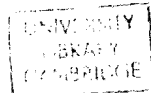


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MUSIC UNDER THE LATER PLANTAGENETS

by



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PREFACE

I have many people to thank for enabling me to undertake and complete this dissertation.

Gonville and Caius College was my home in Cambridge for many happy years, and a grant from the Ministry of Education gave me the advantages of an education there which I should probably not have enjoyed if I had been born twenty years earlier. My college, the University of Cambridge, the British Council, the Italian Government, and my old school, Christ's Hospital, generously provided funds which took me to Italy for some ten months. Without this help, I should never have been able to begin my work. The directors of many Italian, French, German and English libraries have greatly assisted my work with their kindness and unfailing efficiency. In particular I wish to record my gratitude to the staff of the Cambridge University Library, the Bodleian Library, and the Music Library of the Barber Institute, Birmingham; my special thanks are due to Charles Cudworth of the Pendlebury Library, Cambridge.

My acknowledgements to the many scholars whose work has made mine possible are evident on almost every page that follows. I also have to thank my friends Hugh Baillie, Peter le Huray, Gilbert Heaney, Jeremy Noble and Denis Stevens for many stimulating discussions of medieval and renaissance music; in such a free flow of ideas, new thoughts become common property, and the sum of individual contributions outweighs the single parts. My special gratitude is due to Don Anselm Hughes, John Harvey and John Stevens, whose expert advice has saved me from falling into many a trap in paths where I was a comparative stranger. My greatest debt of all is due to Martin Part, who has been my teacher, my example and my friend for over a half century. His tuition first steered me through the mysteries of harmony and counterpoint; his lectures first interested me in the hard effort of research into old music, though for him music is never old, and research is an exciting romance. What is said in the following pages

is due to him, what is bad is myself alone.

Finally, I must record my gratitude to my wife, whose patience and faith have helped me through the difficult labour of assembling this dissertation in its final shape: over the past months, she has seen little of me save my back, as I sit at this desk.

Brian Trowell.

Birmingham.

September, 1959.

CHAPTER ONE.

Introductory.

Fifteenth-century English music is quite a recent field for the historian. In 1897, Wooldridge included a few facsimiles of works by Dunstable and Benet in Early English Harmony. In the first years of this century, Barclay Squire printed the first news of the Old Hall manuscript, and the Stainers brought out Early Bodleian Music, with plates of the Selden manuscript and several smaller sources from the Bodleian Library. The movement gathered impetus with the publication of The Old Hall Manuscript in the 1930s, and with the inclusion of many English works in the Austrian Denkmäler. The last few years have seen the fine complete editions of English Mediaeval Carols, by John Stevens, and of the works of Dunstable, by Manfred Bukofzer. Numerous smaller publications fill out the series; but the above are the landmarks by which the new territory must be surveyed. The discussion and analysis of this repertory by a host of scholars, of course, has covered much more paper than the music itself. Nagel and Davey still have much that is useful in their pages; Wooldridge has a great deal more. Amongst the many who have followed these, the contribution of Manfred Bukofzer has been by far the greatest: his book and his articles have been constantly at my elbow to remind me of a range of learning which few can ever hope to rival in breadth or in depth. Heinrich Jepsen is one of those few; though his main interests lie in the realm of continental music, he has much to say that illuminates various phases of English music, either directly, or by reflected light. I have ventured to disagree with him over the question of the origins of fauxbourdon; but my own chapter could not have been written unless he had first made his remarkable investigation of continental fauxbourdon.

Davis's valuable excursions into the history of English music are more concerned with earlier ages. Many other researchers have also done much to explain particular problems in fifteenth-century English music. One remembers the contributions of Dom Anselm Hughes, Thrasybulos Georgiades,

Thurston Dart, Catherine Miller, Denis Stevens, Oliver Strunk, E.H. ~~Fellows~~, R.L.Greene, Sylvia Kenney, L.Feininger, Charles van den Borren, Bertram Schofield, and many another. For the general social and political backbround of the time, there are the richly-documented volumes of J.H.Wyllie and John Harvey. W.H.Frere's facsimile editions of the Sarum Antiphoner and Gradual, and articles and books on the Uses of Salisbury and of other cathedrals by him and by others, are of course an indispensable aid to the study of English sacred music of the fifteenth century; it is high time that more work was done in this line, particularly for the music of the sequences, and for the non-Sarum Uses in general. Happily, the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society is now entering on a new series of publications.

John Harvey has shown us all what a vast amount of material lies ready for the historian's use in record publications of all kinds, and in the multifarious archives that are scattered through this country. Few musicians will have the time or the learning to pursue his methods at the level he so easily maintains in book after book; but by his comments on medieval and Renaissance music he has already done much to interest musical historians in the kind of 'research in breadth' which makes his volumes so revealing and so readable. It was through his work, and that of J.H.Wyllie, that I first learned to find my way about the bewildering confusion of the published and unpublished royal records.

We must surely count it a tragedy that Bukofzer never lived to read Frank Harrison's Music in Medieval Britain, which must be among the finest works of musical scholarship to have been published since 1900. By his complete penetration of the Sarum liturgy, and his complete familiarity with the institutions where polyphony was practised, he has made much clear that has been very obscure. Since I have also covered much of the same ground, and I only, for the most part, since 1900, I can only say that I should have been able to repeat here what he has done with greater clarity of detail. I have however done in the biographies of some musicians in more minute particulars to the way able to include, in a single volume which covered a much wider period; though here also, I have not felt it necessary to

repeat information contained in his pages. Inevitably, too, he has had to neglect much of the English music which survives abroad, for most of it still remains unpublished.

Finally, I must acknowledge my debt to the twin volumes of Gustave Reese, Music in the Middle Ages and Music in the Renaissance; they are marvels of organised and distilled learning, microcosms of centuries of music; and they furnish a wonderfully clear and accurate guide to the myriad publications of researchers and historians in many languages over many years.

This dissertation is now entitled 'Music under the later Plantagenets'. When I first started work, it was called 'English Music and Musicians in Fifteenth-century Italy'. This change of name needs a little explanation here. It had been known for a long time that there was a considerable quantity of English music which survived only in continental sources of the fifteenth century, by far the greater part of it in present-day Italy. My original intention was to trace all the music, assemble a catalogue, and then to set about the task of tracking down the English musicians who must, I thought, have taken the music abroad with them, or else exported it during their service with courts and chapels in Italy. The first part of this task was accomplished without too much difficulty, and the results given in Appendix I. My first search in Italian record publications, which so far as music is concerned are far more complete than anything we have in this country, yielded an almost total blank. It became clear that the few English composers or musicians of any kind could have stayed for very long in fifteenth-century Italy. Half of my proposed dissertation, then, vanished before I could put pen to paper, though such a negative result was in itself quite valuable.

At the same time, I began to realise that any discussion of the 'imported' music would be next to useless unless the repertoire were compared with what survived in native sources of the time; to do this, I also had to undertake a study of the liturgical forms and practices of the medieval Uses of the English cathedrals. This comparison -

if there can be a comparison between the small quantity of liturgical music surviving at home and the great mass which exists abroad - further convinced me that there was no essential difference in style between the two repertoires, though earlier historians had tended to regard them as distinct: the native sources had simply not survived. With this distinction suspended, the possibility arose that some of the musicians named in the manuscripts abroad might after all have spent their lives working at home in English employment. I therefore had to investigate the many sources in this country which might contain records of these men. Since the crucial years seemed to me to fall in the reigns of Henry IV and V, and in the minority of Henry VI, I examined all the unpublished household documents in the royal records of that time. Published records of all kinds also aided me greatly in my search. An investigation of the names listed in John Aleyne's motet Sub Arturo plebs, which all scholars seemed to agree in dating at c.1400, convinced me that the work was far older than this; here too, the royal records proved me right, though it took me many weeks in the Public Record Office to sift through all the possible documents, from as early as 1340, which might contain evidence. At the other end of the scale, John Harvey very kindly sent me his own transcripts of the Royal Wardrobe Books from 1393-1451, so that I was able to check my own copy, and to add to it his lists from the years of Henry VI's majority. These central lists of the personnel of the Chapel Royal gave me a great many names to hunt for in the publications of the Rolls Series. The results of all this research, some of it amongst archives, some amongst printed records that have hitherto been little used by musical historians, are embodied as a biographical dictionary in Appendices II-IV.

My problem now was to find a title which would allow such diverse materials into the same volume. Most of my continental researches fell into the years c.1425-80; my archival work at home, on the other hand, stretched roughly from the middle years of the fourteenth century to the middle years of the fifteenth. It was impossible to discuss the music in foreign sources without making constant reference back to the music of the Old Hall manuscript, and of the few later fragments; yet

Old Hall is still strongly medieval in many respects, while the 'continental' repertory belongs essentially to the early musical Renaissance. I therefore chose a broad title, one which would allow me full liberty to travel back and forth in time and place as the subject demanded. I must emphasise that this account of my research does not aim to be a full discussion of every scrap of music that was composed between the accession of, say, Edward III, and the murder of that excellent king; Richard III, a century and a half later. This dissertation traces in outline the rise and decline of English music from the shadowy school of Aleyn's contemporaries, through the experiments of the Old Hall manuscript, to the confidently poised line and firm harmonic tread of Dunstable and his contemporaries. I have approached this task from the point of view of the store of music which survives abroad, for it seems to me that only in this way can we hope to compensate for the lack of music in home sources. A gap which remains to be filled, even so, is the question of the origins of the incredibly rich polyphony of the Lton manuscript; there seems to be no link here with the predominantly three-voiced sacred music which preceded it. Perhaps it developed in situ where there were foundations which brought together a number of highly-skilled singers, such as the colleges of Lton and King's.

Most of my analysis of forms and styles is contained in the long Chapter II, which is a conducted tour round the more important foreign collections that contain English music of the fifteenth century. Such a list of sources, and such a dose of analysis, could both prove a little indigestible on their own. I have preferred to vary the diet; and though the sandwiched layers that result may lack German system and orderliness, the mixture of flavours will perhaps add spice to solid information. I have however traced one central question through the period in a chapter of its own, and in doing so I hope to have solved a problem that has nagged at many a scholar's nights: the question of the origins of Faburien and Fauxbourdon, which is dealt with in Chapter V.

The reader has no doubt gained the impression that the coming pages will be something of a rag-bag. He is right. There are subjects for at least three fat theses in the following pages, and I am very well aware that an extra year spent in embroidering this idea, a few months more in probing that hypothesis, would greatly improve this dissertation. But time and funds are limited. If I have attempted too much, I trust that the fault is a good one.

CHAPTER TWO

Any historian who wishes to give a proper account of English music in the fifteenth century soon runs up against one central problem: the lack of source material within this country. If we compare the surviving English manuscripts with the rich heritage of other European countries, particularly France and Italy, we discover a long gap in our native tradition, a gap that stretches from Old Hall manuscript at one end of the century to the huge choirbooks of Ston, Lambeth and Gonville and Caius at the other. The only body of music which survives complete is the repertory of carols and cantilena¹, most of which are transmitted in four sources spanning the century: the Trinity roll (c.1430?), the Selden manuscript and MS Egerton 3307 of the British Museum (c.1450), and the late Ritson collection (c.1500). In the vigour of the carols, we can trace the general development of musical syntax over the course of the century. The brilliant, spiky duet-writing and irrational dissonances of the Trinity roll, which is largely written in the syllabic rhythms of major prolation, clearly show that this is solo music. The Selden manuscript prefers perfect time to major prolation - the two versions of the Agincourt carol point this neatly² - and in this source we find a smoother approach to dissonance, a more legato cast of melody, often with quite a long melisma over a single syllable, and, for the first time, the direction 'chorus', together with three-part writing. The Egerton manuscript, too, reflects this change. In the Ritson book, none of the carols has a prolation signature, and the harmonic style is even more logical and flowing.

The carols, then, prove that in England, as on the continent, the favourite time-signatures of major prolation began to change to the smoother tempus perfectum soon after 1430³, and with this change came the gradual development of choral polyphony, the adoption of a long-breathed, melismatic style of melody, and a smoother treatment of dissonance. But the carols are a native form of music not found outside the British Isles; they are all written in score; though full of vitality, they are limited in form and function, and they seem unambitious if we compare them with the more extended flights of the contemporary Mass and motet. They compensate

for the comparative lack of any recorded native tradition of courtly love-song; but they do not help us to write the history of the longer musical forms of fifteenth-century England.

Our material for this is very scanty, if we take native sources only. There is no collection of Mass music to compare with the Ordinary-settings of the Old Hall manuscript, for a start. There are a few fragmentary leaves here and there, such as the MS Add. C.87 of the Bodleian library (OC), and the Incunabulum C.47 of Pembroke College, Cambridge (Pemb); one tenor-Mass survives entire in the MS J.i.V.18 of the University Library, Cambridge. But even for the period of the aton manuscript, we have to depend on such fragments as the York Masses.⁴ There is a similar lack of polyphonic antiphons, though the thirteen in the Selden manuscript provide a little material from the second quarter of the century. For the study of other ritual forms we have only the restricted collection in Egerton 3307, which is confined to Holy Week, and the MS 1236 of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge, a surprising jumble of liturgical settings, many of which are however rather poor stuff from a musical point of view.

Compare this sorry picture with the wide panorama of contemporary French and Burgundian music, and fifteenth-century England does indeed seem to have been a Land ohne Musik. The answer to this charge, of course, is to multiply the fragmentary sources of the time, inflating, say, OC, Pemb, Cambridge University Library Add.MS 2713, and the fragments from University College and Magdalen College, Oxford,⁵ until they attain in the mind's eye the dimensions of an average continental source: volumes of about 200 leaves apiece. This gives us about a thousand leaves, covered with polyphonic settings of the Ordinary of the Mass, antiphons, motets, what you will: between four and five hundred separate items, of which a mere handful have come down to us. How is this sunken tradition to be tapped?

It has been known from the first that a large quantity of English fifteenth-century music survives only in continental sources. No-one has previously set out to search through all the Italian, French, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Belgian, Danish, Czech and even American manuscripts which contain English music of the time. Appendix I below represents a

first attempt to deal with this problem. It lists all the certain, probable, and possible English music to be found in foreign sources of the fifteenth century, excluding the works of John Dunstable, which have been thoroughly dealt with by Bukofzer.⁶ A few statistics may help, here. There are 58 works which are certainly from Dunstable's pen: 49 of them survive only in foreign manuscripts; nine appear in English sources, and only four of these are unique to this country; of these four, three are mere scraps for a single voice. Turning to Appendix I, we find a similar state of affairs. I estimate that at least 182 compositions surviving abroad were written by Englishmen other than Dunstable. If we add the number of anonymous works which for various reasons also seem to be English in origin, a conservative estimate raises the above figure to over 230. For the time being, though, it will be best to stick to certainties. Of our original 182, only 21 are also to be found on this side of the Channel. Adding in the works of Dunstable, we find a grand total of 236 certain English compositions in foreign manuscripts, of which 26 are duplicated in this country. 120 of them are settings of the Ordinary of the Mass, including 15 Mass-cycles, some of them incomplete, and 13 sets of paired movements; 78 are sacred works of other kinds, embracing 15 isorhythmic motets, 39 Marian antiphons, 5 other antiphons, 4 sequences, 4 Magnificat, 3 hymns, and several oddments from other parts of the liturgy; 37 are secular songs, settings of 9 English, 17 French and 11 Italian texts, amongst them 11 rondeaux and 7 ballades. Twenty-one composers are named, or may be identified through concordances: John Aleyn, Christopher Anthony, Bedingham, John Benet, Blome, J. Bodoil, Byttering, Richard Cockx, Driffelde, Dunstable, Forest, Walter Frye, John Hothby, Jervays, Richard Markham, Neweland, Knyff. Plummer, Leonal Power, Pyamour, Soursby, Standley and Stone wrote sacred works; and there is secular music by Bedingham, Dunstable, Walter Frye, Galfridus de Anglia, Hart, John Hothby, Robert Norton, and Robertus de Anglia; in addition, there are many pieces which are simply called 'English' under the headings 'Anglicanus', 'Anglicus', and 'de Anglia'.

This music was copied into fifteen large codices (one now reduced to a mere fragment); eleven of them are in present-day Italy, two in Germany,

one in France and one in Belgium. In addition to these main sources, there are thirty smaller collections, mostly chansonniers, and the Buxheim organ book, which contains contemporary arrangements of some English works in organ tablature. (For a full list of sources, see the catalogue of manuscripts which heads Appendix I). I have examined most of the more important ones for myself, and some of the chansonniers. The larger collections are given below in chronological order; unless otherwise stated, each source probably originated in the area where it is now to be found.

BL : Bologna, Liceo Musicale, MS Q.15 (olim 37); c.1420-40, Piacenza.

BU : Bologna, Universita, MS 2216; c.1430-50, Brescia.

Ca : Cambrai, Bib.Municipale, MS 11; c.1430-50.

Tr 92: Trent, Castello del Buon Consiglio, MS 92, first pt.; c.1440, second part c.1450. Copied in the Veneto?

Tr 87: Ib., MS 87; c.1440. Copied in the Veneto?

Ao : Acosta, Seminario, MS without shelf-mark; c.1440-50.

ModB : Modena, Bib.Estense, MS A.X.1,11 (olim lat. 471); c.1440-1460.

MuEm : Munich, Staatsbibliothek, MS mus. 3224; c.1440-60, St.Emmeram.

Tr 88-90: Trent, Ib., MSS 88-90; c.1445-65.

Tr 93: Trent, Archivio Capitolare, MS 93; c.1460 (essentially a copy of Tr 90).

BR : Brussels, Bib.Royale, MS 5557; c.1460-70, Court of Burgundy.

It will be useful to examine the first of these, BL, in some detail; this will stand us in good stead when we come to discuss the later sources.

BL is a fat quarto volume with paper leaves, save for the central parchment folio of most fascicles, which keeps the binding-threads from tearing the paper. Italian scribes copied the manuscript in black notation (except for one piece), apparently in Piacenza. The 325 works which BL contains form the most important single source of continental music composed in the first third of the fifteenth century: 146 Mass-sections, 119 motets, 38 other sacred works, and 22 secular pieces. The body of the volume was copied in the late 1420s; more pieces were

added in the decade 1430-40, and these lack the illuminated initials of the first layer. There are eighteen English works in BL, half in the first layer and half in the second; we also find two works by Zacar (Antonio Zacara da Teramo) which have English connections. The following table sets out these twenty works, with their time-signatures and concordances.⁷

Original layer

| <u>No.</u> | <u>Ff.</u> | <u>T-Sig.</u> | <u>Title</u> | <u>Composer, etc.</u> |
|------------|------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|---|
| 1 | 22'-3 | COCO | Gloria <u>92</u> | Gervasius de Anglia <u>OH</u> , old layer, Jervays |
| 2 | 23'-4 | CEC | Credo (ed.8) | Johannes Dunstable Anglicus <u>Tr</u> 92, old layer |
| 3 | 24'-5 | (C)OC | Sanctus 28 | Jo. Benet Anglicus Unique; pairs with <u>Agnus</u> following |
| 4 | 25'-6 | (C)OC | Agnus <u>29</u> | Jo. Benet de Anglia Unique; see No. 3 |
| 5 | 86'-7 | (O) | Gloria <u>137</u> | Zacar <u>OH</u> , old layer; <u>MuEm</u> , old layer; <u>WarU</u> |
| 6 | 109'-10 | {(Ø)C Ø} {(E)C(G)} | Credo <u>106</u> | De Anglia <u>OH</u> , old layer, Lyonel |
| 7 | 156'-7 | (Ø) | Gloria <u>138</u> | Zacar anglicana <u>WarU</u> |
| 8 | 159'-61 | (O) | Credo <u>47</u> | 'Anglicanum patrem' <u>Tr</u> 92, old layer, J. Bodoil; <u>AO</u> |
| 9 | 204'-5 | (O) | Spes nostra <u>56</u> | De Anglia Unique |
| 10 | 205'-6 | (O)c | Benedicta es <u>55</u> | De Anglia <u>BU</u> ; <u>Tr</u> 92, later section |
| 11 | 243'-5 | {ØOC} c | Salve regina <u>122</u> | Leonellus Powero Unique |

Later additions

| | | | | |
|----|--------|-----|-------------------------------------|---|
| 12 | 170'-1 | (O) | Gloria <u>46</u> | Binchois (Bodoil; pairs with no. 8 above); Unique |
| 13 | 186' | C | Alma redemptoris mater <u>64</u> | Anonymous (fragment only here) <u>AO</u> ; <u>ModB</u> , Forest; <u>Tr</u> 90 |

| | | | | |
|----|------------------------------|----------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| 14 | (7'-8) | (0)∅ | Alma redemptoris mater (ed.40) | Leonelle; 'Binchois' erased. In extra fascicle inserted after f.206' <u>Ao</u> ; <u>ModB</u> , Dunstaple; <u>Tr 93</u> |
| 15 | {225'-6 225' <u>bis</u> } | {(C) (C)CC} | Sub Arturo plebs <u>1</u> | Jo.Alani (f.225' at end of MS). <u>Ch</u> |
| 16 | 276'-7 | (0)∅ | Regina celi letare (ed.38) | Dunstaple <u>Ao</u> ; <u>MuL</u> (fragment); <u>FM</u> |
| 17 | 277'-8 | CC | Ave regina (4v). <u>116</u> | Leonel <u>OS</u> ; <u>Tr 92</u> , old layer. |
| 18 | 282'-3 | (0)CO | Beata Dei genitrix (ed.41) | Binchois (erased?) <u>Ao</u> , Binchois; <u>ModB</u> , Dunstaple; <u>MuEm</u> , Dunstaple; <u>Tr 90</u> |
| 19 | 283'-4 | CO | Sub tuam protectionem (ed.51) | Dunstaple <u>Tr 92</u> , old layer; <u>Ao</u> ; <u>ModB</u> |
| 20 | 284'-5 | (0)C | Quam pulcra es (ed.44) | Dunstaple <u>BU</u> ; <u>Pemb</u> ; <u>Tr 92</u> , old layer; <u>MuEm</u> ; <u>Ao</u> ; <u>ModB</u> ; |

Aleyns isorhythmic motet Sub Arturo plebs will be discussed later on, in Chapter IV. It was probably composed in 1358, certainly before Aleyns's death in 1373, and also makes an appearance in the Chantilly manuscript, which was copied in the 1390s. It was part of the continental repertory well before the later influx of English music into fifteenth-century sources, which is what concerns us here. Oddly enough, Sub Arturo plebs did not form part of the original compilation of BL, though it must be the oldest piece in the manuscript. In view of this, we ought perhaps to treat Besseler's distinction between the two strata of BL with some scepticism. For example, the Gloria-Credo pair by Bodoil (nos.8 and 12 in the table above) is split between the two layers, though the pieces undoubtedly belong together. Another point: Gloria 27, by Benet, certainly belongs with the Sanctus-Agnus pair nos.3-4 in the table; it tallies with them in motto, style, and structure. Yet it only appears in the latter part of Tr 92, which was not copied until the middle of the century. We must bear in mind that these English compositions were

not written in Italy, in all likelihood; the Italian sources are peripheral, so far as English music is concerned, and the music must have travelled many hundreds of miles in someone's saddlebags before reaching the hands of an Italian scribe. So we must expect some confusion in the order of chronology: music appearing in a late source may have been composed two or three decades earlier.

We can nevertheless learn something by treating a source as a terminus ad quem. What can BL teach us? In the early layer of the volume there are English works by Jervays, Dunstable, Benet (2), Power (2), Bodoil and 'de Anglia' (2). Six of them are Mass-sections; two are Marian antiphons; and one is a Marian sequence. In addition, we have Zacar's two 'English' settings of Gloria. There are concordances with the earlier part of OH, copied by c.1420 or earlier (Jervays, Power and Zacar); with BU, copied 1430-50 (de Anglia); with the earlier layer of Tr 92, copied c.1440 (Dunstable, Bodoil); with the later layer of the same MS, copied c.1450 (de Anglia); and, in Zacar's case, with the older section of MuEm and the Polish MS WarU (MuEm was copied c.1440-60; I have no precise information on the dating of WarU). BL, therefore, is :

- (i) the last source to record Jervays' Gloria and Power's Credo
- (ii) the only source to record Benet's Sanctus-Agnus pair, De Anglia's Spes nostra, and Power's Salve regina
- (iii) an intermediate source for Zacar's Gloria no.5
- (iv) the first source to record Dunstable's Credo, Zacar's Gloria no.7, Bodoil's Credo, and De Anglia's Benedicta es.

The works are scattered through the pages of the volume, with the exception of the first four items, which the scribe has copied in a bunch as a pseudo-mass by English composers; and of the two short pieces Spes nostra and Benedicta es.⁸

Excluding Zacar's works for the moment, we find that major prolation dominates in four pieces, perfect time in three, and imperfect time in two. Power twice uses the error anglorum (as Tinctoris was to call it later), in nos.6 and 11. Here, however, it is used as a perfectly logical

proportional trick. The more florid an upper part became, the harder it was to read, in the old prolation signatures; so the composer has here copied the upper part in doubled values. In one case he gives the exact time-signatures needed to solve the puzzle; in the other, he leaves the performers to sort it out for themselves. Power also used these double time-signatures in a Sanctus which survives in OH.⁹ Since these three cases are the earliest known, he must have invented the technique. It later became so common in the isorhythmic motet that composers never bothered to indicate the relationship between the upper and lower voices: hence the righteous anger of Tinctoris. At this date, however, the device betrays the gradual ousting of the old prolation signatures. The growing love of English composers for delicately figured upper parts was slowing their music up. Major prolation served very well for the syllabic discant style of the 'conductus' movements in OH; but it could not cope with the more rapidly-moving melismas of Power. Singers must have found it difficult to tell the black minim from the black semiminim, particularly in fast music. An intermediate solution to this problem lay in Power's use of diminished perfect time for the top voice only. But when the new style of melody began to affect the lower parts as well, the old framework broke down at last. Composers now preferred to adopt perfect time in all voices; and at this point too, with exceptions in the case of simpler music, they abandoned score notation. Not one of the English compositions surviving abroad is copied in score. It would have been an unfamiliar sight for continental singers, of course; but the mid-century Selden MS also abandons score notation for precisely those works which we also find in continental sources. It is significant, too, that these changes coincide with the switch to void notation, which is quicker to write and easier to read. The old 'conductus' style had outgrown its clothes.

This may seem a long digression, but it prepares the way for a discussion of the second group of English works in BL. Here, with the exception of Aleyn's motet, major prolation appears only twice, in the last sections of Power's Ave regina and of Dunstable's Quam pulcra es.

In neither case is it the main time-signature of the movement. Five of the works which were later added adopt perfect time as the norm; three use imperfect time. The fashion has now changed.

The only Mass-section is the Gloria (no.12) which the scribe attributes to Binchois. As I have observed above, this piece pairs so exactly with Bodoil's Credo (no.8) that the attribution to Binchois must be a mistake. The same copyist also ascribed two other works amongst the later additions to Binchois, works which are indisputably English in one, and perhaps both of these cases, Binchois' name has later been erased. Gloria and Credo alike have been in print for some time now, in different editions. It is surprising that no one has yet noticed how closely they are related.

Except for Sub Arturo plebs, all the other English works in this layer of the source are Marian antiphons; only one, Dunstable's Regina celi letare, uses the plainsong that belongs with the text. The two antiphons and the sequence which appear in the first compilation, on the other hand, are all three based on the chant. Spes nostra and Benedicta es have their respective plainsongs in the discantus. Power's Salve regina, a most striking piece of music, sets the words of that antiphon to the music of the chant Alma redemptoris mater, which is lightly decorated in the discantus, occasionally 'migrating' to the lower voices: it presents an unusual mixture of two antiphons, each used as a kind of trope against the other. Here, then, we find a fairly pointed distinction between the two groups of English compositions, first in the matter of time-signature, second in the use of plainsong.

The concordances also support this distinction: there are none with earlier sources, again with the exception of Sub Arturo plebs. In each case, BL is the first source to transmit the music. Only one piece is unique: the Gloria by 'Binchois' (Bodoil). There are links with:

Ch, c.1390 (no.15)

BU, c.1430-50 (no.20)

Tr 92 old layer, c.1440 (nos.17,19,20)

Pemb, c.1440(no.20)

Ac, c.1440-50 (nos.13,14,16,18,19,20)

CH, c.1413-22 (nos.1,5,6,)

MuL, c.1440(no.16)

OS, c.1450 (no.17)

ModB, c.1440-60 (nos.13,14,18,19,20)

MuEm, c.1440-60 (nos.18,20)

Tr 90, c.1445-65 (nos.13,18)

FM, c.1450-70 (no.16)

Tr 93, c.1460 (no.14)

Finally it is interesting to note that the scribe has copied the last five antiphons listed above into the same fascicle.

To sum up the English music in the first layer of BL gives us some idea of the development of English music in the years immediately following the completion of the Old Hall manuscript. The six Mass-sections are all free constructions; they are not based on plainsong, but depend for their main interest on the lively declamation, on the vitality of the treble melody, and on the skilful contrast of succeeding sections. There are as yet no unifying plainsong tenors, nor, surprisingly, are the favourite Old Hall devices of canon and isorhythm to be found. In Benet's paired Sanctus and Agnus we come across the first English use of the directions 'Unus' and 'Chorus'; this cannot be claimed as an English innovation, however, for no fewer than thirteen continental composers also use such indications in this source. The sequence Benedicta es and the two antiphons resemble most of the similar settings in OH in that they are based on plainsong; but while the English manuscript never puts the plainsong solely in the discantus in such pieces, in BL it has become the normal practice to do so. An interesting contrast exists between Byttering's Nesciens mater(OH), where the migrant plainsong occasionally moves into the treble, and Power's Salve regina (BL), where the migrant plainsong rarely leaves the treble: there is a shift in emphasis here.¹⁰ Amongst the Mass-settings of OH, those by Excetre, Leonel, Oliver and Pycard sometimes place the chant in the treble; in BL the practise has also spread to the polyphonic sequence and antiphon.

The second group of English works takes us a stage further. Here we come upon the other half of a separated pair of Mass-sections, the Gloria which matches Bodoil's Credo in the first group. So far as BL

is concerned, such a pair of related movements is nothing unusual: there are, for example, four complete Mass-cycles by continental composers in the volume, one of them in the original compilation (Dufay's Missa Sancti Jacobi, which includes items from the Proper). Since however we find pairs of related movements beginning to emerge in OH, it is possible that the idea was transmitted to the continent by English composers. As we have seen, Benet's Gloria 27, Sanctus 28 and Agnus 29 form an imperfect cycle, with no Credo surviving; this is certainly as old as Dufay's cycle, which probably dates from the late 1420s. Turning now to the English settings of antiphons, we find that only one out of seven uses the chant: Dunstable's Regina celi letare. Dunstable, too, places the plainsong in the treble. In the other six pieces, the free and independent treatment of the Ordinary of the Mass, which we have noted in the English settings of BL, has now spread to the antiphon as well. In all of these movements, with or without plainsong, the composers lavish most of their melodic and rhythmic skill on the discantus. This style first appears in the music of the early layer of OH, so that the English cannot have learned it from the continental masters of Dufay's generation. They must have evolved the technique at the turn of the century, though how far they were indebted to the French Ars Nova or the Italian Trecento still remains uncertain.

