henceforth be observed.⁴ A warning to attend choir matins on feasts of nine lessons was issued to the chantry-priests in 1394, and to attend mass and vespers on Sundays and feast-days in 1414⁵. How far these instructions were obeyed is not known. Beyond this, the chantry-priests recited the Canonical Hours, if at all, then out of choir and by themselves. At Salisbury, they were directed to say matins together at the morrowmass altar, presumably immediately before the first of the three morrowmasses; they were then required to say their chantry masses, at their respective altars, in order, one following the other, until Lady Mass was begun in the Lady Chapel - that is, while in choir the vicars and choristers were singing Prime, Terce and Sext.⁶ At Wells, it was specifically directed by the statutes of 1331 that the chantry priests should recite the canonical Hours by themselves, as a body, in the Lady Chapel by the cloister - i.e., totally distinct from the main choir service in the body of the Cathedral.⁷

It seems that at other cathedrals, the chantry priests may have played a greater part in the performance of the daily Opus Dei⁸; but certainly at Wells, and almost as completely at Salisbury, they may be ignored when attempting to estimate the strength of the forces supplied by the cathedral to perform the choir service.

1. SDC Reg. Corfe fo.6r.; ACL Archiep.Reg. Courtney fo.150v.

2. Clerical Subsidy Roll:- PRO E 179 4/1 m.1.

3. SCMA p.301

4. Stat.Sal. pp.254-9.

5. SDC Reg. Dunham fo.131v., Pountney 4r.

6. SDC Reg. Draper fo.13r.; SCMA p.294. The two Hungerford Chantry chaplains said matins together in their chantry chapel before, or around, 7 a.m.- SDC Reg. Burgh fo.60v.

7. WlsDC Liber Ruber (part 1) fo.26r.

8. SCMA, pp.291-2,294-5, 302 esp.fn.4.

The same may be said of the altarists, and their equivalents at the other cathedrals. "Altarists" occur at Salisbury and Wells, "poor clerks" at Lincoln; they may in no way be considered as clerks of the choir, as if they were equivalent to the "secondarii" of Exeter.¹ At Salisbury, there were nine altarists throughout the period under review²; at Wells, they never numbered more than three³. The natures and duties of the altarists at both cathedrals were in every way very similar. Each was allotted to one of the principal altars in the church at which the misse currentes, the daily chantry masses, were celebrated by the chantry-priests and certain of the priest-vicars.⁴ At Salisbury, six were known as altariste intrinseci, and three as altariste extrinseci⁵, perhaps according as to whether their altars were east or west of the choir-screen.⁶ From dawn until high mass they attended upon the priest-vicars and chantry priests who said mass at their altars⁷; if any priest failed to celebrate mass at his altar on any day, it was the altarist's duty to report him.⁸ The vessels and ornaments of their altars were in their care; they were responsible for keeping them clean, and for their replacement if they were lost or stolen⁹. Their duties included the general guarding of the church¹⁰, and all the moveable objects inside it¹¹; as a deterrent to thieves, they slept at night either actually inside the church¹², or - at Salisbury - in their allotted rooms in the "Paradise" - the space between the outer wall of the nave and the cloister¹³. At Salisbury also, they took custody of the offerings left at their altars, and transmitted them to the Clerk of the Fabric.¹⁴

1. as is suggested by Dr. Edwards in SCMA p.303. Nor should the altarists of Salisbury be confused with the garciones of the church (ibid., p.305); there were three of these garciones, one allotted as assistant to each of the two sacrists, and one to the janitor, and they were wholly distinct from the altarists.
2. ACL Archiep. Reg. Courtney fo.150v.; SBR Reg. Dean Sydenham (bound in with Reg. Dean Chandler) 2nd foliation ff.59r., 59v.; SDC Reg. Burgh fo.11v.; A/cs of Waltham obit on Fabric A/cs 1464/5, 1477/8; A/cs of Metford obit on "A/cs of Masters of the Fabric on receipts from St. Thomas" 1486/7-1537/8.
3. WlsDC Liber Albus I fo.33v. (c.1230); charter 179(1311); Communar's A/cs 1327/8-1547/8 passim; WlsVC Register of the Vicars Choral 1393-1534 p.22; WlsDC Liber Ruber (part 2) ff.56r. 149r.; Dean Cosyn's MS fo.8v.; VE vol.1 p.127 (where they are called pauperes clerici - "poor clerks" - the name given to their equivalents at Lincoln Cathedral).
4. SCL MS 189 fo.37r.; SDC Fabric A/cs passim, Reg. Newton pp.7, 31-2.
5. SDC Reg. Burgh fo.11v.; SCL MS 189 ff.37r. 37v.
6. SCMA p.305.
7. BM Harley 1682 fo.22r; WlsDC Liber Ruber (part 1) fo.18v.
8. SBR Registrum Rubrum fo.162r.; SDC Reg. Burgh fo.50r.
9. SDC Reg. Newton pp.7, 8, 9, 31-2, 59; WlsDC Dean Cosyn's MS fo.8v.
10. WlsDC Communar's A/cs 1327/8-1547/8 passim, esp.1394/5:- In communa clericorum custodientium ecclesiam hoc anno l j s viij d Et non plus quia officium unius Altariste vacabat per unam ebdomadam.
11. WlsDC Dean Cosyn's MS fo.8v.
12. WlsDC Liber Ruber (part 2) ff.56r., 146v., 149r.
13. SDC Reg. Hutchins, p.98; Newton pp.7, 8; Fabric A/c 1513/4.
14. SDC Reg. Hutchins, p.98; Fabric A/c 1515/6 etc.

The fact that their work at their altars, and this safeguarding of the church and its contents were seen as their principal function, is indicated by the fact that their nomination and presentation to the dean and chapter for admission lay in the hands of the treasurer or sub-treasurer, in whose province the security and management of the church and its contents lay.¹ At Salisbury, the altarists were said also to be bound to assist the sacrists in ringing the bells to call the vicars etc. to divine service in the Cathedral.² The eleven or so "poor clerks" of Lincoln Cathedral had duties which made them most clearly analogous to the altarists of Salisbury and Wells;³ by whom such functions were performed at the other cathedrals has not yet been determined.

Clearly, therefore, the functions of "altarists" and "poor clerks" were concerned by day, with their attendance at private masses at their altars and the maintenance of their chapels, and by night with the security of the church. They cannot be considered as being amongst those personnel whose principal function was the conduct of Divine Worship in the choir. At Salisbury, their duties of attending at service, according to the statutes of 1319, extended only to days which were feasts of nine lessons. Even this was but a re-enforcement of an old custom which had been allowed to lapse⁴; and there is no evidence to suggest that it was enforced at all later. At Wells, there is one passage in the statutes of 1338 where it was laid down that "no vicar, altarist or chorister, whose skill in reading is less than adequate, should read any lesson, Epistle or Gospel, until he has been heard through first."⁵ Except for this, the Wells archive contains no direct indication that the altarists were ever expected to attend Divine Service in the choir at all⁶; and even this

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1. SDC Reg. Dunham fo.4r.; Reg. Hutchins pp.97-8; Reg. Burgh fo.25r.; Reg. Newton p.74; Reg. Machon p.90; WlsDC Liber Ruber (part 2), ff.136v., 15v.-16r., 18v.
 2. SDC Reg. Newton p.8; SCL MS 189 ff.37r., 37v.
 3. H. Bradshaw and C. Wordsworth, Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral, vol.1, pp.349,350; vol.2, pp.361-2; VE vol.4, p.14.
 4. Stat. Sal. pp.254-6.
 5. BM Harley 1682 fo.18r.
 6. They would have little time to do so; for amongst their duties was an obligation to recite, every day, between them, the entire psalter, on behalf of the souls of deceased benefactors:- WlsDC Liber Albus I fo.218r., Liber Ruber (part 1), fo.18v., (part 2) fo.16v.; BM Harley 1682 fo.22r.

passage may in fact refer only to the altarist allotted to the altar of the Lady Chapel, who - if a parallel with Salisbury may be presumed - was bound to read the Epistle every day at Lady Mass.¹ Thus again, the altarists at Wells may be discounted in any evaluation of the forces supplied by the secular cathedrals for the performance of the Opus Dei.

Indeed, the altarists were kept entirely distinct from both categories of ministers of the choir, namely the vicars-choral and choristers. They lived with, and shared the endowments of, neither body; they slept in the church or in their own allotted rooms², and fed among the households, and at the expense, of the canons resident.³ However, it does seem probable that the position of altarist was often used as an intermediate step between those of chorister and vicar-choral. In 1388 the chapter at Salisbury stated that it was the custom of the cathedral that when an altarist's place fell vacant, then "that chorister who, on account of the breaking of his voice, can quite plainly no longer usefully serve as a chorister in the choir should, if he be found suitable, be preferred to all outsiders" in filling the vacant altarist's place.⁴ At Wells, those altarists who kept out of trouble might be admitted vicars-choral in time; during the currency of the sole surviving volume of Chapter Acts (1486-1514) some of those named in passing as altarists later occur again on their admission as vicars.⁵ It would therefore be expected from this that the altarists were generally youths in their teens or early twenties; and apart from one instance in the Salisbury archive where an altarist is described as a little boy⁶, this does indeed seem to have been the case. At Salisbury they were expected to attend the town grammar school, which lay on Exeter Street only just outside the close; though the frequency of the warnings given to them actually to do so, suggests that this provision was honoured more in the breach than the observance.⁷ At the same time, the altarists were more

1. SDC Reg. Newton, p.7.

2. refs. as notes 12,13, p.A009 above.

3. SCL MS 189 fo.37r.; SDC Reg. Burgh fo.85r.; WlsDC Liber Ruber (part 2) fo.18r.

4. SDC Reg. Dunham fo.4r.

5. e.g. William Capron, altarist in 1487 (WlsDC Liber Ruber, part 2, fo.15v.) admitted vicar 1493 (ibid., fo.43v.); Thomas Legate admitted altarist 1488 (fo.24v), admitted vicar 1496 (fo.61r).

6. SDC Reg. Machon p.153 - unus puerulus nominatus Johannes Gyfford admitted altarist of the altar in the chapel of St. John the Baptist, 1472.

7. SDC Reg. Dunham fo.65v.; Hutchins p.98; Burgh ff.8v., 50r.; Newton, p.7 (bis); Machon p.173.

than mere boys. There were reports of their absconding from the church at night, frequenting taverns in town, keeping suspect company, getting drunk, and getting involved in brawls; there were statutes passed against their wearing arms; there were complaints of their taking young ladies in fornication either in town, or even in the churchyard itself.¹ In age and status, therefore, the altarists and poor clerks had much in common with the clerici of the collegiate churches founded in the fourteenth century.

The statutes and customaries of the cathedrals give occasional indications that there might be certain occasions when it might prove politic, or merely convenient, to admit boys other than the formally-admitted choristers to attend at service with them - but the instances known of this are all of very slight significance, and none would have made any effective difference to the performance of the music of the services. For instance, at Exeter it was laid down in 1268 that "boys who were sufficiently useful to the church or of noble birth ... might be admitted to processions and mass for a time by reason of their progenitors or kinsmen, to be instructed in morals and honourable behaviour."² How far this license was taken advantage of does not appear - but anyway, it would have made no difference to the effective complement of singing-boys.

At Wells and Salisbury, the customaries allowed for boy canons to stand at service with the choristers³. But a boy canon was a rare creature⁴; and the sort of boy who had family or friends influential enough to secure him a cathedral canonry was hardly likely to be putting in any regular appearance at the Cathedral.⁵ Neither at Salisbury nor Wells need the occasional occurrence of a boy canon ever have made any noticeable difference to the number of boy singers.

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1. BM Harley 1682 fo.20r.; WlsDC Liber Ruber (part 2) fo.56r.; SDC Reg. Hutchins pp.97-8, Newton pp.6-8.
 2. SCMA pp.307-8.
 3. WlsDC Dean Cosyn's MS fo.17v.; ed. W.H. Frere, The Use of Sarum, vol.1 p.13. Prof. Harrison (MMB p.51) translates canonici pueri as "choristers", presumably (and ingeniously) understanding it to mean "boys under the rule", equal to "boys on the foundation"; but there seems to be no justification for rejecting the obvious translation.
 4. A boy of 11 was admitted canon of Salisbury in 1442 - see W.H.R.Jones, Fasti Ecclesie Sarisburiensis, p.370; a boy of 12 was admitted canon of Wells, and installed as prebendary of the acolyte prebend of Combe XIV in 1556 - see ed. H.C.Maxwell-Lyte, Register of Bishop Bourne, p.147. These are the only instances of boy canons that have yet come to my notice.
 5. The Wells customary remarks that at Matins on All Saints' Day, the usual order of reading the lessons was reversed, "so that a boy canon reads the eighth lesson - if one be present" - WlsDC Dean Cosyn's MS fo.21r.

At Hereford, it is clear that c.1240-60, the period of compilation of the earliest set of statutes, the choir of the cathedral was frequented not just by the formally admitted canons residentiary, vicars and choristers, but also by certain persons introduced by the canons, who were members of their households. These, being in only minor orders, stood at the bottom form with the five choristers, and like them were under the discipline of the succentor.¹ However, by c.1280, it was being noted that these tended to be "youths, beyond boyhood both in age and height, not attending school, spending idle days in the security of the choir, virtually useless for the offices of singing and reading, productive neither inside nor outside the church, and more a burden to it than an honour." Unless there were some hope of their improvement, it was decreed that such characters were to be removed from the cathedral.² Again, it seems improbable that there can at any time have been more than five effective singing-boys at Hereford; and indeed, as late as 1535, five was still the number of choristers maintained at the cathedral.³

1. H. Bradshaw and C. Wordsworth, Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral, vol.2, pp.72,76.
2. ibid., pp.83-4.
3. VE, vol.3, p.6.

Appendix A3:- The attendance of vicars choral at service in
Salisbury Cathedral.

After 1484, the number of vicars choral actually on the books at Salisbury Cathedral was recorded on each of the surviving quarterly accounts of the Communar of the Canons' Common Fund¹. Prior to 1484 this number can only be discovered by calculation from information derived from these Communar's Accounts. This calculation produces a figure representing the average number of vicars-choral actually attending service in the cathedral church over any given period of time. In all essentials, the manner of making the calculation is identical to that already explained in the case of Wells Cathedral; and similarly, the resulting number will represent an absolute minimum for the number of vicars actually on the books, and will normally fall short of it by a factor of some 10-15%².

At both cathedrals, each vicar performing the totality of his due attendance at service each day received from the Common Fund one penny towards the cost of his commons (communa). The total sum paid out on this account by the administrator of the Common Fund (the Communar) during the course of each financial period (12 months at Wells, 3 months at Salisbury) was entered on the account which he rendered at the termination of the period. If this sum be divided by the full sum which any one vicar stood to earn in this way, the result is the average number of vicars attending at service in church over the given period.

In the case of Wells Cathedral, the calculation is straightforward, since the whole system was conducted, and accounted for, without complications. A number of factors render the calculation for Salisbury Cathedral rather more complex.

Firstly, the sum of money paid per quarter to all the vicars is not given separately on the account; it is treated as one of a number of similar items, all absorbed into a single broad category - the total sum paid out for the commons of all the ministri of the cathedral. So the standard entry on the accounts runs thus:-

In communa vicariorum et aliorum ministrorum.³

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1. e.g. SDC A/c Communar 76 (July-Oct.1484):- In communa xxxviiij vicariorum et aliorum ministrorum Ecclesie Cathedralis Sarisberiensis hoc termino xvj li viij s. j d.
 2. See above, p. 2008-9.
 3. E.g. SDC A/c Communar 14 (1385):- In communa vicariorum et aliorum ministrorum xxij li. xiiij s. vij d.

In order to discover how much was actually paid to the vicars, it is necessary to find out who these alii ministri were, and how much they were paid - and subtract this sum from the given total.

The Communar's Account for October - December 1488 fortunately lists this item in full detail¹:-

In communa xxxj vicariorum choralium et xiiij choristarum
ij^{orum} sacristarum vj altaristarum et pro viij 0 interessentibus
xvj li. vj s. viij d.

The last item here, a payment "to those present at the eighth 0", refers to some ceremony connected with the singing of the antiphons to Magnificat during Advent (known as the 0's because each began with the word 0); this particular item, therefore, was applicable only to the quarter of the year containing Advent, i.e. that running from 1 October to 31 December.

Now the allowance for the 14 choristers together was 7s. 6d. - 7s. 8d. per term, depending on its length;² say 7s. 7d. per term.

The allowance for the 6 altariste was 3s. 9½d.
per person per term³ total 22s. 9d. per term

The allowance for the 2 sacrists is not known;
however, 1d. per day per man - the same as the
vicars - seems not unreasonable say 15s. 2d. per term
Total termly subtraction 45s. 6d.

The allowance "to those present at the eighth 0"
was 4s. 8d. paid to the choristers present at
o sapiencia⁴ 4s. 8d.

Additional subtraction, Oct.-Dec. term 4s. 8d.

In order to discover the sum actually paid to the vicars, therefore, it is necessary to make certain subtractions from the sums appearing on the accounts. On accounts relating to terms beginning 1 January, 1 April or 1 July, the subtraction is 45s. 6d.; on accounts relating to the term beginning 1 October, the subtraction is 50s. 2d.