A word or two about Zacar's relationship with English music may help a little here. His troped Gloria 137 (no.5) is also copied in OH, though it is now a fragment. It will be found, with his Gloria anglicana, in the Musical Appendix. It is a bumpy, energetic movement, in which all three parts are equally lively; each is provided with words. It does not seem particularly English in style; and Wickham Legge does not record the trope Gloria laus et honor (not to be confused with the prose) in his edition of the Sarum Missal. Like Machaut's Mass, the piece is unified by recurring motives. One of them first appears in the sixth bar, another in bars 30-32. Towards the end of each section, we also find snatches of rhythmic imitation between tenor and discantus; this technique, which obviously developed from the hocket, was popular amongst the English right up to the time of Walter Frye. See, for example, the end of

Dunstable's miniature Gloria, no.7 of Bukofzer's edition.

Zacar's Gloria in OH shows the English absorbing Italian ideas; the reverse is true of his Gloria anglicana. The style is recognisably Zacar's, for he possessed quite a distinctive musical personality. But the harmony is much smoother, in spite of one extraordinary G-sharp which produces an 'Italian sixth', surely a very early use of what Burney later called the 'extreme sharp sixth'. Again, the melodic tag which first appears in the eighth bar recurs later on in the movement. But the rhythms are much less bumpy than in Zacar's other Gloria, and he employs the time-signature Θ , which was quite a favourite amongst the composers of OH. The word-setting is still fairly syllabic, though short melismas sometimes appear. The rhythmic complications of the final 'Amen' would have endeared Zacar to the heart of Leonel Power.

Nothing at all is known about Zacar's life. BL is a central source for his music: it contains twelve compositions from his pen, two of which eventually reached Poland by way of Germany.¹¹ Eight of them - they are all Mass-settings - are early examples of parody: he works material from his own secular songs into movements for the Ordinary. This Zacar is not to be confused with Nicolas Zacharia, the papal singer (1420), who is carefully distinguished in BL as 'N.Zacharia'.¹² One of our Zacar's works is available in print, the four-part Patrem dominicale, which splits Vatican Credo I between the upper two voices in dialogue form. In bar 30 there is another Italian sixth, which must clearly be abandoned if the Contratenor is used.¹³

We have investigated the English repertory of BL in some detail, since it is the first continental source of the fifteenth century which contains English music. It provides a link between the composers of OH and the later generation of Dunstable, Forest and Bodoil (the music of Dunstable and Forest only makes a belated appearance in OH and was clearly added many years after the original compilation). What can the later sources tell us ?

The next, in order of time, is the MS 2216 of the University Library, Bologna (BU). Copied c.1430-50, apparently in a monastery in Brescia, it is a smaller collection than BL, and bears signs of use. BL appears to have been a 'reservoir' manuscript, from which copies

were made for practical purposes, while BU did duty in the monastic choir of San Salvatore, to judge from the stained pages and dog-eared corners. The format is larger, 40 x 29 cm., as against BL's 28 x 20 cm: approximately the size of OH (41.6 x 27.6cm.). It is interesting to note that OH must have been one of the earliest manuscripts from which a small choir, as opposed to a group of three or four soloists, could conveniently have read the music, though of course there is no indication in the source which expressly calls for choral performance.¹⁴ The music of BU is copied on paper in black notation (with two exceptions). There are 92 works, together with 5 plainsong items: 32 Mass-movements (with no cycles of the complete Ordinary, but a few pairs), 34 motets, 20 secular songs, and a few other items. The composers range in time from (Paolo) Tenorista to Binchois and Arnold de Lantins. There are only four certain English works, which need not detain us long. They are:

| <u>No</u> | <u>Pp</u> | <u>T-s</u> | <u>Title</u> | <u>Composer, etc</u> |
|-----------|-----------|----------------|--|---|
| 1 | 24-5 | 000 | Gloria (ed.3) | Dunstable Tr 92, old layer, Leonell; Ao; Tr 90; Tr 93 (twice, once a mere fragment). |
| 2 | 82-3 | (0)C | Benedicta es 55 | Anonymous BL, first layer, de Anglia; Tr 92, later section, de Anglia. Here imperfect. |
| 3 | 84-5 | (0)C | Quam pulcra es (ed.44) | Anonymous BL, Dunstable; Pemb; Tr 92, old layer, Dunstable; MuEm; Ao, Dunstapell; ModB, Dunstaple. |
| 4 | 86 | 000 | Anima mea liquefacta est (2v.) 115 | Leonel Here without contra. MuEm; ModB; FM |

None of these works is unique. In two cases BU is an intermediate source (2,3); in the other two it is an original source (1,4). The last three items are copied in succession, though a later Kyrie has been inserted on the bottom half of p.83. Major prolation only appears in the popular Quam pulcra es. Neither of the two works which appear here for the first time uses plainsong. Dunstable's Gloria is a full setting without

duets, in a style that is not far removed from simple discant. Here, as in his Credo from BL, the liturgical text is divided between the two upper voices, who therefore sing different sections of the words simultaneously. This phenomenon occurs also in OH, and may well have been an English invention. Bukofzer points out that an early Gloria in TuB (233), a manuscript which is not known to contain any English music, also uses this method; so we cannot be too sure that this was an English idea.¹⁵ In view of the much higher number of English examples, though, it might be more logical to assume that Gloria 233 is English; unfortunately, I have never seen that source. This 'telescoping' of the text between two voices must be distinguished from the successive 'dialogue' setting, where the text is divided between the voices a phrase at a time; here, when one voice sings the words, the other is either silent, or vocalises without words, so that the complete text is heard without impediment. This method was common enough on the continent: Zacar's Patrem dominicale mentioned above is a case in point. It is interesting to note that the Gloria by Dunstable which is paired in other manuscripts with his Credo from BL is a unique case of telescoping: the text has been split between all three voices. If we except the melismatic Amen, Dunstable has here shortened his setting of the Gloria text to a bare thirty bars, without omitting a word. His Gloria from BU uses the time-signature of diminished perfect time for the first and last sections. Continental composers generally adopted this metre around 1430, as a more convenient way of rendering the old imperfect time with major prolation (see the discussion of Power's Salve regina above);¹⁶ it allowed them to keep the duple tactus of the old prolation signature. The English seem to have preferred ordinary perfect time without diminution, for they liked to use irregular phrase-lengths. (Even when they used prolation signatures, the musical cadences often did not coincide with the first semibreve of each perfection, where a modern editor would place his barlines). Dunstable's Gloria is one of the exceptions to this very general observation.

Power's Anima mea liquefacta est is a setting of the Marian antiphon, and here makes its first appearance in the sources, though without its

third voice. In this work, Power too has adopted the flowing tempus perfectum of his younger compatriots. The range of Power's development, between the twenty works from his pen that survive only in English sources and the twenty-five that survive abroad, make him in many ways the most interesting English composer of his time. Since he is also the only Englishman whose music is to be found in quantity on either side of the Channel, it is a tragedy that Bukofzer's complete edition of his works never found a publisher.

Two of the English works in BU are copied there anonymously. It is possible that one or two other items may also be English in origin, such as the Salve regina 299 (p.80), which stood immediately before the English Benedicta es, until a later scribe copied a lauda on the blank page between; or the other Marian antiphon Ave regina celorum, ave domina 280, which looks like a two-voiced reduction of a three-part original analogous to Power's Anima mea. Both pieces seem English in style; the former has the plainsong transposed up an octave in the treble, the latter has it at pitch in the tenor.

The next group of sources were all copied in the middle years of the century, though the repertory of some of them shows that they contain earlier music than their fellows. MS 11 of the Municipal Library, Cambrai, needs few words here: it only contains one English piece - Benet's Gloria 23, which forms part of a cyclic Mass less reliably attributed to Power or Dunstable. It is a folio choir-book (c.50 x 53 cm) copied in black notation, one of the first of its kind; it is also one of the earliest manuscripts to contain sacred music only (excepting English sources). I have not examined it for myself. It is perhaps surprising that it does not transmit more than one English piece, since Cambrai was much nearer to the English composers of the Duke of Bedford's chapel than any other surviving source.

The older layer of Tr 92 (ff.1-143; nos.1365-1509), is probably the next oldest source. Like all the Trent Codices, it is copied in void notation; but it also contains the only red notes of the collection (save for one isolated example in Tr 87). This places it earlier than Tr 87

and the second part of Tr 92, which lack red notes; and since its only other rival, Ao, is closely connected with Tr 87, as Bukofzer noticed, Tr 92 has priority here also. The English music of the first layer of Tr 92 is shown in the table below. The table employs the accepted numbering of the musical items, though it omits the folio numbers to save space. I have however shown what fascicles the music belongs to.

FASC.I

1370 Gloria (ed.3) Leonellus (Dunstable)
BU, Dunstable; Ao; Tr 90; Tr 93 (twice)

FASC.II

1379 Sanctus (Jacet granum) (i) 31 (Benet)
Ao; Tr 90; Tr 93 (twice)

FASC.III

1397 Gloria (Rex seculorum) (ed.19) Leonellus (Dunstable)
Ao (twice), Dunstable, Dunstapell;
MuEm; Tr 90, 93

FASC.IV

1403 Gloria 36 Leonell (Benet)
Ao, Bonet; MuEm

1404 Credo Rex seculorum (ed.20) Leonellus (Dunstable)
Unique

1405 Sanctus (Rex seculorum) (ed.21) Leonellus (Dunstable)
Tr 90, Leonell; Tr 93, Leonell

FASC.VI

1426 Gloria (ed.9) Jo. Dunstaple
Ao

1427 Credo (ed.10) (Dunstable)
Pemb; Tr 90, 93

FASC.VII

1433 Credo 47 Jo. Bodoil
BL, first layer, Anglicanum patrem; Ao,
Patrem Anglicanum

1434 Sanctus 39 Benet
Unique

FASC.VIII

1446 Agnus Rex seculorum (ed.22) Leonelli (Dunstable)
Unique

1449 Ave regina (ed.37) (Dunstable)
ModB, Dunstaple; FM

- 1450 Ave maris stella 111 Leonel
Unique
- 1451 Agnus 26 (Benet) Leonel, cut away?
Ao, Bonnet; Tr 87, 90, 93
- FASC.IX
- 1456 Virgo prudentissima 123 Leonel, cut away
Unique
- 1459 Tota pulcra es 68 Forest
ModB, Forest
- 1460 Credo 5 Anglicanus
Ao; Tr 92, later section
- 1461 Gloria (ed.7) Ho.Dunstaple
MuEm; Tr 90, 93
- 1462 Credo (ed.8) Dunstaple
BL, old layer, Johannes Dunstaple
Anglicus
- 1463 Sub tuam protectionem (ed.51) (Dunstaple)
BL, later section, Dunstaple
Ao; ModB, Dunstaple
- 1464 Gloria laus et honor (2v.)275 Anonymous
(English?); Unique
- 1465 Quam pulcra es (ed.44) Dunstaple, cut away
BL, later section, Dunstaple; BU, Pemb;
Ao, Dunstapell; MuEm; ModB,
Dunstaple
- FASC.X
- 1471 Credo (Alma redemptoris) 61 Anglicanus (Forest?)
Unique
- 1472 Credo 62 (Forest)
Tr 92, later section, Forest
- FASC.XI
- 1486 Sanctus 127 Anglicanus (Soursby)
Tr 92, later section, Sorbi;
Tr 90, 93
- 1487 Gloria 232 bis Anonymous
Unique. English?
- 1491 Ave regina (i) (4v.)116 (Power)
BL, later section, Leonel;
OS; Tr 92, later section;
Ao

FASC.XII

- | | | |
|------|---|--|
| 1494 | Regali ex progenie - (Tenor) Sancta Maria virgo <u>277</u> | Anonymous Unique. English? |
| 1498 | Hac clara die - (Tenor) Nova efferens gaudium <u>276</u> | Anonymous Unique. English? |
| 1500 | Specialis virgo (ed.31) | (Dunstable) <u>ModB</u> , Dunstaple |
| 1502 | Sancta Maria succurre (ed.49) | (Dunstable) <u>Ao</u> ; <u>Tr 87</u> ; <u>ModB</u> , Dunstaple; <u>Tr 90</u> |
| 1504 | Crux fidelis (ed.39) | Jo.Dunstaple <u>ModB</u> , Dunstaple |
| 1505 | Mater ora filium <u>118</u> | (Power) <u>Tr 92</u> , later section; <u>ModB</u> , Leonel. |
| 1507 | Regina celi letare <u>120</u> | (Power) <u>Tr 90</u> , Leonell |

Out of a total of 145 items, 30 are certainly English, with the possibility of four more. No fascicle is exclusively English; the other composers represented are Binchois, Dufay, C. and N. Merques, Liebert, Legrant, and Grenon. I have followed Bukofzer in attributing the Mass Rex seculorum, the Gloria 1370, and the Credo 1427, to John Dunstable: He had firm reasons on his side. His attribution of the Missa sine nomine to Benet also seems likely to stand: this Mass includes the Agnus 1451, here ascribed to Power. It has not hitherto been noticed that the index of Ao gives Benet as the composer of the Gloria 1403; and as Ao is much more reliable in its attributions than Tr 92, I have followed Bukofzer's methods in giving this work back to Benet. Bukofzer also pointed out the unusual resemblance in the treatment of the chant that exists between Anglicanus' Credo Alma redemptoris mater and Forest's Ascendit Christus 65; acting on his suggestion, I have included the Credo amongst the works of Forest. (The motet is also attributed to Dunstable in ModB; but in view of the style of the music, we are justified in preferring the native evidence of OH, which ascribes it to Forest).

The anonymous Sanctus Jacet granum pairs exactly with Benet's Gloria 30. It is notable that thirteen works out of the thirty appear anonymously in Tr 92.

Here are the English works, arranged under their respective composers: the numbers are those of the Trent catalogue, and works which here make their first appearance are marked with (+)

- Anglicanus(1): + Credo 1460
- Benet(4) : + Gloria 1403
 + Sanctus Jacet granum 1379
 + Sanctus 1434
 + Agnus 1451
- Bodoil (1) : Credo 1433
- Dunstable(15): + Missa Rex seculorum
 +Gloria 1397
 +Credo 1404
 +Sanctus 1405
 +Agnus 1446
 + Gloria 1426
 + Credo 1427
 + Gloria 1461
 Credo 1462
 Gloria 1370
 + Specialis virgo 1500 (Isorhythmic motet)
 + Crux fidelis 1504 (antiphon for Holy Cross)
 Ave regina celorum, ave domina 1449 (Marian antiphon)
 Quam pulcra es (Marian ant.)
 + Sancta Maria succurre (Marian ant.)
 Sub tuam protectionem (" ")
- Forest (3) : + Credo Alma redemptoris mater 1471 (?)
 + Credo 1472
 + Tota pulcra es 1459 (Marian ant.)
- Power (5) : + Ave maris stella 1450 (hymn)
 Ave regina (4v.) 1491 (Marian ant.)
 + Mater ora filium 1505 (" ")
 + Regina celi letare 1507 (" ")
 + Virgo prudentissima 1456(" ")
- Soursby (1) : + Sanctus 1486

- ? English (4) : + Gloria 1464
 + Regali ex progenie - Sancta Maria 1494 (Iso.motet)
 + Hac clara die - Nova efferens 1498(Iso.motet)
 + Gloria laus et honor (prose) (2v.)

This is the first really large quantity of English music to appear in any continental source. There are works by Dunstable (15), including a Mass cycle and two sets of paired Mass-sections; by Power (5); by Benet (4), including single movements from two Mass-cycles; by Forest (3); by Anglicanus, Bodoil and Soursby (1 each); and four doubtful items. Of the latter, Gloria 1487 seems to me very English in style, and it is here copied next to an English work. Regali ex progenie - Sancta Maria virgo uses two texts rarely set by foreign composers at this date, while there are examples of each in OH and OS. The prose Gloria laus is twice set in Egerton 3307, and here occurs in a run of English compositions. Hac clara die draws its text from a Lady-Mass sequence; only the tenor is isorhythmic, with two taleae and only one color. This is a procedure rare in English music at this time, though it is paralleled exactly by Dunstable's Specialis virgo, a few leaves further on.

These four anonymous works are all unique to Tr 92. So are Dunstable's Credo and Agnus on Rex seculorum, Power's Ave maris stella and Virgo prudentissima, Benet's Sanctus (1434), and Anglicanus' Credo Alma redemptoris mater, which I have ascribed to Forest. The concordances with other sources run thus, in chronological order:-

BL (5) : Old layer: 1433, 1462

Later sec.: 1463, 1465, 1491

BU (2) : 1370, 1465

Tr 92, later section (5): 1460, 1472, 1486, 1491, 1505

Tr 87(2): 1451, 1502

Ao (12) : 1370, 1379, 1397 (twice), 1403, 1426, 1433,
1451, 1460, 1463, 1465, 1491, 1502

ModB (8): 1449, 1459, 1463, 1465, 1500, 1502, 1504, 1505

Pemb (2): 1427, 1465

MuEm (4): 1397, 1403, 1461, 1465

OS (1) : 1491

- Tr 90 (10) : 1370, 1379, 1397, 1405, 1427, 1451, 1461,
1486, 1502, 1507
- Tr 93 : (8) Same as Tr 90, except for 1502, 1507;
1370 and 1379 twice
- FM (1) : 1449

Eight out of the eighteen Mass-sections reappear in Ao, which is first and foremost a Mass-codex; and seven out of the ten antiphons also occur in ModB, which contains no Mass-music at all. The pattern of concordances shows clearly that the older layer of Tr 92 belongs with the mid-century manuscripts which all have many English pieces in common. Nevertheless, it has a slight edge over the others, as we have observed above. The works which make their first bow in this part of Tr 92, therefore, are probably a little earlier than many of the compositions which appear for the first time in slightly later sources, though we cannot be too dogmatic over this point. One of the 'new' pieces that must surely date back some years is Forest's Credo Alma redemptoris mater, the only composition amongst this group which has a prolation time-signature. Dunstable's isorhythmic motet Specialis virgo does not show the classical form of the great series which survives in ModB: the two upper parts do not share in the repeat of the talea, and there is no opening duet (Albanus roseo rutilat, ed.no.23, also lacks an opening duet, while that of Gaude virgo salutata, ed.no.28, stands outside the isorhythmic scheme). Furthermore, only the middle section of the tenor is isorhythmic: it consists of twice two taleae, without any color.

In this section of Tr 92, we also find the first examples of a Mass-cycle composed on a liturgical tenor foreign to the Ordinary. The English were undeniably innovators here.¹⁷ The 'tenor-Mass' resulted from the fusion of two techniques already existing separately in OH. First, the use of a tenor which was not taken from the ordinary of the Mass - we find this in the works of Pycard, Typp, and Pennard (OH, nos.25,83 and 85); since all of these compositions are isorhythmic, it is clear that these composers took over the idea from the isorhythmic motet. Second, the tendency to group movements of the Ordinary in related pairs, Gloria with

Credo, and Sanctus with Agnus; Leonel seems to have taken the first step in this case, with three sets of paired movements in OH (nos. 21 and 80, which are also isorhythmic; 18 and 73, which employ five voices; 114 and 133, which employ four). Paired movements, as we have seen, are by this time fairly common on both sides of the Channel. Dufay and Benet were apparently the first composers to extend this method to all the movements of the Ordinary (see the discussion of BL above). Dufay also used a repeated tenor in his Gloria de quaremaulx (BL, no. 155), and a plainsong tenor treated isorhythmically in the later Agnus Custos et pastor (Tr 92, no. 1558), which we may reasonably attribute to him.¹⁸

There are three Mass-cycles, or parts of them, in the old layer of Tr 92. Benet's Agnus (1451) belongs to an unnamed cycle which is unified by a motto opening common to all four movements: it does not appear to be a tenor-Mass. His Sanctus Jacet granum, however, belongs with Gloria 30 and uses the same plainsong as its tenor, a respond for St. Thomas of Canterbury; the other movements have presumably been lost, for composers did not normally pair Gloria with Sanctus. The other tenor-Mass, which is fortunately complete, is Dunstable's Missa Rex seculorum, whose tenor is an antiphon for St. Benedict. Both composers adopt the same methods. The plainsong appears as the tenor of each movement, with most of the repeated notes omitted. Yet it is never presented twice in the same form: both Benet and Dunstable take great delight in moulding the chant into varied rhythms for each movement, now keeping faithfully to the notes of the plainsong, now adding passing-notes, and even interposing passages which are not derived from the chant. Compare, for example, bars 89-100 of Dunstable's Credo (ed. no. 20), with the plainsong: he has added 10 bars. Sometimes a section will be omitted, as Dunstable omits the music to the words 'quos erutos...vivere', between bars 94-95 of his Agnus (ed. no. 22). This sort of approach makes the Ordinary of the Mass into a series of free musical variations on a unifying liturgical tenor. Its chief advantage is that the composer can expand or contract each movement to suit the differing lengths of the texts: Dunstable's Agnus, for example, is fifty-two semibreves shorter than his Credo. Benet's Gloria and Sanctus

are much the same length - they will be found in the Musical Appendix. The composers also subdivide each movement into sections of varying metre, and split these sections in their turn into passages for duet and trio. In Dunstable's Mass, each movement starts in perfect time, has a central section in imperfect time (diminished, in the Credo), and returns to perfect time for the close. The relative proportions of these sections vary from roughly 3:2:2 in the Gloria to 7:2:1 in the Agnus. Benet uses a similar plan, but adds a second passage in imperfect time at the end of his Sanctus.

Harrison points out that Dunstable paraphrases the tenor melody in the opening duet of his Credo, and adds that this is also suggested in the Gloria and Sanctus.¹⁹ The reference to the chant in the Credo is indeed unmistakable; though if Dunstable has imitated it in the other two movements mentioned, then so have Power and the anonymous composer of the Mass Veterem hominem, in exx. 38 and 40 of Harrison's book. He also claims that Power 'pre-echoes' the plainsong in his Mass Alma redemptoris mater, starring no fewer than four notes of the discantus to show their derivation from the chant: here again, Dunstable uses the same opening, at a different pitch, for the contra of his Credo Rex seculorum! It was a favourite beginning for scores of English works at the time. Dunstable's Credo, which imitates ten notes of the plainsong, is a different matter; we can find a parallel in his superb isorhythmic motet Veni Sancte Spiritus - Veni Creator, which is an almost unique example of double cantus firmus. This gives us an even stronger reason to attribute the Mass Rex seculorum to Dunstable, for Power is not known to have used this device at all.

The Credo Alma redemptoris mater by Anglicanus (Forest?) may or may not have formed part of a cycle.²⁰ The composer uses the whole antiphon for his tenor, once repeated; the repeat omits the music to 'natura mirante', and ends this time at 'sanctum tuum genitorem'.²¹ Since the movement bears the time-signatures CCC , it must be quite an early work. Pennard's Credo from OH, cited above, is the only such movement in that source to use a whole antiphon as its tenor, though Pennard does not repeat the chant: the piece is isorhythmic in structure,

with ten repeated taleae, and yet there is no color. In order to get in the whole of the plainsong, he has had to abandon the usual repeat. Forest's work goes further along the same road. He does not even trouble to use repeating taleae, although he uses part of the chant twice over. This work is a kind of half-way house between those isorhythmic settings of OH which use chants foreign to the Ordinary, and the cycles of Dunstable and Benet in the first layer of Tr 92. The repeat of the plainsong in Forest's Credo is probably a vestige of the old isorhythmic color: in the cycles of Dunstable and Benet discussed above, this repeat has been extended to the successive movements of the Ordinary, each of which has now become one gigantic color - though of course without the rhythmic severity of isorhythm.

Leaving aside the question of the other types of tenor-Mass, we will now move on to the repertory of the next stratum of the Trent codices, namely the second part of Tr 92 and Tr 87 (excluding the 'Battre' fascicles, which contain no known English music). These two collections were copied by a scribe named Purtschucher, probably in the Veneto somewhere. Copied as a whole, they were in all likelihood separate, unbound fascicles when they came into the hands of Johann Wiser, the indefatigable copyist of the rest of the Trent manuscripts. He had them bound in with other music, half in Tr 87 and half in Tr 92. They were probably copied before 1450. Here is a list of the English compositions in both MSS, which we shall now consider as a single whole:-

Tr 92, (second layer)

FASC.XIII

| | | |
|------|------------------|--|
| 1515 | Gloria <u>4</u> | 'Et in terra anglicanum' (index) Unique |
| 1516 | Gloria <u>42</u> | (Blome?) Unique |
| 1517 | Credo <u>43</u> | Bloym Unique |
| 1518 | Credo <u>94</u> | Ricardus Markham Unique |

FASC.XIV

| | | |
|------|---|--|
| 1519 | Gloria Jesu Christe Fili Dei (ed.15) | Dunstable (index: Dumstable) Unique |
|------|---|--|

- 1520 Credo Jesu Christe Fili Dunstable (index: Dunsta)
 Dei (ed.16) Unique
- 1521 Gloria 27 Benet
 Unique
- 1523 O crux gloriosa (ed.53) Dunstable
ModB, Dunstable
- 1524 Alma redemptoris mater Leonel
 (i)113 Ao, Leonelle; ModB, Dunstable

FASC.XV

- 1525 Ave regina (i) (4v.) 116 (Power)
BL, second layer, Leonel;
Tr 92, first layer; Ao; OS
- 1526 Quam pulcra es 124 (Pyamour)
ModB, Piamor
- 1527 Gaude Dei genitrix 274 Anonymous
 Unique
- 1531 Benedicta es 55 De Anglia
BL, de Anglia; BU
- 1535 Speciosa facta es (ed.50) (Dunstable)
ModB, Dunstable

FASC.XVI

- 1536 Mater ora filium 118 (Power)
Tr 92, old layer; ModB,
 Leonel
- 1537 Veni Sancte Spiritus - Jo.Dunstable
 Veni Creator (4v.)(ed.32) OH; Ao, Jo.Dunstabell; MuL;
ModB, Dunstable
- 1538 Preco prehemencie - Inter (Dunstable)
 natos (4v.) (ed.29) ModB, Dunstable
- 1541 Credo 62 Forest
Tr 92, old layer
- 1542 Sancta Maria, non est tibi (Dunstable)
 similis (ed.48) ModB, Dunstable
- 1543 Veni Sancte Spiritus - Dunstable
 Consolator optime(ed.33) ModB, Dunstable
- 1544 Salve mater salvatoris Leonel
112 Tr 92, later section; ModB,
 Dunstable

FASC.XVII

- 1545 Virgo prefulgens avia Winchois (Standley)
134 ModB, Sandley; here fragment only

- 1549 Agnus 269 Anonymous
Unique
- 1550 Sanctus 262 Anonymous
Unique
- 1551 Sanctus 127 Sorbi (Soursby)
Tr 92, old layer, Anglicanus; Tr 90, 93
- 1552 Agnus Eructavit cor meum
58 Driffelde
Unique
- 1553 Credo 5 (Anglicanus)
Tr 92, older layer, Anglicanus; Ao

FASC.XVIII

- 1556 Agnus (ed.14) Dunstable
Tr 87, (twice, second time:)
Anglicus
- 1560 Sanctus 59 (Dunstable?)
Unique: a note to this piece runs
"Agnus huius ab an[teriore] in 6to
folio", i.e.no.1556 above.
- 1562 Salve mater salvatoris
112 (Leonel)
Tr 92, later section, Leonel;
ModB, Dunstaple

FASC.XIX

- 1568 Sanctus 229 Anonymous
Unique
- 1569 Agnus 230 Anonymous
Unique
- 1570 Sanctus (2v.) 227 Anonymous
Unique
- 1571 Agnus 270 Anonymous
Unique
- 1572 Sanctus 38 Jo.Benet
Unique
- 1574 Sancta Maria, non est tibi
similis 303 Anonymous
Unique
- 1575 Salve regina (trope Virgo
mater) 296 Anonymous
Unique

FASC.XX

- 1576 Regina celi letare 6 Anglicanus
Unique
- 1577 Salve regina (trope Virgo
mater) 121 Dumstable (Power)
Ao; ModB, Leonel; Tr 90,
Dunstaple

Tr 87FASC.I

- 3 Gloria A(lma redemptoris mater) 99 (Power)
Ao Leonell; Tr 90,93
- 4 Credo (Alma redemptoris mater) 100 (Power)
Ao, Leonel
- 5 Sanctus (Alma redemptoris mater) 101 (Leonel)
Ao
- 6 Agnus (Alma redemptoris mater) 102 (Leonel)
Ao
- 7 Credo 253 Anonymous
Unique

FASC.II

- 12 Sanctus 2 'Sanctus...Anglicanus'
Unique; a note on the previous folio runs "Cantus sequens scilicet sanctus est cantus Anglicanus".
- 13 Agnus 3 Anonymous
Unique
- 14 Sanctus 45 Bloym (Blome)
Unique
- 15 Agnus 267 Anonymous
Unique; a note runs "Agnus non pertinet ad Sanctus".
- 16 Agnus (ed.14) (Dunstable)
Tr 92, later section, Dunstabl;
Tr 87, Anglicus

FASC.III

- 20 Credo 252 Anonymous
Ao, in English fasc.
- 21 Gloria Jacet granum 30 (Benet)
Tr 87; Ao, Bonnet; Tr 90, 93
- 22 Sanctus 261 Anonymous
Unique
- 24 Salve regina (trope Virgo mater) (ed.40) Dunstable
ModB, Dunstable

FASC.IV

- 26 Credo 24 Leonellus (Benet)
Tr 90, 93; part of Missa sine nomine.