1. SOC A/c Communar 84.
2. SOC A/cs of Collector of Choristers' Rents, 1517/8-1525/6, where the receipt of the sum paid to the choristers by the Communar is recorded on a schedule attached to the principal accounts. 7s. 7d. per term represents 1d. per day for a term of exactly 13 weeks.
3. The composition of the communa vicariorum section on the quarterly Communar's A/cs is explained on the communa canonicorum account for April-June 1541:- SOC A/c Communar 101. This records that the payment per altarist was 3s. 9½d. per term-i.e. ½d. per day for a term of 91 days (13 weeks).
4. Item rec' de comminatio canonicorum pro o sapiencia etc liij s viij d: schedule attached to SOC A/cs of Collector of Choristers' Rents 1517/8 - 1525/6 (see note 2 above). 4s. 8d. was equivalent to 4d. to each of the 14 choristers.

The next problem lies in working out the quantity by which these resulting sums should be divided. In each case the divisor is the full sum which any one vicar stood to receive from this source in the given quarter. Unfortunately, this was not a fixed sum. In the first place, the quarters of the year were not of exactly equal length; the first quarter consisted of 90 days (91 in a leap year), the second of 91, and the third and fourth of 92. The basic sum which a vicar could earn from this source thus varied from 7s. 6d. to 7s. 8d. per term. Far more serious, however, is the fact that on double feasts, rogation days, and two simple feasts, the allowance was doubled to 2d. per day.¹ Not only does this mean that, because of the uneven incidence of these feasts, the sum totals for the four quarters varied considerably; it also means, because of the variable incidence of moveable feasts, that even the sums for the corresponding quarters of different years would also vary by a considerable degree. Strictly speaking, the full sum earnable by a vicar has to be worked out separately for each quarter for which the calculation is made.

Life is too short for that kind of scholarship; for the purposes of this thesis, a rule of thumb was devised. It is known that by 1535, the total sum which a vicar could earn from this source in a whole year was 36s. 7d.² In the term beginning 1 January (1557) the sum earnable was 8s. 4d.³; in that beginning 1 April (1541), it was 9s. 8d.⁴; in that beginning 1 July (1541), it was 8s. 11d.⁵; by subtraction, that leaves 9s. 8d. which could be earned in a term beginning 1 October.

These sums were used as divisors for the corresponding terms of all years; the resulting calculations produced the figures for the number of vicars of Salisbury Cathedral which were used in the text.⁶ A certain margin of error enters into these calculations at a number of points, but this does not exceed a tolerable level.

1. Statute of 1214:- Stat.Sal. pp.48-50.

2. VE, vol.2, p.85. By error, the printed text has xxxvj s. viij d.

3. Communa canonicorum a/c., SDC A/c. Communar 121.

4. Communa canonicorum a/c., SDC A/c. Communar 101

5. Communa canonicorum a/c., SDC A/c. Communar 103.

6. Above, pp. 4036-7, 5015-6, 5020-1.

Appendix A4:- The Chapel Royal - the extraction of information from the household accounts.

The only regularly surviving sources yet found for the names of the chaplains and clerks of the Chapel Royal prior to the 16th century, are the lists drawn up by those officials of the royal household who were concerned with paying them their emoluments. Chapel members were paid wages on a per diem basis¹, so no wage-lists survive:- their daily payments are included anonymously in the item vadia (wages of all daily paid members of the household) which occurs in the daily Dieta section on the accounts of the Treasurer of the Household. Livery-lists, however, do survive. Every member of the chapel, like many other members of the household, was entitled to a twice-yearly livery of cloth for his gown, at Whitsun and Christmas. The gentlemen of the Chapel (i.e., all those of generosus status) received this livery not in kind, but in its equivalent cash value; the rates were fixed by the Ordinance of 1318 at 106s. 8d. p.a. for the Dean, 46s. 8d. p.a. for the priest-chaplains, and 40s. p.a. for the clerks.² Lists of those receiving such payments occur on the accounts of the official who dealt with the disbursement of cash sums, the Treasurer (or Keeper of the Wardrobe) of the Household.

Certain of these accounts were made out with particular care; on them, there is no difficulty whatever in spotting the dean, chaplains and clerks of the chapel, since they were specifically labelled as such. Examples of such accounts are those for 1341/44, 1353/4, 1359/60 and 1363³ - that is, all the surviving accounts of this class up until 1369, which cover a whole year or more. The only accountants who were not scrupulous in maintaining the clear boundary lines between the various departments of the household were those whose accounts dealt with the summer period only; at Whitsun large numbers of members of the household received the flat rate of 20s. for their summer livery, and no useful purpose would have been served by separating them out into their several different departments.⁴

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1. Ordinances of York 1318:- 7½d. to each chaplain, 4½d. to each clerk. T.F. Tout, The place of the reign of Edward II, p.278.
 2. ibid. The chaplains' allowance comprised 26s. 8d. at Christmas and 20s. at Whitsun.
 3. PRO E 36 204, ff.89r., 89v., 90r.; E 101 392/12, ff.40r., 40v.; E101 393/11, fo.76v.; E 101 396/11 ff.16v., 17r.
 4. See e.g. PRO E 101 396/2 fo.56r.(1366); out of a total of 64 names, however, all 15 known to have been chaplains or clerks of the chapel occur in the first 25. [Cf. a roll of liveries from the Great Wardrobe, PRO E 101 394/16, m.9 (1363/4) where, in similar circumstances, the known chapel staff occur undifferentiated as the first 15 names in a diverse group of 26.]

A slight source of confusion occurs in the Treasurer of the Household's accounts following 1369. By this time the internal composition of the chapel had undergone certain modifications. From equal numbers of chaplains and clerks, as established by the Ordinance of 1318¹, an alteration had been made, so that the now 16 members of the chapel consisted of a Dean, 13 chaplains and 2 gentlemen-clerks. The 1318 payments for livery, of 46s. 8d. to the chaplains and 40s. to the clerks, were not maintained. Rather, the 46s. 8d. continued to be paid to just the senior chaplains, who might number between two and five; while 40s. was paid to the rest, whether they were chaplains or clerks. On all the Keeper of the Wardrobe of the Household accounts, the 40s. chaplains and clerks continue to be distinctly listed, and are instantly detectable by any searcher. At least until 1399, theirs are invariably the first names in the large list of 40s. household clerks of many complexions, and they are perfectly clearly marked off from the rest by the phrase cuilibet eorum xl s pro robis hiemalibus et estivalibus, followed by their total sum; the list of the remaining 40s. clerks is taken up only after this formula has completely separated the chapel staff from them.²

There is, therefore, no problem in detecting the 40s. chaplains and clerks. However, a problem does exist with regard to the 46s. 8d. chaplains. On the accounts they are included with those minor departmental heads known as the Clerici Hospicii (Clerks of the Household) who similarly received 46s. 8d. p.a. for livery:- e.g. the clerks of the pantry, buttery and kitchen, the junior clerk of the works, the clerks of account of the Wardrobe and the clerks of the Privy Seal. At first the Chapel clerks are listed distinctly enough - they come right at the end of the list, after the clerks of the Privy Seal. In the 1390's, however, a certain process of sifting is required, for the senior chaplains appear more confusedly mixed up with the Clerici Hospicii - a sign of the temporary breakdown of the distinction between the senior chapel staff and the other important household clerks, for which an explanation is offered elsewhere³. Acquaintance with these accounts,

1. ref. as n.1, p.A017 above.

2. see PRO E 101 397/5 fo.43r.(1371/2), fo.82r (1372/3); 398/9 f.31r.(1376/7); 401/2 fo.42r.(1383/4); 402/5 fo.31v.(1389/90); BM.Add.MS.35115 fo.40v., PRO E 101 403/22 fo.12v.(1392/3); 403/10 fo.43v.(1395/6). Very rarely indeed, an extraneous name may creep into this group - e.g. Geoffrey Melton, the King's physician, is erroneously included with the Chapel clerk group on the a/c for 1395/6 (PRO E 101 403/10 fo.43v.; see fo.40r. for Melton's actual office at court). John Haverborough and William Pidyngton were erroneously included on the list for 1376/7 (PRO E 101 398/9, fo.31r.).

3. See above, pp. 4022-4, 4025-6.

however, renders it a simple job to recognise the names of those who were employed not in the chapel, but elsewhere in the household, and thus to isolate the names of the chapel staff.

The humbler members of the chapel, those of valectus and garcio and puer status, do not generally occur on the accounts of the Treasurer (or Keeper of the Wardrobe) of the Household. They received their annual liveries of cloth not in cash, but in kind; issues to them, therefore, were recorded on the Rolls of liveries from the Great Wardrobe, that being the department of the household concerned with liveries of cloth. Not many of these rolls have survived; fortunately, by 1407, they had been superseded and replaced by the books of account of the Keeper of the Great Wardrobe, which have survived in rather greater profusion.

The early rolls rarely identify the offices which the recipients of livery occupied; it has not yet proved possible to detect on them the names of the valecti-clerks and boys of the chapel¹. Fortunately, the rolls from 1374 onwards are more detailed, providing the missing information, and permitting complete accounts of the composition of the Chapel Royal to be given. These records of the Great Wardrobe are virtually the sole sources of information on these humbler members of the Chapel.

1. See e.g. PRO E 101 390/2 (1340/1); 391/2 (1345); 391/15 (1347/9); 393/15 (1360/1); 394/16 (1363/4) - but see above, p.A017 n.4; 396/20 (1370/1).

Appendix A5:- The Magister scholarum musice of Warwick in the fourteenth century.

During the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, there existed in the town of Warwick an official known as the Magister scholarum musice. A document defining the functions of both the Magister Scholarum gramaticalium and the Magister scholarum musice was entered into the college register¹; it was drawn up during the time of Robert of Leicester as Dean, c.1314-c.1333². In the next century, the scolae cantancium et musicarum of Warwick were conferred by the then dean, Thomas Yonge, on William Witteney, clericus et organista, on 18 April 1409³. The creation and existence of this post sheds a certain amount of light on the state of the conduct of worship in the collegiate church of St. Mary, Warwick, during that period.

The first of these documents shows that at least by the end of the first third of the 14th century, the town of Warwick enjoyed the services not only of a public grammar school master - as might well be expected in a town of more than merely local importance - but also of a magister scholarum musice. The document itself relates that a dispute had arisen between the two masters, and records the terms of the settlement imposed by the Dean in consequence. Evidently the magister scholarum musice was considered as teaching the more elementary subjects, and the dispute that had arisen concerned the point at which the scholars transferred from the master of the music school to the master of the grammar school. According to the terms of the settlement, the master of the music school was thenceforth to teach only those learning their first letters, the psalter (commonly used as a first reading book), and music and chant⁴; while the master of grammar was to receive boys who were ready to begin the first elements of Latin grammar (the donatiste), and teach grammar, and - if he were able - dialectic⁵. Thus the magister scholarum musice was in fact an elementary teacher for the town of Warwick, taking on all boys coming forward for education, and teaching

1. PRO E 164 22, ff.2v.-3r.; printed with unacknowledged "corrections" in A.F. Leach, Educational charters and Documents, pp.272-6.
2. D.Styles, Ministers' accounts of the collegiate church of St. Mary, Warwick, p.xxvii. For no immediately obvious reason, A.F.Leach, Educational Charters and Documents, p.272, attributed to it the date (?) 1316.
3. PRO E 164 22, fo.208r.; transcribed below as Appendix C2, p.A
4. magister vero musice primas literas addiscentes phalterium musicam et cantum teneat et informet - PRO E 164 22, fo.2v.
5. precipimus quod magister gramatice qui nunc est, et qui prefici contigerit, donatistas habeat et de inceptis scolares in gramaticalibus seu arte dialetica si in eadem expertus fuerit habeat teneat et informet:- ibid. For Aelius Donatus and his elementary text-book of Latin grammar, see A.F.Leach, The Schools of Medieval England, p.62., N.Orme, English Schools in the Middle Ages, pp.88-9.

them up to the point at which they were ready to transfer to the grammar-master.

This was an unusual provision. Normally, it would appear that the masters of ordinary unendowed town grammar schools, such as that at Warwick, did themselves teach all the elementary and preliminary subjects, as well as grammar - after all, there was no-one else to do so.¹ Therefore, the provision of a separate elementary teacher, in the case of Warwick, appears distinctly odd.²

Further, the contents of the arbitration of Dean Robert of Leicester make it very possible that c.1314-33 the inauguration of the elementary school was, in fact, only recent. The dispute between the two masters was of a limited nature. Evidently, it was agreed that the boys learning grammar and dialectic fell within the province of the grammar master, while those learning "music and chant" fell within that of the master of music. The disagreement concerned only the donatiste and the little boys learning their first letters and the psalter³; it would appear that the two masters had been poaching pupils from each other, the magister musice teaching the elements of Latin grammar, while the magister gramaticalium was - in the manner normal for his job - taking on small boys still learning to read.

1. In 1357 John Grandisson, bishop of Exeter, reminded grammar school masters in his diocese of the necessity of teaching these elementary subjects before proceeding to formal Latin grammar - A.F. Leach, Educational Charters and Documents, pp.314-6. The idea that the "song schools" of cathedral and collegiate churches offered a basic elementary education to all comers (see above, p.2038,fn. 3) is clearly untenable; those "song schools" were run by the churches concerned for the benefit of their fully and formally admitted choristers only. Indeed, so much of the instruction imparted to choristers must have been directed solely toward the performance of each succeeding service in church, that it could barely have ever been worth while for any town boy to attend at all.
2. For indications that there may have been separate elementary and grammar schools maintained in the town of Ipswich during the 15th century, see A.F. Leach, "Schools" in VCH Suffolk, vol.2, pp.325-6. Even here, however, the schools could be combined in the more normal way; in 1459, Walter Lyhert, bishop of Norwich, conferred on Mr. Ralph Sydall the scolae gramaticalium parvulorum sillabicantium et lectorum in villa Gippewici (the school of grammar, and of little boys [at the stage of] spelling and reading):- NNRO, Diocesan Archives, Reg.6/Book 11, fo.115v.
3. Et ut omnis materia litis et discordie quas hactenus inter dictum magistrum gramaticalium et magistrum scholarum musice didicimus exortas super donatistis et parvulis primas literas et phalterium addiscentibus imperpetuum conquiescat,...: PRO E 164 22, fo.2v.

There seems no doubt here which of the two was the principal intruder. The grammar school of Warwick was most certainly an ancient institution¹; and if its master had been claiming a right to teach elementary subjects, then he was, after all, seeking to do only what his job normally entitled him to do - and could well have been doing for over two centuries. The creation of the magister scholarum musice, encroaching as it did on the province - and the fees - of the grammar master, is clearly the novelty. Indeed, so gross an intrusion was it, that it seems that the dispute between the two masters could not have been smouldering for very long before arbitration between them became necessary. The creation of the school of music, therefore, was not only a novelty in c.1314-33; it was a novelty of very recent introduction, almost certainly more recent than 1300.

Further consideration of the nature of the appointment and duties of the magister scholarum cantus permits some speculation to be made concerning its origins; particularly illuminating is its connection with the collegiate church of St. Mary.²

In many respects the appointment was made on terms exactly parallel to those applied to the Master of the Grammar School; indeed, the later appointment appears to have been modelled directly on the earlier. Both were appointed to their respective jobs by the Dean of the College; both took an oath in chapter to fulfil and observe their duties, and an oath of obedience to the dean; both were subject to punishment and sanctions imposed by the dean for any failure to observe these oaths. These rights in the grammar school were enjoyed by the College in virtue of grants made to it at its foundation³; subsequently, it seems they were applied intact to the music school² also.

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1. It is mentioned in two documents of the early twelfth century - PRO E 164 22, ff.8v.,11r., printed in A.F. Leach, Educational Charters and Documents, pp.86-90.
 2. All succeeding observations concerning the work of the two schoolmasters is drawn from PRO E 164 22, ff.2v.-3r.
 3. The grammar school of Warwick antedated the foundation of the collegiate church of St. Mary. The school had been placed under the direction of the collegiate church of All Saints in Warwick Castle early in the 12th century (PRO E 164 22 fo.11r.) and, with all the other privileges enjoyed by All Saints', was transferred to St. Mary's on its foundation in 1123 (ibid., fo.8v.)

The grammar master had certain further formal connections with the College and its interior operations. On festival days and feasts of nine lessons when his scholars were given a holiday from school, he was to be present at divine service in the stall in the church assigned to his office, and to read the sixth lesson at matins. On greater feasts, as was the custom of the church, he was to be present in choir, and at procession, serving as one of the four rectores chori. Every Saturday of the year, except during the school holidays, he was to attend Lady Mass with his scholars, in the Lady Chapel of the collegiate church.

Thus the town grammar master had a formal and visible - and frequently observable - connection with the collegiate church. The master of the town elementary school - if in origin and function the scolae musice were simply that, a preparatory department to the grammar school - could reasonably be expected to have a similar relationship to the college. This is largely the case - the magister musice too was obliged to be present in the choir of the church at processions, and also at service on greater double feasts, officiating as one of the rulers of the choir. Neither master was, however, in any way a member of the choir of the college, and neither had any over-riding responsibilities toward it. This is shown with particular clarity by the provision that each master was relieved of any obligation to observe his duties, either in school or in church, during the school vacations; though it was stated that on double feasts, if either happened still to be present in Warwick town, he could perform his duties in the collegiate church, if he found that he could conveniently attend. This provision makes it clear that both masters were teaching town schools for the benefit of town boys, and that neither had any over-riding connection with the college; the Opus Dei never stopped, and to its ministers such permission for absence could never be granted, least of all on double feasts.

Yet there are two remaining features of the work of the Magister scholarum musice which cannot be explained by his being simply a preparatory department for the grammar school. He taught not only the elements of reading - the first letters and the psalter - but also musicam et cantum. Now any master teaching elementary subjects to young children would find himself teaching, as part of that basic elementary education, the rudiments of the Catholic faith and the fundamental rituals involved in its observation in contemporary popular devotion. This would include the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Hail Mary, the Hours of the Virgin, and

a few well-known Marian antiphons.¹ These texts, or at least some of them, would be taught with their associated plainsong tunes; a certain amount of "song", therefore would be imparted in the course of any child's elementary education.² However, the phrase musicam et cantum applied to the elementary teacher at Warwick suggests that he taught something more elaborate than just a few fundamental chants - and so indeed he did. His music teaching involved also the proper and ordinary of daily Lady Mass.³ Every day - except, as observed above, during school vacations - the Magister Musice was to attend in the Lady Chapel of St. Mary's collegiate church, at Lady Mass, with two of his scholars; there, to the praise of the Virgin Mary, they were to sing all the music up to, and including, the Agnus Dei.

So in this one respect, the duties of the master of the school of music were related to the needs of the College much more closely than those of the grammar school master. One thing seems certain. In any collegiate church, the singing of the services was indisputably a province reserved to the members of the collegiate body. Yet in this case, the singing of Lady Mass was being deputed to a town elementary master and two of his boys - who would not be available during school vacations. Plainly, a collegiate church which made arrangements such as these for the singing of Lady Mass can have had no regular choristers and Instructor of the Choristers of its own. The Magister Musice and his boys, therefore, fulfilled certain duties which certainly would have been performed by the college's own choristers and Instructor - had it had them. The inference is plain. In c.1300 the college lost its choristers - and the creation of the office of Magister scholarum musice was a device intended to compensate, in part, for that loss.

Having reached this point, it seems possible at last to speculate on what had really been happening at the college at this time. It seems probable that as the college's income declined during the 13th century, with the alienation of its property, and the decrease in value of its appropriated churches⁴, the choristerships at the college were allowed to

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1. see e.g. A.F. Leach, A History of Winchester College, pp.40-1; A.F. Leach, Educational Charters and Documents, pp.314-6; regulations for the chantry of Robert and Joan Greyndore in ed. A.T. Bannister, Register of Thomas Spofford, pp.281-2.
 2. See e.g. Chaucer's Prioress's Tale, quoted by A.F. Leach, Educational Charters and Documents, pp.346-7. At "song schools" run by chantry priests at parish churches, the boys would be taught to take their part serving the priest at Mass - see e.g. A.F. Leach, English Schools at the Reformation, part 2, p.81.
 3. The daily celebration of Lady Mass at St. Mary's had been instituted at least by 1295; - PRO E 164 22, fo.49v.
 4. See above, pp. 2044-45 ; by 1340, the college's income may not have exceeded £30 p.a.

lapse; the office of the Instructor of the Choristers, probably imposed on one of the vicars-choral, would have been allowed to lapse with it. However, rather than have daily Lady Mass neglected altogether by the attendance of boys' voices, it would seem that the Dean and chapter decided to create the post of Magister scholarum musice to inherit at least this one duty formerly observed by the now defunct Instructor and choristers. The Magister scholarum musice was to teach a town school basically unconnected with the needs of the college; he was to be appointed in the same manner and on the same terms as the town grammar master; he was to take over the more elementary side of the grammar master's teaching (whether the latter liked it or not) and live on the fees received from the parents of his pupils. However, to preserve the attendance of boys' voices at Lady Mass in the collegiate church, the chapter imposed the obligation already noted, thus preserving for the elementary school master one distinctive connection with the worship of the collegiate church.

The situation may have continued to obtain in Warwick throughout the 14th century:- until, in the 1390's, the college's choristers were rehabilitated, and the post of Magister scholarum musice began its gradual transformation back to that of the college's full-time Instructor of the Choristers.¹

1. See above, pp. 4016-8, 5091.

Appendix A6:- The Chronology of Henry 6's revisions of his plans
for Eton College and King's College, Cambridge.

It has been seen that the decision to expand both Eton College and King's College, Cambridge, from their original modest dimensions was taken in 1445;¹ the new constitutions of each college were eventually incorporated into their extant codes of statutes. Neither code is dated; it is the purpose of this Appendix to examine the processes whereby the two chapel choirs were established, and to try and pin-point the precise moment at which they coincided exactly with the provisions of the statutes.² Thereby it should be possible to put a precise date on the compilation of the definitive version of the statutes themselves.

The broad overall dimensions of the new chapel choirs were presumably decided in 1445:- 10 chaplains, 10 clerks and 16 choristers in the case of Eton College, 10 chaplains, 6 clerks and 16 choristers in the case of King's College, Cambridge.³ For Eton College, expansion was already in progress by Michaelmas 1446. The increase in the number of clerks from the original four was under way, and by then had already reached seven; it reached the statutory 10 in December 1447.⁴ The increased number of scholars (from 25 to 70) and of choristers (from 6 to 16) had been achieved by as early as Christmas 1446, when 84 gowns and 86 hoods were made for the scholars and choristers together.⁵ Of the 10 chaplains, the first 6 joined the college in April 1448, and the full complement was installed by July 1449.⁶

1. Above, pp. 5006-7.

2. A printed edition of these statutes appears in ed. J. Heywood and T. Wright, The Ancient Laws of the Fifteenth Century for King's College, Cambridge, and for the Public School of Eton College. (London, 1850) pp.17-171, 477-622.

3. ibid., pp.20-1, 478.

4. EPF Audit Rolls 2, 3:- Stipendia clericorum.

5. EPF Audit Roll 2:- Empciones necessariorum pro scholaribus, This is the roll for 1446/7; the college livery was distributed each Christmas (Statute 29:- ed. J. Heywood and T. Wright, The Ancient Laws. pp.550-1). The following year, college servants were sent to Salisbury and Norwich to recruit the choristers necessary to keep their numbers up:- EPF Audit Roll 3:- expense fforinsece.

6. EPF Audit rolls 3, 5:- Commons accounts.

As far as plain numbers of chapel staff were concerned, therefore, it is clear that the new provisions began to receive effect in 1446, and had been completed by 1449. However, it is the number, status, and pay of the clerks that gives the clearest hint of the date of the compilation of the statutes as they now survive. For the expansion in their numbers did not stop when it reached 10 in December 1447; 11 clerks were employed throughout 1448/9, and in 1452/3 there were 12 on the books for most of the year, and 13 during the third term.¹ Further, in neither of these years do the internal composition and pay-structure of the various ranks of clerk yet appear to reflect at all accurately the requirements of the statutes.²

However, a detailed examination of these accounts shows that for the last term of 1452/3, following the departure of one clerk (William Mondy) at the end of the second term, and of another (Richard Patrick) at the end of the third, a pattern very close to the statutory requirements was achieved. The number of clerks during this final term, June-September 1453, was 12 according to the account. One of these, however, was Henry Abyndon; he in fact had joined the Chapel Royal in 1451³, and as an absentee, cannot really be included in the number of clerks at Eton. Further, William Crossan - who joined the college staff at the beginning of the third term and was listed among the clerks - appears on the next surviving account, that for 1454/5 not as a clerk, but - at the same salary - as one of the 30 ministri, the unspecialised college servants.⁴ It is likely, therefore, that on his first appearance on the college accounts, his name had been entered on the wrong section, and should not have appeared among the clerks at all. It appears, therefore, that the statutory complement of ten clerks was finally achieved in June 1453.

Further, these ten clerks were subdivided, and paid, in a manner exactly consistent with the requirements of the statutes. John Spycer, the parish clerk was paid 66s. 8d. for the year; Thomas Seggefild and Robert Galon, successive clerks of the vestry, were also paid at the rate

1. EPF Audit rolls, 5, 6:- Stipendia clericorum.

2. Compare Stipendia clericorum on EPF Audit Roll 6 with the statutory provisions for the pay of the clerks:- Statute 10, ed. J. Heywood and T. Wright, The Ancient Laws... pp. 514-5, 518.

3. PRO E 101 410/9 fo. 42v. Why he was still in receipt of a salary from Eton College is not known.

4. EPF Audit Roll 7 - Stipendia ministrorum.

of 66s. 8d. p.a. These were the salaries awarded them by the statutes¹; in fact, Spycer and Seggefild had held their posts since 1444 and 1446 respectively, but 1452/3 is the first year of which record survives in which both received the exact salaries directed by the statutes.²

Of the eight remaining clerks, four were paid smaller sums, of between 26s. 8d. and 53s. 4d. p.a. - these sums are wholly consistent with their being the four lesser clerks, assisting the parish clerk and vestry clerk, as required by the statutes.³ The other four were more handsomely paid, at between £4 and £5.10. 0d. p.a., sums consistent with their being the four more skilful chapel clerks required by the statutes. Thomas Horton and John Halywell were paid at the statutory basic rate of £4 p.a.; Adam Roke was over-paid at £4 for only three terms. Thomas Smart was the Instructor of the Choristers⁴, and received £5.10. 0d. Properly, his statutory salary was £6 (doubtless made up of the £4 p.a. basic rate, plus 10s. per term as Instructor⁵); it is known, however, that he did not act as Instructor for the whole year, since one of the chaplains, Robert Saxy, was given a gratuity of 6s. 8d. that year for instructing the choristers, perhaps for the fourth term.⁶ If Smart served as Instructor for only three terms, this would account exactly for his reduced salary for the year.

If this interpretation of the account for 1452/3 be accepted, it would appear that the departure of two clerks in March and June 1454 left that department of the college staff constituted - for the first time ever - in exact accordance with the requirements of the existing code of statutes (except for one small anomaly - Adam Roke's extra 26s. 8d.p.a.).

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1. Statute 10:- J. Heywood and T. Wright, The Ancient Laws.., pp.514-5.
 2. Cf. EPF Audit Rolls 1 - 6, Stipendia clericorum.
 3. Their salaries were negotiable with the provost, and no specific sum was laid down:- T. Heywood and T. Wright, The Ancient Laws..p.518.
 4. Thome Smart pro exhibicione choristarum viij^o die Novembris xxxij s. iij d... Thome Smart pro exhibicione eorundem choristarum xx s.....:- EPF Audit Roll 6, empcio necessariorum pro scolaribus et choristis. Paying for the choristers' 'exhibition' in the odd items found to be necessary for them was regularly the job of the Instructor; cf. John Halywell, informator choristarum, on the next account EPF Audit Roll 7 (1454/5).
 5. Statute 10:- J. Heywood and T. Wright, The Ancient Laws..... p.514.
 6. EPF. Audit Roll 6, stipendia capellanorum et clericorum.

The next surviving account, that for 1454/5 shows that the statutory requirements were being observed, almost to the letter, in that year also; however, by 1454 two further minor departures (which were maintained at least until 1461) had already set in, in that now two of the polyphony clerks were being overpaid, and the vestry clerk's salary had been reduced by one mark to 53s. 4d. p.a.¹ The fourth term of the year 1452/3 remains that in which the requirements of the statutes, and the actual practice of the college, most nearly coincide.

In conclusion, then, the creation of the expanded chapel staff of the college was conceived in 1445 or 1446, begun in 1446, and achieved by 1449. Many of the necessary administrative arrangements accompanying this re-organisation were, no doubt, made at the same time; the finer details, however, especially the consolidation of the number of chapel clerks at 10, and the finalisation of the arrangements for their internal disposition and pay, were not put into practice any earlier than June 1453. This was accomplished as a result of adjustments made over the previous three months; the final formulation of these detailed points, therefore, can be dated to, say, some time in the first three months of 1453.

That is, the code of statutes was probably undergoing its final revision early in 1453, and the consequences of these final revisions received effect over the summer. The statutes could well have been ready for promulgation and delivery to the college by the end of the year. Indeed, by October 1454, minor departures from their requirements were already being practised. c.1453 may therefore be considered as the most plausible date for the compilation of the Eton College statutes as they exist.

For King's College, Cambridge also, the decision to expand the original design of the college was taken in 1445², and it was probably at about the same time that it was decided to equip the college with a fully-constituted chapel staff as well. The broad outlines of the composition of this choir must have been decided upon quite promptly, except - just as at Eton - for the exact number of clerks. The statutes in their existing form required a chapel choir of 10 chaplains, 6 clerks

1. EPF Audit Roll 7, Stipendia capellanorum.

2. J. Saltmarsh, "The Founder's Statutes of King's College Cambridge", in ed. J.C.Davies, Studies presented to Sir Hilary Jenkinson, p.338.

and 16 choristers¹. Recruitment of this body was well under way by Michaelmas 1447, when there were already 3 chaplains, 5 clerks and 9 choristers. By March 1448, there were 15 choristers; by July, appointments had been made to all 10 chaplaincies, and by December, there were 8 clerks. Virtually the full chapel choir, therefore, was in operation by July 1448; the number of clerks, however, did not settle down to the statutory six until 1452². It is known that the statutes in their existing form date - as at Eton - from the year 1453, and were delivered to the college in late November or early December of that year.³ For King's College, therefore, the story is virtually exactly parallel to that already elucidated for Eton. The overall dimensions of the chapel choir were decided c.1445; the choir was recruited during 1447 and 1448; the final details were decided in 1452, and were put into their existing written form in 1453.

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1. Statutes 1, 44:- J. Heywood and T. Wright, The Ancient Laws... pp.20-1, 119-21.
 2. CKC Mundum Book 1, statistics extracted from ff.32v., 98v., 101r., (1447/8), and 125r.-128v. (1448/9); Mundum Book 2 ff.14r.-18r. (1449/50), 52r-56r.(1450/1), 104r.-108r.(1453/4); Commons Book 1, fo.1-end, passim (1447/8, 1450/1). Extracting, identifying and isolating the names of the clerks and chaplains from these early lists is not easy, since they appear just as names and are not listed by office. Comparison with later, more precise accounts and lists, however, does permit the necessary sifting, elimination and isolation to be effected with a fair degree of certainty.
 3. J. Saltmarsh, "The Founder's Statutes of King's College, Cambridge", in ed. J.C.Davies, Studies presented to Sir Hilary Jenkinson, pp.339-40.

Appendix A7:- The Lady Chapel choir of Norwich Cathedral Priory,
1424, 1441 - 69.

Norwich Cathedral Priory was one of the poorest of the regular cathedrals, with a total gross annual income of only £1061 in 1535.¹ It stands as an example of a mon^aastery of only modest resources which apparently attempted to establish a Lady Chapel choir out of its own funds, and without the benefit of effective patronage from any specific benefactor - and failed to make the experiment stick.

As has been seen, the attendance of boys of the Almonry School as clerici beate marie at Lady Mass, which occurred during the early period of the reaction to Wycliffism, seems not to have been persevered with into the 15th century.² In anyevent, this practice probably had no musical content; there is nothing in the record of this activity to suggest that the boys were employed there as singers, or in any capacity more demanding than that of altar-boys. However, the Almonry School continued to thrive³, and even after the discontinuance of their attendance at Lady Mass, the boys still had other duties to perform in church - provided, that is, that the Almoner was still observing bishop Salmon's injunction of 1309, whereby three of the Almonry boys were to be on hand in the cathedral church throughout the early part of every morning, to serve the monks at their private masses.⁴ Doubtless, it was with the intention of making further use of the Almonry boys that the first attempt to create a regular Lady Chapel choir appears to have been made by bishop John Wakeryng in 1424-25.

Since the team of boys was already to hand, the decisive stage in establishing such a choir was the appointment of an adult musician to be Master of the Choir. Wakeryng made this appointment on 17 June 1424,

1. VE, vol.3, p.287; nett income was less than £900 p.a.

2. See above, p. 4037.

3. All the Almoner's accounts for this period record the annual payment of 13s. 4d. towards the salary of the schoolmaster:- NDC, Rolls 498-543 (1378 - 1439); see also Ep. Reg. Wakeryng, NNRO Diocesan Archives, Reg.4/Book 8, ff.155r.-v.

4. E.H. Carter, Studies in Norwich Cathedral History, p.21. This activity would explain why some of the Almonry boys owned surplices, which were washed, at the Almoner's expense, in 1425/6 and 1436/7:- NDC, Rolls 534, 541.

conferring the post on one Thomas Wath.¹ However, it seems that the appointment never took effect; whatever endowment Wakeryng intended to supply in order to support the employment of the Cantor was never in fact provided, and the name of Thomas Wath has not been found anywhere in the Cathedral's archives. Whatever Wakeryng's plans were, it seems that he was cut off by death, less than a year later, before getting the enterprise off the ground.

What may have been intended as a modified plan was incorporated into the bishop's will, made a few days before his death in April 1425. He endowed the cathedral to support a perpetual chantry chaplain to say mass daily for the welfare of his soul; and he added to the duties of the Almonry boys in the cathedral church by requiring that each day after Vespers, seven of the boys should sing before the High Altar an antiphon of the Holy Trinity (to which the cathedral was dedicated) and an antiphon of the Virgin Mary, followed by the psalm De profundis.² Hereby Wakeryng was extending to Norwich Cathedral the practice, becoming widespread elsewhere, of promoting the daily singing of a votive antiphon to BMV by boys' voices.³ However, duties so light as these did not require the appointment of a Cantor to direct the singing - the Lady Chapel choir remained an abortive project.

Nevertheless, once the daily singing by boys of an evening antiphon to the Virgin was established, it can have required little imagination to comprehend the desirability of adopting the performance of Lady Mass also by boys, such as was the practice elsewhere. All that was needed was enough enterprise and initiative on the part of the bishop or the prior to recruit a Cantor, and an endowment sufficient to pay his salary. The first was presently forthcoming; the second was not.