FASC.IX

- 78 Sanctus 25 (Benet)
Ao, Bennet (index); Tr 90, Dumpstabl;
Tr 93; part of Missa sine nomine.
- 79 Sanctus 107 (Power)
QH, Leonel; Ao
- 80 Agnus 26 (Benet)
Tr 92, old layer; Ao, Bennet (index);
Tr 90, 93; part of Missa sine nomine
- 81 Agnus 228 Anonymous
Unique
- 82 Agnus 268 Anonymous
Unique

FASC.XI

- 97 Gaude virgo 310 Anonymous
Unique
- 101 Kyrie (ed.1) Dunstable
Unique
- 102 Ave regina 66 Forest
ModB, Forest
- 104 Sancta Maria succurre
(ed.49) (Dunstable)
Tr 92, old layer (later added?);
Ao; ModB, Dunstaple; Tr 90
- 107) Kyrie (trope Deus creator) Johannes Benet
108) (4v., canonic) 35 Unique

FASC.XII

- 122 Sanctus (ed.13) Jo.Dunstable
Ao, Jo.Dunstapell
- 123 Agnus (ed.14) Anglicus (Dunstable)
Tr 92, later section, Dunstabl;
Tr 87
- 127 Gloria Jacet granum 30 (Benet)
Tr 87; Ao, Bonnet; Tr 90, 93

FASC.XIII

- 130 Sancta Maria non est tibi
similis 303 Anonymous
Tr 92, later section
- 131 Beata mater (ed.42) Binchois ('Jo.Dumstabl' erased)
Ao; MuEm, Dunstable; OS; ModB,
Dunstaple
- 133 Kyrie Alma redemptoris
mater (trope Deus
creator) 186 Anonymous
Unique

134 Gloria Alma redemptoris Anonymus
 mater 187 Unique

This now divided manuscript holds the largest nest of English compositions that we have so far come upon: 48 works which are certainly English, and another 18 anonymous pieces which merit consideration. Allotting them to their various composers, we get the following result (as before, works which make their first appearance in this source are marked with a +; unica are preceded by a dash -):-

Dunstable (15)

- + Kyrie, 101
- + Gloria Jesu Christe fili Dei, 1519
- + Credo " " " " ,
- + Sanctus, 1560 ?
- + Sanctus, 122
- + Agnus, 16, 123, 1556
- + Preco prehemencie (is.motet), 1538
- Veni Sancte Spiritus - Veni Creator (is. motet), 1537
- Veni Sancte Spiritus - Consolator optime (is.motet), 1543
- O crux gloriosa (ant.for Holy Cross), 1523
- + Beata mater, 131
- + Salve regina (trope Virgo mater), 24
- + Sancta Maria, non est tibi similis, 1542
- Sancta Maria, succurre miseris, 104
- + Speciosa facta es, 1535

Power (10)

- + Missa Alma redemptoris mater
- + Gloria, 3
- + Credo, 4
- + Sanctus, 5
- + Agnus, 6

Sanctus, 79

- + Salve mater salvatoris (sequence), 1544, 1562
- + Alma redemptoris mater, 1524
- Ave regina celorum, ave domina (i), 1525
- Mater ora filium, 1536
- + Salve regina (trope Virgo mater), 1577

Benet (7)

- + Missa sine nomine
- + Credo, 26
- + Sanctus, 78
- Agnus, 80

- + Kyrie (canonic), 107-8
 + Gloria Jacet granum, 21, 127
 - + Gloria, 1521
 - + Sanctus, 1572
 Anglicanus (5)
 - + Gloria, 1515
 Credo, 1553
 - + Sanctus, 12
 - + Agnus, 13 ?
 - + Regina celi letare, 1576
 Bloym (3)
 - + Gloria, 1516 ?
 - + Credo, 1517
 - + Sanctus, 14
 Forest (2)
 Credo, 1541
 + Ave regina celorum, ave domina, 102
 de Anglia (1)
 Benedicta es (sequence), 1531
 Driffelde (1)
 - + Agnus Eructavit cor meum, 1552
 Markham (1)
 - + Credo, 1518
 Pyamour (1)
 + Quam pulcra es, 1526
 Soursby (1)
 Sanctus, 1551
 Standley (1)
 + Virgo prefulgens avia (motet, fragment), 1545
 Anonymous (18)
 - + Kyrie Alma redemptoris mater (trope
Deus creator), 133
 - + Gloria Alma redemptoris mater, 134
 - + Sanctus, 1568
 - + Agnus, 1569
 - + Credo, 7
 + Credo, 20 (also Ag, in English fasc.)
 - + Sanctus, 1550
 - + Sanctus, 1570 (wrongly paired)
 - + Sanctus, 22
 - + Agnus, 1549
 - + Agnus, 1571 (wrongly paired)
 - + Agnus, 15
 - + Agnus, 81
 - + Agnus, 82
 - + Gaude Dei genitrix (sequence), 1527
 - + Salve regina (trope Virgo mater), 1575
 - + Sancta Maria, non est tibi similis, 87, 130, 1574
 - + Gaude virgo (sequence?), 97

Quite a high proportion of the English works listed above are unique

to this source: seventeen out of forty-eight. All the 'suspect' anonymous compositions are unique, except for the Credo no.20, which recurs in an exclusively English fascicle in Ao. Of the thirty pieces which are to be found elsewhere, by far the greatest number turn up in Ao (17/30) and ModB (16/30). Then follow the first layer of Tr 92 (7); Tr 90 (7); Tr 93 (5); OH, BL and OS (2); and BU, MuL, and MuEm (1). We are now in the middle years of the fifteenth century, a period rich in sources.

An exact study of the variant readings in works that are common to two or more sources would probably tell us a great deal about the route that the English music followed on its way into Italy. It is notable that Aosta and Trent are situated on two of the six great overland trade routes into fifteenth-century Italy, near the Great St. Bernard and Brenner passes. Bukofzer has observed that Tr 87 and Ao sometimes agree so closely that they must go back to a common source: this is shown, for example, in his edition of Dunstable's Sanctus (ed.no.13) and Sancta Maria succurre miseris (Ib.49); and also in the Sanctus and Agnus of Benet's Missa sine nomine (Ib.58-9). The Aosta version of Power's Alma redemptoris mater is also closely connected with the copy in the later part of Tr 92, which is the sister volume to the first section of Tr 87. There is also a high proportion of concordances between the two Trent sources and ModB; but here, by way of contrast, the variants reveal that no common source was used. See, for example, the different readings of nos.29, 32-3, 37, 42, 46, 48-9 and 53 of Bukofzer's John Dunstable. A proper study of what the minutiae of collation may reveal, however, will have to wait until a much larger amount of this music has been transcribed and compared.

The second part of Tr 92 presents us with another interesting phenomenon. Out of the 63 works between nos.1515 and 1577, only eighteen can be ascribed to continental composers, though three more anonymous pieces are also continental, to judge from their style. Over half of this long series of works is certainly English: over two-thirds, if we include the nine 'possibles'. This 'clumping' of English works

recurs in Ao, ModB, and to a lesser extent in Tr 90 and 93. Earlier historians such as Nagel and Davey, and later writers too, were so impressed by the sheer quantity of English music in Italy that they felt fairly sure that Dunstable and his compatriots must have lived and worked there.²² When we come to look more closely at the manuscripts, though, this impression vanishes. If English composers had written music in the course of their duties whilst living in Italy, the music would surely have been copied into the sources piecemeal, as it left their pens; and we should expect to find it mixed haphazardly with the music of other continental composers such as Dufay, who are known to have lived and worked in Italy. The fact that it appears in the manuscripts in self-contained fascicles, as it does in Ao and ModB, is evidence of 'bulk buying'. When the demand for English music became known, and no doubt a fair price was paid to obtain it, any enterprising traveller in that surprisingly cosmopolitan age might have taken some with him on a journey. We even have a record of a poor Scottish clerk who was rewarded in 1457 by the future Charles the Bold of Burgundy, for bringing him some music: significantly, the traveller then went on into Italy.²³

To return to our sources, after this necessary digression: the English repertory of the twin manuscripts listed above includes another complete tenor-Mass cycle, by Power, and Dunstable's paired Gloria and Credo on Jesu Christe fili Dei. We also find three movements of Benet's Missa sine nomine, the Agnus which was also copied earlier in the first part of Tr 92, and now the Credo and Sanctus as well; the Gloria which matches the Sanctus Jacet granum is here too. There is also a paired Kyrie and Gloria on Alma redemptoris mater; They are anonymous, unfortunately; but since they are amongst the early tenor-Mass pairs, use the favourite English Kyrie trope Deus creator, and are copied directly after an English work, they are probably English too. These two are not isorhythmic, but present the chant in the same lightly coloured form as the tenor of each movement. There is also the Agnus on Eruotavit cor meum, by Driffelde, a good old Yorkshire name. The tenor of this movement is the verse of the

of the respond Regnum mundi, for the Nativity of a Virgin and Martyr. This respond appears as the tenor of another anonymous work, the Sanctus Regnum mundi which is copied in Tr 90 (no.973) and Tr 93 (no.1804). This seemed too good to be true, so I compared the two movements: each begins in exactly the same way. Since the first three notes of the two plainsongs are identical, it was quite an easy matter to write a similar motto opening for each movement. We may therefore attribute the Sanctus Regnum mundi to Driffelde, thereby increasing the quantity of his known works by fifty per cent. Each movement of the pair states its respective plainsong twice, lightly coloured, in the tenor. The first statement is in perfect time, the second in imperfect; there is however no isorhythmic relationship between the repeated statements of the plainsongs, nor between the movements themselves. In the Sanctus, there is a return to triple measure for the second Osanna, which repeats the music of the first.

None of the other English Mass-settings in these parts of Tr 92 and 87 seems to use a tenor foreign to the Ordinary, though it remains possible that some of the undesignated tenors may draw on liturgical chants. There is in addition the Agnus Custos et pastor (Tr 92, no. 1558) already referred to above, paired by the scribe with Dufay's Sanctus papale (Ib., no. 1561; and Tr 90 986). The latter occurs on its own in BL (no.107); so that the Agnus which keeps it company may be quite an early continental example of the use of a 'foreign' tenor in the Ordinary of the Mass. Another, cited by Bukofzer, is the Credo Alma redemptoris mater by Johannes de Gemblaco, or Jean de Gembloux, which first occurs in the early layer of BL (no.124). Since the majority of such pieces are of English origin, it is possible that both these composers were imitating English models, though Gembloux' Credo was copied into the manuscript before 1430. Bukofzer points out however, that there is an almost complete Mass-cycle on a unifying tenor which appears as a late addition to the little-known Cyprus Manuscript TuB; the body of this source also contains five Gloria-Credo pairs dating from c.1410-20, the period when OH was being compiled. TuB, though, has little contact with the European repertory, whilst at least ten

works from OH reappear in continental sources.

The earlier discussion of the older layer of Tr 92 sketched out some of the relationships between the new English tenor-Masses and the sources at home. Of the similar pieces in Tr 87 and the later section of Tr 92, the anonymous Kyrie and Gloria on Alma redemptoris mater, and Driffelde's Agnus Eructavit cor meum keep to the methods established in Dunstable's Mass Rex seculorum, and Benet's fragmentary cycle on Jacet granum; the Alma redemptoris pair, however, uses the same form of the tenor for each movement. The Mass Alma redemptoris mater by Power, and Dunstable's Gloria-Credo pair on Jesu Christe fili Dei are, by contrast, new departures. The latter is fully isorhythmic: each movement has the same tenor (a fairly common respond), which is repeated once in diminution. Although there are no taleae, there is a change of measure at a point of exact proportion in the statement of the plainsong tenor, which produces a similar effect of progressive diminution. Harrison observes that Tyes' Gloria (OH, no.16) also introduces a change of measure within the isorhythmic color, though here the composer has split his (unidentified) plainsong into two taleae. Dunstable breaks the chant into a succession of equal notes; Tyes' tenor is a little more ornamental than this. At first sight, one is tempted to imagine that because Dunstable's Gloria and Credo are only a pair, while his Mass Rex seculorum unites the entire Ordinary - English composers did not include the Kyrie in their cycles at this early date - then the pair must have been composed before the complete cycle. However, the chronology of the sources tells against this; admittedly, we are dealing with peripheral manuscripts, as far as English music is concerned, and this alone would not allow us to draw any firm conclusions. But there is only one isorhythmic work of Dunstable's in the early layer of Tr 92, to compare with the five that we find in the later section, and that work (Specialis virgo) appears to be an early attempt. Moreover, the Gloria Jesu Christe fili Dei contains one startling modernism, which we cannot parallel amongst Dunstable's works in the older sources. At the cadence in bar 76, there is a perfect fourth, at that time considered a strong dissonance, between

the treble and the tenor. It is no passing-note, but a deliberate and considered effect at a structural point of cadence. The contra fills out the harmony by supplying the fifth below the tenor. We find similar perfect fourths between tenor and treble in other works, such as the Sanctus Da gaudiorum premia (in bar 77), and in all save one of the isorhythmic motets.²⁴ Dunstable has abandoned the medieval technique of writing the other parts one at a time against the sacrosanct tenor; in places such as these, he has first of all composed his contra against the liturgical tenor, and then written the upper part against the harmonic combination of the other two voices. If we wish to investigate the development of harmonic style over this period, this is the way to tackle the problem: first we must consider the tenor and treble on their own; then tenor and contra; then discantus and contra. There is not space to launch out on a detailed examination here, but experiment shows that where a work is known to be early, then the number of 'irrational' dissonances between treble and contra is far higher than it is in the case of a late work; we must of course exclude perfect fourths between treble and contra, if the tenor supplies a consonant root to the chord. It is fairly clear that the conservative English use of score notation must have encouraged this new feeling for 'vertical' harmony,

Power's Mass Alma redemptoris mater differs from Dunstable's paired Gloria and Credo in that there is no color inside each separate movement, though there is a change of time-signature, as Strunk observed, at a point of exact proportion half-way through the tenor. The tenor is the same for each movement, though the composer adds opening duets in the Credo and Sanctus. The effect of the four times repeated tenor, then, is of four immensely long taleae, one to each movement, with no diminution. Power uses only half of the antiphon, and transposes it down a fifth; the composer of the anonymous Kyrie and Gloria on the same tenor, mentioned earlier, transposed the chant down a ninth. Bukofzer suggested that Power's Mass was probably the earliest English cycle on a tenor foreign to the Ordinary. It seems to me, though, that Dunstable's Mass Rex seculorum has an equal claim, together with Benet's cycle on

Jacet granum. Power was certainly the older composer; OH shows him pairing movements of the Ordinary at an early date, and also experimenting with isorhythmic tenors. But Dunstable's methods, as I hope to have shown above, also link up with the experiments of other composers in OH. And the evidence of chronology which the sources give us - admittedly slight - is on his side. Further, Power's Mass was a later addition to Tr 87: the original fascicles of the compilation, which are lettered in a contemporary hand, run from the third to the thirteenth, while Power's cycle is in fascicle I. It is perhaps worth observing here that these original fascicles were bound up in the wrong order; they now run: h,l,a,d,e,k,i,g,b,f,c (the fifteenth century did not distinguish between 'i' and 'j'). To arrive at the original order of the manuscript, then, we must read it in the order Fasc. V, XI, XIII, VI, VII, XII, X, III, IX, VIII, IV. Since there are apparently no English works in fascicles 15-18, which end the section copied by Puntschucher, it is logical to assume that fascicles 1-2 belong with the lettered ones, though they are slightly later, and that Puntschucher's source of English music dried up immediately afterwards. Whatever happened, we shall probably never be certain who wrote the first tenor-Mass cycle.

Few of the other works in the sources under discussion call for extended comment here. For the first time, we find two pieces by Dunstable which are written for four voices; only six such works survive, and four of them are isorhythmic motets. Four-part compositions are extremely rare amongst the English music surviving abroad. Four voices are called for in a respond and an antiphon by Power (110, 116), in Benet's canonic Kyrie Deus Creator listed above (35), which is perhaps a special case like the canonic Gloria for six voices in Tr 90 and 93 (244, a canon 6 in 3!); this work is very probably English. Amongst the later composers, Bedingham adds a fourth voice to the Credo of his Mass Deul angouisseux (12), Hothby follows the example of Power in his antiphon Quae es ista (89), and Frye imitates continental models in his Mass Flos regalis Etheldreda (69-72). The Mass Veterem hominem (143-7), which is very likely English, also

employs four voices. This gives a total of only 21 works out of the mass of English music in foreign sources. There are no four-voiced tenor-Mass cycles to match those of Dufay and other continental masters, unless we include the isolated example by Bedingham. (It remains a possibility, though, that Dufay was inspired by Dunstable's four great four-voiced isorhythmic motets, when he added a contra beneath the liturgical tenors of his Masses). There seems to be a gap here, between the somorous writing for up to five voices that we find in OH, and the extraordinarily dense polyphony that we find in the Eton manuscript; the two styles are of course poles apart.

This survey of the sources has now reached the middle years of the fifteenth century. In examining the English repertory of BL, BU, Tr 92 and Tr 87, I hope to have established certain methods of analysis which suggest various lines of attack on the important questions of provenance, chronology, and the development of musical style. I have not transcribed the whole of this huge amount of music; until this has been accomplished, and until we know a great deal more about the continental music of the time, we shall probably not get very much farther in trying to decide which of the many of the anonymous pieces are English. Bukofzer was the only man who was thoroughly familiar with both the English and the continental repertories. Harrison's book suffers a little from a lack of comparisons between English and continental music, though he makes a fine attempt; Bessler's Bourdon und Fauxbourdon also has some penetrating things to say about some aspects of English music, especially the tenor-Mass cycle, but sometimes he seems rather biased in favour of continental composers, particularly in the matter of Fauxbourdon. The first essential, though, must be to transcribe all the known English music; and it will be a labour of many years.

In considering the remaining sources, which can no longer tell us much about the chronology of English music at a formative time, it will not be necessary to set out the concordances and analyse the

make-up of the manuscripts in such detail. Ao and ModB keep most of their English music in water-tight compartments, though Tr 90 raises one or two problems. Tr 91 contains no English music, Tr 89 next to none; Tr 88 has a couple of Masses by the later composer Bedingham, and Dunstable's Puisque m'amour; Tr 93 is largely, as I have said, a late replica of Tr 90, and only four of the added works seem to be English. The only sources which need more than a word or two of comment are Ao, ModB, Tr 90 and perhaps MuEm. The first of these for us to consider is Ao; it contains items from OH, though it must have been copied at about the same time as ModB and MuEm. A list of its English works follows: the numbers are those of de Van's list.

Ao

| <u>No.</u> | <u>Title</u> | <u>Composer, etc.</u> |
|----------------------------|---|---|
| <u>FASC. I: Hand C</u> | | |
| 4 | Beata viscera <u>273</u> | Anonymous Unique |
| 5 | Beata viscera <u>108</u> | Leonell Unique |
| 6 | Kyrie (trope <u>Lux et origo</u>) <u>231</u> | Anonymous Unique |
| 7 | Kyrie | Anonymous Unique |
| <u>FASC. IV : Hand A</u> | | |
| 40 | Gloria Rex seculorum (ed.19) | Dunstable (and index) <u>Ao</u> Dunstapell (index 'Dunstable'); <u>Tr 92</u> , Leonellus; <u>MuEm</u> ; <u>Tr 90</u> , 93 |
| <u>FASC. VI : Hand B</u> | | |
| 65 | Gloria Rex seculorum (ed.19) | Dunstapell (index 'Dunstable') See previous item. |
| <u>FASC. VII : Hand B</u> | | |
| 68 | Gloria (ed.4) | Dunstapell (index 'Dunstable') Unique |
| 70 | Gloria Jacet granum <u>30</u> | Bonnet (index only) <u>Tr 87</u> (twice); <u>Tr 90</u> , 93 |
| 71 | Gloria <u>235</u> | Anonymous Unique |
| <u>FASC. VIII : Hand B</u> | | |
| 72 | Gloria <u>236</u> | Anonymous Unique |

FASC.XII : Hand B

- 94 Credo (ed.5) Dunstapell
Unique
- 95 Credo 5 (Anglicanus)
Tr 92 (twice), Anglicanus (once)
- 96 Credo 93 Knyff (cut; index 'Knyff')
Unique. De Van failed to notice the name.
- 97 Credo 54 De Anglia (index-only)
Tr 90, 93
- 98 Sanctus (ed.13) Jo.Dunstapell (index 'Jo.Dunstabel')
Tr 87, Jo.Dumstable

FASC.XIII : Hand B

- 104 Sanctus Anglicus (ed.6) Dunstable (index only)
Unique

Hand C

- 110 Sancta Maria intercede 150 (English)
OS; here, inserted later.

FASC.XIV : Hand B

- 121 Beata Dei genitrix (ed.41) Bynchois (Dunstable)
BL, Binchois (cancelled?); MuEm,
Dunstable; ModB, Dunstaple; Tr 90

FASC.XV : Hand B

- 126 Credo 47 De Anglia (index only) (Bodoil)
BL, 'Anglicanum patrem'; Tr 92,
J.Bodoil
- 129 Agnus 271 bis Anonymous
Unique

FASC.XVI : Hand B

- 132 Sanctus 259 Anonymous
Unique; discantus missing, but must
have been Sarum 5.
- 137 Alma redemptoris mater(ed.40) (Dunstable)
BL, Leonelle ('Binchois' cancelled);
ModB, Dunstaple
- 138 Quam pulcra es (ed.44) Dunstapell
BL, Dunstable; BU; Tr 92,
Dunstable; Pemb; MuEm; ModB,
Dunstaple
- 143 Regina celi letare(ed.38) (Dunstable, cut off?)
BL, Dunstaple; MuL (fragment); FM
- 144 Descendi in hortum meum 284 Anonymous
Unique

FASC.XVII : Hand C

- 145 Sanctus 25 Bennet (index only)
Tr 87; Tr 90, Dunstable; Tr 93;
part of Missa sine nomine
- 146 Ave regina celorum (4v.) 116 (Power)
BL, Leonel; Tr 92 (twice); OS
(Forest)
- 147 Alma redemptoris mater -
Anima mea liquefacta 64 BL; ModB, Forest; Tr 90
- 148 Sancta Maria succurre
miseris (ed.49) (Dunstable)
Tr 92, 87, 90; ModB, Dunstable
- 149 Gloria (ed.9) (Dunstable)
Tr 92, Jo.Dunstable
- 150 Gloria (4v.)(canonic) 238 Anonymous
Unique; 'fuga iiii temporum'
- 151 Agnus 265 Anonymous
Unique
- 152 Salve regina (trope Virgo
mater) (i) 121 (Power)
Tr 92, Dunstable; ModB, Leonel;
Tr 90, Dunstable

FASC.XVIII : Hand C

- 154 Agnus 26 Bennet (index only)
Tr 92; Tr 87 (Leonel, cut?); Tr 90,93;
part of Missa sine nomine
- 155 Gloria 23 Bonnet (index 'Bennet')
Ca; Tr 90, 93; part of Missa sine nomine
- 156 Gloria 36 Bonet (index only)
Tr 92, Leonell; MuEm
- 157 Alma redemptoris mater 113 Leonelle
Tr 92, Leonel; ModB, Dunstable
- 158 Sanctus Jacet granum (Benet)
Tr 92, 90; Tr 93 (twice)
- 159 Agnus 266 Anonymous
Unique
- 160 Sub tuam protectionem(ed.51) (Dunstable)
BL, Dunstable; Tr 92; ModB, Dunstable

FASC. XIX : Hand C

- 162 Gloria Alma redemptoris
mater 99 Leonell (index 'Leonel')
Tr 87, 90, 93
- 163 Credo Alma redemptoris
mater 100 Leonel (index only)
Tr 87
- 164 Sanctus Alma redemptoris
mater 101 (Leonel)
Tr 87

- 165 Agnus Alma redemptoris
mater 102 (Leonel)
Tr 87
- 166 Credo Da gaudiorum
premia (ed.17) Dunstapell
Unique
- 167 Sanctus Da gaudiorum
premia (ed.18) (Dunstable)
Unique

FASC. XX : Hand C

- 169 Gloria (Isorhythmic) 103 Leonell (index 'Leonel')
Unique; on Sarum 5
- 170 Credo (Isorhythmic) 104 (Power)
Unique; on Sarum 1; in Ao the scribe
often names the composer only for the
first item of a pair or cycle.
- 171 Gloria (4v.) (ed.11) Dunstapell
Unique
- 172 Credo (4v.) (ed.12) (Dunstable)
Unique; exact pair with 171; see note
to 170 for pairing in Ao.
- 173 Credo 105 (Power)
OH, Leonel
- 174 Credo 252 Anonymous
Tr 87
- 175 Gloria 48 (Byttering)
OH, Byttering

FASC. XXI : Hand C

- 176 Agnus 149 (English)
OH, contra and tenor only
- 177 Gloria 237 Anonymous
Unique
- 178 Sanctus 44 Blome (and index)
Unique
- 179 Sanctus 128 Soursby (tails of 's' and 'y' are all
that is left)
Unique
- 180 Sanctus 125 Soursby (not 'Souesby' as in de Van)
(Index 'Soursbi')
Presumably pairs with no.181.
Unique
- 181 Agnus 126 (Soursby ?)
Unique; the scribe rarely repeats the
composer's name for the second item of
a pair; cf.167, 172.

- 182 Sanctus 95 Neweland (not 'Nelbeland' as de Van says)
Unique
- 183 Sanctus 260 Anonymous
Unique
- 184 Sanctus 107 (Power)
OH, Leonel; Tr 87

FASC.XXIII : Hand D

- 190 Gloria 221 Anonymous
Unique; pairs with 191
- 191 Credo 222 Anonymous
Unique; pairs with 190
- 192 Nesciens mater 289 Anonymous
Unique

FASC.XXIV : Hand D

- 194 Veni Sancte Spiritus -
Veni Creator (ed.32) Jo.Dunstapell
OH; MuL (fragment); Tr 92, Jo.Dunstable;
ModB, Dunstaple
- 195 Gloria (ed.3) (Dunstable)
BU, Dunstable; Tr 92, Leonell; Tr 90;
Tr 93 (twice, once fragment only)
- 196 Beata mater (ed.42) (Dunstable)
Tr 87, Binchois (Jo.Dunstable', cancelled);
OS; MuEm, Dunstable; ModB, Dunstaple

AO contains fifty certain, and eighteen probable English works. The volume was copied in North Italy by four scribes, whom we have distinguished in chronological order as Hands A, B, C and D in the catalogue above. In the earliest section (A), there is only one English piece, Dunstable's Gloria Rex seculorum; scribe B re-copied it unwittingly from another source, too - if indeed the separate parts of the manuscript were united at that date, which seems unlikely. It is notable that Power's Mass Alma redemptoris mater does not appear until the third section (C), another indication that Dunstable's Mass-cycle may have been written first. Scribe B was responsible for adding nine English works, including the entirely English fascicle XII, which gives us a new composer, Knyff. Thurston Dart suggested, when I first noticed this name, that this might be the translation of Richard 'Cutellus', author of the early discant treatise in the Bodleian Library, MS 842 - there is a stroke across the 'll' which could well be an abbreviation

for 'Cutelli', the genitive case. Harrison shows, however, that this was the man's English name, and that he was active a little too early for us to draw such a conclusion.²⁵ Benet's Gloria Jacet granum also appears in this section - another hint that this Mass-cycle may be earlier than Power's.

Scribe C, however, is the man for our money. Apart from most of fascicles XIV and XV, which are largely devoted to the music of Binchois, nine works in fascicle XVI, and three short pieces copied across the end folios of adjacent fascicles, his entire contribution to the manuscript appears to consist of English works. Of these remaining fifty works, thirty-eight are attributable to English composers, whilst the remaining twelve are wholly English in style and structure, and appear separately, copied between the certain English pieces, not as a suspicious-looking huddle of anonymi all copied together in one place. Finally, Scribe D added a section at the end, including three works by Dunstable, the very English-sounding Nesciens mater (192), and an anonymous Gloria-Credo pair that may also be English.

It will not be necessary to list the music under its composers here, or to go into detail over concordances. The following table, however, gives the number of works by each composer, and lists unica and works which appear for the first time in this source.

| | |
|------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Dunstable (19) : | + Credo Da gaudiorum premia, 166 |
| | + Sanctus Da gaudiorum premia, 167 |
| | + Gloria (4v), 171 |
| | + Credo (4v), 172 |
| | + Gloria, 68 |
| | + Credo, 94 |
| | + Sanctus, 98 |
| | (7 <u>unica</u>) |
| Power (12) : | + Gloria (isorhythmic), 169 |
| | + Credo (isorhythmic), 170 |
| | + Beata viscera (communion de BMV), 5 |
| Benet (6) : | none unique or new |
| Soursby (3): | + Sanctus, 180 |
| | + Agnus, 181 |
| | + Sanctus, 179 |

- Anglicanus (1) : not unique or new
 Blome (1) : + Sanctus, 178
 Bodoil (1) : not unique or new
 Byttering (1) : not unique or new
 De Anglia (1) : Credo, 97 (first appearance)
 Forest (1) : not unique or new
 Knyff (1) : + Credo, 96
 Neweland (1) : + Sanctus, 182
 (English) (2) : not unique or new

Probably English works

- copied by Scribe C(13): + Kyrie (trope Lux et origo), 6
 + Kyrie, 7
 + Gloria, 177
 + Gloria (canonic; 4v.), 150
 + Credo, 174
 + Sanctus, 132
 + Sanctus, 179
 + Sanctus, 183
 + Agnus, 129
 + Agnus, 151
 + Agnus, 159
 + Beata viscera (communion BMV), 4
 + Descendi in hortum meum (antiphon), 144.

Other possible English works:

- Copied by Scribe B (2): + Gloria, 71
 + Gloria, 72
 Copied by Scribe D (3): + Gloria, 190
 + Credo, 191
 + Nesciens mater (antiphon), 192

The concordances with other sources hold one or two surprises for us. The most frequent are, as one would expect, with the contemporary

sources Tr 92 (15, 1 copied twice), Tr 90 (13), Tr 87 (12, 1 copied twice), ModB (10), and Tr 93 (9, 2 copied twice). It is a little unexpected, however, to find as many as 8 concordances with BL, 5 with OH, 3 with OS, and one with Pemb. The other MSS involved are MuEm (5); BU and MuL (2 each); Ca and FM (1 each). Nearly half the English compositions in BL, then, also appear in Ao. And of the fifty works in Ao which are certainly English, nine are to be found in English sources too - just under 20%. All these concordances with English sources occur in the sections copied by scribes C (7) and D (2). When one considers how few native sources exist for English sacred music of the fifteenth century, this percentage seems rather high. It is equally revealing to reverse the process, taking an English source. Of the eight works in the Bodleian Library MS Add. C.87 (OC), for example, three reappear on the continent (copied eight times in four different manuscripts): a proportion of over 37%. Indeed, if we count the three movements of the isorhythmic Mass on the tenor Requiem eternam as a single unit, this figure rises to 50%! Assume that this is a representative sample which will hold good for the lost part of this now fragmentary source; imagine the manuscript restored to an average size, containing perhaps 200 separate items. The percentage will give us 74 concordances with the English music now surviving abroad; a full hundred, if one takes the more generous view. Another thought: the three pieces in OC with concordances in continental sources are Bedingham's Sanctus 19, and Benet's Gloria 33 and Credo 37. It is thus very likely that the rest of the Mass (16-20) to which Bedingham's Sanctus belonged, and the paired Credo 34 which matches Benet's Gloria were also once to be found in the fine codex which was ripped apart long ago to make fly-leaves for some thrifty bookbinder. Yet before OC was discovered a few years ago, we should have had to assume, from lack of evidence, that these eight works did not form part of the native English repertory, but were composed by English composers living abroad. We can now re-unite them with the home tradition - and their composers as well, who muster 42 compositions between them. As the years go by, more fragments are

are recovered from bindings, more concordances are discovered. If we interpret the evidence that exists with a mixture of nine parts commonsense and one part imagination, I do not see how the old theory of expatriate English composers writing for a continental market can much longer be maintained, at least without substantial reservations. It is manifestly untrue, in this instance, to say that history can only be written with hard facts.