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1. Ep. Reg. Wakeryng. NNRO Diocesan Archives, Reg.4/Book 8, fo.87r. Custodia scholarium cantus in Norwico: - Die xvij mense et anno predictis [June 1424] apud Thorpe Episcopi dictus pater contulit custodiam et regimen scholarum cantus in civitate Norwic' vacantium et ad suam collacionem spectantium Thome Wath clerico intuitu caritatis. For verification that the post thus conferred was very probably that of Master of a projected Lady Chapel Choir, see the discussion of the appointment of John Scarlet, below p.
 2. The will was made on 29 March 1425 and proved on 28 April 1425; ed. E.F. Jacob, Register of Henry Chichele, vol.2, p.312.
 3. See above. pp. 4060-4, 5033-4.

Between Michaelmas and Christmas 1441 the priory took into its service one John Scarlet, who first appears in the priory's archives in the role of producer and impresario. At Christmas that year the Master of the Cellar (one of the obedientiaries) recorded (in the section of his account devoted to gifts and tips made by the Prior for services rendered to himself as prior, rather than to the convent as a whole) a payment of 3s. 4d. to John Scarlet and others for putting on a play in the hall - presumably the hall of the prior's private lodging.¹ In the next surviving account, that for 1445/6, John Scarlet and his colleagues again received 3s. 4d. for putting on a play in the presence of the lord prior and convent.²

Scarlet's activities as producer to entertain the convent at Christmas were only part of his duties round and about the priory and cathedral. More important were his functions with regard to its music. There survives in the Register of Thomas Brown, bishop of Norwich (1436-45) a copy of the bishop's letters patent given to John Scarlet, clerk, dated 28 October 1445, recording that "on the considered opinion of our most beloved son in Christ, John [Heverlond] prior of our Cathedral Church of Norwich, we confer on you the school of song [scolas cantus] of our city of Norwich, vacant and belonging in full right to our collation... and we appoint you master or warden in the said school, to remain so for as long as it shall please us."³

The precise import of this is not easy to grasp. Scarlet's "song school" is described as being the "song school of the city of Norwich", seeming to imply that it had no specific connection with any particular ecclesiastical institution within the city; and certainly this was true of the ancient grammar school of the city, the collation to which also lay in the bishop's hands. However, the facts that the collation was made

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1. NDC Roll 86:- Johanni Scarlet et aliis ludentibus in aula ad Natale iij s. iiij d.
 2. NDC Roll 87:- Johanni Scarlet et sociis suis ludentibus in presencia domini prioris et conventus ad festum Natalis iij s. iiij d.
 3. NNRO, Diocesan Archives, Reg. 5/Book 10, fo.62r. Scola cantus in Norwico.. contemplacione precarissimi in christo filii Johannis Prioris ecclesie nostre Cathedralis Norwicensis Scolas cantus Civitatis nostre Norwicensis vacantes et ad nostram collacionem pleno iure spectantes tibi conferimus intuitu caritatis et te magistrum sive Custodem in eisdem preficimus per presentes quamdiu nobis placuerit duraturum.

to Scarlet, who by 1445 had already been connected with the cathedral for some four years, and that it was made on the "considered opinion" (contemplacio) of the prior of the cathedral, seem to make it pretty clear that it was the cathedral that was principally to benefit from any instruction in singing that Scarlet was to give. It is likely, therefore, that this was in fact an appointment effective purely within the cathedral priory. In fact, the wording of the appointment was a simple borrowing; it was taken directly from the form of letters patent by which bishops appointed the master of the city grammar school at this period.¹ Presumably, it was here being used for a situation which was certainly novel², but seemed sufficiently similar to this very familiar one to appear to be most appropriately served by following the same form of appointment.

Precisely whom in the cathedral priory Scarlet was teaching to sing is nowhere expressly spelled out; by analogy with other institutions, however, it was most probably a team of boys drawn from the Almonry School. For Scarlet's duties within the cathedral were connected with the Lady Mass. From 1441/2 until 1454/5 all the surviving Almoner's accounts record a payment of 3s. 4d. p.a. to John Scarlet pro custodia misse beate marie virginis³ - "for supervising the Mass of the Blessed Virgin Mary". Similarly, the Precentor's Rolls from 1442/3 to 1452/3 all record the payment of 12d. to John Scarlet pro custodia misse beate virginis⁴. On the two earliest of the Almoner's accounts the payment was described as being ad auxilium stipendii Johannis Scarlet, indicating that he was in receipt of a salary composed of a basic stipend, augmented by small contributions from a number of obedientiaries.⁵

That his custodia of the Lady Mass concerned the supervision of its music seems to be made clear by the entry on the Precentor's Account for 1445/6 immediately following the record of the payment to Scarlet of the Precentor's 12d. contribution to his salary:- "paid in various outgoings for the binding of a book containing cantica for the mass of the Blessed Virgin and for the choir".⁶

1. e.g. to John Spyrling in 1434 (NNRO Diocesan Archives, Reg.5/Book 9, fo.72v.) and to Constantine Dalby in 1439 (ibid., Reg.5/Book 10, fo.27v).
2. Except for the abortive appointment of Thomas Wath in 1424, which followed the same form.
3. NDC, Rolls 545-550.
4. NDC, Rolls 918-928.
5. NDC, Rolls 545 (1441/2) and 546 (1442/3).
6. NDC, Roll 921:- solut' Johanni Skarlett pro custodia misse beate virginis xij d. In diversis expensis pro ligatura unius libri cum canticis pro missa beate virginis et pro choro xvj d.

In this context cantica could refer to composed polyphonic settings of texts of a sacred nature; of those in this particular book, some were appropriate to Lady Mass, others apparently to High Mass and the Canonical Hours celebrated in the Monks' choir. This suggests that as well as attending at and supervising Lady Mass, Scarlet may also have directed some singing of polyphonic music in the monks' choir - probably by himself and a few competent monks, after the manner required of John Tyes at Winchester and John Stele at Durham.¹

Scarlet's names is not found anywhere in the archives after Michaelmas 1455. The precentor made no payment in 1456/7²; but thereafter all the surviving Almoner's and Precentor's accounts from 1457/8 until 1468/9 again record payments of 3s. 4d. and 12d. respectively pro custodia misse beate marie.³ No name is ever quoted in the context of these payments, though in 1460/1 the Almoner paid the substantial sum of 15s. 3d. to a certain Nicholas, singer.⁴ After 1468/9 no evidence has been found to suggest that any of the elements of a Lady Chapel choir were ever again maintained at Norwich Cathedral Priory. Through lack either of funds, interest, or a patron - or through a mixture of all three - the venture came to an untimely end, and was not revived.

1. cf. above, pp. 4071-2, 4096-7.

2. NDC, Roll 929

3. NDC, Rolls 551-60, 930.

4. NDC, Roll 554:- pro custode misse beate marie iij s. iiij d.
Item cuidam Nicholao cant[ori] xv s. iij d.

Appendix A8:- The post of verger at the collegiate church of St. Stephen, Westminster in the 15th century.

It has been noted above that in 1439 the chapter of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, created a new position of responsibility with regard to the conduct of the chapel services, that of Organist.¹ At much the same time, its twin institution, St. Stephen's Chapel Westminster, may also have been making an arrangement to employ, and reward, a distinct organist among its chapel staff; but here the evidence is somewhat fragile and circumstantial.

In an early draft of the proposed statutory staff for Tattershall College, listing all their wages and salaries in order to calculate the total annual wages bill, provision was made for a very odd figure, a verger-cum-organist.² This seems a highly unusual combination of duties, and in the end it was decided not to adopt it; the final draft statutes made no provision for a verger, and provided for a clerk or chaplain to serve as organist.³ Nevertheless, such an idea is so odd that it seems unlikely to have been dreamed up out of nothing; it is more likely to have been adopted from just such an arrangement already existing elsewhere. Equally odd was the proposed method of paying the verger-cum-organist. All the other chapel staff on the Tattershall list were paid annual salaries expressed in round numbers of pounds and marks, payable quarterly; but the verger-cum-organist was to be totally differently paid, at a daily rate of 4d. per day, or £6. 1. 8d. p.a. If the idea of employing a verger-cum-organist was indeed being copied from the example of some other institution, then it is plausible that this particular method of paying him was being borrowed intact with it. It is at this point that a connection with St. Stephen's Westminster, can be speculatively proposed.

Cromwell's own instructions were that in compiling the statutes for his college at Tattershall, his agents should collect ideas from the statutes of, among others, the colleges of Manchester, Westminster and Fotheringhay⁴. Certainly the idea of the verger-cum-organist did

1. See above, pp. 5097-8.

2. DLD U1475 Q20:- pro feodo virgebaiuli et orgon' per diem iiij d. - per annum vj li xxd.

3. Statute 30:- DLD U1475 Q21/1, fo.7r.

4. DLD U1475 Q20, :4:- item it is to be advised of all pordinances of þe Colleges of Manchestre Westmynstre and of ffodringay and oþer places.

not come from the statutes of Fotheringhay College, in which there is nothing remotely resembling such an arrangement.¹ For Manchester it is not possible to be so certain, for only a small fragment of the Manchester statutes has yet been discovered²; while for St. Stephen's Westminster not even a fragment of the statutes is known to exist. This loss, however, is not so serious as it might have been; constitutionally St. Stephen's was planned as almost an exact twin of St. George's Windsor, and it seems reasonable to suppose that its statutes were largely identical with St. George's also. The St. George's statutes did not provide for a verger-cum-organist; but they certainly provided for a verger, and, uniquely among the chapel staff, he was paid at a daily rate - there of 6d. per day.³

Since this was the statutory provision at St. George's, then probably it was so at St. Stephen's also. If the compilers of the Tattershall statutes did indeed borrow ideas from the constitution of St. Stephen's, then the idea of employing a verger paid at a daily rate could have been one of them. But in this case, the idea which they borrowed from St. Stephen's was not simply that of employing a verger, but a verger-cum-organist; and if this idea is too improbable to have been dreamed up at Tattershall, then it seems reasonable to suppose that it was taken over complete from the existing example and practice of St. Stephen's Westminster as observed c.1454-6, the period when Cromwell's agents were at work on the compilation of the Tattershall statutes.

These then are the very fragile, circumstantial and speculative grounds for considering that by c.1455 the post of verger at St. Stephen's had been transformed to accommodate a man whose contribution to the conduct of the services was primarily that of a musician - and in particular, that of an organist. The method of reasoning employed here is of such dubious validity that the whole argument could be dismissed as totally worthless, were it not for two concurrent circumstances which

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1. ed. A.H. Thompson, "The statutes of the college of St. Mary and All Saints, Fotheringhay", 75 Archeologia (1918), pp.241-307.
 2. PRO DL 41 2/32.
 3. Statute 54, WndDC iv B 1, fo.80v.; J.N. Dalton, The Statutes and Injunctions of St. George's Chapel, p.19.

seem to render the conclusion reached at least wholly plausible. The first is that the example of other choral institutions at this period shows that contemporary musical developments were certainly demanding the employment, by any prominent choir, both of skilled musicians in general, and of organ-players in particular.¹

Secondly, this conclusion concerning the nature of the post of verger at St. Stephen's Westminster does explain, very satisfactorily, the otherwise puzzling fact that it is known to have been filled by at least two men who are known to posterity as composers:-

John Bedyngham in 1457 and Nicholas Ludford in 1548.²

1. Above, part 5 passim, esp. 5001-5, 5046-81, 5096-98.

2. CCR 1451-61, p.283 (PRO C 54 308 m.21v.); Chantry Certificate 1548 (PRO E 301 88); and see above, p. 5054 and n.5, pp. 5074-75 and fn. 1 (p. 5075), and p. 5098.

Appendix A9:- The careers of three lay professional church musicians of the 15th century.

Career professional lay church musicians had become a recognised feature of the musical scene by the second quarter of the 15th century - ordinary men, not seeking holy orders at all and quite likely married with families, who put their talents at the disposal of the church without wishing in any way to seek entry to its particular mysteries. The careers of a few of these men can be followed through many years of their lives as they started at or near the bottom of the pile and, gaining experience and skill, worked up to jobs of greater prestige, responsibility and reward. The musical rat-race was on.

Those who became clerks of the Chapel Royal are easiest to trace; once a man had been admitted there, he tended to stay for the rest of his life. There were two reasons for this:- (1) the Chapel Royal was in the forefront of English liturgical choirs, and once admitted there, there wasn't much higher a man could go; and (2) when he became too old or unable to work, the king could use the patronage and/or influence at his disposal to provide his employee with a comfortable retirement post. A case in point is that of Philip Reynold. He is first met with as a vicar-choral of Salisbury Cathedral in 1430, resigning a subdeacon stall (whose canon paid only 26s. 8d. p.a.) for a deacon stall (Bedminster and Redcliff 2, which paid 30s. p.a.)¹. His brother Walter was also a vicar-choral of Salisbury; Walter entered major orders², and had a longer career at the cathedral. Philip, however, appears never to have entered major orders at all; his employment at Salisbury therefore could not be prolonged, and his name does not appear on a list of vicars for 1432,³ nor again thereafter.

Both Philip and Walter next turn up on their admission to the Chapel Royal between Christmas 1446 and Whitsun 1447⁴. Walter's name does not appear again after the Chapel list for 1451/2⁵. Philip had a longer run; but he came to some sort of grief in 1457, when he was granted twenty marks from the Exchequer because he "by infortunite was late mayhemed and may not, for that cause and othir greet diseases and sekenesse that he hathe, entende upon our service, nor deserve his lyving othirwise unto the tyme that god have restoured him to bettre bodily helthe"⁶.

1. SDC Reg. Harding, fo.100r.

3. SBR Ep. Reg. Nevill, fo.49r.

5. PRO E 101 410/9, fo.42r.

6. PRO E 404 71/1/63 (Exchequer: Warrant for Issue, dated 25 April 1457)

2. *ibid.*, ff.70v., 100r.

4. PRO E 101 409/16, fo.33v.

In May next year his arrears of wages were paid - an ominous sign¹ - but nevertheless he seems to have made a full recovery, and appears again on the Chapel lists for 1463/4, 1465/6 and 1466/7²

By this time (37 years after his first noted appearance in the Salisbury archives) Edward 4 had - in person - made arrangements for Philip's retirement. In August 1466 the King and his court had been in Salisbury, Philip's old stamping-ground, and the Dean and Chapter had grudgingly acceded to the King's special request that at its next vacancy they should confer on Philip the office of Janitor of the Cathedral Close, provided that he exercised this office in person³. On the death of the incumbent Janitor, two years later, Philip returned to his old haunts on 13 November 1468, and served as Janitor until his own death on 15 March 1475.⁴

A better-known name is that of Henry Abyndon. In 1445 he was in the service of Humphrey duke of Gloucester, perhaps as a clerk of his chapel; Humphrey granted him a life-time retainer of £8 p.a.⁵, and Abyndon remained in the duke's service until the latter's untimely death on 23 February 1447. This event left him unemployed, even if not unprovided for; and at least by 25 March 1447 he had taken up new employment as a clerk of the choir of Eton College.⁶ Here he was paid the basic clerk's statutory salary of £4 p.a., augmented annually by a further £2.13. 4d.⁷, apparently as one of the four clerks of senior status who undertook the singing of polyphonic music in the college chapel.⁸

At Eton, Abyndon appears to have attracted the special attention of King Henry 6; it was by the King's special order that his augmented salary was back-dated from Michaelmas 1447 to the date of his first appointment at Eton⁹, and in October 1448 the King wrote to the abbot

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1. PRO E 404 511/344 (Keeper of Wardrobe of household: Debenture, with note of payment 16 May 1458).
 2. PRO E 101 411/13, fo.36v.; 411/15, fo.17r.; 412/2 fo.36v.
 3. SDC Reg. Newton, p.85
 4. SDC Reg. Machon, pp.143,159.
 5. CPR 1446-52, p.21; CPR 1461-67, pp.94, 136, 208; CCR 1461-68, p.109; CPR 1476-85, p.442
 6. EPF Audit Roll 2 (1446/7) Stipendia capellanorum et clericorum.
 7. EPF Audit Rolls 3, 5 (1447/8, 1448/9).
 8. See above, pp. 5057-8.
 9. EPF Audit Roll 3 (1447/8):- Stipendia clericorum ... et in stipendio henrici Abyndon capientis per annum x marcas hoc anno et pro iij terminis anni preteriti ex mandato domini Regis xl s. viij li. xiiij s. iiiij d.

and convent of Abingdon (Berkshire) requesting them to admit Abyndon to a corrody at the abbey at its next vacancy¹. Between Whitsun and Christmas 1451 he turned the patronage of Henry 6 to good account by securing admission to the royal household as a clerk of the Chapel Royal², and at Michaelmas 1455 he was appointed Instructor of the Choristers in succession to John Plummer³. Except for a short break of no more than three months in 1465 when, under circumstances unknown, one Robert Bunnok took over the musical instruction of the boys⁴, Abyndon retained this post for 23 years, until he was in his turn succeeded by Gilbert Banaster at Michaelmas 1478⁵. Presumably Abyndon remained a clerk of the Chapel Royal until his death in the late summer of 1497⁶.

However, for an example of sheer mobility amounting almost to wanderlust, in pursuit firstly of better, and then of more secure, and then of more worthwhile jobs in the church music business, the career of Adam Roke is hard to improve upon. He first appears as one of the four humble sub-clerks of Eton College chapel in March 1449; whether he was seconded to the parish clerk or the vestry clerk was not specified on the account, but he was paid 20s. for his two terms' work for that year⁷. Perhaps his contribution to the services of the chapel became primarily musical, since just before Christmas 1450 he moved to Eton's sister college, King's College Cambridge, to become one of the six clerks of the chapel there⁸. He was paid 53s. 4d. for his first two terms, and at £3 p.a. thereafter⁹. Soon, however, promotion called him back to Eton; in about December 1452 he rejoined the college chapel choir as one of the four senior clerks who undertook

1. CCR 1447-54, p.98.

2. PRO E 101 410/9, fo.42v. Irregularly Abyndon retained his post at Eton until 1453 or 1454, being paid in his absence just the basic £4 p.a. without the supplement as a singer of polyphony:- EPF Audit Roll 6 (1452/3).

3. PRO C 66 481, m.8 (CPR 1452-61, p.279)

4. PRO C 66 512, mm.19,30 (CPR 1461-67, pp.429,457)

5. PRO C 66 543, m.15 (CPR 1476-85, p.133).

6. ed. H.C.Maxwell-Lyte, Register of Oliver King, pp.9,10. Abyndon enjoyed three preferments in the diocese of Bath and Wells through the patronage of Bishop Thomas Bekynton, who admitted him Succentor of Wells Cathedral in 1447, Canon of Wells and prebendary of Holcombe (a ceroferarius prebend) in 1458, and Master of the Hospital of St. Katherine, Bedminster, Bristol, in 1464 (ed. H.C.Maxwell-Lyte and M.C.B. Dawes, Register of Thomas Bekynton, pp.84, 300, 422).

7. EPF Audit Roll 5 (1448/9), Stipendia capellanorum et clericorum.

8. CKC Liber Communarum 1, fo.121 et seq. Roke had visited King's College on 10-11 November, and had dined in hall with the clerks as a guest of the college; he took up permanent residence during the week beginning 19 December.

9. CKC Mundum Book 2, ff.53r., 54v., 56r.

the singing of polyphonic music. His salary was now £5. 6. 8d. p.a.¹ all found; and Roke remained at Eton until Michaelmas 1461².

By then the deposition of Henry 6 was already six months old, and the troubled history of Eton College over the next few years might already have been foreseeable to a shrewd observer. In any event, whatever his motives, it was at this point that Adam Roke left Eton, took a cut in salary, and transferred his services three-quarters of a mile down the road to St. George's Chapel, Windsor. At Michaelmas 1461 he was admitted as one of the four clerks of the chapel, and after nine months took on extra responsibilities as Instructor of the Choristers in June 1462. This paid a total of £7 p.a., plus about another £1 p.a. for attendance at Obits³, but without the free board and livery he had enjoyed at Eton and King's.

He remained Instructor of the Choristers at Windsor throughout 1462/3⁴, and very probably for a few years beyond, while Eton College was first annexed to St. George's by papal bull on 13 November 1463⁵, and then suppressed and closed down in September 1465⁶. The college, still only half-built, remained derelict and abandoned for over a year⁷. The choir was disbanded; only Thomas Absolon, the parish clerk, remained in office, since the chapel was also the parish church of Eton - but even he had to wait until 1483 to receive his livery allowance for the year the college stood abandoned.⁸ However, Edward 4

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1. EPF Audit Roll 6 (1452/3) Stipendia capellanorum et clericorum. For however much of the first term of the year he spent at Eton he was paid 6s. 8d.; thereafter at 106s. 8d. p.a. Of his former colleagues at King's, two joined him at Eton very shortly after, John Haliwell in January 1453, and Thomas Horton in March.
 2. EPF Audit Rolls 7 (1454), 8 (1457/8), 9 (1459/60), 9a (1460/1).
 3. WndDC xv 34 49, Cotidiane and Stipendia vadia et regarda officiariorum.
 4. WndDC xv 34 50, ibid.
 5. H.C.Maxwell-Lyte, History of Eton College, p. 63.
 6. EPF Chapel Inventories IV (in English) and V (in Latin). Without its income, or its muniments, evidences and common seal - here recorded as having all been delivered to the Dean of Windsor - Eton College could have preserved no independent corporate existence. A transcript of these inventories, made over fifty years ago when several words now illegible could still be deciphered, was printed by M.R.James, "Chapel Inventories", 27 Etoniana (1922), p.480.
 7. In the current College Register, EPF Register Book 1457-1536, no entries are recorded between 24 June 1465 and 24 December 1466 (pp.57,105-6); in EPF Lease Book Register 1445-1529, there are no entries between 20 May 1465 (fo.94v.) and 23 December 1466 (fo.19r.). In the Mundum Books of King's College, Cambridge, the Bursar's A/c for the year 1465/6 is unique in containing not a single reference to the sister college at Eton, in contrast to the constant traffic between them recorded for other years. Eton College must be assumed to have gone, temporarily, completely out of business.
 8. EPF Audit Roll 19 (1482/3):- Custus fforinseci ...et Thome Absolon pro liberata sua a retro pro anno vto Edwardi iijti.

relented, and on about 1 December 1466 Provost William Westbury returned to Eton with a few fellows and scholars, and a much attenuated chapel staff, to resume the College's existence on its now much reduced income.¹ One chaplain returned with the Provost, and the revised complement of four was achieved by July 1468. The parish clerk stuck to his post, and by April 1467, five further chapel clerks had been recruited.² Edward 4 lent four or five choristers from the Chapel Royal for the college to begin with; meanwhile one Robert Pete was set to work to recruit permanent choristers for the college (there were 9 by 1468) and an Instructor for them³. To find this latter he had to look only three-quarters of a mile; at Michaelmas 1467, for the third time in his career, Adam Roke came to serve God in Eton College chapel, this time at £4 p.a. all found, which was all that the college could now afford to pay its Instructor of the Choristers. He stayed a year, until Michaelmas 1468⁴, and then vanishes from the records.

These three men are particularly clear examples of the novel type of musician that had emerged since the turn of the 15th century - the lay

1. EPF Audit Roll 10 (1466/7). This Audit Roll, beginning at Michaelmas 1466, ran on for five terms, ending at 31 December 1467. The weekly Commons A/c, though damaged, shows that the college was deserted for most of the first term; its first entry reads: In expensis Magistri prepositi [sociorum clericorum] scholarium Choristarum et serviencium in primo adv[entu eorum per n d] ies vj s. ij d. The second entry reads: In prima septimana in [secundo termino] xix s. vj d. Sixteen weeks were allowed for the second term; 27 for the third and fourth, and 13 for the first term of the financial year in progress when the account was concluded, up to and including 31 December 1467. Hereby the account covered - in effect - the first full financial year of the college's resumed existence. The next account, EPF Audit Roll 11, ran for the year 1 January 1468 - 1 January 1469; then an irregular three-term year was introduced, 1 January - 29 September 1469, to bring the accounting system back into line:- EPF Audit Roll 12.
2. EPF Audit Rolls 10, 11 (1466/7, 1468), Stipendia capellanorum et clericorum.
3. EPF Audit Roll 10 (1466/7) includes a heading Custus Choristarum domini Regis, accounting for the expense on choristers that year; and Solucio fforinseca ... Et Roberto Pete pro provisione chorestarum et Magistri informatoris eorundem xvj s. viij d. Nine toge were made for the choristers during 1468:- EPF Audit Roll 11 Custus scholarium et choristarum.
4. EPF Audit Rolls 10, 11 (1466/7, 1468):- 20s. for one term's work during 1466/7, and 60s. for three terms of 1468 - Stipendia capellanorum et clericorum. He is not described directly on these accounts as the Instructor of the Choristers; that he was so, is an inference derived from other information. At £4 p.a. Roke was the highest paid member of the chapel staff. One of his successors at this level was Henry Smyth, who served briefly for eight weeks of the year 1470/1 (EPF Audit Roll 15: stipendia capellanorum et clericorum et henrico Smyth pro viij septimanis xij s.). One of Smyth's duties was to direct the singing of the evening antiphon; for after his departure, the succentor had to take over this duty from him (ibid.: Remuneraciones Officiariorum ... et domino Thome Elys pro observacione Antiphone post Vesperas a tempore recessus henrici Smythe, et emendacione organorum vij s.). The college statutes

professional church musician. Their careers point up very clearly the total transformation which had occurred in the whole conception of the role of the clerkships in the construction of a liturgical choir. It was into the niche that these men in their generation, and e.g. Lionel Power in his, helped to carve out, that the Church found itself able to fit, for its own service, the ablest performers and composers of the 15th, 16th and early 17th centuries. Despite the secularisation of the musical fraternity, the church was thereby able to preserve for itself a role as a patron and employer of musicians; these in their turn were able to supply the church with a necessary commodity which it had largely ceased to be able to supply from within itself, and to preserve for another 150 years the pre-eminence of sacred music among all musical activity then practised.

fn.4 p.A043 contd...

directed that the Instructor of the Choristers should normally direct the singing of the evening antiphon (Statute 30:- ed. J. Heywood and T. Wright, The Ancient Laws...., p.555); Smyth, therefore, had probably been the college's Instructor during his brief stay. By inference, his rate of pay, £4 p.a., was now recognised as the going rate for the Instructor of the Choristers; and £4 p.a. had been the salary received by Adam Roke two years before. Bearing in mind that the College certainly was seeking to recruit a new Instructor at that time, it seems reasonable to infer that Roke was the man found, and appropriately paid, to do the job.

Appendix A10:- The function of the clef in medieval notation.

What appears to modern eyes as the "written pitch" of medieval music is, of course, determined by the clefs in which the several voices were written - symbols derived from the shapes of the letters F, C and G. Yet it must be accepted that these symbols cannot have been intended to convey to the performer any idea of the actual pitch at which the composer wished his music to be sung. For in medieval times (and for a long time after) there was, and could have been, no concept of absolute pitch. Until there existed the technology both to define 440 c.p.s. as the note a', and to communicate and disseminate this information with absolute precision, it was simply not possible for anyone to conceptualise an exact relationship between a mark on paper and a specific sound in the air; impossible, that is, to conceive that a written symbol could represent a musical note of predetermined pitch. These clefs, therefore, could not have had the meaning which they carry in modern notation; it could never have been intended that the appearance of the letter C as the clef on a particular stave meant that every note falling on that particular line was to be sung at 261.6 c.p.s.

Yet the clefs used were those still in use today; and if the use of F, C and G clefs did not indicate the pitch at which the notes designated as F, C and G were to be sung, it may well be asked precisely what they did indicate. In fact, the clef in polyphonic notation had been taken over from plainsong notation, and its meaning in both systems was precisely the same. Plainsong was (and is) sung at whatever pitch was found to be comfortable. Once the beginner had chosen a comfortable pitch, and sung the incipit to it, the rest of the choir took up his pitch, and sang the rest of the piece from notation, by intervals. The system of plainsong notation thus needed to do no more than convey to the singer the interval between each note and the one before it; it need not attempt to convey the exact pitch of any note, in terms either of cycles per second or anything else. The only problem lay in the uneven nature of the intervals of the diatonic scale. It was in this context that the clef was introduced into plainsong notation; it was designed as a means of indicating to the singer those points on the stave where two adjacent notes represented an interval of a tone in the diatonic scale, and those which represented a semitone. That is, the letter C written as the clef symbol at the beginning of one line of each stave, certainly did not indicate to the singer that the notes on that line were to be sung at 261.6 c.p.s.; it indicated simply that, whatever note he was singing when confronted by a note on the C line, the interval between it and the note below it was a semitone, that between it and the note above it a tone, etc. according to the well-known rules

of solmisation.¹

As regards the singing of plainsong, all this, of course, is too well known really to need repetition here. The point which does need emphasis, however, is the fact that the clef in polyphonic notation conveyed to the singer only as much as it did in plainsong notation. Many of the conventions of plainsong singing were naturally carried intact into polyphonic singing; and the habit of singing by interval, not by pitch, was unavoidably one of them. The written notes were never intended to convey any indication of the actual performing pitch of the piece; indeed, there was no means by which medieval notation could possibly convey to the performer any such concept.²

The use of the clef-symbol, therefore, merely indicated to the singer which intervals on the stave represented tones and which semitones. The medieval scribe chose the line on which to place his clef-symbol not with the purpose of indicating pitch, but with the purpose of avoiding, as far as possible, leger lines and awkward key-signatures. Starting probably with the tenor, he placed his C-clef wherever on the stave the solmisation system allowed the incidence of diatonic semitones in the music to fall in such a way that no leger lines were needed, and no key-signature more complex than one, or at most, two flats.³ It was of no significance that this would mean putting the C on the third line in some compositions, on the fourth in others, on the fifth in others, and in yet others on the sixth (which was achieved in practice by using an

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1. Plainsong notation allowed for a key-signature of one flat where necessary, and this convention was admitted in polyphonic notation. It shifted the semitone from B-C to A-B \flat , and told the singer to derive his hexachord from the note designated as F. Very occasionally a 2-flat signature was used in polyphony; it shifted the semitones B-C, E-F to A-B \flat and D-E \flat respectively, and told the singer to derive his hexachord from the note designated as B \flat .
 2. It follows from this that it is quite inappropriate to look in medieval or Renaissance music for a standard pitch, an "untransposed" pitch to which to relate by some exact and calculable degree all other pitches then in use. None was either "transposed" or "untransposed"; none of them represented any attempt on the part of either composer or scribe to convey the actual singing pitch of the music.
 3. Where the tenor, or one of the other parts, was derived from plainsong, the scribe might well choose to adopt the pitch of its original appearance in the plainsong service books without further consideration.

F-clef on the fourth line). After all, it was well understood that whatever the piece of music, the voice singing the tenor always stuck to the same range of the same ten notes or so in what we would call 'absolute pitch'; the point of reference called C could quite happily move up and down the stave from one composition to the next without bothering the singer unduly - his singing voice stayed put.

The upper parts were then notated on the same principle. The note designated as C in the upper parts had, of course, to be the same note as that designated C in the tenor; and the clef would be placed on whatever line would involve the use of the fewest leger lines (preferably none) when that part was written out.

If therefore the tenor of one piece in chanson style was so composed that the C-clef had to be placed on the third line of the stave (C3 for short), then the contratenor, being composed at the same pitch, would be notated at the same level, and the cantus, lying a fifth higher, would be notated with a C1 clef. The clef configuration would thus be C1-C3-C3. If, in a second piece in similar style, the point of reference called C could most conveniently be placed on the fourth line of the stave of the tenor, the resulting clef configuration would be C2-C4-C4; if, in the case of a third composition, on the fifth line, the configuration would be C3-C5-C5. If all three pieces were performed within the two-octave range c-c", the first piece would emerge - in modern terms - somewhere around the key of A \flat , the second somewhere around C, the third somewhere around E \flat . The medieval clef, therefore, performed the function not of the modern clef, but of the modern key-signature. Perhaps it ought to be transcribed as such in modern editions of old music?

Appendix B1 St. George's Chapel, Windsor:- Instructors of the Choristers.

M = Michaelmas. Except where stated, the sources quoted are Treasurer's Accounts, class reference WndDC xv. 34. v=vicar-choral; c = clerk.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Period known in office</u>	<u>Source:-WndDC xv.34</u>
1. Adam (?Hull) v.	M 1361 - M 1362	1
2. Adam Pentrich v.	M 1366 - March 1367	4
3. John Dyer v.	April 1367 - March 1368	4, 5
4. Thomas Horn v.	April 1368 - M 1368	6
5. Roger Brancote v.	M 1370 - M 1372	7, 8
6. Thomas Wybourne v.	9 months within M 1375-M1376	11
7. Nicholas Chandel	January 1377 - March 1377	12
8. Nicholas Mason	1 April 1377 - M 1377	13
9. Richard Geddyngge v.	3 months within M 1377 - January 1378	14
10. Thomas Grys	3 months within January 1378 - M 1378	14
11. John Gloucestre v.)	M 1385 - M 1386	15
12. John Perye v.)		
13. Walter Cumberton	M 1393 - March 1396	16-18
14. Roger Gerveys v.	4½ months within April - M 1396	18
15. John Kelly v.)	M 1407 - M 1408	25 - 6
16. William Pounger v.)		
17. Thomas c.)		
18. Thomas Churchman c.	M 1441 - M 1450	41, 44
19. Thomas Rolfe c.	M 1459 - June 1462	47, 49
20. Adam Roke c.	July 1462 - M 1463	49, 50
21. Richard Prudde v.	M 1468 - June 1469	56
22. John Chard c.	July 1469 - M 1476	56, 51 - 3
23. Thomas Rolfe c.	M 1477 - M 1478	54
24. Thomas Gossyp v.	M 1478 - M 1479	55
25. William Edmunds c.	M 1479 - c. November 1479	57
26. Walter Lambe c.	c. November 1479 - M 1484	57
27. John Tuke c.	M.1489 - 21 December 1492	62-3, 65-6
28. Robert Rede c.	January 1493 - M 1493	66
29. Richard Hamshere c.	1 November 1493 - M 1499	64, 70-1
30. John (or Robert) Wenham	1527 - 1530	note 1 below
31. John Hake c.	M 1540 - M 1542	xv 56 38*, xv 59 3

1. ed. S. Bond, The Chapter Acts of the Dean and Canons of Windsor, p.8.;
E.H. Fellowes, Organists and Masters of the Choristers, p.11.

Appendix B 2. Wells Cathedral:- Instructors of the Choristers.