Amongst the works unique to Ac are Dunstable's Credo and Sanctus on Da gaudiorum premia, which is the verse of the Trinity respond Gloria patri geniteque; this pairing is so unusual that the works must surely be all that remains of a complete Mass-cycle. Scribe C copied them after Power's Mass Alma redemptoris mater in fascicle XIX, which is entirely taken up with these two sets; since the first two works of the next fascicle XX are also Mass-sections on plainsong tenors, it is clear that the scribe fully recognised the form as a special technique, and deliberately set these works apart.

Dunstable's tenor runs: "Da gaudiorum premia
da gratiarum munera
dissolve litis vincula
astringe pacis federa"

Harrison suggests that the words would have been appropriate for the coronation of the child king Henry VI as King of France, which took place in Paris on December 16 1431. Jeremy Noble, on the other hand, has pointed out that the words are extremely appropriate to a treaty ending a war; he put forward the signing of the Treaty of Troyes as a likely occasion, which the Kings of England and France signed on 9 April 1420.²⁶ This seems much more likely to me: the date is not too early, for if we allow Dunstable (d.1453) his three score years and ten, he would have been in his thirties at this time. However, there are other texts which would have served just as well for the signing of a treaty. This particular text, as we have said, is a verse from a respond for Trinity Sunday. Now, one of the chief clauses in the Treaty of Troyes was a contract of marriage between Henry V and the daughter of the King of France, Catherine de Valois. And this marriage

was celebrated on 2 June 1420: Trinity Sunday. Certain features of style support this dating. There is an unusually high number of accidentals in the course of the piece, which brings to mind some of the unexpected sharps and flats in OH: they became rare as the century progressed. Amongst them is the extraordinary F-sharp in bar 3 of Dunstable's Sanctus, approached from a C! The rhythmic style of the final cadence-bars of the Credo suggests the Italian Trecento, while the proportional sophistication of bars 61-9 of the Sanctus recalls the French music of the later Ars nova. The treatment of dissonance is far less rational than in most of Dunstable's works; and in two places he cadences on to a 10/5 chord, with the tenor holding the fifth above the tonic in the contra, while the treble sings the tenth. The use of a third in important cadences such as these is in itself an unusual experiment (bar 77 of the Credo, bar 69 of the Sanctus). In bar 77 of the Sanctus, we find another perfect fourth between treble and tenor at a structural cadence, such as became common enough later on.

Whenever this cycle was composed, it was certainly an early work, and the dating that I have put forward at least makes us realise that Dunstable may well have started composing earlier in the century than we had perhaps imagined. Some of his earlier works may even have been written during the period when the Old Hall MS was being completed. If he were then in his twenties, we should not expect the music of such a young man to appear in an important royal collection. Even today, many an English composer has to wait until he is in his forties before his works are approved by Authority: this country has the oldest 'young composers' in Europe.

Dunstable's now fragmentary cycle shares the technique of Power's Mass Alma redemptoris mater: the two movements are built on the same tenor, which has exactly the same rhythm in each. The fact that Dunstable uses no extended duets may hint that his work is older than Power's. Only one of the twenty-one isorhythmic compositions in OH has such a duet, and this is an exceptional case of pseudo-canonic writing: the anonymous Credo, no.86. The motets by the later composers Damett, Cooke, Sturgeon and Byttering do however have brief

introductions for two voices before the tenor enters - but never more than a few bars. Later in the century, such opening duets or 'introitus', as Dufay called them, became the normal practice.

Another interesting pair of Mass-sections is Power's unique isorhythmic Gloria and Credo on the chants of the Ordinary (Sarum 5 and 1 respectively). They are transcribed in the Musical Appendix. The two movements are very different in texture and method, but the idea of using an isorhythmic version of the chants of the Ordinary is common to both. The Gloria is a long and complicated piece. The tenor contains a long talea which is repeated once. This source is copied in void notation, but Power's tenor contains not only full black notes, but full and void red notes as well - the only ones in the manuscript. This composition is the sole example of four-colour notation in the English music surviving abroad, and indeed cannot be paralleled throughout Europe at this date, so far as I know. The red void notes here indicate imperfection of otherwise perfect notes, a practice which was normally shown by full black notation. Here, however, the full black notes show that the values are to be halved, though the perfection of the notes is not affected; the full red notes also require the values to be halved, but here the perfect notes become imperfect as well. The coloration of the other parts is normal. This puzzle of a tenor is repeated twice in progressive diminution, in the proportions 3 : 2 : 1. And, as if all this were not enough, the upper parts have different time-signatures: the discantus reads (O)CO, and the contra (O)OG. The time-signatures of the tenor are as usual not given, but must be understood as (3 x \emptyset) (3 x \emptyset) (\emptyset): perfect 'mood' is to be understood, and quite possibly the very rare perfect 'maximood' as well. The movement is a real case of the error anglorum, for the proper relationship between the contra and the discantus is not stated. The origins of this use of 'partial time-signatures', to coin a phrase, were discussed in the comments on BL early in this chapter. Recalling how the practice started, we discover that the mensuration-signs which would properly express how these three parts fit together should run as follows:

| | | | |
|------------|-------|-------|---|
| discantus: | ∅ | ∅ | ∅ |
| contra: | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| tenor: | 3 x ∅ | 3 x ∅ | ∅ |

In point of fact, the implied diminution of the tenor and discantus was left to the singers, who must have known the convention. Note that the 'barred' version of the time-signatures 0 and C above does not imply that the music is to be sung twice as fast. On the contrary, looking at the history of these signatures from their first appearance in OH onwards, we can see that it is the old prolation measure of the contra which has slowed up. In the transcription, therefore, I have only halved the values of the contra, whilst quartering those of the other voices.

The Credo which keeps the Gloria company is a rather simpler piece. The tenor has no taleae; although the notes of the second half - except the last - correspond in value to those of the first half the rests are differently spaced. The tenor repeats once unaltered, and twice in progressive diminution, in the proportions 4 : 4 : 2 : 1. The other two parts are both discantus, so that this piece takes after the style of the fourteenth-century caccia; particularly in the opening section, the two trebles chase each other about in free imitation. At first sight, it looks as if discantus 2 refers back, at the opening of the second section, to the music which discantus 2 sang in the first section; there are also resemblances between the first notes sung by discantus 1 in the second, third and fourth sections. This is probably an accident, due to the limited compass of the upper voices over the constantly returning tenor; it is not systematic enough to have been intentional. Since only the tenor is isorhythmic (and even then it has no taleae), since Power employs the old-fashioned time-signature of major prolation, and since the caccia-like structure has no other parallels abroad at this time, we are probably justified in thinking that this movement must date back a good many years in time. The same probably holds good for the pairing Gloria, because of its extremely complex notation; on the other hand, the movement has the classical isorhythmic structure of the later motets by Dunstable, Forest and Benet, and the total effect of its conflicting metres gives the impression of a slightly bumpy

perfect time. None of the isorhythmic Mass-sections in OH uses the chants of the Ordinary, as this pair does, though the chant is used in most of the simpler discant settings. Power's methods here arose from a fusion of isorhythm and discanted plainsong. The two movements probably date from the period a little after OH. They point unmistakably in the direction of the Mass-cycle on a unifying isorhythmic tenor, though later examples of this kind always employ a tenor foreign to the Ordinary.

There is not space here to discuss all of the English music in Ap. In view of the fact that five compositions from OH recur in this source, though, it would not do to pass on without mentioning the anonymous canonic Gloria (no.150), which occurs in the English fascicle XVII. This piece shows that the love of canon persisted amongst English composers for some years after the copying of OH: we have already noticed Benet's canonic Kyrie in Tr 87. There are three more canonic Gloria - settings in Tr 90, all anonymous; they are quite probably English too. For, so far as I know, there are only four Mass-settings by continental composers which are canonic from beginning to end like the seven fine examples in OH. The latter comprise four settings of the Gloria, two Creeds, and now, thanks to Dr.Harrison's enquiring eye, a Sanctus as well.²⁷ The continental composers Matteo da Perugia, Dufay, Hugh de Lantins, and one Anonymous restricted themselves to canonic settings of the Gloria; there is also a partially canonic Gloria by Arnold de Lantins, and a similar Credo by Chierisy.²⁸ These pieces form a very small percentage of continental Mass-settings; but one out of every sixteen Mass-settings in OH employs canon. Harrison has this to say of the canonic pieces in OH: "They belong to the last phase of a fourteenth-century tradition rather than to the main movement of style in the early fifteenth century, for canonic technique played no part in the next stage of the history of the polyphonic Mass in England." This statement is a little too sweeping, though it holds good for English sources alone. Certainly we must consider Benet's Kyrie and the surely English Gloria

of Ao; further, the continental composers never indulged in canonic writing as complex as the canon 6 in 3 of the anonymous Gloria 244, which occurs in Tr 90 (no.925); yet this would have presented little difficulty to Pycard or Byttering. Quite near this piece lie the simpler canonic settings of Gloria 245 and 246 (nos.927 and 932 in the MS), though 246 is closer to isorhythm than to canon proper. We must assume that the English still kept their hand in at canonic writing in the middle of the fifteenth century, if only from time to time. The openings of the four anonymous Gloria settings mentioned above are transcribed in the Musical Appendix.

Ao includes several composers whose names and musical personalities are distinctly English. Knyff and Neweland are totally unknown, outside this source; nor do we have any music in English sources from the pens of John Bodoil, Blome or Soursby. This is a little surprising, for there are seven concordances between the section copied by scribe C and three English sources ranging from c.1413-22 to c.1450. Only Knyff does not belong to this section. There are four concordances with the older section of OH, and three of these are pieces which occur nowhere else except in these two sources: nos.173, 175, 176 and 184, all in the last two of the nine fascicles copied by Scribe C. This unusual connection between two manuscripts copied at least twenty years apart, and at a distance of several hundred miles, suggests that there may have been some special contact here.

By a fortunate chance, we have slight evidence of such a contact. Scribe C bound together with his own work the fascicles copied by Scribes A and B, adding the index at the front of the manuscript; Scribe D later contributed the last three fascicles and the odd leaf at the end. In this last section we find two political motets, one certainly by Johannes Brassart, and a companion-piece in which he is named in the text, first of a short list of composers and singers who were in the service of the Holy Roman Emperor. The works in question are Romanorum rex inclite - Requiem, an isorhythmic motet on the death of the Emperor Albert (November, 1439); and Brassart's

O rex Fridrice - In tuo adventu, another isorhythmic motet on the accession of the newly-elected Frederick III (February 1440). The fourth and fifth verses of the former mention musicians who were clearly members of the Imperial chapel:

Ergo Brassart cum Erasmo
Adam serva, Io. de Sarto
Iohannisque pariter

Tirion, Martin et Galer,
cantores celeriter
psallite Cristo regi

Brassart was a member of the papal choir from 1431. In 1443 he was however cantor principalis to the Emperor Frederick III, who, in de Van's words, "ingloriously held the imperial sceptre for almost half a century". The text of Romanorum rex inclite shows that the composer was in Imperial service before 1439 - probably even then he was cantor principalis, for he is first on the list of musicians named in the motet. Johannes de Sarto is known as a composer from a couple of pieces in BL. Erasmus Adam - an Aryan name? - is unknown; 'Iohannisque pariter Tirion, Martin et Galer' must mean that these three all share the Christian name John. De Van suggests that 'Johannes Tirion' must be Johannes Touront, composer of several short pieces dating from the middle of the century. Johannes Martin and Johannes Galer are unknown; Martin is too common a name to allow us to identify this man with the Martyn whose name appears above one of the mensural tenor-parts appearing in Lansdowne 462. Galer seems a German name. O rex Fridrice does not mention any musicians.

Scribe D's contribution, then, may be dated later than 1440, and has a strong connection with the Imperial Chapel of the Emperors Albert and Frederick III. De Van concluded from this that Go must have belonged to the Imperial Chapel at the time of Scribe D, though the evidence is not completely convincing: such occasional pieces as Romanorum rex and O rex Fridrice were no doubt re-copied into later sources purely for their musical value, like the occasional motets of

Dufay and others. Nevertheless, there was certainly some contact between the composers of the Imperial chapel and the North Italian Scribe D. There seem to be two possible channels of communication. The Empire in those days extended southwards to Trent, in the Tyrol, though the nearest Imperial Free City was Augsburg, over a hundred miles to the North; and westwards, beyond the Imperial Free City of Basle, it stretched to the Burgundian lands of the Franche Comté, bordering on the Duchy of Savoy. Aosta belonged to Savoy at this time. There is, as we have already shown, a close musical contact between Ao and the related sections of Tr 87 and 92, which in some cases must have shared a common source; this part of the Trent collection, however, cannot be shown to have originated in the Tyrol, though the scribe's name, 'Puntschucher', is clearly German. With such a large collection of music in the German Tyrol, at the opposite end of Northern Italy, and with such a close relationship established between Ao and Tr 87 and 92, we shall obviously not be far wrong if we prefer the route from the Imperial Chapel via Trent to Aosta. But it should be remembered that Aosta was part of Savoy at that time; that Amadeus VIII was an extremely musical Duke, who employed Dufay from 1434-5; that his secretary from 1439 was none other than the poet Martin le Franc, whose Le Champion des Dames (c.1440) affords the first literary evidence of the continental passion for English music; that Amadeus abdicated in 1439, to become the Pope Felix V of Basle; that his son Louis was an even more ardent lover of music; that Louis married Anne of Cyprus, who quite probably brought the Cyprus manuscript to Turin, which was also part of Savoy at this time; and that in the diocese of Maurienne, twenty miles over the Alps from Aosta, the collegiate church of Aiguebelle observed the English Use of Hereford from c.1260 to 1580 (it was founded by the Savoyard Pierre d'Aigueblanche, who was Bishop of Hereford from 1240).²⁹ Neither Duke Amadeus nor Duke Louis, on the other hand, can yet be shown to have employed English musicians; no-one has searched the surviving archives for records of them. But we have evidence of contact between Frederick III and English musicians. Two years after his election, in 1442, he sent a representative to England,

who asked the Privy Council to help him find six English singers for his Imperial Chapel. The Council deputed the composer Nicholas Sturgeon to assist him.³⁰ We have no evidence that anyone actually went, and I have not yet managed to locate any archives surviving from Frederick's court; but whether or not Frederick succeeded in tempting any Englishmen away, he was presumably after their music as well as their voices, and no doubt his messenger returned home with several quires of English music in his baggage. Certainly this would explain how three compositions by the mid-century composer John Plummer found their way into manuscripts in Trent and Modena: Plummer does not appear in the records until 1440, but he was a member of the Chapel Royal from 1441-2, precisely the year in which Frederick's agent arrived. It is clearly high time that the accounts of Savoy and, if they still exist, of the Imperial Court, should be searched for English musicians. It is quite possible that the names of the composers Anthony, Blome, Bodoil, Driffelde, Knyff, Markham, Neweland, Soursby, Standley and Stone, who are not recorded in England either as musicians or as composers, may lie hidden in these archives. Is it significant that no less than five of them have music in Ao?

We must put aside these interesting speculations, and turn to our last two major sources, ModB and Tr 90. Little is known about the former. A bare list of contents was published by the Associazione dei musicologi italiani in 1916, but no proper investigation of the source has yet appeared. This is not the place for such a survey, but a few facts will help. There is a long section of English music in fascicles IX - XIV at the end of the manuscript, which only contains one continental piece, Dufay's isorhythmic motet Fulgens jubar - Puerpera pura - Virgo post partum. This was omitted from the earlier fascicle VII, where there are six others from Dufay's pen, and added with the English series by Dunstable, Benet and Forest, in fascicles XIII-XIV. All the English pieces are attributed to their composers in this source, though in four cases the ascription is probably wrong. The manuscript contains no music at all for the

Ordinary of the Mass. The first two fascicles consist entirely of hymn-settings, all save one by Dufay; fascicle III is a miscellany by Dufay and Binchois. IV is devoted to settings of Magnificat by Dufay, Binchois and Dunstable, a series which runs over into the first part of V. The remainder of V and the first part of VI hold a miscellany of plainsong-settings, which include antiphons and two offertories by Dufay, Binchois and Benoit; this may be the Frenchman Guillaume Benoit;³¹ it cannot be John Benet, first on musical grounds, second because the same scribe includes Benet in the English section later on, and there spells his name correctly. Two motets on St. Dominic, by Fedé (Jean Sohier), have been inserted in this part of the source, by a later hand. Half-way through fascicle VI is the note 'Hic incipiunt motteti', though the rest of the manuscript also contains some polyphonic settings of plainsongs. The rest of VI, VII, and the first half of VIII, consist mainly of motets, most of them isorhythmic, by Dufay, Grossin and Binchois. At the end of this series we find Power's respond Gloriose virginis Marie, after which a later scribe has inserted another motet by Dufay, two anonymous hymns, and the motet Hercules omni memorandus - Hercules toto celebrandus, by the little-known composer Brebis; then follows the English section. Brebis' motet must have been written for that great patron of Renaissance music, Duke Hercules I of Este - the manuscript belongs, after all, to his library - who founded his private chapel in 1471. At about that time, the Duke engaged a 'Misser Gulielmo inglese, capellano' through his agent in Antwerp, a Bartholomeo di Fiandra. (Full details are given in Appendix IV, under 'Gulielmo'). He was probably the 'Guglielmo di Fiandra' listed with 'Bartolemeo Raimondo' as a member of the duke's chapel in 1475, for there is no other 'Gulielmo' in the surviving records; although he was English, he came to Ferrara from Flanders, which might explain the addition 'di Fiandra'.³² ModB cannot have been written as late as this, to judge from its repertory; nevertheless, it is the one manuscript which names every single composer for the English pieces, and this again argues some personal knowledge of the English scene. Valdrighi's

researches amongst the Este archives, however, do not list any English names except our 'Gulielmo'.³³

Of the 128 separate compositions in ModB, 53 are English. All the English works appear in fascicles IX - XIV except the Magnificat by Dunstable and Power's four-part Gloriose virginis Marie: the former, one of the rare fifteenth-century English settings of the canticle, has been included in a fascicle specially reserved for Magnificat, whilst the latter is only separated from the English fascicles by a few works which were filled in later on a few blank leaves. There follows a list of the English works; since a catalogue is not easily available, the numbering is my own, and applies to English pieces only. Folio references are however included.

| <u>No.</u> | <u>Ff</u> | <u>Title</u> | <u>ModB</u> | <u>Composer etc.</u> |
|------------------|-----------|---|-------------|---|
| <u>FASC.IV</u> | | | | |
| 1 | 33-4' | Magnificat Secundi Toni(ed.36) | | Dunstable Unique |
| <u>FASC.VIII</u> | | | | |
| 2 | 74 | Gloriose virginis Marie (4v.) <u>110</u> | | Leonel <u>FM</u> |
| <u>FASC.IX</u> | | | | |
| 3 | 81 | Specialis virgo(ed.31) | | Dunstable <u>Tr 92</u> |
| 4 | 81'-2 | Quam pulcra es (ed.44) | | Dunstable <u>BL</u> , Dunstable; <u>BU</u> ; <u>Tr 92</u> , Dunstable; <u>Pemb</u> ; <u>Ao</u> , Dunstapell; <u>MuEm</u> |
| 5 | 82'-4 | Salve regina (trope <u>Virgo mater</u>)(ed.46) | | Dunstable <u>Tr 87</u> , Dunstable; (most of f.83 is missing here) |
| 6 | 84'-5 | Gaude virgo Katherina (ed.52) | | Dunstable Unique |
| 7 | 85'-6 | Ave regina celorum, ave decus(ed.24) | | Dunstable Unique |
| 8 | 86'-8 | Salve regina (trope <u>Virgo mater</u>)(i) <u>121</u> | | Leonel <u>Tr 92</u> , Dunstable; <u>Ao</u> ; <u>Tr 90</u> , Dunstable |

- | | | | |
|----------------|----------|---|---|
| 9 | 88'-9 | Albanus roseo rutilat (ed.23) | Dunstaple Unique |
| 10 | 89'-90 | Sancta Dei genitrix (ed.47) | Dunstaple Unique |
| <u>FASC.X</u> | | | |
| 11 | 91 | Beata mater(ed.42) | Dunstaple Tr 87, Binchois (Jo.Dunstable' erased); Ao; MuEm, Dunstable; OS |
| 12 | 91'-2 | Salve regina mater mire (ed.45) | Dunstaple Unique |
| 13 | 92'-3 | Dies dignus decorari (ed.26) | Dunstaple Unique |
| 14 | 93'-4 | Quam pulcra es | Piamor(not 'Priamor') Tr 92 |
| 15 | 94'-5 | Alma redemptoris mater - Anima mea liquifacta est <u>64</u> | Forest BL (fragment); Ao; Tr 90 |
| 16 | 95'-6 | Christe sanctorum decus (ed.25) | Dunstaple Unique |
| 17 | 96'-7 | Ascendit Christus - Alma redemptoris mater <u>65</u> | Dunstaple (Forest) OH, Forest (fragment only) |
| 18 | 97'-8 | Crux fidelis (ed.39) | Dunstaple Tr 92, Jo.Dunstable |
| 19 | 98'-9 | Ibo mihi ad montem myrrhae <u>117</u> | Leonel Unique |
| 20 | 99'-100A | Tota pulcra es <u>68</u> | Forest Tr 92, Forest; (there are two ff.100 in ModB) |
| 21 | 100A' | Speciosa facta es (ed.50) | Dunstaple Tr 92 |
| <u>FASC.XI</u> | | | |
| 22 | 100B-1 | Alma redemptoris mater (i) <u>113</u> | Dunstaple (Power) Tr 92, Leonel; Ao, Leonelle (index 'Leonel') |
| 23 | 101'-2 | Tota pulcra es (i) <u>97</u> | Polumier Unique |
| 24 | 102'-3 | Ave regina (ed.37) | Dunstaple Tr 92; FM |
| 25 | 103'-4 | Tota pulcra es <u>136</u> | Stone (Stoue ?) Unique |

- | | | | |
|------------------|---------|--|---|
| 26 | 104'-5 | Ibo mihi ad montem myrrhae <u>135</u> | Stone (Stoue ?) Unique |
| 27 | 105'-6 | Descendi in hortum meum <u>96</u> | Polumier <u>Tr 90</u> (time values doubled, time- signature halved) |
| 28 | 106'-8 | Veni Sancte Spiritus - Veni Creator (ed.32) | Dunstaple <u>OH</u> ; <u>MuL</u> (fragment); <u>Tr 92</u> , Jo. Dunstable; <u>Ao</u> , Jo.Dunstaple |
| 29 | 108'-9 | Qualis est dilectus <u>67</u> | Polmier (Forest) <u>OH</u> , Forest; <u>Tr 90</u> ; <u>Tr 93</u> (textless) |
| 30 | 109' | Salve sancta parens <u>109</u> | Leonel Unique |
| <u>FASC.XII</u> | | | |
| 31 | 110 | Mater ora filium <u>118</u> | Leonel <u>Tr 92</u> (twice) |
| 32 | 110'-1 | Anima mea liquefacta est (i) <u>114</u> | Leonel Unique |
| 33 | 111'-2 | Quam pulcra es <u>119</u> | Leonel Unique |
| 34 | 112'-3 | Gloria sanctorum decus (ed.43) | Dunstaple Unique |
| 35 | 113'-4' | Gaude virgo salutata (4v.)(ed.28) | Dunstaple Unique |
| 36 | 115 | Sancta Maria, non est tibi similis (ed.48) | Dunstaple <u>Tr 92</u> |
| 37 | 115'-6 | Sub tuam protectionem (ed.51) | Dunstaple <u>BL</u> , Dunstable; <u>Tr 92</u> ; <u>Ao</u> |
| 38 | 116'-7 | Salve mater salvatoris <u>112</u> | Dunstaple (Power) <u>Tr 92</u> , Leonel (twice; the name first time only) |
| 39 | 117'-8 | Anima mea liquefacta est (ii) <u>115</u> | Leonel <u>BU</u> , Leonel (without contra); <u>MuEm</u> , Leonellus; <u>FM</u> |
| 40 | 118'-9 | Ave regina <u>66</u> | Forest <u>Tr 87</u> , Forest |
| 41 | 119'-20 | O crux gloriosa (ed.53) | Dunstaple <u>Tr 92</u> , Dunstable |
| <u>FASC.XIII</u> | | | |
| 42 | 120'-1 | Tota pulcra es(ii) <u>98</u> | Polumier <u>OS</u> (tenor incomplete); <u>Tr 90</u> |

- 43 123'-5 Salve scema sanctitatis
(4v.)(ed.30) Dunstaple
Unique
- 44 125'-6 Tellus purpurium -
Splendida flamigero 41 Jo.Benet
Unique; isorhythmic motet on
St.Alban
- 45 126'-7 Gaude martyr -
Collaudemus venerantes 63 Forest
Unique; isorhythmic motet
on a Virgin and Martyr
(St.Catherine?)
- 46 127'-9 Preco prehemencie
(4v.)(ed.29) Dunstaple
Tr 92
- 47 129'-31 Gaude felix Anna(ed.27) Dunstaple
Unique
- FASC.XIV
- 48 131'-2 Veni Sancte Spiritus -
Consolator optime(4v.)
(ed.33) Dunstaple
Tr 92, Dunstable
- 49 132'-3 Virgo prefulgens avia 134 Sandley
Tr 92, Winchois (fragment)
motet on a Virgin and Martyr
(St.Catherine?)
- 50 133'-4 Beata Dei genitrix(ed.41) Dunstaple
BL, Binchois (erased ?);
Ao, Bynchois; MuEm,
Dunstable; Tr 90
- 51 134'-5 Alma redemptoris
mater (ed.40) Dunstaple
BL, Leonelle ('Binchois' cancelled);
Ao; Tr 93 (textless)
- 52 135'-6 Lux fulget ex Anglia -
O pater pietatis 40 Benet
Unique; isorhythmic motet on St.
Thomas of Hereford (tenor and end
of contra missing: lower half of
f.136 torn out)
- 53 136' Sancta Maria succurre
miseris (ed.49) Dunstaple
Tr 92, 87; Ao; Tr 90 (here imperfect:
only beginning of discantus left).

Three folios are missing from the final fascicle XIV, which probably contained at least two more English compositions; one of them may have been Dunstable's Regina celi letare, the only composition amongst his antiphons and motets which does not appear in ModB in the present state of the manuscript (excluding the textless isorhythmic fragment, no.34 of Bukofzer's edition).

Though there is no music for the Ordinary of the Mass in ModB, it is an extremely interesting collection from a liturgical point of view. There are thirty Marian Antiphons for various occasions, by Dunstable, Power, Forest, Plummer, Pyamour and Stone; indeed, the last two are known only through their three antiphons in ModB - Plummer is also known from a motet on St. Anne, which survives in England. There are only two antiphons in ModB which are not devotions to the Virgin: nos. 18 and 41, both antiphons on the Holy Cross, by Dunstable. Then we have Power's introit and respond for the Lady-Mass Salve sancta parens (nos. 2 and 30), and his sequence for the Virgin, perhaps for the same occasion (no. 38). There are two more sequences, both by Dunstable, on the Virgin again, and on St. Catherine (nos. 34 and 6). ModB also preserves Dunstable's Magnificat: settings of this canticle are very rare amongst the English at this date, and settings of the other canticles are unknown. There are two Magnificat by John Hothby, and another by Christopher Anthony, and that is all; the later Pepys MS 1236, however, has a setting of Nunc Dimittis, with its antiphon Lumen ad revelationem. Since the first polyphonic settings of Magnificat occur in fourteenth-century England, this is a little unexpected. ^{33a}

The other English works are all motets. One is Standley's Virgo prefulgens avia, an apparently free composition on a Virgin and Martyr; it was probably written for St. Catherine of Alexandria, and the same is true of Forest's isorhythmic motet Gaude martyr, whose tenor remains unidentified (nos. 49, 45). There are two isorhythmic motets by Benet, one on St. Alban, the other (Lux fulget, unfortunately incomplete) on St. Thomas of Hereford, whose synodal feast is not in the Sarum Calendar. The tenor is entirely missing, and the contra from the last few bars of the first color to the end. It is possible, however, to superimpose the three sections of the piece, and arrive at an approximation to the lost tenor by eliminating any notes which would produce unlikely dissonances with the upper voices. A reconstruction is included in the Musical Appendix, together with the other three motets mentioned above. There is another isorhythmic

motet by Benet in the English source CC, on St. Mary Magdalena; otherwise ModB transmits the only English isorhythmic motets of the middle years of the fifteenth century which were not written by Dunstable. It is surprising that Power has left us none, for he used isorhythm with great assurance in the Ordinary of the Mass. All the works in ModB share the classical structure preferred by Dunstable, in which all voices are isorhythmic, the tenor has two taleae and repeats twice in diminution, and the three sections are written triple, duple and triple measure respectively.