Sources quoted are all among the muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Wells.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Period known in office</u>	<u>Source</u>
1. John Helcombe	1408/9	Communar's Account 1408/9
2. Robert Cator	1460	Dean Cosyn's MS, p.347
3. Richard Hygons	1479 - 1507	Indenture of appointment 1479, no ref.; Liber Ruber, part 2, fo.147r.
4. Richard Bramston	1507 - 1508	Liber Ruber, part 2, ff.147r. 151 r.
5. John Clawsy	appointed 1508	Liber Ruber, part 2, fo.151r.
6. John Gye	1512	Liber Ruber, part 2, fo.203r.
7. John Gaylard	1514	Liber Ruber, part 2, fo.212v.
8. Richard Bramston	resigned 1531	Charter 749
9. John Smyth, jnr.	1538	Ledger D, fo.37r.

Appendix B 3 Salisbury Cathedral:- Submagistri Choristarum.

Except where stated, sources are all among the muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury. E = Easter, M = Michaelmas.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Period known in office</u>	<u>Source</u>
1. John ffarle	c.1390	Reg. Hutchins, p.20; ACL Ep.Reg. Courteney fo.150v.
2. Peter ffader	6 Oct 1419 - 27 Oct 1428	Reg. Harding, ff.7r. 95r.
3. Robert Dryffeld	appointed 27 Oct 1428	Reg. Harding, fo.95r.
4. William Malton	appointed 21 April 1435; vacated by April 1440.	Reg. Harding, fo.106v.; SBR Ep.Reg. Aiscough, fo.85r.
5. John Cooke	E 1461 - E 1462	A/c of Choristers' Collector, 1461/2.
6. Robert Lavynghon	E 1463 - E 1464	A/c of Choristers' Collector, 1463/4.
7. Richard Sussex	E 1467 - 3 Aug 1469	A/c of Choristers' Collector, 1467/8; Reg. Machon, p.31.
8. Mr. Pevesy	M 1495 - 19 Jan 1496	A/c of Choristers' Collector, 1495/6.
9. Mr. Skay	19 Jan 1496 - M 1496	A/c of Choristers' Collector, 1495/6.
10. Richard Whittock	M 1500 - 19 Sep 1511	A/c of Choristers' Collector, 1500/1; Reg. Harward, p.128.
11. John Burdox	appointed 19 Sep 1511	Reg. Harward, p.128.
12. John ffrier	M 1517 - M 1526	A/cs of Choristers' Collector 1517/8, 1525/6
13. Thomas Carpynter	appointed 23 July 1527	Reg. Harward, p.22v.
14. Laurence Man	M 1529 - M 1541	A/cs of Choristers' Collector 1529/30, 1540/1.

Appendix B 4. Salisbury Cathedral:- Instructors of the Choristers.

All sources quoted are among the muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury.
M = Michaelmas.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Period known in office</u>	<u>Source</u>
1. John Cacherowe	March 1461 - 5 April 1462	A/c of Choristers' Collector 1461/2; Reg. Newton, p.39.
2. John Kegwyn	5 May 1463 - 26 April 1467	Reg. Newton, p.57; A/cs of Choristers' Collector, 1463/4, 1467/8.
3. John Cacherowe	28 June 1467 - Sept 1478	A/c of Choristers' Collector 1467/8; A/c of Clerk of Fabric 1477/8.
[4. ----- Organista	25 Mar 1493 - 29 Sept 1494	A/cs of Communar of Vicars 1493, 1494.]
5. Alexander Bell	M 1495 - M 1496	A/c of Choristers' Collector 1495/6
6. John Wever	M 1500 - M 1526	A/cs of Choristers' Collector 1500/1, 1525/6.
7. Thomas Knyght	M 1529 - M 1543	A/c of Choristers' Collector 1529/30; A/c of Communar 107 (1543).

during a vacancy, 10 April - 5 May 1463, Edward Sutton (vicar-choral) acted as Instructor (A/c of Choristers' Collector 1463/4)

during a vacancy, 26 April - 28 June 1467, John Cote (vicar-choral) acted as Instructor (A/c of Choristers' Collector 1467/8).

Appendix B 5. Ely Cathedral Priory:- Masters of the Lady Chapel choir.

Except where stated, all sources are obediatory accounts among the muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Ely, preserved in Cambridge University Library. The item marked with an asterisk relates to an account now lost, of which a translation appears in W. Stevenson, A Supplement to the second edition of Mr. Bentham's History and Antiquities of the cathedral and conventual church of Ely (Norwich, 1817), p.51.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Period known in office</u>	<u>Source</u>
1. Nicholas Stokes	M 1407 - June 1410	* Precentor 1407/8; Cellarer 1409/10.
2. Thomas Pencrich	M 1418 - M 1437	Granator 1418/9; Treasurer 1436/7 (PRO SC 6 1257/6)
3. Walter Syngere	M 1439 - M 1453	Treasurer 1440 (PRO SC 6 1257/8); Custos Capelle 1452/3.
4. Philip	M 1465 - M 1466	Treasurer 1465/6; CUL Add. MS. 6382 p.177
5. John Wederby	M 1466 - Dec 1467	Treasurer 1466/7 (PRO SC 6 1257/9); Custos Capelle 1467/8.
6. Richard Haryngton	March 1469 - August 1484	Granator 1468/9, Precentor 1483/4.
7. William Reede	August 1484 - M 1484	Precentor 1483/4, Granator, 1483/4.
8. Richard Holme	M 1488 - Sept 1490	Custos Capelle 1488/9, Liber B fo.105r.

Appendix B 6. Canterbury Cathedral Priory, Masters of the Lady Chapel choir.

Except where stated, all sources quoted are among the muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Period known in office</u>	<u>Source</u>
1. Lionel Power	1439 - 6 June 1445	OBL Tanner 165, fo.156r.; John Stone's <u>Chronicle</u> p.37 ¹
2. Thomas Ware	M 1446 - M 1470	Misc. A/cs 4, fo.134r.; A/c Sacrist 48.
3. William Corbrand	M 1471 - 1473/4	A/cs. Sacrist 51, 56.
4. John Nesbett	1473/4 - 1487/8	A/cs. Sacrist 56, 58 with 68.
5. Nicholas Bremer	1487/8 - c.1530	A/c. Sacrist 58 with 68,75; ACL MS 20, fo.160r.
6. Thomas Wood	c.1530 - 4 April 1540	Inventory 29; Domest.Econ. 164 fo.lr.

1. ed. W.G. Searle, "Christ Church, Canterbury:- I. The Chronicle of John Stone, (monk of Christ Church) 1415 - 72", 34 Cambridge Antiquarian Society (1902).

Appendix C1. Indenture of the appointment of John Tyes as Master of the Lady Chapel choir, Winchester Cathedral Priory, 1402.

Hec indentura facta inter religiosum virum Thomam dei gracia priorem ecclesie Cathedralis Wyntonie et conventum eiusdem ex parte una et Johannem Tyes de soka Wyntonie ex altera testatur quod predicti prior et conventus et dictus Johannes taliter convenerunt

videlicet quod durante termino viginti annorum proxime sequentium post datum presencium idem Johannes bene et fideliter serviet prefatis Priori et conventui ut in missa cotidiana beate marie ad altare eiusdem tam in cantu quam organis ac etiam in choro eiusdem ecclesie in diebus festivis quociens dominus prior vel aliquis presidens missam celebraverit seu quociens ibidem cantum organicum contigerit exerceri

pueros etiam eiusdem domini prioris et conventus in cantu informabit quociens dicto Johanni fuerint assignati dum tamen simul et semel numerum quaternarium non excedant

Pro quibus omnibus dum ea predictus Johannes bene et diligenter compleverit percipiet annuatim octo Marcas sterlingorum videlicet quatuor marcas de priore et quatuor marcas de conventu per manus depositorum ad quatuor anni terminos principales et unam robam cum furrura semel in anno de secta clericorum habebit eciam idem Johannes unam cameram ex provisione prioris vel conventus

a vigilia eciam nativitatis christi usque in crastinum Epiphanie ac per totam ebdomadam pasche cum ebdomada proxime precedente per totum eciam pentecostem et in omnibus aliis dupplicibus festis per totum annum sepedictus Johannes cum predicto priore prandebit in aula sua vel quociens idem Johannes in choro cantaverit organice in aula prioris comedet eciam non invitatus

In cuius rei testimonium uni parti huius indenture penes predictum Johannem remenenti predicti Prior et conventus sigillum suum commune ad causas apposuerunt alteri vero parti penes predictos Priorem et conventum remanenti prefatus Johannes sigillum suum apposuit

Data Wyntonie in festo sancti Michaelis archangeli anno domini
Millesimo CCCCmo secundo

Winchester, Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter:- Priory Register I
(1345 - 1496), ff.15v. - 16r.

Appendix C3. Indenture of appointment of John Stele as Master of the Lady Chapel Choir, Durham Cathedral Priory, 1430.

Corrodium Johannis Stele cantoris

Hec indentura facta inter Johannem Priorem et capitulum ecclesie Cathedralis Dunelmensis ex parte una et Johannem Stele cantorem ex parte altera testatur quod idem Johannes Stele est retentus et firmiter iuratus ad serviendum dictis Priori et capitulo bene et fideliter usque ad terminum vite sue sub forma infrascripta.

Videlicet quod idem Johannes illos Monachos Dunelmenses et octo pueros seculares quos prior Dunelmensis assignaverit sibi ad discendum diligenter et meliori modo quo sciverit tam ad modulandum super organa quam ad organum decantandum scilicet Pryktenote ffaburdon deschaunte et counter quantum in ipso est informabit nichil ab eis de dictis scienciis occultando durante termino supradicto

Tenebitur itaque idem Johannes missis et vesperis in choro ecclesie cathedralis dunelmensis personaliter interesse quum ad hoc debite fuerit requisitus modulando ibidem super organa si necesse fuerit tenoremque canendo organicum ad cantus supranominatos

Necnon cotidie personaliter interesse misse beate Marie virginis cum nota in galilea dunelmensi celebranda [sic] canendo ad eandem missam planum cantum sive organum sicut contigerit alios ibidem cantare pro tempore nisi legitime excusetur

Pro quibus omnibus et singulis serviciis in forma prenotata bene et fideliter impendendis et sustinendis dicti Prior et capitulum concesserunt dicto Johanni Stele singulis diebus unum album panem monachalem et unam lagenam cervisie melioris et unum ferculum carniū vel piscium secundum exigenciam diei prout servietur uni monacho in monasterio suo dunelmensi et annuatim unum garniamentum de panno coloris secte generosorum erga festum natalis domini et annuatim quinque marcas argenti ad festa pentecostes et sancti Martini in hyeme per equales porciones

Necnon unam domum infra ballivum dunelmense pro habitacione eiusdem Johannis competentem vel annuatim unam marcam argenti pro eadem habendum et percipiendum omnia supradicta de dictis Priore et capitulo ad monasterium suum dunelmense ad terminos supradictos

Insuper concordatum est inter partes predictas quod si contigerit Isabellam uxorem eiusdem Johannis modernam ante eum in fata decedere et ipsum Johannem de cetero non maritari quod extunc cessabit corrodium

antedictum et Idem Johannes erit commensalis cum generosis de curia
Prioris et idem prior assignabit eidem Johanni honestam cameram infra
monasterium dunelmense pro habitacione sua cessante domo predicta vel
marca debita pro eadem

In cuius rei testimonium partes predictae presentibus indenturis
sigilla sua alternatim apposuerunt

Data in domo capitulari dunelmensi xxij die Mensis Decembris
Anno domini M^o cccc trecesimo

Durham, Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter:-
Priory Register III, ff.137v.-138r.

Appendix C4. Chapter Act recording the appointment of John Kegwyn as Instructor of the Choristers, Salisbury Cathedral, 1463.

[5 May 1463:- Note that] In domo capitulari Ecclesie Cathedralis Sarisberiensis locumtenens et capitulum eiusdem loci unanimiter pepigerunt et convenerunt cum quodam Johanne kegwyn presente tunc ibidem sub modo et forma subscriptis

videlicet quod ipse idem Johannes diligenter instruet et meliori modo quo sciverit informabit Choristas eiusdem Ecclesie xiiij^{cem} in numero in cantu et aliis consuetis Et quod servabit missam beate marie cum organis ad eandem et alias antiphonas in omnibus temporibus secundum formam et consuetudinem in ea parte diucius usitatas et observatas

Et quod idem Johannes cum diligens operarius dignus sit mercede sua nomine stipendii sive sallarii sui percipiet et habebit annuatim omnia et singula provenientia stalli vicarialis prebende de Cherdestoke in eadem sine diminucione quacunq̄ue et tres virgatas lati panni pro liberata sua de secta choristarum cum xij d. pro communis suis per Magistrum sive custodem dictorum Choristarum de proventibus eorundem septimanatim eidem solvendis

Servabitque idem Johannes onera Choralia in horis diurnis et nocturnis in ffestis principalibus et in aliis festis prout sibi placuerit et per eum id comode fieri poterit. Nec aliquomodo consideratis eius laboribus multabitur idem Johannes pro sua absentia sicut et ceteri vicarii

Dispensatum est etiam cum eodem quod servare possit communas suas ubicunq̄ue sibi placuerit infra clausum Nec removebitur idem Johannes a dicto officio suo quamdiu solutus steterit et fuerit bone fame opinionis illesis ac conversacionis honeste

Quibus omnibus et singulis supradictis intervenit auctoritas et consensus vicariorum Ecclesie supradicte et aliorum interesse habencium in hac parte etc

Salisbury, Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter:-
Registers of Acts of Chapter, Newton pp.57-8.

Appendix C5. Accretions to the repertoire of music of the choir
of Tattarshall College, 1496/7 and 1498/9.

- i) Account of Henry Porter, chaplain, Precentor chori, Michaelmas
12 - Michaelmas 13 Henry VII.

Soluciones et empciones necessarie pro choro

Et in denariis solutis Roberto lounde pro notacione diversorum cantuum
videlicet Salve Regina de vj partibus vj d., misse de Gaudent in celis iij d.
Rex benedicte ij d., papiro ob., lectionis tenebrarum j d., alleluia cum
versu Confitemini iijj partium ex compilacione Roberti lyn j d. ob., et
ijj Seculorum ex compilacione Ricardi hignons Turgins et Burtons xxij d.
ut in libello Computantis plene liquet iij s.

Penshurst Place, Tonbridge, Kent:-Manuscripts of Lord
De L'Isle and Dudley, U 1475 Q19/3.

- ii) Draft reckoning of account of Henry Porter, chaplain, Precentor Chori
for year ending Michaelmas 15 Henry VII.

Tatesale - Officium precentoris anno xv^{mo}

Et Roberto lounde pro notacione iijj Scrowes de Audivi vocem ij d.,
Gaude de vij partibus compilat' per M^r Bawlewyn vj d., antiphone domine
celi et terre de v partibus v d., ... Notacione antiphone Salve regina
de vij fol [iis] vj d. ob., versus prophete ob., iij lectionum de tenebris ij d.,
laudate pueri de iijj partibus ij d., triplicis cantus vocati Maydens of
london ij d., bass et tenor cantus vocati Seculorum Ricardi davy j d.,
contratenor eiusdem cantus cum aliis j d. ob., et Roberto lounde pro
notacione vj quaternorum cum diversis antiphonis iijj s.

inter se xv s. viij d. ob.

Et eidem pro notacione unius Cantus vocati alma parens v d. ob.

Et Roberto decan pro coopertura ij optimorum textorum unius priksongbook
et ij processionarium vj d. ...Johanni Charles pro notacione Sedit angelus
et christus resurgens ij d. ...

Penshurst Place, Tonbridge, Kent:- Manuscripts of Lord De
L'Isle and Dudley, small paper slip bound in with bundle
of accounts for Michaelmas 14 - Michaelmas 15 Henry VII,
U 1475 Q19/4.

Appendix C6. Royal grant of protection for the choristers of Pleshey College, 1527.

Henry the eight by the grace of god king of England and of ffraunce defendor of the faith and lord of Irland, To almaner personnes that now be or that herafte shalbe auctorised to take singing childern and to all othre our officers ministres and subgietts these our lettres hering or seing and to every of thaim greting

Where as we understande that divine service is right wele and honourably kept within oure Collegiate churche of plecy in our Countie of Essex of oure foundacion and patronage and that the Childern within the same bee often tymes taken from thens by vertue of our commissions to serve othre places to the grete hinderance of divine service within our said College,

We late you wite that we [one word illegible] the honourable contynuaunce of the said divine service within our said College to the pleasure of god and encrease of devocion have by these presents licenced and auctorised our trusty and welbiloved Christofer Johnson Maister of our said College, and the Maisters of our said College that herafte for the tyme shalbe to kepe stille suche Syx singing Childern as bee and shalbe reteignid to serve within our said College

and noon of them to be taken fromthens by vertue of any our lettres of commission or commaundement onles than thay be taken to doo service in our chapell Royall of our housholde or in our College of Windesore or in our Chapelle of saint Stephyns in our paleys of Westm [inster] or in the chapell of the most reverend fader in god our most trusty Counsaillor the lord Cardinall legate de latere

Wherfor we woll and commaunde you and every of you to permitte and suffre the said Maister of our said College for the tyme being to use and enioye the hole effecte of this our licence and auctoritte without any distourbaunce or interupcion, any our lettres of commission or othre commaundement made or to be made to the contrary notwithstanding

yeven undre our signet at our Manour of Beaulieu the xxv day of August The xixth yere of our Reigne

Privy seal of Henry VIII, under the sign manual:-

PRO DL 12 44/2, no.2.

Appendix C7a. Accretions to the repertoire of music of the Lady Chapel choir of Worcester Cathedral Priory, 1521 - 1525.