ModB offers us the best cross-section we are ever likely to find of English sacred music of the middle of the century, other than the Ordinary of the Mass and isorhythmic motets. Thirty-two antiphons, three sequences, a respond and a setting of Magnificat. This does not of course compare with the medley of smaller liturgical forms in the Pepys manuscript; but it should give us some idea of how the English composers of the second quarter of the fifteenth century used plainsong. Oddly enough, only five out of these thirty-seven compositions are based on the chant. Dunstable's Magnificat and Ave regina celorum ave domina ornament their plainsongs in the treble; his Crux fidelis, and Stone's Ibo mihi ad montem myrrhae present the chant almost unadorned in the middle voice; and Forest's Ascendit Christus uses a lightly coloured version of the well-known Marian antiphon Alma redemptoris mater as its tenor. These are poor pickings, after the rich variety of different treatments of plainsong which we find in OH. The two comparable sources in England at this time differ considerably in their use of cantus firmus. OS, predominantly a carol manuscript, contains fourteen antiphons, a hymn and a prose. Two of the antiphons employ plainsong: the first setting of Sancta Maria virgo (which is also in the Aosta manuscript), and Speciosa facta es. Both of them, as Harrison points out, are examples of 'migrant' cantus firmus; in the former, the chant is shared between tenor and contra; in the latter, it moves easily through all three voices. One or two of the others, like Regina celi letare, make frequent allusions to the chant, usually in the top voice; but this cannot strictly be considered on a level with

the structural use of the chant which the former two pieces display. The hymn, Eterne rex altissime, places the chant in the treble of a two-part setting. One other piece in this source unexpectedly uses plainsong, but it cannot be claimed as a liturgical item: it is Glad and blithe, a translation of the sequence Laetabundus. It is set for two voices, and as Reese observes, the treble uses the chant of the sequence.³⁴

Egerton MS 3307 of the British Museum, on the other hand, presents a different case. Excluding the Missa Brevis, the Passions, and the motet Cantemus domino, there are sixteen liturgical items in this source; and only four of them do not make use of plainsong.³⁵ Fourteen pieces have an ornamented version of the chant in the treble; there is one case of migrant cantus firmus; and in one item the chant is given to the tenor. It appears from this comparison that when writing music for votive antiphons, which were sung out of their proper liturgical context, and indeed often used texts foreign to the liturgy, as Harrison has shown,³⁶ composers felt free to abandon the familiar plainsongs and let their fancy wander - this is the case with the antiphons in OS and ModB; but when they composed music for sacred texts which were used within the framework of the liturgy, they preferred to employ the traditional chants - this is what we find in the Holy Week music of the Egerton MS. Even so, there are exceptions on both sides. The music of most of the antiphons which survive abroad in settings by English composers, however, does not use the appropriate plainsong. Indeed, we have already noticed two cases, Power's Salve regina 122 (BL), and Forest's Ascendit Christus 65 (ModB), where a composer has combined the text of one antiphon with the music of another. Forest's setting, which places a foreign chant in the tenor, can be explained as a motet: his Alma redemptoris mater - Anima mea liquefacta est, though it is free of plainsong, also combines the texts of two antiphons in the fashion of a motet. But Power's Salve regina, which fuses the words and music respectively of two antiphons in the self-same voice, is so far as I know unique.

We must now journey back to Trent, on the last stage of our tour, to examine Tr 90. (Tr 93, since it is largely a copy, will need no separate description here). Tr 90 contains over three hundred and sixty separate items; yet the composers of only fourteen of them are named. No other source of this time - perhaps of any time since the medieval composer emerged from his traditional anonymity - is quite so baffling in its refusal to disclose the names of the men whose music covers its pages. By finding concordances with other manuscripts which are less reticent, and by sorting out movements which form pairs or cycles, we can attribute thirty-two of these movements to English composers; twenty-two are Mass-sections from the great cycle of Ordinary-settings that stretches from the ninth to the twenty-third fascicle of this large volume. We can be fairly sure that they are not the only English compositions in Tr 90, but in scores of cases, final proof may never be found. The best thing to do is to list all the identified and doubtful pieces here, though we are certainly casting our nets too wide. Where there is some reason for supposing a work to be English, a cross will be added after the underlined number which refers to the general catalogue in Appendix I. Any English features are pointed out there, though in some cases, I must confess, I have simply followed my nose; however, several years of burying that organ in manuscripts and editions containing English music have I hope, trained me to 'small the blood of an Englishman'. The numbers in the left-hand column are again those of the catalogue in DTO 14-15. All items in fascicles IX - XXIII recur in Tr 93, unless otherwise stated. The many Mass-cycles which the scribe has broken up will be found re-united in Appendix I. Since concordances are the exception rather than the rule, unica have not been marked.

| <u>Tr 90</u> | | |
|-----------------|--|--------------------------------|
| <u>No.</u> | <u>Title</u> | <u>Composer, etc.</u> |
| <u>FASC. IX</u> | | |
| 896 | Gloria Salve sancta parens (4v.) <u>204</u> | Anon. |
| 897 | Gloria Quem malignus spiritus <u>139+</u> | Anon. (English?) <u>CUJ</u> |

898. Gloria Fuit homo missus
a Deo 193 Anon.

FASC.X

900 Gloria O quam suavis 199 Anon.

901 Gloria (Rex seculorum)(ed.19) (Dunstable)
Tr 92, Leonellus; Ao (twice),
Dunstable, Dunstapell

902 Gloria Alma redemptoris
mater 99 (Power)
Tr 89; Ao Leonell

903 Gloria Viri Galilei 242+ Anon.

904 Gloria 33 (Benet)
OC; MuEm, Benet

905 Gloria 23 (Benet)
Ca; Ao, Bennet (index 'Bonnet');
part of Missa sine nomine

FASC.XI

906 Gloria(O preclara stella) 241+ Anon.

907 Gloria Jacet granum 30 (Benet)
Tr 87 (twice); Ao, Bonnet (index)

908 Gloria Paratur nobis 202 Anon.

909 Gloria 247 Anon.

910 Gloria (4v.) 248 Anon.

FASC.XII

912 Gloria 249+ Anon.

914 Gloria Ecce Maria genuit 240 Anon.

915 Gloria Cuius maledictione 239 Anon.

916 Gloria (ed.7) (Dunstable)
Tr 92, Jo.Dunstaple

918 Gloria 60 (H.de Lantins)
Bl, H.de Lantins; MuEm, Forest

919 Gloria (ed.3) (Dunstable)
BU, Dunstable; Tr 92, Leonell;
Ao; Tr 93 (twice, once fragment only)

FASC.XIII

922 Gloria (Alma redemptoris
mater) 188+ Anon.

- 924 Gloria 243+ Anon.
 925 Gloria (canonic: 6v.) 244+ Anon.

FASC.XIV

- 926 Gloria 250+ Anon.
 927 Gloria (canonic) 245+ Anon.
 928 Gloria Dixerunt discipuli 190 Anon.
 929 Gloria (O Patris sapientia) 197 Anon.
 932 Gloria (canonic) 246+ Anon.

FASC.XV

- 934 Credo Salve sancta parens Anon.
 (4v.) 205
 935 Credo Quem malignus spiritus Anon. (English?)
140 CUJ
 936 Credo Fuit homo missus a Deo 194 Anon.

FASC.XVI

- 938 Credo O quam suavis 200 Anon.
 940 Credo 34 (Benet)
 Pairs with Gloria no.904.
 941 Credo 37 (Benet)
CC; MuEm, Benet

FASC.XVII

- 943 Credo 24 (Benet)
Tr 87, Leonellus; see 23 for
 attribution to Benet.
 944 Credo 256 Anon.
 947 Credo (ed.10) (Dunstable)
Tr 92 1427 (pairs with 1426,
 Gloria, Jo Dunstable); Pemb

FASC.XVIII

- 948 Credo 54 (De Anglia)
Ao 'de Anglia' (index)
 949 Credo 148 (English)
OH; OU (both fragmentary)
 950 Credo 257 Anon.
 952 Credo Letare Jerusalem 255 Anon.

FASC.XIX

- 953 Credo Dixerunt discipuli 191 Anon.
 954 Credo Homo quidam fecit 254 Anon.
 955 Credo O Patris sapientia 198 Anon.
 956 Credo 258 Anon.

FASC.XX

- 960 Sanctus Salve sancta parens
(4v.) 206 Anon.
 961 Agnus Salve sancta parens
(4v.) 207 Anon.
 962 Sanctus Quem malignus
spiritus 141+ Anon. (English?)
CUJ
 963 Agnus Quem malignus
spiritus 142+ Anon. (English?)
CUJ
 964 Sanctus Fuit homo missus a
Deo 195 Anon.

FASC.XXI

- 967 Sanctus O quam suavis 201 Anon.
 969 Sanctus Jacet granum (ii) 32 Benet (under tenor)

FASC.XXII

- 971 Sanctus 25 Dumpstabl (Benet)
Tr 87; Ao Bennet (index);
part of Missasine nomine.
 972 Agnus 26 (Benet)
Tr 87; Ao Bennet (index);
see 971 above.
 973 Sanctus Regnum mundi 57 (Driffelde)
Pairs with Agnus Eructavit
cor meum 58.
 974 Sanctus 225 Anon.
Paired with Agnus below.
 975 Agnus 226 Anon.
See 974 above.
 976 Sanctus 264+ Anon.

FASC.XXIII

- 977 Sanctus 127 (Soursby)
Tr 92 (twice), Anglicanus, Sorbi

- 980 Sanctus 223+ Anon.
Paired with Agnus 981 below;
Benedictus troped 'Marie filius'.
- 981 Agnus 224+ Anon.
Paired with 980 above.
- 982 Sanctus Jacet granum (i) 31 (Benet)
Tr 92; Ao; Tr 93 (twice);
pairs with Benet's Gloria Jacet
granum 30.
- 983 Agnus Paratur nobis 203 Anon.
- 984 Sanctus Rex seculorum (ed.21) Leonell (Dunstable)
Tr 92, Leonellus; Tr 93, Leonell
- FASC.XXIV
- 985 Agnus (partly 4v.) 271 Anon.
- 987 Sanctus (4v.) 263+ Tr 93
Anon.
Tr 93; Benedictus troped 'Marie
filius'.
- 990 Sancta Maria succurre miseris
157 (Frye)
Contrafactum with many concordances,
also ascribed to Bedingham; see
1029 below.
- 991, Ibo mihi ad montem myrrhae 288+ Anon.
992 Unique
- FASC.XXV
- 1013 Ave regina celorum mater (4v.) (Frye)
82 Tr 90 (repeated); FM; Bux; and
ten chansonniers
- FASC.XXVI
- 1025, Salve regina (trope Virgo
1026 mater) 297 Anon.
Unique
- 1029 (So ys emprentid) (Frye)
Tr 90; and seven chansonniers;
ballade; see no.990 above
- 1030 Descendi in hortum meum 96 (Plummer)
ModB, Polumier; here note-values
are doubled and time-signature
halved.

FASC. XXVIII

- 1038 Salve regina (iv) 302 Anon.
Unique

FASC. XXIX

- 1048 Beata Dei genitrix (ed.41) (Dunstable)
BL, Binchois (cancelled?);
Ao, Bynchois; MuEm,
Dunstable; ModB, Dunstable
- 1049 Qualis est dilectus 67 (Forest)
OH, Forest; ModB, Polmier;
Tr 93 (textless)
- 1050 Tota pulcra es (ii) 98 (Plummer)
OS; ModB, Polmier
- 1051 Sancta Maria succurre
miseris (ed.49) (Dunstable)
Tr 92, 87; Ao; ModB,
Dunstable
- 1052 Alma redemptoris mater -
Anima mea liquefacta est 64 (Forest)
BL; Ao; ModB, Forest
- 1053 Quam pulcra es (ii) 293+ Anon.
Unique

FASC. XXX

- 1061) Virgo mater ecclesie 309 Anon.
1062) Unique

FASC. XXXI

- 1074 O rosa bella (ed.54) (Dunstable)
(with 3 gimels) (13 concordances; Gymels unique)
- 1081 Salve regina (trope Virgo
mater (i) 121) Dunstable (Power)
Tr 92, Dunstable; Ao; ModB, Leonel.

FASC. XXXII

- 1086 Ave regina celorum mater 82 (Frye)
Tr 90; FM; Bux; and ten
chansonniers.
- 1087 Ave regina celorum ave
(iii) 282 Anon.
Unique
- 1090 Magnificat (primi toni) 8 Cristofferus Anthony
Unique
- 1091 Ut queant laxis 9 Cristofferus Anthony
Unique

FASC. XXXIII

- 1098 Gloria (Deul angouisseux) 11 Bedingham Langensteiss
Tr 88

- 1099 Credo Deul angouisseux (4v.) 12 (Bedingham)
Tr 88
- 1100 Sanctus 21 (Bedingham)
Unique; wrongly united with 1098-9
above; a note to Tr 90, no.866,
however, refers to these Mass-
sections as 'Missa Badingm'; pairs
with Agnus 1101 below.
- 1101 Agnus 22 (Bedingham)
Unique; see note to 1100 above.
- FASC. XXXVII
- 1121 Sanctus 7 Cristofferus Anthony
Unique
- FASC. XXXVIII
- 1127 O rosa bella 161 Hert
Unique; uses Dunstable's setting
as a basis.
- FASC. XXXIX
- 1135 Sub tuum presidium 305+ Anon.
Unique
- 1136 Regina celi letare 120 Leonell Anglicus
Tr 92
- 1139 Superno nunc emittitur - Le Bedingham
serviteur 154 Unique; contrafactum
- 1140 Beata es - Grant temps ay 153 Bedingham
Contrafactum; appears in 4
chansonniers.
- 1143) Nesciens mater (ii) 290+ Anon.
1144 Unique

One or two of the attributions in the above list perhaps call for some comment. The Mass Quem malignus spiritus (nos.139-42) is also to be found in a manuscript of the Cambridge University Library, though it there has the troped Kyrie Rex genitor. The English source contains a rebus or motto, 'Long ioy bref langleur', in which the words underlined are represented by musical notes. Thurston Dart once pointed out to me that this might refer to the Burgundian composer Gilles Joye; Dom Anselm Hughes also thought that it might have been written by a 'Joye', though he did not suggest Gilles.³⁷ The correspondence of names is

tempting; but there are various points which make me reluctant to accept this identification. First, there is no known music by Gilles Joye: only four secular pieces.³⁸ He was a friend of Robert Morton, the Englishman at the court of Burgundy, who also wrote no sacred music, or none that has survived. Second, there is only one known piece of sacred music written by a continental master which survives today in England: part of Dufay's Caput Mass.³⁹ Third, the style of the anonymous Mass is very much that of an English tenor-Mass of the middle third of the fifteenth century: it is written for three voices, with the cantus firmus in the lowest, at a time when most continental masters preferred to add a fourth part beneath the cantus firmus. Fourth, the Cambridge version employs a Sarum trope for Holy Innocents' Day or the Thursday after Whitsunday, which I have not yet found in a setting by any continental master of this time.⁴⁰ Fifth, the fact that five movements of the Mass survive in England, and only four in Trent, shows that the English source is probably the earlier. Finally, the Credo of this Mass is one of those rare cases of 'double-cantus firmus': in the opening duet, before the entry of the tenor, the discantus draws on the plainsong of the Sarum Credo. The only other examples of this device that have come my way are both by Dunstable: the Credo of his Mass Rex seculorum, and the isorhythmic motet Veni Sancte Spiritus - Veni Creator. The composer of the Mass Quem malignus spiritus remains a cipher for the present. The identification of the unknown tenor may help us here. There is at least the possibility that it may be a late work of Power's: the motto 'Joye sainz fyne' appears after his name in a list of admissions to fraternity at Canterbury Cathedral Priory. Full details are given in Appendix IV.

The Gloria no.918 is attributed to Forest in MuEm; in BL, however, it appears as the first movement of a Gloria-Credo pair by Hugh de Lantins. These two pieces agree musically, and the first layer of BL is extremely reliable in its ascriptions, so that the Gloria cannot be Forest's; we have included it only for the sake of interest, and to clear up the double attribution.

No. 969, Sanctus Jacet granum, gives Benet's name under the tenor. It does not pair with his Gloria Jacet granum, however, since it presents the plainsong at a different pitch and has nothing in common with the Gloria. The real partner for Benet's Gloria is the anonymous Sanctus Jacet granum, no. 982, which has the chant at the correct pitch and begins in the same way.

I am a little doubtful whether 'Cristofferus Anthony' was really an Englishman. There were continental composers who had the same Christian name; the surname 'Anthony' looks English, but we should perhaps bear in mind composers like Antonio da Cividale del Friuli, or Antonio Romano. These particular composers are probably too early for our Cristofferus, but they demonstrate the fact that 'Anthony' may represent a continental surname. The three works from Anthony's pen do not seem very English in style, and are all unique to this source. Both hymn and Magnificat were rarely set by English composers. We have however included him on the list of Englishmen, in the hope that other researchers may be able to find out more about this shadowy figure. 40a

'Hert', who wrote an arrangement of Dunstable's O rosa bella (no. 1127), is clearly an English name. It is certainly not a Latin surname; and if he had been German (or Flemish,) the German scribe Johannes Wiser would have spelt the name as 'Herz', 'Hertz', or possibly 'Hercz'. The Englishman Bedingham also tried his hand at arranging O rosa bella.

The first part of Tr 90 is a planned collection of Mass-music. The early gatherings contain settings of the Proper and a series of Kyrie, none of which appear to be English. Fascicles IX - XXIV are filled with settings of the remainder of the Ordinary, arranged in successive groups of Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus. The first two are kept quite separate, though sometimes a pairing Sanctus and Agnus have been copied together. The division of Mass-cycles into their individual movements was very old-fashioned by this time, when even

the traditional arrangement of the chant-books was beginning to alter in favour of the modern grouping by Masses.⁴¹ In our list, five anonymous Mass-cycles have been split up in this way (two of them incomplete), and two sets of paired movements. We have already discussed the Mass Quem malignus spiritus. The four-part Mass Salve sancta parens (204-7) lacks a Kyrie - it was rarely set untroped by the English - but the English hardly ever used a fourth voice in setting the Ordinary of the Mass. The Kyrie and Agnus of the three-part Mass Fuit homo missus a Deo (192-5) appear in Tr 88, nos. 219-20. The tenor is the first respond at Matins for the Nativity of St. John the Baptist. The cycle on O quam suavis (199-201) lacks Kyrie and Agnus; like a later and more famous Mass, it is based on the antiphon to Magnificat for Corpus Christi. Of the two anonymous Gloria-Credo pairs, the first Dixerunt discipuli, uses the antiphon at Lauds for St. Martin, Archbishop of Turin, who was venerated in the Sarum Use (190-1); I have not yet succeeded in identifying the tenor of the second, O Patris sapientia (197-8). The Sanctus Regnum mundi pairs with Driffelde's Agnus Eructavit cor meum, and has already been examined above (57-8). The Gloria and Agnus on Paratur nobis must be all that remains of a cycle whose tenor is another antiphon for Corpus Christi (202-3). Of the single movements which have plainsongs in the tenor, Gloria 242 uses the Ascension antiphon Viri Galilei; Gloria 240 the antiphon Ecce Maria genuit, from Lauds at Circumcision (also used for commemorations of the Virgin); the Credo 255 employs the introit Letare Jerusalem for Low Sunday; the Credo 254 draws on Homo quidam fecit cenam, the antiphon to Benedictus for the second Sunday after Trinity; and the Sanctus 223 and 263 employ the trope Marie filius for the Benedictus (the second is for four voices); this is part of the Sarum Sanctus trope Sancte ingenite genitor, which was sung on greater doubles and was often used only in the Benedictus.⁴² In OH the same Benedictus trope occurs twice, in an anonymous discant-style setting, and in Pycard's canonic Sanctus (nos. 96, 119); it is also used as the tenor of the sister-motets Salvatoris mater pia (no. 107) and Salve mater Domini (no. 109, by Damett and Sturgeon respectively. Since I have not yet traced this trope in a setting by a continental composer of

the time, these two Sanctus are quite possibly English, and also the Agnus 224 which pairs with the first of them. Apart from the diplomatic copy of Tr 93, all of these anonymous tenor-Mass settings are unique.

Many of them are very likely to be English. Of the 92 Mass-sections in this part of the manuscript, 22 are English in origin, if we include the Mass Quem malignus spiritus; yet to my knowledge, only twenty can be allotted to continental composers. On the law of averages alone, then, over half the remaining fifty ought to be English; this crude estimate is supported by the large number of cycles, pairs and single movements which use tenors foreign to the Ordinary, a form which was almost unique to England around 1430. It is unlikely that English composers should have suddenly stopped writing tenor-Masses by the middle of the century; and the great majority of the anonymous Mass-sections of Tr 90 still keep to three voices only, while composers such as Dufay, Ockeghem and Obrecht preferred the more mobile harmony which a low-lying contra secundus afforded them.⁴³ Once again, though, we are prevented from making particular decisions in particular cases by lack of material. Until someone has transcribed not only all the music that is certainly English, together with an even greater amount of continental music, we can have no very precise methods of comparison. The scientist may send to the store-room for his litmus papers, his selective stains and dyes. But the musicologist is hampered at every turn by lack of published material: each man has to equip and supply his own laboratory, by making his own catalogues and transcriptions. Perhaps, in half a century or so, the musical historian may possibly hope to rival the sensitive palate of the present-day cognoscente of the fine arts; for the time being, though, our instruments remain blunt and imprecise. It will be a long time before we can identify English fifteenth-century music on its style alone.

Statistics, though, will not solve all our problems. There is one English work in Tr 90 which we should undoubtedly have ascribed to an unknown continental master, if Johann Wiser had not copied it under

the name of Bedingham: the Mass on Binchois' chanson 'Deul angouisseux'. This appears to be the only known case of a parody-Mass by an English composer of this period; it is also an early example of its kind.⁴⁴ Tr 90 has only the Gloria and Credo, which the scribe has wrongly united with a Sanctus-Agnus pair which is very probably Bedingham's as well; the entire Mass is to be found in Tr 88, where it appears anonymously, with a Kyrie and Benedicamus Domino which also seem to belong with it (10-15). Bessler draws attention to the four Mass-cycles and a Gloria-Credo pair in Tr 90 which are the first real collection of 'chanson-Masses', but after mentioning Dufay's Mass Se la face ay pale and Ockeghem's cycle on L'homme armé he leaves the subject without further discussion.⁴⁵ The Masses that he lists, which include W.de Rouge's cycle on Frye's ballade 'So ys emprentid', are all cantus firmus Masses, and draw on one voice of the chanson named in their titles. Only the paired Gloria and Credo on 'Herdo herdo' appears to use a folksong as its tenor. Usually the borrowed voice is the tenor of the original song, and is used as the tenor of the Mass. An exception is the anonymous Mass on Dunstable's 'O rosa bella', which uses Dunstable's discantus as the new contra, transposing the melody down a fourth (Tr 90 nos. 1114-8). Bedingham's Mass Deul angouisseux, however, is an extremely free and florid treatment of both the tenor and the discantus of Binchois' chanson.⁴⁶ The borrowed material is scattered through all three voices, and new material is interposed at will. Only a few of the chanson and folk-song Masses of the fifteenth century have so far been transcribed and edited, so that we cannot yet be sure whether Bedingham was initiating or following a fashion here. He is an individual figure amongst his English compatriots, a member of Frye's generation, to judge from his music. He was probably the John Bedyngham who was a founder member of the Gild of Parish Clerks, London, in 1449, and who was verger of the Royal Free Chapel of St. Stephen within Westminster Palace in 1458 - a post which the composer Nicholas Ludford later held.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, he probably travelled abroad; for his ballade 'Grant temps' sings the praises of golden 'Madame Florence', whom he had long desired to visit: appropriately, it appears in a Florentine

manuscript. He uses a tenor bassus as a fourth voice in the Credo of the Mass in question, which shows some feeling for the methods of continental composers, though as we have said, this is not strictly speaking a tenor-Mass. The way in which he divides the material of Binchois' song through all three voices immediately suggests the older English technique of 'migrant' cantus firmus, however; and the rhythmic complexity of his melodic lines, which often burgeon into semiminims, clearly represent a later development of the sensitive figurations of Dunstable's upper parts. His sixteen sacred works and five French chansons mark him out as an important mid-century composer who deserves far more attention than he has so far received from writers on English music. The fact that we can trace his career in England, where four of his works have survived, should make us even more chary of the idea that most of the English composers under discussion were expatriates working abroad. For Bedingham is far more 'continental' than most of them.

Here we must leave our detailed analysis of the more important sources of English music abroad. The manuscripts Tr 88-9 and the Florentine source FM contain a little more; but there is not enough to justify a separate treatment of these volumes. Such an investigation would yield very little new material about the music itself. The German manuscript MuEm perhaps deserves a word before we pass on. It formerly belonged to the monastery of St. Emmeram, near Munich. Many scribes took turns to copy the music, which was written over a fairly long period and appears in both black and void notation. It is a peripheral source, as the large number of contrafacta reveals. There are concordances with all the manuscripts we have so far listed, from Ware to Warsaw. Only nine pieces are English: five are by Dunstable, and we have two each from Benet and Power. There are concordances with OH, Pemb, OC and OS: nearly half its small English repertory is also to be found in this country. It also contains the troped Gloria by Zacar (137) which makes its first appearance in OH. None of these works

is unique to MuEm; the English music is scattered through the pages, though there is rather more in the last two fascicles. The source certainly has no connection with the Imperial Chapel.

I am afraid that the method I have adopted in this tour of Italian manuscripts may seem at first a little unsystematic. My original intention was to discuss sources and music in two separate chapters. When I came to sketch these out on paper, though, it became clear that the two subjects were so intimately connected that any attempt to disentangle the one from the other would have been vain. The dating of the music, the chronology of the composers, developments of style; the fascinating questions of where ^{the music} was composed, what links it had with native sources, who took it abroad, who wanted to buy it, how plainsong was used, what forms the English invented - all these matters concern music and manuscripts alike. To have separated them would have meant repeating long passages in each chapter; and an analysis of the sources without reference to the music they contain would in any case have proved dull writing and duller reading. By sandwiching my discussions of the music between my examinations of the sources that housed it, I hope to have kept the reader's interest alive and, at the same time, to have shown how music and manuscript alike may be used to reveal each other. Bukofzer sketched the terraced pyramid of musical history in a similar way in his last, and alas posthumously published paper, though I cannot pretend that my methods are any match for his careful and experienced deliberations.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, the foregoing pages may have started some hares, and will I trust go some way to convincing future historians of English music that there is a well-stocked library abroad to be had for the asking, and this at a time when the total quantity of liturgical music surviving in home sources would hardly fill a single shelf.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. Published entire in John Stevens' fine edition, Mediaeval Carols.
2. Mediaeval Carols, nos. 8 and 29.
3. See Besseler's study of the changing metre of continental music at this time in Bourdon und Fauxbourdon, Kapitel VII.
4. See Harrison, Music in Medieval England, 259ff. He passes from the Masses of Dunstable to those of the sixteenth century in just over ten pages, in a volume containing nearly five hundred.
5. University College, MS 192:
see Hughes, Medieval Polyphony in the Bodleian Library, no. 51, and Bukofzer's review in JAMS V, 1952, 56. Magdalen College, MS B.II.3. 16.C: see Bukofzer, 'Some sources of Fifteenth-century English Music', no. 7. For sigla of MSS cited in the text here and elsewhere, see the List of Manuscripts that heads Appendix I.
6. John Dunstable, Complete Works. He may have missed one piece, however, listed in Appendix I as Sanctus no. 59.
7. In this table, and in those which follow, the first column gives a reference number which holds good for that particular source, sometimes the numbering of an accepted catalogue, and sometimes a number I have used for convenience; the next column gives a folio reference when it is needed; the third has the time-signatures employed or understood in the course of the movement; verso^{is} represented by a vertical stroke, recto by a plain number. The 'Title' column gives sufficient text to identify each piece, and these words are followed by an underlined number which refers to the master-catalogue of English music abroad, in Appendix I; such underlined numbers throughout this dissertation have the same meaning. Since Dunstable's works have not been included in my catalogue, the references preceded by (ed.) are the numbers of the work in question according to Bukofzer's edition, John Dunstable, Complete Works. The right-hand column gives the composer's name, if any, in the spelling of the source; underneath this follow any concordances with other manuscripts, for which full references will be found in Appendix I. Time-signatures, composers' names, and titles, or parts of them, which are not given in the source, appear here in brackets (). In each case, except for ModB, details of the description, provenance, etc. of the MSS are taken from the articles referred to in the List of Manuscripts which heads Appendix I. Details of publication will also be found in this appendix.
8. Since this sequence is of York and Hereford Use, and Dunstable was a canon of Hereford from 1419, he may possibly have composed it.

9. OH, no.111; Bukofzer discusses both Sanctus and Credo by Power in Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music, 43. He complains that the editors of The Old Hall Manuscript have erred in doubling the values of the lower voices when they should have halved those of the top part, but this is a mere quibble. Incidentally, he gets the time-signatures the wrong way round himself here!
10. For Power's work, see Musical Appendix; for Byttering's, The Old Hall Manuscript (hereafter contracted to 'OH ed. '), I, 157.
11. For this interesting study in musical trade-routes, see Franciszka Merlan in Reese, Music in the Renaissance, 743f.
12. He appears with a troped Gloria, f.145'-7; For information about both composers, see Reese, op.cit., 31ff.
13. Printed in DTO 61, no.VIII.
14. For an interesting study of the changing size of MSS, see Besseler, Bourdon und Fauxbourdon, 139ff. He does not include English MSS.
15. Studies, 65.
16. See note 3. English composers continued to use prolation signatures occasionally until well into the sixteenth century.
17. See the separate examinations of this question in Bukofzer, Studies, 217ff.; Besseler, Bourdon, 151ff. Both agree remarkably well. See also Bukofzer, 'Fauxbourdon Revisited', 46f.
18. The scribe gives a note to the Sanctus which refers back six pages to the Agnus. See the thematic catalogue in DTO 14-15; and 59.
19. Harrison, op.cit., 251ff.
20. For the attribution to Forest or Dunstable, see Bukofzer, Studies, 41; final attribution to Forest in John Dunstable, no.61.
21. It should be noted here that Bukofzer was not quite his usual exact self in discussing the parallel treatment of the chant in Forest's Ascendit Christus and Anglicanus' Credo. A comparison of the two pieces, which are printed as John Dunstable, no.60, and DTO 61, no.XLIX, shows that while the former breaks off as Bukofzer says, at 'Virgo prius', the latter ends with the previous phrase. No doubt the omission of 'natura mirante' misled Bukofzer into confusing the passage 'Tu que genuisti...genitorem' with the succeeding 'Virgo prius': both phrases descend an octave. The chant is given in John Dunstable, 161.

22. Davey liked to imagine Dunstable 'passing on into wealthy and cultivated Italy', and says of the other English composers that 'the archives of some Italian city may give us a distinct account of some one of them, as of Hothby at Lucca' (History of English Music, 61, 70). Nagel (I translate) speaks of 'Italy, where without any doubt Dunstable's chief activity blossomed forth', and continues: 'No-one can say how many tokens of his art made their way northwards in manuscripts from the laughing South, and taught attentive hearers in English monasteries the new style of their creator' (Geschichte der Musik in England, II, 2). This legend dies hard.
23. Marix, Histoire, 20.
24. Including Specialis virgo, which as we have suggested is probably one of the first; the exception is the textless motet (ed.34), which has one talea thrice repeated, but no color - and here too, only the tenor is isorhythmic. A special case, obviously, designed to illustrate a theoretical point. These fourths between treble and tenor are naturally less remarkable in four-part writing, where a contra bassus spends most of its time below the tenor.
25. Music in Medieval Britain, 457, further reff. there. He was minor canon and later cardinal of St. Paul's Cathedral 1394-5.
26. For Harrison's view, see Music in Medieval Britain, 244-5; for Noble's suggestion, see 'John Dunstable: a line of approach and a point of departure', in The Musical Times.
27. As if the canon alone were not enough, Pycard also paraphrases the plainsong Sarum (Sarum 3, with troped Benedictus Marie filius). See Harrison, op.cit. 238, note 2.
28. These pieces are listed by Strunk and Bukofzer in the latter's Studies, 59. We use 'canonic' in the modern sense here, of course.
29. Harrison gives a full account, op.cit., 49.
30. See John Harvey, Gothic England, 155, citing Nicolas, Proceedings of the Privy Council, V, 218.
31. He was employed, like Binchois, by the Duke of Suffolk: see Marix, Histoire, 177f. She suggests that he may have written the chanson D'un cuer joyeux, preserved in Oxford, Bodleian Lib., MS Can. Misc. 213, but omits to mention the two pieces in ModB.
32. He may even have been the mysterious Guilielmus Monachus, whom I claim as an Englishman in Chapter V below.
33. Capelle, concerti e musiche di casa d'Este.

- 33a. There is however a fragmentary setting of Nunc dimittis in Oxford, Magdalen College, MS B.II.3.16.C. For fourteenth-century settings, see Harrison, op.cit. Exx.125-6. Ex.126, taken from a fragment on a fly-leaf in the Bodleian Lib. MS Lat.Th.e.30, is unusual in that the first word, Magnificat, was set to measured music, instead of being left to the beginner as custom demanded. Harrison fails to point this out, but the last few notes and the syllable '...at' are clearly visible before the section that he gives on p.346. This suggests that it may have been sung out of its liturgical context as a Marian motet - appropriately enough, in view of the words.
34. Reese, Music in the Middle Ages, 422. For a brief discussion of the liturgical music in OS, see Harrison, op.cit., 298ff., 382. Harrison gives the number of antiphons as fifteen, but the one which he calls Funde virgo ter beata, 'in two parts throughout', is really the three verses of the preceding Ave regina celorum mater; this composition bears a note to the section which is to be repeated after each verse. The verses do not seem to be recorded elsewhere: all three share the same melodic outline, which suggests that they may be variations on the same unknown plainsong. They are invocations for women with child, for sailors and for sinners.
36. Op.cit., 295f.
37. 'The text-omissions in the Creed', in Collins (ed.) Missa "O quam suavis", xxxiv.
38. For information about this composer, see Marix, Histoire, passim. She does not list all his music.
39. In flyleaves belonging to a court leet book, Coventry Corporation, MS A 3, first described by Bukofzer.
40. See Frere, The Use of Sarum, II, 207; for the text of the trope, Wickham Legg, The Sarum Missal, 3.
- 40a. If Anthony was English, he was the only English composer to use the continental method of Fauxbourdon, which leaves the middle voice to be supplied at the fourth below the upper. See the verse of his Magnificat quoted by Harrison, op.cit. 347. This very strongly suggests that he was a continental.
41. Bukofzer discusses this interesting change in Studies, 224f.
42. Text of the trope in Wickham Legg, op.cit., 542: see also 7, note 8; for the music, see Graduale Sariburiense, ed.Frere, plate 17^x.

43. The emergence of a true bass line in the middle years of the fifteenth century is one of the central themes of Besseler's Bourdon und Fauxbourdon; see also Bukofzer, Studies, 273.
44. We except the parody-Mass movements of Zacar, which are almost unique for their time. He only applies the technique to single movements, never to the whole Ordinary or even to a pair of movements. See Reese, Music in the Renaissance, 32f.
45. In Bourdon und Fauxbourdon, 214.
46. For the chanson, see DTO 14-15, 242: the contra primus is the original, and has been slightly changed at cadences. However, only tenor and discantus concern us here. For Bedingham's Mass, see DTO 61, LXViff.
47. I am indebted to Dr. Hugh Baillie for information about Ludford; Dr. Baillie was also the first to discover the Bede-Roll of the Gild of Parish Clerks in the Guildhall Library, London. See his article 'A London Gild of Musicians', in PRMA 83.
48. 'Changing Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music', in MO XLIV, no.1., January, 1958, 1ff.

CHAPTER THREE

We began the last chapter with a lament for the lost sources of English sacred music of the fifteenth century. But if these are few and fragmentary, English secular music can hardly be said to exist at all in native manuscripts from the period c.1425-75. Two collections which both date from c.1425, in the Cambridge University Library and the Bodleian Library seem to contain a repertory which harks back to the fourteenth century.¹ The two manuscripts have one English song in common, 'I rede thou be joly and glad'; both sets of songs are almost exclusively written for two voices; both include a few pieces with French text; and both have a little sacred music too. The formes fixes of Italy and France do not appear. Reese sums up the English secular repertory of this period in half a paragraph.² Two later sources, MSS Ashmole 191 and 1393 of the Bodleian Library, bring us into the years 1425-50. The former contains six songs and the first few notes of a seventh; the latter has only one song, and a carol. These pieces are almost all for two voices; usually both parts are provided with words, and the texts are all English. There are no additional verses, no repeat-marks, no signa congruentiae, no indications of 'ouvert' and 'clos', no musical rhymes, in short none of the outward or inward marks of the continental formes fixes. Beyond these two sources, there are no more manuscripts in this country at all that are known to transmit secular courtly songs of this time; yet such songs abound in continental sources. One need not stir from the Bodleian Library to compare three of the small volumes mentioned above with the rich collection in MS Can. Misc. 213, a treasure-house of Burgundian and Italian chansons of the same period, copied in fifteenth-century Italy. One sighs, sends the manuscripts back, and settles for the rich tradition of the carols instead. Harrison, indeed, summarily dismisses fifteenth-century secular English music from his book in a single sentence, which seems a little curt.³

For here again, the foreign sources can help us a little. Over thirty English songs, with texts in three languages, survive abroad in as many manuscripts. They are well-distributed in time and place alike. Some of them were among the most popular songs of their age. Dunstable, Bedingham, Frye and Morton all composed songs which were amongst the most popular in the continental repertory, some of them surviving in nine or more chansonniers and larger manuscripts. Bedingham's rondeau 'Mon seul plaisir' was copied more frequently than any other English work of its time, except Walter Frye's song-motet Ave regina celorum mater: both are recorded no fewer than fourteen times apiece. Yet the only link we have between the native and foreign repertories of English secular music appears to be the few notes of an incomplete and textless song which we described earlier as the seventh piece in Ashmole 191: Bukofzer identified them as the first strain of Walter Frye's ballade, 'So ys emprentid', which recurs in seven sources abroad.

The history of this ballade raises one or two points which are relevant to one of the main issues of this dissertation: how closely are the 'native' and 'foreign' repertories of English music related? Frye's song started life as an English ballade with English text: it first appears, admittedly in a fragmentary state, in an English manuscript. We may take it that English words infer an English audience, for ours is a language that rarely comes easily to the Latin races, even today. The song then found its way abroad; it was copied into the roughly contemporary chansonniers of Mellon, Pixérécourt, Laborde and the Escorial; the former gives Frye as the composer, and the English text; the last three transmit the song anonymously with French words. All these sources contain a repertory which points to the artistic circle of the Ducal court of Burgundy. Finally, Frye's ballade found its way to Italy. In a Florentine source it is ascribed to 'Bellingan', a garbled rendering of 'Bedingham'; in Tr 90 it has been adapted for sacred use, and a Marian antiphon replaces its original text - and in the

process, too, it has lost its formal character as a ballade. Last of all, the piece was copied without text at the head of the Mass 'Soyez empruntich' in the same source; here the shadowy figure of 'G.le Rouge' has taken Frye's tenor and used it unchanged as the tenor of a Mass-cycle. The Mass also appears in the still later source MS B.80 of the Archivio di San Pietro, in the Vatican Library.

We have traced the path of Frye's song in some detail here. It teaches us some interesting lessons. First, it proves that at any rate one song from the English repertory in continental sources started life at home in England; and though it seems to be the only musical setting of a ballade to occur in English manuscripts of the time, we may feel fairly certain that a good deal of music has been lost here. A large number of ballades and a smaller proportion of rondeaux and virelais survive without music in fifteenth-century English manuscripts, and it seems very unlikely that none of them should have been set to music; and there are seven other songs in foreign sources, at least four of them ballades, which only occur with English words, and must therefore have been written for an English audience in the first place.⁴ Courtly love-song, then, had some foothold in English circles by this time, though the native sources recording it have almost completely vanished.

Frye's 'So ys empruntid' is provided with French words in most of the foreign manuscripts: were it not for the Mellon chansonnier and the few textless notes in Ashmole 191, indeed, we should certainly have said that it was a French ballade written abroad for continental listeners, like the songs of Robert Morton, who is known to have spent much of his life at the court of Burgundy.⁵ The practice of adapting French text to an English song, however, suggests that some of the works of other English composers who cannot be shown to have held posts in foreign courts, such as Bedingham, may well have started life with English text as well -- though they now survive with French words only. We also have evidence that Morton's French songs were adapted for German use in this way,

and quite possibly for Italian use as well.⁶ In any case, it is too easy to forget that Norman French was used at the English court as late as the time of Henry VIII, so that French text does not really preclude English origin. The Duke of Suffolk employed Binchois to set the rondeau 'Ainsi que a la foiz my souvient' in 1424; and his steward Guillaume Benoit, himself quite possibly a composer, read him French romances when he was ill at this time. This sensitive and tragic figure was also a close friend of the poet Charles d'Orléans during the latter's long captivity in England; the Frenchman learnt English, and produced some of the best English lyrics of courtly love that survive from this time.⁷ English may have been a bar to most French, Burgundian and Italian circles, but French was quite familiar to most cultured Englishmen of the fifteenth century.

Italian, on the other hand, was perhaps less familiar, as Dunstable's 'O rosa bella' shows: the composer obviously did not understand the structure of an Italian ballata. The half-close at the end of the first part of Dunstable's setting was clearly not intended to end the whole piece, as the form of a ballata would require. The tripla which rounds off the second half must be the final cadence. The song should therefore be sung through in its entirety and then repeated with the second line of text; or else each half must be repeated on its own. The musical form will be, then, ABab or AaBb, whereas ballata form would require ABbaA. It is just possible that Dunstable confused the form with that of a rondeau, and envisaged a repeat of both halves at the end, instead of only the first section; this would give ABbaAB. In any event, the composer was not familiar with the conventions of Italian verse. Yet the earlier setting by Ciconia, who lived in Italy, strictly respects the poetic form.⁸ I have not had access to the Oporto manuscript, which contains a few other pieces with Italian text by a Galfridus and a Robertus de Anglia; the latter may possibly be Robert Morton. Three works by John Hothby also have Italian incipits, though no further text is given; since Hothby is known to have spent most of his life in Italy, this comes as no surprise.⁹

During the second quarter of the fifteenth century, the old mixture of sacred and secular music within a single manuscript gave way to the separation of the two repertoires; choir-books grew larger, chansonniers smaller. Some sacred sources continue to include one or two chansons, while most secular collections have a few sacred items, usually to begin and end the volume. Nevertheless, the forms of the two classes of music became fairly distinct: the sacred pieces which are found in chansonniers are usually miniatures, and differ little in style from their secular companions. Frye's motets belong to this category. Indeed, his famous Ave regina celorum mater, though its musical form exactly reflects the words of its liturgical text, is nothing more than a ballade which omits the 'ouvert' ending to the first section.¹⁰ The repertory of English secular music abroad, then, is pretty sharply distinguished from the repertory of English sacred music abroad: the two types hardly ever appear side by side in the same manuscript, except for Frye's sainctes chansonnettes mentioned above. Of the English composers of sacred music whom we have discussed in Chapter II, only Dunstable, Frye and Bedingham are known to have written secular songs as well. (The textless 'Motectus' by Morton which Marix printed as a sacred composition is really a French song, 'Vive madamme', as the MS Pixérécourt reveals).¹¹ It is therefore unlikely that we shall ever be able to trace the dissemination of English secular music in the scattered chansonniers of the fifteenth century. Robert Morton was employed at the Burgundian court from 1457 to the beginning of 1475, when he died. A 'Jehan Stuart', presumably a Scot, was also in the Burgundian chapel in February 1470, though his name has vanished from the lists by 1474.¹² According to Bukofzer, Van Doorslaer records a number of unnamed English instrumentalists in Burgundian service at this time; these would no doubt be minstrels, who cannot be shown to have composed music.¹³ Bukofzer also suggests that Frye may have been a colleague of Morton's; but though there are Masses by Frye and another Englishman, Richard

Cockx, in a Burgundian source of the time of Charles the Bold, there is no archival evidence to connect these two men with the Burgundian court. Frye's Mass Flos regalis Etheldreda, indeed, which appears in this manuscript, very probably has some connection with Ely; this suggests that at any rate one work was imported from England, and quite possibly, therefore, the others as well.¹⁴

We are perhaps on slightly firmer ground when we consider the royal marriages which took English princesses abroad to strange countries. In 1468, for example, Charles the Bold of Burgundy married Margaret of York, sister of Edward IV of England. Pirro quotes the contemporary chronicler Olivier de la Marche, who says that minstrels and trumpeters, as many English as Burgundian, made themselves 'very forcibly heard' during the wedding procession. The chronicler luckily recovered the use of his ears in time to enjoy the music at the banquet which followed. Amongst the items were a welcome to the 'belle bergère' from a lion, 'faicte à ce propos, à teneur et dessus' - front legs and hind legs, presumably. There was then a quartet of donkeys and a quartet of flute-playing wolves; and this zoological concert finished with the song of two sirens who emerged from a large whale.¹⁵ No doubt Margaret would have taken a few household minstrels with her to sweeten her exile - quite possibly the John Stewart who appears for a while in 1470. However, hypothesis based on chroniclers' tales is no basis for the history of music. The only thoroughly reliable evidence would be evidence of payments to English musicians: chroniclers may have embroidered their narrative, but when money changed hands we may be sure that the sum is exactly noted. And there is precious little of this kind of testimony.

Occasionally the text of a chanson will give us a tantalising hint. Bedingham's 'Grant temps ai eu' speaks with a rarely personal note: instead of the familiar figures of the lore of courtly love, the author tells of a long-awaited visit to 'Madame Florence dorée', which he has at last achieved. ~~Since Bedingham's sacred music shows~~ some familiarity with continental models, I think we may take it that

this song at least was originally written in French, and that Bedingham really did visit the golden city of Florence in the middle years of the century.¹⁶ Bedingham also set 'Le serviteur', though the rest of the text is missing: the piece appears as a contrafactum in Tr 90.¹⁷ This text - if it is indeed the same - also occurs in a famous rondeau by Dufay; this perhaps argues some acquaintance with French verse, and confirms the suggestion that Bedingham travelled abroad. Bedingham has left us three rondeaux, a ballade, the concordantiae to Dunstable's 'O rosa bella', and one piece, 'Fortune', which I have not seen. All except the concordantiae employ French texts. We find a high proportion of ballades in the English secular repertory, if we except the works of Morton, who was writing for a French public. Ballade form was an overwhelming favourite among poets in fifteenth-century England,¹⁸ though it was much less popular abroad, where the rondeau was preferred. Five at least of the pieces in foreign sources with English words are ballades, and we must add one example each from Bedingham and Hothby, with French and Italian texts respectively. This again confirms that many of these pieces were not written in the first place to meet the demands of continental fashion.

Many of these English songs remain unpublished. Morton, who was an important song-composer even by continental standards, has been almost completely covered, thanks to the labours of Jeppesen, Marix and Plamenac. Pirro mentions a song 'Ma dona bella' (170), in the Escorial chansonier, which I have not seen. Bedingham's rondeau 'Mon seul plaisir' is transcribed in the Musical Appendix below, together with Hothby's three songs with Italian text. I regret that the pieces in the Oporto and Strasbourg manuscripts must await a later investigation. It is interesting to note, nevertheless, that Alfonso V, King of Portugal 1438-81, sent some of his musicians to London in 1439 with the task of recruiting English singers for his chapel.¹⁹ We do not know whether he was successful or not; so far as I know, there is no English sacred music in Portugal, but the Oporto chansonier must have been written fairly soon after 1440.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III.

1. Cambridge Univ. Lib., Add. MS 5943; facsimile and (bad) transcriptions in S.L.M [eyer], Music, Cantelenas and Songs, Etc., from an early Fifteenth Century Manuscript, 1906 (privately printed). Bodleian Lib., MS Douce 381; facsimile in Stainer, Early Bodleian Music, I, plates XX-XXV, transcriptions in II, 51-60.
2. Music in the Middle Ages, 422. We exclude the carols from our definition of 'secular', though they are not of course liturgical music, strictly speaking.
3. Music in Mediaeval Britain, xiii. It would have been an easy matter to insert the word 'Sacred' into the title of the book. Ashmole MSS 191 and 1393 are available in facsimile in Stainer, op.cit., I, plates XXX-XXXVI and XXVI-XXVIII; transcriptions in II, 61-73. For English songs appear in foreign manuscripts, see the complete list in Appendix I, where all the information concerning sources and publication of these pieces will be found.
4. Nos. 178ff. of our catalogue; for texts and comment on English lyrics at home in the fifteenth century, see Robbins, Secular Lyrics of the XIV and XV Centuries and Chambers, English Literature at the Close of the Middle Ages, passim.
5. See Marix, Histoire, 209ff. and passim.
6. See nos. 167, 170, 173-5 in our catalogue. 175 also appears as a Spanish villancico.
7. For Binchois and Benoit, see Marix, Histoire, 177f.; for Charles d'Orléans, R. Steele (ed.), The English Poems of Charles of Orleans, Early English Text Society, Ord. Ser. 215, 1941.
8. See Bukofzer's observations in the notes to John Dunstable, no. 54.
9. See Appendix IV below.
10. Printed, with comments, in Reese, Music in the Renaissance, 94f.
11. No. 174 in our catalogue.

12. Marix, Histoire, 261.
13. Bukofzer, 'An Unknown Chansonnier', 30 and note 73.
14. See nos. 49-53, 69-81 in our catalogue.
15. See Marix, Histoire, 42f., 106; Pirro (Histoire, 116) suggests very plausibly that the anonymous 'Princesse of Youth' was written for this occasion.

16. The text of FM 176 (the only full version) is rather corrupt, but seems to run:

Grant temps ai eu et desirée
 de uous [re] uoir certainement
 madame florence dorée
 pour ce que [j'] ay oui souuent
 Dire de persone[s] bien cent
 qu'ell[e en] a plus [de] renommée
 que soit desoux le firmament
 et de biaulté mieulx compossée

(line 2, 'dame' for 'dorée'; l.4, 'yoi' for 'oui'; l.6, 'qui' for 'qu').

17. Printed with Dufay's (which is wrongly ascribed to Isaak), in DFO 14-15, 238ff.
18. Robbins, op.cit., xlix, cites these figures from Miss Beatrice Geary's researches into 1,211 fifteenth-century lyrics:

| | | |
|-----------------|---|-----|
| Ballade-stanzas | - | 243 |
| Roundels | - | 9 |
| Virelais | - | 3 |

19. 'Es concido también el hecho que el rey Alfonso, en 1439, mandó a Londres músicos con el encayo de recoger elementos para la reforma musical de su capilla, precisamente en tiempo de John Dunstable': Anglés, La Musica en la Corte de los Reyes Católicos, I, 39, citing Luiz de Freitas Branco, Elementos de Sciencias Musicais, II, 38 (Lisboa, 1931).

CHAPTER FOUR.

The previous two chapters have given us some cause to believe that a fair amount of the fifteenth-century English music surviving abroad may have been composed for English use, though in many cases the destruction and loss of native sources may never allow us to proceed further than inference. Nevertheless, there is a good deal of material which can tell us more about the institutions of fifteenth-century England which encouraged polyphonic composition, the secular and monastic cathedrals, the colleges, religious houses, and private chapels - particularly, of course, the Chapel Royal. There is also a mass of published and unpublished evidence which can throw some light on the biographies and activities of composers and other musicians of the time. Dr. Harrison has duplicated much of my work in his book. My first task, however, was to try to find information about English musicians in Italy; accordingly, I have searched through Italian publications, too numerous to list here, which dealt with the musical life of the more important towns and cities of fifteenth-century Italy: Rome, Florence, Venice, Mantua, Milan, Bologna, Modena, Ferrara, Siena, Verona, Vicenza, Cremona, Trent, Bergamo and Piacenza. Amongst these pages there are hundreds of references to French, Flemish, Burgundian and German musicians. Yet the only Englishmen who have left any record are John Hothby, the 'William' who served Ercole I of Ferrara late in the century, and a 'Robert' who was choirmaster in S. Petronio, Bologna, at about the same time. There is no evidence that any of them were in Italy before the 1460s, though Coussemaker states without authority that Hothby started his travels in the 1440s. Taking a hint from Bedingham's ballade 'Grant temps', which was clearly inspired by a visit to Florence, I carried out some research into the Medicean archives there. I was delighted to find an autograph letter of 1469 which showed that John Hothby was on fairly intimate terms with Lorenzo de' Medici.¹ But though there were English merchants, envoys, mercenaries and condottieri in abundance, no more musicians were to be found. It is pretty clear from this that English composers and singers were not employed in Italy for any length of time, for at least some of them would have left their names in account

books, as their continental fellow-musicians did. Besides, the princely chapels of Italy, which Tinctoris praises so highly, were only founded in the 1470s. Until later in the century, there were very few posts which would have attracted any large invasion of English musicians: the one institution which would surely have been the goal of any ambitious composer or singer in Italy at that time was the papal chapel, whose records contain no English name until the last quarter of the century. Reese suggests that the Gualterus Liberti who was a member in 1428 may have been Walter Frye; but there is too much of a gap between the pieces ascribed to 'Gualterius Liberth', 'Gualtier' and 'Gautier' in the MS Can.Misc.213 of the Bodleian Library, and the first music of Frye - who does not appear as 'Frye' until the middle years of the century.²

If Englishmen went to Italy, it was probably only for a visit, as Bedingham seems to have visited Florence. Perhaps he was one of the Northerners who went to hear Antonio Squarcialupi, the great Florentine organist. Burney quotes Christopher Landino, the composer's great-nephew, who talks of his illustrious ancestor's coronation, and goes on to say (1481): "But we have seen and heard in our own times the celebrated ANTONIO surnamed dagl'Organi, of whom it may be said that, as many persons went from Cadiz, the remotest part of Spain, to Rome, in order to see the historian Livy; so many most excellent musicians have come from England, and the most distant regions of the North: crossing the sea, Alps and Appenines, in order to hear the performance of Antonio".³ It is possible, too, that a few Englishmen may have accepted employment in the chapel of Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan, who founded his choir in the early 1470s. He sent his musician 'Dominus Raynerius' to England at that time, with a letter to Edward IV, dated 15 October 1471, asking his help in recruiting singers 'cum spe optima premiorum...qui tamen, et artem musicam, et canendi suavitatem optime teneant'.⁴ There are no English names in the surviving records, though: most of Sforza's highly distinguished singers seem to have been Flemish. It is nevertheless obvious from this and other instances that English singers were much prized at the time when Tinctoris was preparing his Proportionale. Strunk's translation of his comments on English singing is at fault here: they cannot have been

'popularly said to shout while the French sing'. 'Jubilare' was clearly a great compliment, as a Venetian letter from the early sixteenth century shows. 'Non cantavano ma giubilavano', 'voices...more divine than human' runs a fulsome account of Henry VIII's chapel. Tinctoris was pointing the contrast between English performance and English composition.⁵ Be that as it may, the influx of English music into Italian sources of the fifteenth century had long passed its peak by the time of Sforza and Ercole I, and any musicians who may have gone out to serve them cannot have taken it with them.

The records of the Imperial Chapel, as we have seen, may well contain English musicians; and possibly those of the Dukes of Savoy. Since, however, I was unable to go and hunt through these archives for myself - if indeed they still exist - this project must wait until some researcher can find the time and the funds for this interesting task. Meanwhile, it will be useful to return home to English archives and publications. I have myself transcribed the lists of musicians of the Chapel Royal that exist in the Royal Wardrobe Books and other documents in the Public Record Office, London. Mr. John Harvey has been kind enough to lend me his transcripts for the period 1393-1451; this has enabled me to check my own lists, and to add from his researches one or two lists from the British Museum which I had not seen, and some lists for the latter part of Henry VI's reign. I have also examined documents reaching back beyond 1350, since it seemed that some of the musicians named in John Aley's Sub Arturo plebs (1) might be found there. This motet affords an object lesson in dating, and deserves some discussion here.

It has tantalised historians of music for some eighty years. As long ago as 1869, Coussemaker published the text of the upper voice, which sings the praises of fourteen English musicians; the composer, Johannes Alanus, includes his own name in the text of the contra. Attempts have been made, from time to time, to establish the identity of Alanus and of his distinguished colleagues, but thirteen of the latter have hitherto remained mere disembodied names. Coussemaker himself suggested that this group of musicians may have formed the chapel of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster (1340-99); as usual, he kept the source of his information secret.

Probably he had seen the reference reprinted later by Dannemann, which lists a certain Jean Alain as companion to a group of minstrels serving John of Gaunt at the court of Barcelona in 1396.⁶ The identification of Alain with Alanus has gained some acceptance: it is however unlikely that a minstrel's companion - probably, judging from other contemporary account-books, some kind of servant - should have been at any stage of his life a composer of music.

More significantly, it has been suggested that Alanus is the same man as Aleyn, composer of a Gloria (la) found in the Old Hall MS. Bukofzer gave good reasons for this, and although it may be objected that the Gloria and Sub Arturo are very different in style, we can point to exactly similar divergences in the works of Power and others. Now Dom Anselm Hughes had tentatively identified Aleyn with John Aleyn, canon of Windsor, who on his death in 1373 left 'unus Rotulus de Cantu musico' to St. George's Chapel there.⁷ Bukofzer brushed this aside: it would not tally well with the other known dates concerning composers of the Old Hall MS; and furthermore, Sub Arturo names a certain 'Ricardus Blich', whom Bukofzer equated with Richard Blythe, a member of Henry V's Chapel Royal in 1419 - forty-six years after the death of John Aleyn of Windsor. Bukofzer then repeated the reference to Jean Alain quoted above, and went on to identify the composer with the John Aleyn who became a minor canon of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, in 1421, and who died in 1437. Here the matter has been allowed to rest.

If Bukofzer was right, however, certain features of the motet begin to look rather odd. The music is decidedly fourteenth-century in style: dissonance is treated rather freely, and in the final color the composer has excelled himself in rhythmical intricacies of astonishing virtuosity, which involve an unusual overlapping of the isorhythmic patterns. The text, too, is closely paralleled by two other fourteenth-century motets also printed by Coussemaker - a point to which we shall later return. Finally, the older source of Sub Arturo, the Chantilly MS, has now been shown to contain music dating from at least as early as 1369.⁸ The Gloria from the Old Hall MS is written in score notation; it is a simple, functional piece in the old-fashioned homophony of the conductus style,

apparently a free composition with no cantus firmus. The three 6/5 chord dissonances which the editors would like to emend are typical results of the medieval technique of successive composition: the two dissonant voices make perfectly good sense when each is taken separately with the tenor. Bukofzer's analysis seems a little hasty, on closer inspection: the known dates concerning Old Hall composers almost all refer to those represented in the later additions to the MS; but Aley's piece belongs to the oldest layer. Richard Blythe, too, died in 1420 (see Appendix III), and seems to have been near the end of his career, perhaps appearing on the books of the royal household in a purely honorary capacity. Finally, if Sub Arturo lists eminent English musicians personally known to Bukofzer's Aley of St. Paul's Cathedral, who died in 1437, it is extraordinary that not one of his thirteen remaining colleagues has so far been discovered during my years of research into the published and unpublished records of the early fifteenth century.

When and where, then, can we expect to find traces of Aley and his friends? The answer lies in the text of the motet itself, and it will be useful to reprint here the words of the upper voice:⁹

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Sub Arturo plebs vallata plaudat melos; laus ornata psallatur altissimo. Anglis conferentur grata eventu piissimo. | 4. Piis placent ac tyrannis res Ricardi Blich, Johannis necnon de Oxonia, arte cuius multis annis fulsit Cantuaria. |
| 2. En militia cum clero floret; musicorum vero chorus odas jubilat, e quibus modo sincero J.de Corbe emicat. | 5. Sed G.Mughe, radix florum, det generibus melorum; Edmundus de Buria, basis surea tenoris, est, quem fovet curia. |
| 3. Cuius non previsa posco res, quas J.de Alto Bosco reserat theorica, qua fungens vernat, ut nosco, G.Martini practica. | 6. Princeps bellicus probavit quas ex Blich G.res creavit, rutilantes oculo; Episwich J.quas gustavit, mirae vocis modulo. |

7. Flos Oxoniae miratur,
Nicholaus, qui vocatur,
de Vade Famelico;
E. de Muristo jungatur
his triplo mirifico.

8. Prepollet G. de Horarum
Fonte lyra, vox non parum;
mulcet auris Simonis
Clementis os cuius clarum
manus nitet organis.

9. Practicat Adam Levita
precellenter. Quorum vita
sana diu vigeat,
ut et illis, qua finita,
porte caeli pateat.

These patchwork verses give several strong hints to guide our search. There is to be a great rejoicing among the people, who are well protected under the rule of 'Arthur', for some great good fortune that has befallen the English (1); on this occasion the knighthood and the clergy flourish together, while the musicians sing praises (2); kings (perhaps 'tyrants') are also apparently present (4); and we hear of a warlike prince who is a patron of music (6). We must look, then, for a monarch who is likened to the legendary King Arthur, for a warlike prince, and for a great occasion in English history when these two, and perhaps other kings, united in praise with the knighthood, the clergy, and the musicians.

'Arthur' may undoubtedly be identified with Edward III (1312-77), King of England from 1327; and the 'warlike prince' would be his son Edward, Prince of Wales (The Black Prince), who was one of the most brilliant generals of his day. Edward III's long reign, which was dominated by the Hundred Years' War with France, remains one of the greatest periods of English arms and English chivalry. On St. George's Day, 1349, Edward founded the Order of the Garter in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, directly imitating the ideals of the legendary King Arthur. In the words of one chronicler, he renewed the Round Table and the name of Arture, and ordenid the Order of the Garter, making Sainct George the patrone thereof.¹⁰ The 'great occasion' was presumably one of Edward's spectacular victories over the French. Sluys (1340) and Crécy (1346) gained the English little political or strategic advantage, and these dates would seem rather too early for the style of Sub Arturo. By far the strongest claimant is the Black Prince's victory of Poitiers (1356), where Jean le Bon, King of France, was taken prisoner. Poitiers ended

a decisive phase of the war and resulted in the Treaty of Brétigny (1360), whereby France was forced to cede vast areas of her territory to England, and to pay a ransom of three million gold crowns for the release of her king. Edward celebrated the battle by an unusually magnificent meeting of the Garter Knights at Windsor Castle in 1358, on St. George's Day. For this occasion he finished the Round Tower, to house his Round Table. The festivities lasted some three weeks and attracted the attention of all Europe. It was the peak of Edward's career: among the guests were the royal captives John of France (who lived at Windsor for three years), David II of Scotland and his queen, the Duke of Blois, and Philippe le Hardi, first Duke of Burgundy. Here we find 'kingly ones' in abundance - or 'tyrants', if that translation is preferred: they were all enemies of the crown. Not until Agincourt (1415) was there another such victory for England. At Windsor, too, were the 'kighthood', the Order of the Garter, and the 'clergy', the warden and canons of Windsor: the order and the college were Edward's twin foundation, and certainly 'flourished together'. The 'chorus of musicians' would be formed, no doubt, by members of the Chapel Royal, members of the Black Prince's chapel, and some of the Windsor canons. We should therefore expect to find traces of the musicians named in Sub Arturo by investigating the archives and other records surviving from the latter half of Edward III's reign.