Extracts from accounts of the Warden of the Lady Chapel:

1521/22: - WorDC MS A xvii, p.126:-

Item solut' pro paupiro et pro factura diversarum missarum de novo factarum hoc anno xj s. viij d.

1522/23: - WorDC MS A xvii, p.202:-

Et allocatur eidem pro factura iorum magnificat et unius misse de Squarenote et alterius misse de quinque partibus una cum le prickinge eiusdem hoc anno xiij s. iiij d.

1523/24: - WorDC MS A xvii, p.267:-

Item pro le prykinge j^{us} libri de pricksonge ad usum officii hoc anno vj s. viij d. ... Item pro ij^{bus} antifonis emptis ad usum officii sui hoc anno iij s. iiij d.

1524/25: - WorDC MS C 414:-

Item solut' pro novis cantilenis emptis ad usum Capelle vij s. vj d.

Appendix C7b. Inventory of the goods in the care of the Warden of the Lady Chapel, Worcester Cathedral Priory, 1535.

[fo.121r.] A Inventory made upon seynt dunstan daye In the yere of our lorde a M CCCCxxxv

[fo.118r.] The maister of the chapell

Item a Surples for the maister of the chylderne and vj Surplesses ffor the chylderne / a maske bocke of per[chement] With pryckesonge wher yn ys v parts and iiij parts / iiij pryckeson[bocks lined out] masse bocks of pawper / ij hother bock[s] on with antems and Salves yn hym / iiij lyttle pryckesonge bocks of masses / v masse bocks of v parts / v bo[cks] with Salve festa dies and skrolls belongynge to them / ij pauper bocks yn them be the v parts of other songs / a squ[are] note bocke burdyde a parchement bocke of Salves burdyde / ij masses of v parts yn parchement scrowlls a pauper bocke of iiij parts / a pauper bocke with the vitatoris benedictus Te deum yn pryckyng / ther be iij or iiij antems yn scrowes Item a lampe of brasse yn our lady chapell hangynge iij coffers to put yn the stufe with locks and keys In the chamber ys a table burde with ij trestylls a benche made fast ij fformes a coffer

British Museum, MS Harley 604, ff.121r., 118r. The manuscript is slightly mutilated down the right-hand edge; words in square brackets have been supplied.

Appendix C8. Inventory of the contents of the Lady Chapel,
Canterbury Cathedral, c.1535.

Thys ys an Invytory off suche bokys and other stuff within
our lady chapell In crists church

Item iiij vestymnts with all thyngs to the same

Item a pendant and a ffreng with an awter clothe to the awter
ffor the princypall dayes

Item a pendant with ij awter clothys ffor the fferyall dayes and
the kurtens ther to

Item a payer off kurtens off whyt sylk

Item the hangyng off the chapell ffor bothe the sydes

Item a cerpett ffor the auter and a bell

Item the myssall ffor the auter with vij grayles ij sawters and
an olde sawter ij small myssalls with an olde servyce boke

Item the great black boke with the vytatory boke

Item iiij querys off the sequens and the v bokes off v parts with
a boke off the base part

Item the boke off iiij parts with ij qweres off the meane and off
the basse thereto

Item ij small querys off thomas mann

Item mr hawts boke with an olde vytatory boke

Item the boke that the masse off ij tenors ys In [and ij latel
lined out]

Item ij laten canstycks [off ffor the awter lined out] for auter

In the tyme off dan John elphe chawnter and thomas wood mr off the
chylterne In crists church

Appendix C9.

Vocal exercises for choristers, c.1475.

C9:- Vocal exercises for choristers, c. 1475.

BM Add. MS 37075, fo. 147r
[Note - values halved, bar-lines and ties editorial.]

[no clef]

A musical staff with five lines. It contains a sequence of notes and rests. The notes are mostly quarter notes and eighth notes, with some beamed eighth notes. There are several rests of varying lengths. The staff is notated without a clef.

[1]

[no clef]

A musical staff with five lines. It contains a sequence of notes and rests. The notes are mostly quarter notes and eighth notes, with some beamed eighth notes. There are several rests of varying lengths. The staff is notated without a clef.

[2a]

[no clef]

A musical staff with five lines. It contains a sequence of notes and rests. The notes are mostly quarter notes and eighth notes, with some beamed eighth notes. There are several rests of varying lengths. The staff is notated without a clef.

[3]

[no clef]

A musical staff with five lines. It contains a sequence of notes and rests. The notes are mostly quarter notes and eighth notes, with some beamed eighth notes. There are several rests of varying lengths. The staff is notated without a clef.

[2b]

BIBLIOGRAPHY.A. Manuscript sources.

It would not be practical to attempt to list and describe all the manuscripts consulted during the preparation of this dissertation. The following bibliography is therefore restricted to lists, in abbreviated form, of manuscripts relating just to those institutions which were found to supply information useful to the whole overall content of the thesis.

Except where stated, manuscripts listed are in all cases retained in the muniment collections preserved at the institution which originally produced them.

Battle Abbey

Various obedientiary accounts, 1393 - 1506:-

PRO SC 6 1251/1

PRO SC 6 Henry VII 861-2, 1838, 1874-8.

PRO SC 6 Henry VIII 3500 - 1.

Bristol Abbey

Accounts of all obedientiaries, 1503 - 1512:-

BAO MS 24110 (1511/12)

GRO D 674a 23, 5 (1503/4, 1506/7)

Bury St. Edmunds, Abbey of St. Edmund.A. Registers, etc.

BM Harley 645 (Register of the Abbey, 14th and 15th centuries).

B. Accounts

Various obedientiary accounts, 1299 - 1538:-

WSRO A/6/1/1-7, 17 - 18.

BM Add. Roll 53140

PRO SC 6 3481/70

PRO SC 6 Henry VII 1692-3

PRO SC 6 Henry VIII 3391 - 8

Cambridge, King's CollegeA. Registers

Ledger Book I (1451 - 1558)

Register of Inventories (1506, 1529 and others)

Register, no ref. (contains Inventory of c.1452; other inventories;
lists of members of college c.1444 - 1523; etc.)

B. Accounts

Mundum Books 1 - 12 (1447 - 1548)

Commons Books 1 - 14 (1447 - 1540)

Commons Book "Anno Regis Eduardi vi 4^o" (1549 - 50)

C. Miscellaneous items.

PRO SC 6 Henry VIII 253

Canterbury CathedralA. Registers, Cartularies, etc.

Registers of the Cathedral Priory:- A, N, S, T, T2, U.

Other Registers, Commonplace Books etc.:-

Lambeth Palace, MS 20; British Museum, Galba E iv;

British Museum, Arundel 68; Oxford Bodleian Library,

Tanner 18, Tanner 165; Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 256.

B. Obedientiary Accounts

The following classes of obedientiary account were examined in their entirety. These documents were sorted, classified, and listed in a most disorderly manner during the last century (MS Catalogue No.74 in the Cathedral Library) thus guaranteeing for the modern searcher a series of disagreeable surprises if he attempt to find any close relationship between the typescript library lists and the actual documents. The present writer has prepared brief checklists of the following classes of accounts: Almoner, Prior, Sacrist, Journals of Prior's Expenses, Copies of these have been deposited in the cathedral library.

Accounts of Priory

Treasurer (This class contains accounts both pre- and post- Chillenden; accounts of gifts to the prior and convent; accounts of satisfaction of Treasurers' debts to Prior)

	some 22 rolls and 6 books and files	1282 - 1485
Almoner	55 rolls	1269 - 1392
Cellarer	12 rolls	1391 - 1495
Prior	17 rolls	1396 - 1474
Sacrist	70 rolls and 5 books	1341 - 1533

(Journals of Prior's expenses. This is not an existing classification. Items belonging to it are now Domest.

Econ. 3, 31, 117; Misc. A/cs. 4,59; Lit.MS.E vi;

MS Scrapbook B, nos. 47, 48, 49)

9 items

1331 - 1509

Miscellaneous Accounts, vols. 7, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 30.

(These contain engrossed copies of the accounts of all obedientiaries of the priory, 1486 - 1533)

Misplaced examples of the above classes of document are to be found in Misc. A/cs vols. 2, 30, 60; MS Scrapbook C; in the boxes labelled "Miscellaneous Obedientiary Accounts"; in the class "Domestic Economy" (DE 7, 21, 22, 48, 55, 57, 68, 93); and in BM Sloane 4074.

C. Miscellaneous Items.

Canterbury, MSS of Dean and Chapter:-

Lit. MS. D 12; Lit. MS. C 11; Lit. MS. C 14

Charta Antiqua B 384

Domestic Economy 23, 29, 30, 53, 77, 121, 164.

Misc. A/cs. vols. 36, 40.

Inventory 29.

Accounts of Treasurer:- New Foundation 1.

MS Scrapbooks A, B, C.

Box containing miscellaneous binding fragments.

BM Cleopatra E iv (ff. 359 - 361)

PRO E 315 245 (ff. 78 - 79)

Chapel Royal

It is not possible here to give more than a list of just the various classes of document consulted for information on the Chapel Royal.

PRO E 101 Exchequer:- Accounts of Keeper of Great Wardrobe.

Accounts of Keeper of Wardrobe of the Household.

Other household accounts of various origins.

Documents subsidiary to the above classes.

This class was extensively searched from E 101 390 to E 101 414
(1340 - 1499).

Other documents belonging to the above classes: BM Add. MSS. 17721, 20030, 21480 - 1, 28623, 35182, 33376, 35115; BM Harley 319, 589, 4780; BM Royal 7F xiv, 14 B xxxix; BM Egerton 2604, 3025; BM Stowe 554, 1043; BM Arundel 97.

PRO E 36 Exchequer:- Miscellaneous Books

Volumes of Accounts and Household Regulations:-

E 36 203-4, 206, 209, 230, 232.

PRO LC 2 Lord Chamberlain:- Accounts of issues of livery.

LC 9 Lists of members of chapel royal 1500-47
occur in LC 2/1-3 and LC 9/50.

PRO C 66 Chancery:- Rolls of Letters Patent.

C 54 Chancery:- Rolls of Letters Close.

The printed Calendars of Patent and Close Rolls were used as guides to relevant items in these classes.

Certain documents in the following classes were found to relate to the Chapel Royal, or to individual members of it:-

PRO C 82	<u>Chancery</u> :-	Signet Bills
E 101 45	<u>Exchequer</u> :-	Pell Rolls
E 101 328	<u>Exchequer</u> :-	Imprest Rolls
E 101 348	<u>Exchequer</u> :-	Foreign Accounts
E 179 69	<u>Exchequer</u> :-	Lay Subsidy Rolls
E 403	<u>Exchequer</u> :-	Issue Rolls
E 404 17 - 77	<u>Exchequer</u> :-	Warrants for issue
E 404 511-2	<u>Exchequer</u> :-	Debentures, Vouchers
E 405	<u>Exchequer</u> :-	Tellers' Rolls.

Other documents consulted:-

BM Add MSS 18826, 12093 (fo.2r.); Harley 69, 433; Add.Ch. 33677; Stowe 146 (fo.2); Lansdowne 1 (ff.86-90).

PRO C 47 3/36; LC 5/178; SP 1 16 (ff.173-206 passim); SP 1 19 (ff.240-67 passim); SP 1 37 (ff.82-96, 98-100); SP 2 B (ff.103-90).

Colchester Abbey

Various obedientiary accounts, 1489 - 1527:-

PRO SC 6 Henry VII 1695

PRO SC 6 Henry VIII 932 - 6

PRO E 101 518/13

Ely Cathedral

The archives of Ely Cathedral are now deposited in Cambridge University Library.

A. Registers.

Liber B:- EDC G/2/3

B. Accounts.I. Ely, Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter, now removed to CUL.

These documents are not in good condition, and by 1970 many had become too fragile to examine. Repair is understood now to be in progress; until this is complete, recourse may be had to the rough transcripts made c.1900 by Canon J.H. Crosby:- CUL Add. MSS 6382-6391. Crosby's handwriting is often more difficult to decipher than that of his original document; however, it is possible that his transcripts preserve at least the sense of the texts of many sections of document which are now irretrievably decayed and illegible. Some of the rolls in this collection strayed at some time and were returned to Ely only during the last 60 years or so; these were not seen by Crosby, and consequently their texts do not appear among his transcripts. Nor did he transcribe many of the rolls of the Camerarius, Pittancer or Sacrist.

<u>Document</u>	<u>Crosby's transcripts</u>	
Almoner 1 - 14	6390, p.84 - end	1327 - 1474
Precentor 1 - 11	6382, pp.241 - 269	1329 - 1484
Custos Capelle 1 - 15	6383, pp.1 - 93	1356 - 1489
Feretrar 1 - 6 and 15 rolls unnumbered.	6384, pp.97 - 115	1421 - 1499
Treasurer 10-21 and 3 rolls unnumbered.	6387, pp.5 - 137 and 6388, pp.17 - 111.	1396 - 1530
Cellarer 26 - 33	6382, pp.5 - 235	1384 - 1475
Granator 24 - 53	6383, pp.101 - 265 and 6384, pp.1 - 95	1411 - 1527
Hostillar 5 - 8	6390, pp.1 - 47	1387 - 1445
Sacrist 19 - 44	6389, pp.1 - 165 (rolls 1 - 19 only)	1374 - 1535

II. Public Record Office

SC 6 1257/4 - 9; SC 6 Henry VIII 7162 (Treasurer, 1428 - 1518).

III. Oxford Bodleian Library

Cambridgeshire Rolls 4 (Custos Capelle 1370/71).

C. Miscellaneous Items.

PRO E 315 245 (fo. 61)

Eton CollegeA. Registers

Lease Book Register 1445- 1529.

Register 1457 - 1536

B. Accounts

Audit Rolls 1 - 34 (1444 - 1505)

MS 231 (Journal of bursars' payments 1473 - 5)

Audit Books 1 - 2 (1505 - 1545)

Audit Book 3, no.1 (1550 - 1551).

C. Miscellaneous Items.

Chapel Inventories I - IX.

The Eton Choirbook (MS 178).

Fotheringhay, College of St. Mary.B. Accounts

Accounts of Master of College, 1537 - 1546:-

PRO SC 6 Henry VIII 2774 - 6 (1537/8, 1540/1, 1544/5)

PRO E 315 146, ff.1 - 56 (1544/5)

PRO E 315 301, ff.1 - 83 (1543/4, 1545/6)

Accounts of Sacrist of College, 1537 - 1548:-

PRO E 315 145, ff.1 - 62.

C. Miscellaneous items.

PRO E 154 1/44 (Inventory, 1445)

PRO E 117 10/37 (Inventory, 1447)

PRO E 301 35, 36 (Chantry Certificates 1545, 1548)

PRO E 315 145, ff.93 - 144 (Dissolution documents, 1548).

Glastonbury AbbeyB. Accounts.

Various obedientiary accounts 1532 - 7:-

PRO SC 6 Henry VIII 3114 - 7.

Accounts of all obedientiaries (25 accounts), 1538/9:-

PRO SC 6 Henry VIII 3118.

C. Miscellaneous items.

PRO E 135 2/31 (Indenture of appointment of Master of Lady Chapel
choir 1534).

Abbey of St. Benet at Hulme, Norfolk.

Various obedientiary accounts, 1286 - 1536:-

NNRO Diocesan Archives, EST/2, 3, 4, 5, 13, 14.

NNRO MS 21053

NNRO MS NRS 24071 (Boxes 103 x 5, 103 x 6)

OBL Norfolk Rolls 71 - 80.

Leicester, Collegiate Church of St. Mary in the Newarke.B. Accounts

Accounts of the provost of the college 1528 - 1545:-

PRO DL 29 224/3567 - 71 (1528/30, 1532/3, 1540/1, 1541/2, 1542/3)

PRO DL 41 12/4 (1544/45)

London, Hospital of St. Antony.

The archives of this institution are now to be found among the muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Windsor, in the Aerary at St. George's Chapel.

B. Accounts.

Accounts of the Master and Receiver-General of the Hospital,
1478 - 1522:-

xv 37 15	1478/9	xv 37 25	1501/2
xv 37 8, 21	1494/5	xv 37 27	1509/10
xv 37 22	1497/8	xv 37 33	1521/2

C. Miscellaneous Items.

xv 37 23 (Inventory 1499)

xi F 32 (Grant of property to maintain Instructor of Choristers 1443)

i G 10 (Will of William Wyse, 1449).

BM Harley 544 fo.72

PRO E 301 51 (Chantry certificate, Berkshire, 1545).

Manchester College

PRO DL 41 2/32

Draft of statutes concerning Master of College,
c. 1421 (imperfect)

PRO DL 38 1, m.1.

Chantry Certificate, 1546.

PRO DL 38 3, pp. 2-3

Chantry Certificate, 1548.

Norwich CathedralA. Registers, etc.

BM Stowe 128 (draft statutes of the New Foundation Cathedral, c.1570)

B. Accounts.I. Norwich, MSS of Dean and Chapter

Almoner,	1275 - 1533	NR 482 - 615
Precentor	1282 - 1533	NR 863 - 958
Master of the Cellar	1340 - 1536	NR 37 - 110
Sacrist	1272 - 1536	NR 210 - 334
Prebendal A/cs	1538 - 1550	1 - 11

II. Oxford, Bodleian Library.

Norfolk Rolls, nos. 54, 55; Norfolk Charters, nos. 269, 288.

C. Other items.

Norwich, Diocesan Archives:- Episcopal Registers.

William Bateman	(1344-54)	Reg. 2/Book 4
Thomas Percy	(1356-69)	Reg. 2/Book 5
Henry Despenser	(1370-1406)	Reg. 3/Book 6
Alexander Totyngton	(1407-13)	Reg. 4/Book 7
Richard Courtenay	(1413-15)	Reg. 4/Book 7
John Wakeryng	(1416-25)	Reg. 4/Book 8
William Alnwick	(1426-36)	Reg. 5/Book 9
Thomas Brown	(1436-45)	Reg. 5/Book 10
Walter Lyhert	(1445-72)	Reg. 6/Book 11
James Goldwell	(1472-98)	Reg. 7/Book 12
Thomas Jane	(1499-1501)	Reg. 8/Book 13
Richard Nikke	(1501-11)	Reg. 8/Book 13

Norwich, Hospital of St.Giles.

Among the muniments of the hospital now kept in NNRO, City Archives Press G, Case 24, Shelf b are:-

c.1250 Foundation charter of bishop Walter Suffield

1256 Will of bishop Walter Suffield

1451 Letters patent granting licence to acquire property.

Norwich, Collegiate Church of St. Mary de Campis.

References to the personnel of this church were found in wills entered into the following Registers of Wills of the Consistory Court of the Archdeacon of Norwich, 1459 - 1531:-

Brosyard, Betyns, Jekkys, Gelour, A. Caston,
Multon, Popy, Spyltymber, Johnson, Spurlinge,
Gyls, Attmere.

Oxford, Magdalen CollegeA. Registers.

Vice-President's Register 1547 - 1686.

Registrum Collegii Magdalensis (Register Admissorum) c.1538-1615.

B. Accounts

These exist both books and rolls of accounts for the period concerned. The rolls of account are neither sorted, listed nor catalogued; they are now kept in five large tea-chests, and facilities to make a systematic search were not extended to me. The books of Bursars' accounts (Libri Computi) were thrown together in a disorderly fashion during the last century. Each is composed of between 12 and 20 discrete libelli, and is roughly chronological in content; some contain much miscellaneous material as well as the bursars' accounts. Detailed lists of the contents of each volume were prepared by the present writer, and have been deposited in the College Library.

I. Bursars' Accounts, etc.

Liber Compoti	1481 - 88
Liber Computi	1490 - 1510
Liber Computi	1510 - 30
Liber Computi	1530 - 42
Liber Computi	1543 - 49
Liber Computi	1552 - 78 (examined to fo.114 (1556) only).

II. Hall Books

Bursary Book	1477 - 86
Bursary Book	1490 - 99
Bursary Book	1501 - 07

C. Miscellaneous items.Sacrists' Inventories.

(Inventories, c.1480 - c.1533. The bundle so labelled contains inventories in roll form, dated 1486 (recte c.1480); 1486; 1495; 1522; and 1522 (-c.1533). This bundle is kept with the account rolls in the tea-chests mentioned above; in the normal course of events, therefore, it is inaccessible and cannot be produced.)

MS. Visitaciones Collegii Magdalenensis Oxon'.

(19c transcripts of visitation records, from the Episcopal Registers of the bishops of Winchester).

Pleshey CollegeA. Volume of Statutes

PRO DL 41 10/44 . Statutes, 1395.

B. Accounts

PRO DL 28 33/11, no.113 Hall Book, Sept - Nov. 1530
no.110 Miscellaneous expenses, c.1530.

C. Miscellaneous items.

PRO DL 12 44/2 Grant of protection for choristers, 1527.
PRO C 47 7/3 Commission for dissolution, 1546.
PRO DL 38 4 Chantry Certificate, 1548.

Ramsey AbbeyB. Accounts

Various obedientiary accounts, 1280 - 1538:-
BM Add. Rolls 33938; 34518 - 29; 34643 - 55; 34673 - 707;
34732 - 66; 39713 - 4.
PRO SC 6 880/28, 880/32, 1259/6, 1259/9.

St. Osyth's AbbeyB. Accounts

Accounts of various obedientiaries, 1513 - 1536:-
PRO SC 6 Henry VIII 939 - 944
PRO SC 6 Addenda 3479/13

C. Miscellaneous Items.

BM Cleopatra E iv, fo.25r. (old foliation)
PRO E 117 11/25-28 Dissolution inventories, 1539.

Salisbury Cathedral.A. Registers, etc.Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter:- Registers of Chapter Acts.

Hemingby	(1329 - 48)
Corfe	(1348 - 58)
Coman	(1385 - 87)
Dunham	(1387-95, 1407-8)
Holmes	(1395 - 1402)
Draper	(1402 - 05)
Vyring	(1408 - 13)
Pountney	(1413 - 19)
Harding	(1419 - 35)
Hutchins	(1440 - 47)
Burgh	(1447 - 57)
Newton	(1460 - 68)
Machon	(1468 - 75)
Harward	(1497 - 1538)
Holte	(1538 onward; examined to fo.20 only (1547)).

Register of Leases 1510 - 62 (bearing Church Commissioners' call-number 136777).

Manuscripts of the bishop of Salisbury (Salisbury, Bishop's Registry)

Register of Robert Nevill (1427-38)

Register of William Aiscough (1439-50)

Register of Deans Chandler (1404-17) and Sydenham (1418-25)

Statuta ecclesie Sarum

Registrum Rubrum.

Salisbury Cathedral Library

MS 189:- Register of Dean Davyson (14 -), entitled Miscellanea et Statutes quoad Sarum.

B. Accounts.

The account-rolls of the cathedral constitute a very numerous and heterogeneous collection. In 1971 they were found to be uncatalogued, and even sorted after no more than the most rudimentary fashion. The present writer sorted and listed the quarterly accounts of the communar for the period 1343 - 1561; they have been numbered in chronological order from 1 to 134, and a check-list may be found in the Diocesan Record Office. The other account-rolls are stored in cardboard boxes; the boxes are labelled, but their labels rarely accord closely with their contents. Therefore, there follows merely a list of the various classes of account examined, with the number of accounts traced for each class and the years which they cover.

Communar 1 - 134	126	. 1343 - 1561
Collector of Choristers' Rents	22	1447 - 1541
Clerk of the Fabric	13	1464 - 1540
Masters of the Fabric	1	1536 - 1537
Masters of the Fabric (receipts from church of St. Thomas)	22	1486 - 1538
Proctor of Church of St. Thomas	14	1486 - 1539
Gough chantry and chapel of St. Thomas	3	1464 - 1524
Communar of community of vicars-choral	2	1493 - 1494
Hungerford chantry	20	1473 - 1543
Shrine of St. Osmund	1	1493 - 1494

C. Miscellaneous items.

Charters relating to property of Vicars-choral, in box marked
"Vicars Choral".

Lambeth Palace:- Register of William Courteney, ff.146-50.

Tattershall College

Unless otherwise indicated, the archives of Tattershall College are now preserved among the de L'Isle and Dudley Manuscripts, being the muniments of Lord De L'Isle at Penshurst Place, Tonbridge, Kent, to whom I am indebted for permission to consult and transcribe them.

A. Volumes of Statutes.

U 1475 Q21/1	Executors' draft statutes, c.1457
U 1475 Q21/2, 3	Founder's draft statutes, c.1455
U 1475 Q21/4	Key to revision of statutes, 1501
LRO 3 Anc 2/3	Revised statutes, 1501.

B. Accounts.

Warden	1443-61	U 1475	Q 18/1 - 4
Steward	1479-1521	U1475	Q 19/1, 5 - 12.
Receiver	1492-1507	U1475	Q 16/1 - 3
Precentor, with Provost of choir.	1495-1503	U1475	Q 19/2 - 8

C. Miscellaneous Items.

U1475 Q 20	Consultations concerning compilation of statutes c.1455.
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Warwick, Collegiate Church of St. Mary.A. Registers, statutes, etc.

PRO E 164 22 Register and Cartulary, 15th century
 PRO E 315 492, ff.1-10 Statutes, 1367 and 1441.

B. Accounts.

Accounts of Treasurer of College, 1410 - 1532:-

WrkRO CR 895/9 (1410/11)
 PRO SC 6 1041/1 - 3 (1432/3, 1448/9, 1454/5)
 PRO SC 6 Henry VIII 3729-33 (1520/1, 1523/4, 1524/5, 1525/6, 1531/2)

Accounts of Sub-treasurer of College 1535 - 1544

PRO E 315 64 ff.17 - 34 (1540/41)
 PRO E 315 400 pp.122-71 (1539/40), pp.176-211 (1535/6),
 pp.214-63 (1543/4).
 PRO E 315 492 ff.35 - 56 (1536/7), ff.57-73 (1537/8).

Summaries of annual income and expense, c.1400 - 1539.

PRO SC 11 692 (c.1400)
 PRO SC 11 691 1457/8
 PRO E 36 154, pp.233-6 (1538/9)

C. Miscellaneous Items.

PRO E 154 1/46 Inventory, 1465.

Wells CathedralA. Registers etc.

(i) Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter

Liber Albus I

Liber Albus II

Liber Ruber (parts 1 and 2)

Dean Cosyn's Manuscript

Ledger D

MS volume marked "Charters"

" " " "Valor Ecclesiasticus temp: Polydore Vergil"

" " " "Statuta Ecclesie Cathedralis Wellensis"

(ii) Manuscripts of the College of Vicars Choral

Register of Vicars Choral 1393 - 1534.

(iii) British Museum:- MS Harley 1682

B. Accounts

Communar	32	1327-1548	(MSS of Dean and Chapter)
Wardens of the Fabric	7	1390-1550	(MSS of Dean and Chapter)
Eschaetor (a few examined; little relevant material)			(MSS of Dean and Chapter; also SRO DD/CC 131907/1)
Receivers of New Close of Vicars Choral	57	1398-1547	(55 among MSS of Vicars Choral, B1-B158; 1 among MSS of Dean and Chapter, no ref.; SRO DD/CC 131909/21).
Warden of Lady Chapel	3	1517-1544	(MSS of Vicars Choral B 118, B 154; SRO DD/CC 131921/1).

C. Miscellaneous items

Charters 179, 392, 676, 719, 749, 750, 758.

Contents of folder marked "Papers handed in on the death of Miss Parfitt"

" " box " "Various charters returned from Norwich Library"

" " " " "Illuminated fragments"

" " " " "Sundry MSS and papers"

" " " " "Vicars Choral. Misc.(Contents of Black Box)".

B.M. Arundel 2 (Register of Walter Monyngton, Abbot of Glastonbury)

PRO E 179 4/1 (Exchequer, Clerical Subsidy Roll 1377).

Winchester CathedralA. Registers.

Priory Register I (1345 - 1496)

Priory Register II (1496 - 1533)

Priory Register III (1533 - 1538)

B. Accounts.

Warden of Lady Chapel 1529/30:- Box 66, roll SS 23.

Windsor, St. George's Chapel.A. Registers, etc.

IV B 1	Arundel White Book, c.1430
CUL Dd.2.26	Statutes for regulation of Denton's Commons 1519-22.
PRO E 36 113	Inventories etc., c.1530.

B. Accounts.

Treasurer [74]	1361-1542:- xv 34 1-71, less 3, 27, 48, 68; xv 48 5 (1416/7); xv 56 26 (1423/4); xv 59 4 (1454/5); xv 56 38* (1540/1); xv 59 3 (1541/2).
Precentor [36]	1363 - 1547: xv 56 1-38, less 31, 35.
Steward	24 examined, 1414-1503, little relevant information found:- class xv 48 <u>passim</u> ; also xv 34 48; xv 34 68; xv 59 1.
Vicars' cotidians [11]	1476-1483:- xi B 22 i-viii, 23-25.
Summary states of finances [9]	1378-c.1530: xv 53 64 (1378), xv 34 27 (1410/1, 1429/30); xv 3 12 (c.1445); xv 3 11 (1476); xv 34 3 (1524); PRO E 36 113, pp.7, 36 (c.1530).

C. Miscellaneous items.

v B 1-2; xi B 26, 27, 28; xi B 52; xi D 15; xv 58.c.21, 22, 25.
PRO E 36 113; E 301 51; LC 2/2, fo.74v.
BM Harley 7049, fo.190 et seq.

Worcester Cathedral.A. Registers etc.

A i	Register <u>Sede vacante</u> 1301-1435
A iii	Liber Pensionum
A v	Liber Albus
A vi (i)	Register of Prior Thomas Musard
A vi (ii)	Priory Register
A vi (iii)	Priory Register
A ix	Almoner's Register
A xii	Register of William More.

B. Accounts

All obedientiaries	(11) 1514-1534	A xii, A xvii, C 106, C 412-5
Almoner	(48) 1341-1507	C 170-212, 473, 483, 490a
Cellarer	(31) 1432-1503	C86-105a, 200a, 479-80, 488, 490-3, 846.
Coquinarius	(4) 1498-1504	C 166-8a
Custos Capelle BM	(47) 1391-1504	C 250-91, 852
Precentor	(46) 1346-1511	C 351-94
Prior	(17) 1444-1491	C 396-411
Sacrist	(7) 1425-1523	C 425-30, 498
Tumbarius	(21) 1375-1476	C 453-72
Receiver -General	(2) 1543-1545	A cciii-cciiii.

C. Miscellaneous items.

Manuscripts of the bishop of Worcester (Worcestershire Record Office):-

Register of Walter Reynolds	WorRO 2648/1
Register of Simon Montacute	WorRO 2648/2
Register of John Alcock	WorRO 2648/7

BM Harley 604, ff.118-121.

Households of Lay and Spiritual Magnates.

Accounts and Inventories:-

Queen Isabella (d.1358)	BM Galba E xiv (1358)
Henry, earl of Derby (later Henry 4)	PRO DL 28 1/1-3 (1381-92)
Henry, prince of Wales (later Henry 5)	BM Harley 4304, ff.20-1 (1402-12), PRO E 101 404/23-26 (1402-04)
Margaret, dowager countess of Warwick (d.1407)	PRO E 101 513/2 (1405-06)
Thomas, duke of Clarence (d.1421)	WstDC WAM 12163 (1418-21)
John, duke of Bedford (d.1435)	PRO E 101 411/7; E 154 1/33, E 154 1/39 (1435)
John, duke of Exeter (d.1447)	WstDC WAM 6643 (1447)

Manuscripts relating to other institutions.

BRO D/E Ah Z 1	Abingdon Abbey, A/c of Chamberlain, 1362/3
BRO D/EP 7/140	" " " " Almoner, 1390/1
BRO D/E Ah E 17	" " " " Chamberlain, 1528/9
CDC Lit. MS. B 2	Canterbury, St. Augustine's Abbey:- Accounts, 1518/9.
BM Cotton Charter xii 60	Chichester Cathedral:- Lay clerks, 1526
PRO E 315 279	Leicester Abbey:- Accounts 1536/7.
PRO SC 12 11/15	London, St. Katherine's Hospital:- annual expenses c.1540.
LGL 4071/1	London, St. Michael, Cornhill:- Churchwardens' A/cs., 1455-1476, 1547-1608.
LGL 4889	London, Fraternity of St. Nicholas:- Register 1448-1522.
PRO E 301 88	London and Middlesex:- Chantry Certificate 1548.
PDC MS 2	Peterborough Abbey:- Register 1438-1496.
BM Lansdowne 375	St. Alban's Abbey:- Cartulary of Almoner, 15th century.
PRO E 117 11/49	Westminster, College of St. Stephen:- Inventory, 1548.
PRO LR 6/29/2	Winchcombe Abbey:- estates of late abbey, on a/c. of receiver-general, Gloucestershire, 1566/7.
PRO C 47 20/1, no.6	York, St. Leonard's Hospital:- Enquiry into state of finances, 1376.

Musical manuscripts consulted.A. Manuscripts previously unknown

BM	Add. MS 37075, ff.147r., 255v.	exercises, jottings, c.1475.
BRD	Trumbull Add. MS. 6	lute, c.1600
CDC	leaves in box of binding fragments	misc.liturgical, c.1300-c.1500.
CKC	Mundum Book 3, fo.61v. of a/c for 35-36 Henry VI	three-part jottings, c.1490.
PRO	E 163 22/1/3	Kyries, three voices c.1440-50.
PRO	LR 2 261 fo.1	Motet, c.1350.
SRO	DD/WHb 3182	Sanctus and Magnificat, c.1370
SRO	DD/L P29/29	mass-movements, c.1450-1500
WorRO	705/349 BA 5117/1 (xiv)	<u>cantilene</u> , c.1350.
Warwick, St. Mary's Church:-	music in the windows of the Beauchamp Chapel	responsory, c.1450.

B. Manuscripts already known.

BM Add. MSS 5465, 5665, 5666, 17001 (fo.175v), 17802-5, 30520, 34191, 39958, 40725, 50856, 54324;
Egerton 3307; Harley 1709; Royal 11.e.xi; Royal Appendix 58;
Cotton, Nero E viii (fo.55v.); Sloane 1210.

CSJ MS K 31 (James 234)

CUL Dd xiii 27

EPF 178 (the Eton Choirbook)

GRO D 678, D149/T1165

KRO DRC KS/3, NR/DB 6, PRC 49/20

OBL Add. MS. C87; Bodley 384; Lincoln College (e) Lat.124; Lat.Lit.b5;
Selden B26.

WlsDC "The Hygons fragment"

WorRO b705 4 BA 54

B. Printed Sources.

This list contains all the items which are quoted or mentioned in the text or footnotes; it also includes certain other items which, though not directly quoted, were found to supply useful information. Works consulted in vain, or from which little information of value was derived, are excluded.

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46 Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae (1969)
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