Surely enough, a comparatively superficial search through the unpublished royal documents of that time, and an examination of various sources, reveal the names of many more of Aleyn's colleagues. My survey has not been exhaustive, and there are also considerable gaps in the chronological sequence of the Exchequer accounts. A thorough investigation would take years. Nevertheless, the evidence that has come to light should serve its present purpose, and may help to stimulate future research. Let us take the fifteen musicians in the order in which the motet places them.

JOHANNES ALANUS (John Aleyn).

See Appendix III. He was a member of the Chapel Royal from 1364, to 1373, the year of his death. He stood high in the King's favour and received many promotions and benefices from 1361. He left a roll of music to St. George's Chapel, Windsor, where he had been a canon from at least as

early as 1363. The King trusted him with a delicate mission in Kent, where Aleyn was to raise funds from various abbots, priors and others.

J [OHANNES] DE CORBE (John de Corby)

See Appendix III. He occurs as a King's clerk in the royal accounts for 1364-8; and though these lists do not name Chapel clerks as such, we may probably deduce from his promotions to the Royal Free Chapels of St. Stephen (Westminster) and Bridgnorth, that he was in fact a member of the Chapel. He may have died in 1368. According to Aleyn, he 'shone out with a true heart from among the chorus of musicians', as a composer of 'unparalleled works', which were interpreted by:-

J [OHANNES] DE ALTO BOSCO (John de Hautboys).

Hautboys is a Suffolk town, and was known as 'de Haltobosco' as early as 1200 A.D. In the fourteenth century it was also spelt Hoboys, Haultboys and - more significantly - Hautboys. For this musician who 'unlocks with his theoretical writings the works of J. de Corbe' must surely be none other than John 'Hanboys', as he has hitherto been called. As Eitner has stated, there is no authority for the spelling 'Hamboys'. His only surviving treatise, 'Summa super musicam continuam et discretam,' is found in a fifteenth-century source (B.M.Add. MS 8866). The name is unequivocally spelt 'Hanboys' by the copyist. But the treatise, a commentary on Franco of Cologne for the most part, must surely belong to the fourteenth century, as Davey thought; it is even paired in the MS with Pseudo-Tunsted's 'Quatuor principalia' which undeniably dates from that time. And if a fifteenth-century scribe were copying from a fourteenth-century MS, this is precisely the sort of mistake that we should expect him to make, for the Gothic letters 'u' and 'n' were identical in form. Our only authority for the life of 'Hanboys' is Bales, whose book was published in 1557.¹¹ He stated that the theorist flourished in the reign of Edward IV, in about 1470, and that he was given the title of Doctor of Music by common consent. (Farmer said that he was at Cambridge University, but there is no record of this).¹² Bales also attributed Tunsted's treatise to 'Hanboys'; this suggests that he was guessing the date of the author from the date of the MS, and lessens

the weight of his authority. Later writers such as Holinshed dutifully echoed Bales. The 'Summa super musicam...' ¹³ does not mention John de Corby by name. I have not so far come across any John Hauboy or Hautboys in my search; in his treatise he is called 'reverend', which suggests that he may have been a friar or a monk, hidden in the anonymity of a monastery.

G [ILBERTUS?] MARTINI (Gilbert Martyn?)

He 'blossoms forth, practising the theory of John of Hauboy's'. He was apparently a composer, who learned his trade directly or indirectly from Hauboy. A 'Gilbert Martyn, the King's serjeant', was given a corrody at the convent of Benydon on Dec.9 1361. ¹⁴ This means that he was certainly a clerk of the royal household, though we cannot be sure that he was in the Chapel Royal. He was in holy orders, for the Abbess and Convent of Benydon were directed to find him a benefice. Otherwise I have found no suitable 'Martyn' during my search.

RICARDUS BLICH (Richard Blythe).

See Appendix III. He appears as a clerk of the Chapel Royal in 1413, received promotions from Henry V, and died in or before 1420. He must have died a very old man, if he was the Blich of Sub Arturo, whose works pleased 'the pious and the kingly' in 1358.

JOHANNES DE OXONIA (John de Oxford).

He is paired with Richard Blythe (see above), as a composer 'with whose art Canterbury shone for many years' (4). A 'Sir John de Oxonia' was granted a canonry of Chichester Cathedral by the Pope on Dec.15 1349, at the request of the bishop elect, the prior and the convent of Worcester; he already held the church of St. Andrew (Worcester). ¹⁵ The Pope granted the same man a benefice in the gift of the abbot and convent of Gloucester on Feb.1 1351, on condition that he resigned St. Andrew's and resided in his new living. ^{15a} This man has no traceable connection with music or with the monarchy.

The surname is however corrupt in both sources: it reads (Oxonia' in Chantilly, 'Ozonia' in Bologna. But in verse 7, where (Oxoniae' is certainly correct, Chantilly reads 'Vxonie' and Bologna 'Exonie'. The

confusion between 'O' and 'E' was notoriously common in English sources of the fourteenth century, and if the Bologna copyist could read 'Exonie' for 'Oxonie' in verse 7, he could easily have made the reverse error in verse 4. If this is so, the name would run "Johannes de Exonia" ("John de Exeter"), and in this case he would be the John de Excestre who was in the Chapel Royal in 1372-4, 1377, and even as late as 1396-7, under Richard II (I have not yet had time to examine the records from the earlier years of the latter's reign). This man must be the composer represented in the Old Hall MS. See Appendix III.

G [ULIELMUS MUGHE] (William Mugge)

See Appendix III. Aleyn calls him the 'root of the flowers', presumably a teacher, who was to 'tell of the orders of song'. He was in the Chapel Royal in 1342-3, became 'custos' or warden of St. George's, Windsor, in 1349, and received many promotions from the King. He died shortly before Feb. 24 1381.

EDMUNDUS DE BURIA (Edmund de Bury)

See Appendix III. Aleyn says that he was a 'golden foundation of the tenor' - a great singer, apparently one of Mugge's protégés at court. He appears in the accounts for 1359-77 as 'Edmundus monachus de Bury', though he does not seem to have been a member of the Chapel Royal. He may also have been a composer.

BLICH, G [ULIELMUS] (William Blythe).

See Richard Blythe above. He may have been related to Richard, which could have given the latter early access to distinguished circles. William seems to have been another composer, in the service of a 'warlike prince'. He is not recorded in the service of either Edward III or his son, the Black Prince; but his works were 'savoured' (or perhaps 'flavoured') by the marvellous singing of John of Ipswich (see below), who was certainly a member of the Black Prince's chapel. On Mar. 16 1355, Thomas Percy, Bishop of Norwich, petitioned the Pope on Blythe's behalf for a canonry at Lincoln Cathedral, describing him as Master of Arts, scholar of theology, and his own master and teacher, already holding the church of

Bretlby (Lincoln); Blythe was granted a canonry at Chichester Cathedral instead.¹⁵ On May 22 1359 he was collated Archdeacon of Norfolk (Norwich); this was confirmed by the Pope on Aug.4 of the same year.¹⁵ He apparently vacated the post for some reason, for he was restored to it on Sep.14, a month later.¹⁶ He still held it on Apr.4 1367, and on Mar.1 1368.¹⁷ He was dead, however, before Mar.13 1373, when another was appointed. His will is also at Lambeth Palace, dated 1373 (Reg.Whittleseye, 139): it makes no reference to music.

EPISWICH, J [CHANNES] (John de Ipswich)

Also spelt Yepeswich, Yppeswiz, Gyppeswich, Gypbewico, etc. A Dominus William de Yepeswich was in the Chapel Royal in 1354. John, however, was a member of the Black Prince's chapel, first recorded there on Nov. 10 1357.¹⁸ He sang the works of William Blythe (6) under the patronage of a 'warlike prince', so that this is precisely where we should expect to find him. He was frequently promoted by the prince: he became rector of Bliston (Exeter) on June 12 1346 (Ib.I,86); was appointed dean of the Free Chapel of St.Nicholas in Wallingford Castle on Dec.20 1351, where he is recorded again on June 18 of the following year (Ib.IV,36,54); was apparently presented to the church of St.Cride (Exeter) on Feb.21 1354 (Ib.II,57), and certainly to the church of Ilanteglos in the same diocese on June 4 1356 (Ib.IV,188). He was dead by Jan.1 1359, when another man was authorised to receive debts owing to his estate (Ib.,152). The date of his death gives us the latest limit for the composition of Sub Arturo, in all probability.

NICHOLAUS DE VADE FAMELICO (Nicholas de Hungerford, literally 'of the hungry ford').

He is described as the 'flower of Oxford' being grouped with John de Ipswich and E.de Muristo as one of a trio of singers. He was also under the protection of the Black Prince. A canon of St.Frideswide's Priory, Oxford, he was elected prior on May 15 1349; the election was disputed, but Edward III confirmed his appointment on June 1 of the same year.¹⁹ His term of office was troubled by frequent complaints of indiscipline among the canons, and he himself seems to have lost patience on at least one occasion: in 1354 it was alleged that Nicholas, "with divers armed laymen, about the middle of the night on 1 July, assaulted the sub-prior and canons,

while they were chanting mattins in the choir, broke the door of the church, dragged some of the canons from the choir and others from the dormitory, to the effusion of blood"...²⁰ In 1365 he illegally traded his office, but the Black Prince intervened with the Pope to save him from the consequences of simony, describing him as 'his chaplain'.¹⁵ Nicholas died, prior again, in 1370.

E. DE MURISTO (Edmund Mirtogh?)

He was the third of a trio of singers including John de Ipswich and Nicholas de Hungerford. Chantilly reads 'et de muris coniungatur', which may tempt us to reopen the question of the nationality of Johannes de Muris - Davey cites various authorities who thought him English.²¹ If 'de Muris' was intended, however, he would surely be praised as a theorist rather than as a singer; furthermore, all the other names in the motet are furnished with either a Christian name or an initial. Probably we should follow the more reliable Bologna version: 'E. de muristo'. Even so, we are not much nearer an identification. Considering the fact that the other two singers from this group were connected with the Black Prince, it is tempting to read the name as a rendering of 'Edmund Mirtogh', recorded as a member of the Black Prince's chapel on Nov. 10 1357.¹⁸ Or it may be a mis-spelling of 'marisco' ('marsh'), perhaps March, Cambridgeshire, or Marsh Barton, Devon.

G [WILLELMUS] DE HORARUM FONTE (William Tideswell).

See Appendix III. He was, says Aleyn, a singer who played the 'lyra' - which could mean any stringed instrument. He was a 'Dominus' of the Chapel Royal in 1354, and received a pension from the King in 1349.

SIMON CLEMENS (Simon Clement).

See Appendix III. Aleyn calls him a singer and organist. He was in the Chapel Royal in 1377, and received benefices through the Black Prince's good offices with the Pope in 1363 and 1366.

ADAM LEVITA (Adam the deacon).

He remains unidentified. An Adam Leche was a King's clerk in 1377.

There may well be some dispute about some individuals in the above list of tentative identifications; but the general weight of the evidence

proves conclusively, to my mind, that Sub Arturo was composed during the middle years of Edward III's reign, and almost certainly for the magnificent Garter celebrations at Windsor centring round St. George's Day, 1358. It is unfortunate that we have no surviving Wardrobe Books or other royal records which cover the vital period 1355 - 60; the Issue Rolls only rarely mention clerks of the Chapel Royal, who were not paid directly from the Exchequer. But the fragmentary biographies sketched above hinge about the year 1360, taking a rough average; and I hope to have shown that no other occasion of that period fits in so well with the text of the motet. It is interesting, too, to consider the other texts which Coussemaker printed with Sub Arturo: each lists famous French musicians, and the second, Apollinis eclipsatur, is so close to the English motet in some respects that it appears to be an answer to Aley's challenge. I have not seen the music, but the verses are in the metre of Aley's contra text; and according to van den Borren,²² the French motet is built on the same plainsong tenor, In omnem terram: 'Their sound is gone out into all lands...' It would perhaps be too much to hope that the contra which begins Zodiacum signis lustrantibus, refers to Jean le Bon's rival order of knighthood, that of the Star!

Finally, this reassessment confirms the view of Dom Anselm Hughes that the Old Hall MS contains music dating well back into the fourteenth century.²³ Since the music of Roy Henry appears in the original compilation, we may even have to resign ourselves to the idea that Henry IV, rather than his son, was their royal composer. Be that as it may, we can now be certain that fourteenth-century England bred a school of composers whose works could stand comparison with the writing of Chaucer and Langland, the painting of Gilbert Prince, the carving of Hugh Herland, or the building of Henry Yevele. For the commanding virtuosity of Sub Arturo can hardly have grown in a musical desert. Apart from the verbal evidence of Aley's verses, one or two recently discovered MS fragments, such as Magdalen College, Oxford, MS Lat. CCLXVIII, f.26, which preserves parts of two isorhythmic motets, are now helping us to sketch in the outlines of musical development in fourteenth-century England; we can now begin to see that it was not

at all the barren period that our scanty source material had led us to believe.

This excursion into the fourteenth century teaches us the value of archival and biographical research. I have hunted high and low, too, to try and find evidence that some of the otherwise unknown English musicians, who are represented in foreign sources of the fifteenth century, were in fact practising their art in their native England. I cannot claim to have finished this task by any means: there are a score of wills which may hold information, for example, which I have not yet had the opportunity to examine. There is such a mass of biographical material on this and other topics, that I have thought it best to arrange it all in the form of a small biographical dictionary: accordingly, Appendix II lists the royal documents which record the names of members of the Chapel Royal; Appendix III gives new material on musicians who were connected with the Chapel, arranged in alphabetical order of names; Appendix IV covers musicians who are not known to have been connected with the Chapel, and suggests identifications for certain composers.

In view of Harrison's fine account of the social and ecclesiastical background of music in the later middle ages and (with due respect to the title of his book) the early Renaissance, it will not be necessary to cover the same ground twice over here. However, there is one point on which I feel his book is rather misleading. He convincingly shows that the building of a rood-loft in many parish churches from c.1450 usually meant that an organ was installed.²⁴ From this he deduces that the organ was usually raised from the ground in this way, and indeed the weight of the evidence confirms this. He also notes that from this period the accounts of many churches record, besides organs and organists, the hiring of extra singers, and the acquisition of pricksong-books. From here it is an easy step to infer, as he does, that there is little evidence that polyphonic music was sung or played in parish churches before the second half of the fifteenth century.²⁵ But this

view must be qualified. The surviving accounts grow fewer and fewer, the further back we search for them. Of course there is 'little evidence', since hardly any churches preserve accounts from before the second half of the fifteenth century. This kind of 'strict' interpretation of the surviving material, as we have seen, has already led scholars to banish into limbo the great mass of English fifteenth-century music which exists only in foreign sources. To take an example rather outside the period we are discussing, Harrison quotes Walters to show that nine parish churches in London possessed polyphonic music at the time of the Reformation Inventories; one hundred did not.²⁶ Here again, the evidence cannot be complete, since the inventory for St. Paul's Cathedral lists no polyphonic music, as Dr Hugh Baillie has pointed out;²⁷ yet we know that St. Paul's was a musical centre, and other inventories show that the cathedral indeed possessed music earlier on. We must conclude from this that the inventories listed by Walters are imperfect, or at least inconsistent; or else that earlier depredations had already taken their toll of the music in some of the remaining churches by the time the commissioners arrived to list the effects.

In fact, where inventories still survive for the period before 1450, we do find references to organs or music, and that in country churches too. Dom Aelred Watkin's edition of early inventories for the archdeaconry of Norwich list various items of music. Ickleton Church, Cambridgeshire, possessed a 'liber cantus organici' in the early fourteenth century.²⁸ A fourteenth-century list for Sall Church mentions 'unus liber vocatus Orgeneboc ex collacione Johannis Holweye capellani', though the inventory does not record any organs.²⁹ Terrington St. Clement had at the same period 'unus liber de novo cantu', though the entry was cancelled in 1368; this must be the 'newe song, as orgen or deschant' which roused the ire of Wyclif c.1380.³⁰ The church of 'Wygenhale Matris Christi' possessed in 1368 'j quaternus de cantu'.³¹

A hunt through other sources reveals the presence of organs in parish churches, sometimes maintained by the town corporation. The Corporation of New Romney, Kent, paid John Orgoner a shilling in 1391-2 for playing the organs in St. Nicholas and St. Lawrence, which he had done

since 1384-5; he died in 1398-9.³² On his translation to Exeter, Bishop Edmund Lacy left to his successor at Hereford a pair of organs, which the new Bishop was to give to any church or chapel.³³ The gild return of 1388 for the Fraternity of Our Lady in the Lady Chapel of All Saints, Northampton, shows that the sunset service was celebrated to the accompaniment of an organ.³⁴ John de Pissale (d.19 March 1373) gave a pair of organs for the use of Causton Church, Ingworth, Norwich.³⁵ The Corporation of Lydd, Kent, paid the vicar 6s.8d. 'on the old debt for the organs' in 1430-1, and there are references to payments in Edward IV's time.³⁶ St. Andrew's Church, Norwich, possessed a pair of organs c.1400.³⁷ Harrison notes the organs in St. Mary's Church, Sandwich, Kent, which 'Sir John' repaired for a shilling in 1444; the same church had an 'orgone boke for the orgonys yn the rode lofte' at about the same time.³⁸ An early inventory of 1307 for the Temple Church, London, mentions 'in the Great Church two pairs of organs'.³⁹ On the death in 1423 of Archbishop Bowet of York, an inventory of his many possessions was drawn up, and the proceeds of sale noted: the list includes twenty shillings received 'pro uno libro magno de Organis', and four pounds ten shillings 'pro tribus paribus de organis pro capella'.⁴⁰ As far back as 1297, two London churches, St. Michael's, Kirkeby, and St. Andrew's, Hetbridge, each possessed a pair of organs.⁴¹ Perhaps the most unusual record of music in religious establishments, however, is the account of St. Leonard's Chapel, Hythe, Kent, for the year beginning 1 May 1412: the wardens paid out a shilling for six new viols in exchange for six old ones.⁴² Since I have found no other reference to any instrument other than the organ in churches and chapels at this time, I scent a mis-translation here.

No doubt many of these references may have described small portative organs, but their distribution in time and place alike show that organs were not an unexpected item in any church's equipment. Flade, in a European survey of medieval organs, concludes that by

the end of the fourteenth century, all English churches and monasteries possessed an organ. Since there were at this date few rood-lofts in smaller churches and chapels, some of these organs must have stood at floor level, like the organs in the Lady-Chapel of Westminster Abbey, which stood 'below on the step', with another pair of greater organs in the wall above them.⁴³ Harrison has been rather too sweeping in this instance. If one is to use accounts and inventories, one must allow for loss of sources.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR.

1. For the letter, see Appendix IV; also for 'Gulielmo inglese' and 'Robertus de Anglia'. Bedingham's ballade is discussed in the previous chapter.
2. Reese, Music in the renaissance, 38, 93.
3. Burney, A General History of Music (ed. Mercer), London, 1935, I 643f. No doubt the translation is Burney's.
4. The text of the letter is given in full in Motta, Musici alla corte degli Sforza, 301.
5. Coussemaker, Scriptores IV, 153-5; Strunk's translation is in Source Readings in Music History, 195; for the Venetian letter, see Harrison, Music in Medieval Britain, 171.
6. Coussemaker, Les Harmonistes du XIVe Siècle, 12ff.; Dannemann, Die spätgotische Musiktradition in Frankreich und Burgund, 9.
7. The Old Hall Manuscript, II, vii and III, xii, note; Bukofzer's remarks are in Studies, 76f.
8. See Reaney, 'The Manuscript Chantilly'.
9. I have standardised the Latin spelling and added punctuation; Bologna presents the better text, but the corrupt version in Chantilly is useful in places. The main variants are: 1, 'conferent' (both) / 2, 'J. de corbe sermicat' (Ch.); 'J. de corbrem ei micat' (Bo.) / 3, 'preuisōs' (Bo.); 'pastores' for 'posco res' (both), 'marcō' for 'Martini' (Ch.) / 4, 'olit' for 'Blich' (Ch.); 'oxomia' (Ch.); 'ozonia' (Bo.) / 5, 'rauge' for 'Mughe' (Ch.); 'G. dumudus de buria' (Ch.); 'E. d. mundus' (Bo.) / 6, 'vsilet' for 'Blich' (Ch.); 'epijs vbich' for 'Episwich' (Ch.) / 7, 'G. flos vxotie' (Ch.); 'exonie' (Bo.); 'Racholaus li' for 'Nicholaus qui' (Ch.) 'de bada famellico' (Ch.); 'et de muris coniungatur' (Ch.) / 9, 'pageat' for 'practicat' (Bo.).
10. G.F. Beltz, Memorials of the Order of the Garter, London, 1841, xxxviii. For royal 'guests' at Windsor, see Ib., 5; and J. Mackinnon, The History of Edward the Third, London, 1900, 449.

11. J.Bales, Scriptorum illustrium maioris Britanniae, Basileae, 1557
617.
12. H.G.Farmer, 'Music in Mediaeval Scotland', in PMA LVI, 1930, 80.
13. Coussemaker, Scriptores, I, 403ff.
14. Calendars of the Patent Rolls.
15. Calendars of papal petitions.
- 15a. Calendars of papal letters.
16. Le Neve and Hardy, Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae.
17. Calendars of papal letters; Calendars of the Close Rolls.
18. Calendars of the Patent Rolls.
20. Victoria History of the Counties of England: Oxfordshire, II, (ed.)
Page, W., London, 1907, 98f.
21. History of English Music, 35f.
22. Le manuscrit musical M.222 C. 22 de la Bibliothèque de Strasbourg,
III-3; this motet also appears in the Ivrea MS and in Barcelona,
Biblioteca de Catalunya, B.M.853.
23. The Old Hall Manuscript, II, viii: "...the actual verdict of the
music... would seem to serve as one more justification for concluding
that whole sections of the Old Hall Manuscript should be rated as
fourteenth-century rather than as fifteenth-century music'.
24. Music in Medieval Britain, 213.
25. Ib., 197.
26. Ib., 201, citing Walters, H.B., London Churches at the Reformation, 1939.

27. During the discussion after his paper 'A London Gild of Musicians'; see PRMA 83, 1957, 27.
28. Watkin, Dom A., Archdeaconry of Norwich Inventory of Church Goods temp. Edward III, II, xli, note 4, citing Feltoe and Minns (edd.), Vetus Liber Archidiaconi Eliensis, Cambridge, 1917, 71.
29. Ib., I, 77; II, xli.
30. Ib. II, 126, xli; for Wyclif, see O.E.D. "organs"; Wylie, Henry IV, II 486.
31. Watkin, op.cit., II, 125.
32. Historical MSS Commission, V, 534f.; and Various Collections, VII.
33. Bannister, The Register of Thomas Spofford, 234.
34. Serjeantson, Rev. R.M., A History of the Church of All Saints, Northampton, 1901, 43, 45.
35. Watkin, op.cit., I, 53.
36. Hist. MSS. Comm., V, 517, 523, 529. See also Various Collections, VII.
37. Watkin, op.cit., I, 13.
38. Ib., II xli, note 3, citing Boys, Collection for a History of Sandwich, 1792, 377.
39. Flade, 'Literarische Zeugnisse zur Empfindung der "Farbe" und "Farbigkeit" bei der Orgel und beim Orgelspiel', 106, citing Freeman, The Organ, III, 65.
40. Raine, Testamenta Eboracensia, III, 74, 76, 82.
41. Simpson, Visitations of Churches Belonging to St. Paul's Cathedral, 19, 25.
42. Hist. MSS. Comm., II, 91.
43. Flade, op.cit., 101, 106.

CHAPTER FIVE.

FABURDEN AND FAUXBOURDON

How, where and when did Fauxbourdon begin? It would be safe to say that no other question in musical history has received so much attention as this one, over the past twenty years or so. Three dissertations, a book, a round dozen of articles in learned journals, all dealing in whole or in part with the origins of Fauxbourdon - and still the crux remains: Faburden or Fauxbourdon? English ancestry, or French? At risk of boring those who have patiently followed the arguments of counsel on both sides over the past decade, I must add yet another chapter to the bibliography and demand a re-trial: new evidence has come to light which shows that for all this time the dispute has been proceeding from false premisses. First, however, we must summarise the main points made by prosecution and defence, Francophiles and Anglophiles, starting in the years 1936-7.

It was at this time that Bukofzer and Georgiades published their valuable dissertations on the techniques of English discant and Faburden.¹ They printed complete and accurate texts of all the contemporary manuscripts dealing with these practices, with full commentaries. Unknown to either writer, the American philologist Sanford B. Meech had also published the three most important treatises a year before,² but unfortunately without calling in the services of an expert in fifteenth-century music; his interpretations were therefore faulty. Previous historians had relied on the inaccurate excerpts which Hawkins and Burney had included in their surveys. Bukofzer and Georgiades, however, were able to show that writers such as Riemann had gone far astray in their handling of discant and Faburden. Both agreed in distinguishing Faburden from English discant. The latter, they held, was a way of extemporising a piece of music in three (or four) parts, using chiefly 8/5 and 6/3 chords, over a plainsong which appeared in the lowest voice. Faburden on the other hand they equated with the continental manner of Fauxbourdon: it was a means of

improvising a piece of music in three parts by singing the plainsong an octave above its original pitch in the upper voice, and accompanying it throughout with similar 8/5 and 6/3 chords supplied this time by the lower parts. At this point, though, Bukofzer and Georgiades parted company. Georgiades maintained the traditional view - which Wooldridge had already questioned - that Faburden was exported to the continent in the decades following Agincourt (1415), as one feature of the well-known contenance angloise.³ But Bukofzer found that the earliest continental Fauxbourdon-pieces preceded the first references to the English practice by about a quarter of a century. He therefore came to the conclusion that Faburden was an English adaptation of Fauxbourdon, whereby the written res facta of the continental masters was converted into a technique of improvisation on the lines of English discant.⁴ All subsequent writers who have taken part in the ensuing dispute have adopted one or the other of these positions.

It is the purpose of this chapter to demonstrate that Faburden was not in fact the same thing as Fauxbourdon. Since this fundamental change of view amputates one horn of the dilemma round which the dispute developed, it will not be necessary to set out here all the arguments, inferences and guesswork used on both sides of the controversy. But we must take our bearings, nevertheless. The main combatants in recent years were Heinrich Bessler and the late Rudolf von Ficker, and they adopted the views of their own pupils, Bukofzer and Georgiades respectively. Their discussion centred on Bessler's important book Bourdon und Fauxbourdon,⁵ and was carried on in the pages of Acta Musicologica between 1951 and 1954.⁶ Meanwhile Bukofzer had published Fauxbourdon Revisited,⁷ an invaluable article which complements and in some instances corrects Bessler's book. N. Wallin followed with some interesting conjectures which however fail to survive the scrutiny of the philologist.⁸ In 1957, Bessler felt that he was in a position to sum up the course of the argument.⁹ Since then, Suzanne Clercx has stepped in with further facts and inferences.¹⁰

An unusual feature of the dispute has been the part played by the philologists. In 1953, Hermann Flasdieck took up the cudgels on

behalf of von Ficker to say that, contrary to the accepted etymology, the word Faburdon could not have evolved from the word Fauxbourdon, but must have preceded it.¹¹ Gustav Kirchner replied in support of Bessler, upholding the conventional derivation.¹² As a sort of testimonial he quoted extracts only (!) from the comments of four eminent colleagues to whom he had sent Flasdieck's article. Their replies ranged from the non-committal to the reactionary; on the whole, no-one wished to abandon the accepted text-book etymology without further enquiry, and one or two of Flasdieck's arguments were questioned. Two years later Flasdieck replied to all objections, even turning some of them to his own advantage in a long article which exhaustively discusses every conceivable aspect of the subject.¹³ This article appeared in a philological journal, and few musicologists will have taken the trouble to read it. The philologists, however, must have seen it, and not one of them has replied or raised any further complaint in two years. Since Flasdieck's investigation remains the only detailed treatment of a topic which never gave philologists any cause for serious thought until it was raised by musical historians, it now seems likely to stand; and Flasdieck's conclusions are diametrically opposed to Bessler's. To go on talking of disagreement among the philologists, and to dismiss Flasdieck's learned and minute examination as a minority view, as Bessler and Clercx do,¹⁴ is surely to try and exploit a situation which no longer exists - however unpalatable the facts.

The position today remains something of a deadlock. On philological grounds, Flasdieck¹⁵ maintains that the word Faburdon must have preceded the word Fauxbourdon. For musical and other reasons Bessler still holds that the technique of Fauxbourdon was created and named by Dufay in the Paris of 1427, where he met English musicians and decided to transmute English discant by raising the plainsong from the lowest voice to the upper, thereby turning it into a res facta with an ornamented treble after the manner of a Burgundian chanson.¹⁶ There will be more to say about the detail of Bessler's argument later on.

Mme. Clercx conveniently summarises the outlines of the whole controversy for us;¹⁷ Bessler's article of 1957 gives his latest published views, in which he has slightly modified his position in deference to Bukofzer and Flasdieck.

Even before Bessler took up the question in real earnest, however, a striking point had emerged from the work of Bukofzer and Georgiades. According to them, neither of the only early theorists who discussed Faburden and Fauxbourdon at any length knew what he was talking about; or if he did, he failed to express himself clearly on this one subject, though in each case the rest of the treatise is lucidity itself. This seemed at best a freakish coincidence. Had Bukofzer and Georgiades misinterpreted the texts? Middle English is not always easy, even for an Englishman. A fresh and unbiased examination of the anonymous tract in the Lansdowne manuscripts, which was copied by John Wylde in the middle years of the fifteenth century to help him in his duties as precentor of Waltham Holy Cross, produced results which are decidedly startling.¹⁸ They are confirmed, however, by a similar re-reading of the treatise of Guilielmus Monachus, which was copied in Northern Italy about a quarter of a century later.¹⁹

It is worth reprinting the few sentences from the Lansdowne Anonymous, numbering them and providing a modern transliteration; the sentences are continuous in the original:-

- | | |
|--|---|
| (1) The sight of ffaburdon with his a cordis. | The Sight of Faburden with his accords. |
| (2) for þe leeste processe of sigtis natural and most in vse is expedient to declare þe sight of ffaburdun. | For the least process of Sights, natural and most in use, [it] is expedient to declare the Sight of Faburden. |
| (3) The wheche hape but .20.sightis. a .3de. aboue þe plain song in sight þe wheche is a .6. fro þe Treble in voice. and a eyn wt þe plain song in sight þe wheche is a .8te.fro þe Treble in voise. | The which hath but two Sights: a third above the plainsong in Sight, the which is a sixth from the Treble in Voice; and an even with the plainsong in Sight, the which is an octave from the Treble in Voice. |
| (4) These 20. a cordis þe ffaburdener must rwle be þe Mene of þe plain song. | These two accords the Faburdener must rule by the Mean of the plainsong. |

- (5) ffor whan he shall be gynne his ffaburdun he must attende to pe plain song and sette his sight eyn wt pe plain song, and his voice. in a 5te. benepe pe plain song
- (6) and aftir pt whepir pe plain song ascende or descende to sette his sight alwey bope in rule and space a boue pe plain song in a .3de.
- (7) and aftir pt pe plain song hauntip his course eyper in acutis fro g solreut a boue to G solreut be nepe to close dunward in sight eyn vpon pe plain song. vpon one of pese keyes D lasolre. C solfaut Alamire or G solreut. benethe
- (8) And yf pe plainsong haunt his course fro G solreut be nethe doun toward A re. conuenientli pan to se be fore where he may close wt. 2o. or 3o. or 4e. 3dis be fore eyper in Effaut benepe or D solre or C faut or A re.
- (9) And al pese closis gladli to be sunge and closid at pe laste ende of a worde.
- (10) And as ofte as he wil to touche pe plain song and voide perfro excepte twies to gedir for pt may not be. inas moche as pe plainsong sight is a 8te. to pe treble. and a .5te to pe and so to euery degre he is a perfitte corde. and .2o. perfitte a cordis of one nature may not be sung to gedir in no degre of Discant.
- For when he shall begin his Faburden, he must attend to the plainsong, and set his Sight even with the plainsong and his Voice in a fifth beneath the plainsong.
- And after that, whether the plainsong ascend or descend, [he ought] to set his Sight always, both in rule and space, above the plainsong in a third.
- And after that the plainsong haunteth his course either in acutis from g solreut above to G Solreut beneath, [he ought] to close downwards in Sight even upon the plainsong upon one of these keys: D lasolre, C Solfaut, A Lamire or G Solreut beneath.
- And if the plainsong haunt his course from G Solreut beneath down toward A Re, [he ought] conveniently then to see before where he may close, with two or three or four thirds before, either in F Faut beneath, or D Solre, or C Faut, or A Re.
- And all these closes [are] gladly to be sung and closed at the last end of a word.
- And as often as he will he ought to touch the plainsong - and void therefrom - except twice together, for that may not be, inasmuch as the plainsong Sight is an octave to the Treble and a fifth to the Mean, and so to every degree he is a perfect chord; and two perfect accords of one nature may not be sung together in no degree of Discant.

Riemann thought that Faburden was the same thing as English discant; and so he had to emend the text with an abandon that would have done credit to Procrustes, reading 'above' for 'below' and standing the whole passage on its head.²⁰ Bukofzer and Georgiades righteously scorned such methods;

but ironically enough, each of them fell into a similar trap on the other side of the road. Both imagined that Faburden was the English version of Fauxbourdon, and tried to interpret the paragraph accordingly; and both made very heavy weather of the task. In view of the authority which their readings have gained - they have gone unchallenged for over twenty years - it will be necessary to quote their findings here. Bukofzer's late summary in Fauxbourdon Revisited²¹ usefully condenses his own ideas and those of Georgiades. He reprimands our author in no uncertain terms:-

"The obscurity of the passage in question is due to the fact that the English Anonymous has applied the practice of the transposing "sights", a great convenience in English discant, to fauxbourdon also, where it makes little sense and encumbers rather than facilitates improvised performance. Even more disconcerting is the circumstance that the Anonymous makes the essential point by implication only. He does not state in so many words that in faburden the cantus firmus is sung an octave above the original pitch of the plainsong and that the meane doubles the line at the fifth above the original pitch... This fundamental fact is tacitly assumed in what the Anonymous actually says... The singer of the lowest voice constantly holds a sixth or octave below the treble and a third or fifth below the middle part. Up to this point the directions are clear, but then the author introduces the sights and beclouds the issue. He goes on to say that the faburdener may visualise his intervals by reading the unison or upper third of either the treble or the meane. In the case of the treble the read note would sound an octave below the sight; in the case of the meane, a fifth below. This far-fetched manner of accounting for the tenor explains the puzzling remark that the two sights

of the faburden, the unison and the upper third, apply to both the treble and the meane. In either case the sighted notes sound below the read pitch in exact opposition to those in English discant."

In order to turn this description of Faburden into an improvised equivalent of Fauxbourdon, Bukofzer has had to make the following corrections and amplifications: that the plainsong is tacitly assumed to be sung an octave above its original pitch; that the Mean is tacitly assumed to double the Treble at the lower fourth; that it would 'becloud the issue' to describe continental Fauxbourdon in terms of the sights - when it would have been a perfectly simple matter to do so if the author had wished to; and that the Anonymous states (in sentences (4) and (5) above) that one and the same Sight may be applied by the singer of the lowest voice to either of two voices lying a fourth apart, neither of which is written on the paper in front of him - when the whole point of the Sights, as the very name implies, was that the singer could transpose straight from the written plainsong.

Georgiades does not dwell on the obscurity of the passage as Bukofzer does; but he too has to assume eine Veränderung der Auffassung der Termini "in sight" und "in voice", and an implied transposition of the plainsong to the upper octave.²² These two points are vital to the meaning of the passage as he understands it, and would certainly have been equally vital to the unlettered singing-men of Waltham Holy Cross, for whom John Wylde compiled and edited these vernacular treatises. Now the one thing that we are entitled to assume is that Wylde found the instructions of his anonymous source useful enough, and clear enough, to wish to copy them into his musical vade mecum. Here is a fresh construe of what the Anonymous says, and it contains no emendations or tacit assumptions at all. The paraphrase is underlined: my comments are not.

(1) This is a description of the Faburden Sight and of the intervals which it makes with the plainsong. The Faburden was the lowest voice, as Bukofzer and Georgiades agree. The Sight, called sometimes the 'Imagination', was the note visualised by the singer at a stated interval

above or below the plainsong which he had under his eyes; while visualising the 'sighted' note, he sang a different note, again at some prescribed interval above or below the sighted note. In short, it was a system of transposition which enabled one or more parts to be improvised from a written plainsong, whereby the imagined intervals of the Sight never went beyond the lines and spaces of the four-lined plainsong staff. In more familiar terms, a horn-player wishing to harmonise the note concert a' might visualise the upper third c' in Sight, knowing that the sound actually produced by his F-horn would be the fifth below, f in Voice - a major third below the concert a'. The terms 'Sight' and 'Voice' are used with admirable consistency in all the English treatises of the period, and there is no reason to suppose any change in their meaning for this one passage. Note finally that our author does not promise any information about the third voice of a Faburden-piece, though he does in fact give some.

(2) As an example of the humblest technique in 'Sight' - singing (it is both the one that comes most naturally and the one most commonly used), it is proper to describe Faburden. The author makes no distinction between the technique of the Sights, as applied to Faburden, and its application to other forms of discant.

(3) The Faburden voice uses only two Sights, namely:

- (i) the sighted or imagined third above the plainsong, which sounds in Voice a sixth from [i.e. below] the Treble.
- (ii) the sighted unison with the plainsong, which sounds in Voice an octave below the Treble.

This is where both Bukofzer and Georgiadés went astray. Each of them assumed that the sighted third and unison actually sounded as a sung third or unison - in other words, that Sight and Voice were identical; and since we are also told that the Faburden sounds in Voice a sixth or an octave below the Treble, it was an easy step to assume that the Treble must be singing the plainsong itself, transposed to the upper octave. But Sight and Voice are not identical here, as we may see from (5) below. Bukofzer

and Georgiades got out of this corner by assuming: (i) that in (3) the author omits to say that Sight and Voice are in unison, and (ii) that in (5) he is referring to the Mean - which they held to be the plainsong transposed up a fifth - as 'the plainsong'. As we shall find, there is in fact no contradiction whatever between the two sentences. In (3), we are not yet told what the interval between Sight and Voice is. The author is quite logical: first he must explain the two Sights, and later on he will say what transposition is to be used. Similarly, our horn-player must first learn how to finger and blow the written notes in front of him before he learns how to select the crook for his instrument. We are however informed that the sighted upper third and unison will sound a sixth and an octave respectively below the Treble; but this is still a relative matter, for we do not yet know the pitch of the Treble either.

(4) The Faburdener is to regulate the pitch of these two sighted notes from the 'Mean of the plainsong'. Here the author states quite unequivocally that the plainsong is the Mean, or middle voice. This is the crucial point, the vital distinction between Faburden and Fauxbourdon.

(5) When the Faburdener begins to sing, he should look at [the first note of] the plainsong and imagine the unison with it in Sight; he should then set his Voice a fifth below the plainsong. The interval of transposition between Sight and Voice is therefore the lower fifth. Our horn-player must select his F-crook. Now that we know the pitch of the Faburden, we also know the pitch of the Treble. The Faburdener's sighted unison with the plainsong sounds in Voice an octave below the Treble (3, ii): it follows that the Treble must be singing the fourth above the plainsong, for the Faburdener has the fifth below.

(6) Thereafter, whether the plainsong rises or falls, the Faburdener should always set his Sight on the line or space [of the staff] a third above the plainsong. The upper third in Sight yields the fifth below in Voice (5): the resulting sounds will therefore lie a third below the plainsong. This sighted upper third is also a sixth below the Treble in Voice (3,i): here too, then, the Treble must be singing the fourth

above the plainsong. In other words, the Treble doubles the plainsong Mean at the upper fourth throughout.

(7) If the plainsong lies high, between g' and g, the Faburdener should cadence by moving his Sight down to a unison with the plainsong on the notes d', c', a' or g.²³ He will thus end each phrase as he began it, singing the fifth below in Voice at all cadences.

(8) If the plainsong lies low, between g and a, the Faburdener should if possible look ahead and see whether he may sing up to four thirds in succession before cadencing [in Sight] on to f, d, c or a.²³ As in (7), he is to cadence with a sighted unison, sounding a fifth below the plainsong. He is also recommended to sing up to four thirds in a row where possible, presumably to enhance the cadence. Note that a cadence on to a plainsong a will require the Faburdener to sing the D below Famut - an unusually low note which could not be fitted into the hexachordal system except by using the transposed Sights.²⁴

(9) All these cadences are to be sung quite freely on the last note of any word [in the plainsong].

(10) As often as he likes, the Faburdener may touch the plainsong [in Sight] and leave it [i.e. sing a sighted unison followed by a sighted upper third], unless [he touches it] twice in succession. That is forbidden, since the plainsong Sight [i.e. the unison between Sight and plainsong, sounding a fifth lower in Voice] is an octave below the Treble and a fifth below the Mean, and thus forms a perfect consonance with each of the other parts; and two perfect consonances of the same kind may not be sung in succession in any part of Discant. This is the usual prohibition of consecutive perfect fifths and octaves: two successive sighted unisons with the plainsong will yield consecutive fifths between Faburden and plainsong Mean, consecutive octaves between Faburden and Treble.

To sum up, here is a fresh definition of Faburden in modern terms:
 - In a Faburden-piece, the plainsong lies in the middle voice or Mean. Below it, the tenor or Faburdener improvises in fifths and thirds by imagining unisons with or thirds above the written plainsong and pitching

his voice a fifth lower than the imagined notes. He should begin with a sung fifth and move on in sung thirds, interposing fifths whenever he likes, provided that he does not sing two in succession; at the end of a word in the plainsong he should cadence by singing a fifth, preceded by as many as four successive thirds if the plainsong lies low. Cadences are to be avoided when the plainsong closes on b, e and their octaves. The Treble doubles the plainsong Mean throughout at the fourth above.

This then was Faburden as John Wylde and his anonymous author understood the term. The interpretation given above is the only possible one, if we assume that author and copyist meant what they wrote. It is now clear that Faburden must have grown straight out of the earlier practices of English discant such as Countertenor, Countergymel and Counter. The sudden introduction of continental Fauxbourdon, with its octave transposition of the plainsong in the treble, would indeed have been something of a novelty - though not perhaps such a break in the tradition as some writers have supposed.²⁵ But the Sights of Countertenor and Countergymel also described by the English Anonymous already suggest ways in which an improvised voice may sing below the plainsong at times; and the singer of the Counter Sight is told to keep his part beneath the plainsong throughout the entire piece.²⁶ Nor was Counter a fifteenth-century invention, even. Pseudo-Tunstede (1351 ?) has a chapter on 'Discanting beneath the Plainsong'. It ends thus: "...tamen dummodo discantaveritis sub plano cantu, nullus potest discantare supra, nisi fuerit expertus de gravium vocum sedibus, quia omnes superiores voces ad graviorem vocem habent reddere concordiam..."²⁷

These words give the clue as to how Faburden came into being. The Sights which lay partly or wholly beneath the plainsong allowed the discanter much greater melodic and harmonic freedom than English discant proper, which was firmly anchored to its plainsong bass. But they lost in sonority what they gained in variety; for, as Tunstede says, only an expert could supply a third voice on top. Faburden was a neat, simple, and inevitably popular answer to the problem: if the lowest voice kept to fifths and thirds only beneath the plainsong, a third voice could then be added at the fourth above it with no risk of collisions. The result would sound, superficially, like the familiar progressions of English discant.

But the bass would be more varied, and the techniques of the Treble and-Faburden voices were far simpler and could be picked up in one lesson. Hence it must soon have become the most popular of the techniques of discant, "the least process of Sights, natural and most in use".

The clinching proof, however, is the fact that the new interpretation at last enables us to explain the name Faburden in a convincing way. Von Ficker held that the solmisation syllable Fa here referred to the interval of a fourth between the two upper voices, so that Fa-burden meant Burden-characterised-by-the-fourth,²⁸ This will not do, for two reasons. First, the Faburden is unquestionably the lowest voice, which has nothing to do with any fourths. Second, Fa does not mean a fourth. It is the name of the fourth degree of the hexachord; it does not stand for an interval, but for the notes c, f, and b-flat. It was the most difficult syllable of the hexachord to handle, for the novice who was learning his solmisation; and the difficulty turned on the note b, which might be either b-fa or b-mi.²⁹ In Faburden, however, the singer of the lowest voice never sings a b-mi. Every b sounded as a b-fa, including the low b-fa above Gamut which Power does not even mention in his Treatise upon the Gam: The Faburdener can only sing a b in Voice by imagining the f a fifth above in Sight; and f-fa will always yield b-fa. Note that the name must have been invented by someone listening to the total effect from the outside, and not by the Faburdener himself. When the Faburdener see a plainsong g in front of him, he is perfectly at liberty to imagine a third above it, b-mi in Sight (unless there is a b-fa signature in the plainsong, of course), and the result will be an e-mi in Voice. But for the outside listener, the absence of the sung note b-mi in the Burden, or lowest voice, must have been a startling novelty.

Another result of Faburdening a plainsong is - to use modern terms - that the tonality of the music is shifted strongly to the area of the sub-dominant: when the plainsong has its tonic, the Faburdener will be singing the fifth below. Does this explain the marked preference for the sub-dominant region which Bessler³⁰ has noted in English music of the time? Some medieval writers speak of the flat hexachord as being pathetic in

character,³¹ and this may perhaps help to account for the puzzling reference to cantus coronatus, scilicet ffaburdon, which occurs in an earlier tract from the Wyld manuscript (f.58). The whole passage becomes much clearer in the light of what Faburden really was:-

"Cantus Coronatus Cantus fractus dicitur et ad nullum gradum alligatur sed potest ascendere et descendere in consonancijs perfectis et imperfectis indifferenter. Et Cantus naturalis coronari potest."

Cantus coronatus must be the plainsong itself, called Cantus fractus because it has to be turned into measured music as a Mean for Faburdening; as a plainsong, it is obviously not one of the 'degrees' or parts of English discant, nor is it to be accompanied in discant style; there is no restriction on the number of imperfect consonances (thirds) or - at this date - perfect (fifths) which it may form in conjunction with the Faburden voice beneath; and finally the plainsong, or cantus naturalis, may be 'crowned' with an upper fourth by the Treble. Bukofzer gave up this passage in despair, though not without suggesting that it preceded the better-known description of Faburden later on in the manuscript by about forty years³² - a point of chronology which everyone seems to have missed. Other references to Cantus coronatus are rare. De Grocheo's description refers fancifully to Chant Royal.³³ But Anonymous 2 particularly associates falsa musica with cantinellis coronatis;³⁴ he defines falsa musica as quando locatur b molle vel b quadrum in loco non usitato...Ubi ponitur b rotundum dicitur fa. Sometimes falsa musica is used out of necessity, and sometimes causa pulchritudinis, ut patet in cantinellis coronatis. This suits our explanation very well, though the date is surprisingly early.

Finally, we should note that from the middle of the fourteenth century up to the time of the Old Hall manuscript, the majority of plain-song-settings in English sources place the chant in the middle voice. Faburden, as described by the English Anonymous, therefore grew up plumb

in the centre of the English tradition: there is no longer any call to assume that the English exported the raw material of English discant to the continent, in order to re-import it as the finished article, Fauxbourdon.³⁵ Before moving on to this vexed question, though, it will be as well to search the English sources for any evidence of Faburden that may have survived in art music, and then to read Guilielmus Monachus and the Scottish Anonymous again,³⁶ bearing in mind the early form of Faburden.

From its very nature, Faburden is unlikely to have left many traces in the art-music of the time. As we have seen, it was the lowliest and easiest of the Sight techniques, and neither needed nor merited the dignity of a full realisation on expensive paper or parchment. There is a comparable lack of plainsong-settings in true English discant style. The composers of the time usually preferred the more adventurous methods of Countertenor, Counter, and Countergymel, as Pseudo-Tunstede and Wylde's author described them; they would construct a two-part piece in this way, and then add a third voice on top. Indeed the familiar sequences of Faburden and English discant proper occur most frequently where the composer has not used a plainsong, but has constructed a movement around a tenor or mean of his own making.³⁷ The obvious place to look for survivals of Faburden is among unpretentious, functional music, such as the simple settings of plainsong in the earlier layers of the Old Hall manuscript, or the carols. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, we find also a few tenor-parts labelled 'Faburden' and similar ones which are not; and finally there are the musical examples of the Scottish Anonymous, which belong (like the organ settings of Faburdens) to the sixteenth century.

According to Bukofzer,³⁸ there are fifty-seven 'conductus-style' mass movements and antiphons in the Old Hall manuscript which are certainly or probably based on plainsong. No fewer than thirty of these have the chant in the middle voice throughout. Most of them, as we have said, favour the subsidiary practices of Countertenor, Counter and Countergymel. Some examples which are particularly close to Faburden,

however, are the following:

(1) Agnus Dei, f.105', Anonymous (III, 125-7).³⁹ Apart from the opening unison and two octaves in the course of the piece, the tenor accompanies the plainsong Mean (Sarum 8) on all strong beats with fifths and thirds. The treble proceeds more freely: there is a parallel here with the continental Fauxbourdons which also supply a contratenor sine Fauxbourdon as an alternative to the usual 'shadow' line at the fourth below the treble; here the case is reversed, since the mean has the plainsong. The many consecutive fifths suggest an early date for this piece; probably, like our third example below, it hails from the late fourteenth century.

(2) [Mari]a [or Exsulta?] laude Genitrix, f.35', Anonymous (III, 51-53), last section. Except for two octaves, one on a weak beat, the tenor again has fifths and thirds below the mean throughout. Bukofzer failed to identify the apparent plainsong in the mean. Here too the treble is more freely treated.

(3) Sanctus, f.87', Anonymous (III, 32-33). It is worth giving this movement in full as an example, omitting the repeated Osanna, which is by way of contrast built on a Countergymel. It can hardly be an accident that the composer used these two distinct techniques to point the contrast of structure. There are a few ornamental and unaccented passing-notes, but otherwise the tenor and the plainsong mean proceed entirely in fifths and thirds on all strong beats. The chant is again Sarum 8 - may we detect the hand of the same composer in this piece and in the Agnus Dei discussed above? Here, the treble lightly ornaments the fourth above the plainsong, except for six notes (bars 9, 11-12 and 18); at each of these places the Faburden tenor has consecutive fifths with the mean, so that a strict version of the treble would yield consecutive octaves with the former. In most of the English music of this period we find far more consecutive fifths than octaves, which were clearly disliked: here too the anonymous composer was not ready to sacrifice his sensibility to a formal device.

Example 1

Similar examples may be found in the later Worcester Fragments,⁴⁰ the

newly-discovered Fountains Abbey Museum manuscript,⁴¹ and the Fountains Fragment,⁴² to name only a few of the tattered sources which survive.

Turning to the carols of the fifteenth century, we find more traces of Faburden. Plainsong is surprisingly rare amongst the carols; but quite often the composers alternate solo and chorus, repeating the solo line in a three-part setting when the other voices enter. One outstanding example is Alleluia: A new work, from the Selden manuscript, ff.21'-22 (no.30).⁴³ Here the upper voice of each two-part section (save the last) is repeated at pitch by the middle voice of each succeeding three-part chorus, while the other voices execute a Faburden round it. The scheme is of course not mathematically exact: if it were, there would be no point in writing it out. But apart from cadential suspensions and some ornamental passing-notes, tenor and mean proceed throughout in fifths and thirds. The single unison in bar 20 is the exception that proves the rule, though a comparison with bars 7-8 would in fact tempt one to emend the note in question. The treble keeps very close to its fourth above the mean. A convenient example is this section of the Verse:

Example 2.

Te Deum, from the later Ritson manuscript, ff.26'-27 (no.95) has a special interest, for it is the only carol which bears the actual direction 'Faburden'. John Stevens, Bukofzer⁴⁴ and Catherine Miller⁴⁵ have already discussed this carol. The Burden and Refrain carry the ornamented plainsong Te Deum in the treble, transposed to the fourth above. The Burden is followed by the words ffaburdon Te eternum without any music. Dr. Stevens has supplied a second Burden by repeating the music of Burden I and underlaying the new words, adding a mean in the style of English discant. Another solution, proposed by Bukofzer, is to sing the plainsong Te eternum in Fauxbourdon. Dr. Stevens feels that this makes the carol into too much of a special case:⁴⁶ but the very direction 'ffaburdon' is unique among the carols, so that the piece appears to have been a special case from the beginning. Bukofzer's suggestion makes some sense of the word 'ffaburdon', and ensures that the verse Te eternum is sung to the correct liturgical music. To sing the plainsong in Fauxbourdon, however, means transposing the chant to the upper octave - a fifth above the ornamented version in the treble

of Burden I, which has the plainsong transposed to the upper fourth. If the Te eternum is sung in Faburden though, as the scribe directed, we arrive at a much happier solution. Since the plainsong will then lie at pitch in the mean, the treble will carry it at the fourth above its original pitch; and this chimes in neatly with the 'prepared' transposition of Burden I. An example will make this clear:

Example 3.

In view of this use of Faburden in a carol, another question arises: should we use Faburden in some of the many unison passages that often occur in the carols? See for example Alma redemptoris mater (No.23). The monophonic carols (1A-10A) also tempt conjecture.⁴⁷

Turning now to sources from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, we find a new phenomenon: some mensural tenor-parts, three of them actually marked 'Faburden', which turn out to be the lowest parts of Faburden-pieces - Faburdens proper, in fact. Since it was clearly unnecessary to write out Faburdens in full, these tenor-parts presumably stand at the end of the period of development. Five of them have been recognised for some time, and have been admirably described by Bukofzer⁴⁸ and Denis Stevens.⁴⁹ First we have the three litanies from Lambeth 438 (f.80'). Bukofzer suggested that they might be Faburdens, and Stevens confirmed this, without however going further into the matter. Here are the Faburdens, with the plainsongs supplied from ff.121'-122' of the same manuscript:

Example 4.

If we adjust the values of the plainsong notes here and there and add a few cadential suspensions, as the Scottish Anonymous and Morley suggest, the Faburdens fit very well. In the first, the plainsong has to be transposed to the upper octave, as in Fauxbourdon. In the second it is kept at pitch, but is treated as the treble: the Faburden sings octaves and sixths below it, again as in Fauxbourdon. In the third litany, however, we have the original method of Faburden: the plainsong proceeds in fifths and thirds above the Faburden. Here then we have three different examples of the later manner of Faburden. In the first two cases, the third part

— must be supplied at the fourth below the plainsong; in the last, at the fourth above. The style is severely functional, for these litanies were to be sung by three clerks moving in procession, as the rubrics show. The superfluous b quadratum in no.2 is no doubt a warning that the part is not a true Faburden, in which, as we have seen, every b had to be sung as Fa. The b-flats which are needed in no.3 also involve the Faburdener in a few e-flats. After the Faburdens, and in the same hand, the name 'William Dūdy' ('Dundy') is written.

Moving on to the processional psalms Laudate pueri and In exitu Israel, there is little to add to Mr. Stevens' perceptive remarks.⁵⁰ Both Faburdens - which are not labelled as such in the manuscript - imply an octave transposition of the plainsong, as in Fauxbourdon. They are decidedly more metrical than the Lambeth pieces, which do not fall easily into regular bar-lengths, except perhaps for no.2. Laudate pueri is in \emptyset throughout. In exitu Israel, a much longer psalm, is in \emptyset for six verses (not counting the alternate plainsong verses), has a signature of \emptyset for the next four, and reverts to \emptyset for the last four. The Harley psalms are unique in that they are a palimpsest: the plainsong notes have been erased in a Sarum processional, and mensural notes substituted. Like the Lambeth litanies, they are written on a four-lined staff: in this we may still trace their ancestry as Sights derived from a written plainsong.

Finally, there is an unspecified Faburden in the Bodleian Library, Digby 167 (f.31'), on a leaf which was printed in facsimile half a century ago.⁵¹ The Faburden is written out in a rare stroke notation: like the other two tenor parts on the same page, it must have been copied for a minstrel or some unlearned performer who could read the pitch of the note on the staff, but had to work out its time-value by counting the number of strokes. The music is underlaid with the words Eterne rex altissime et redemptor; if the plainsong hymn is transposed to the upper octave in Fauxbourdon style, the Digby tune fits beneath it note for note in octaves and sixths. The two other pieces on the same folio are a tenor by one 'Frank', called Quene note, which is supplied with a florid treble; and another called Anxci (Auxci?) bon youre delabonestren. Bukofzer identified the latter as a Basse Dance, and thought that the former might also be one,

in the rhythm of the quaternaria.⁵² These are odd companions for a plainsong hymn: all the other known Faburdens appear in service-books. No doubt the tuneful office hymns with their repetitive metre were by far the most 'popular' part of the liturgy; and this grouping of Faburden and Basse Dance on the same leaf suggests that the improvisation of the minstrels had something in common with the discant techniques of the church musician.⁵³

All of these written Faburdens appear to have been copied in the early sixteenth century, or perhaps in the last few years of the fifteenth. Now, Wylde's manuscript was written in the middle of the fifteenth century, while the earliest traces of Faburden in English art music occur in the first layer of the Old Hall manuscript, by about 1400. These late examples of Faburden therefore represent the last developments of a long tradition. William Dundy's Faburden was not quite the same thing as John Wylde's, and this will enable us to explain some of the puzzling remarks of Guilielmus Monachus.

For one thing, Dundy's Faburden-tenors and others like them must have been copied out for singers unacquainted with the original techniques of Faburden: in order to turn these tenors into a polyphonic setting in either Faburden or Fauxbourdon, the upper two parts have to be derived from the lowest by using the Mean and Treble Sights of English discant, and as a result, the plainsong will appear at the required pitch, in one of the upper voices. Furthermore, Dundy understood by the term Faburden three related but distinct techniques: Ex. 4 includes (a) the form which we recognise as continental Fauxbourdon, with the plainsong transposed to the upper octave in the treble, (b) a similar form which is found only in British sources, where the plainsong is sung at pitch in the treble and accompanied beneath after the manner of Fauxbourdon, and (c) the original form of Faburden as John Wylde described it. Of these techniques, (a) was the most popular: four examples survive, while (b) and (c) muster only one each.⁵⁴ Setting aside for the moment the question of how these forms developed, we shall now look again at what Guilielmus Monachus and the Scottish Anonymous had to say on the subject of Faburden and Fauxbourdon.

The treatise of Guilielmus has already provided a focus for some dispute. Nothing is known of the author, save that his work dates from the last third of the fifteenth century, and survives in a copy from that period - not the original - made by a North Italian scribe. Bukofzer has shown that Coussemaker's edition of the tract is incomplete and faulty, and he gives better readings which we shall adopt here.⁵⁵ Bessler, Handschin and Bukofzer have disagreed over certain of Guilielmus' remarks;⁵⁶ the gist of their complaints was that the author had described under the title Faulxbourdon two or three different styles, only one of which was true Fauxbourdon (by this they understood the continental model) - and that Guilielmus attributed this to the English school. Now if we read Guilielmus with our new knowledge of Faburden in mind, many of the 'difficulties' vanish. Indeed, he shows such an understanding of late fifteenth-century Faburden that one can hardly help concluding that he was English after all - a view that has lately been out of favour. He may perhaps have been the 'misser Guilielmo inglese', a chaplain whom Bartholomeo di Fiandra engaged on behalf of the Duke of Ferrara in Antwerp during the last third of the fifteenth century.⁵⁷ Here are some of the reasons for this unexpected conclusion.

Bukofzer has convincingly proved that in the chapter De Modis Anglicorum, Guilielmus apparently describes English discant under the incorrect title modus faulxbourdon.⁵⁸ He explains there how to derive two upper parts from a written tenor. The supranus is to imagine unisons with and thirds below the tenor but should set his voice an octave higher, so that he in fact sings octaves and sixths above the tenor, beginning and ending each phrase with an octave: in other words, this is our old friend the Treble Sight of English discant. The contra is to sing fifths and thirds above the tenor, beginning and ending each phrase with a fifth, without using the Sights. The musical examples make it quite clear that the result is English discant, if the tenor is a plainsong. But Guilielmus' tenor is not a plainsong; nor does his text prescribe a plainsong tenor at this point. He only talks about 'the tenor', and further says that he is describing Faulxbourdon as practised by the English. Now, we have already shown that Dundy, writing soon after Guilielmus, used the term Faburden in the

in the broadest sense and included Fauxbourdon under that heading. Guilielmus, who wrote for the continental market, no doubt used the current term Fauxbourdon in a similar way, and included Faburden in his definition. In short, there is no contradiction at all in his chapter De Modis Anglicorum; he is merely describing the English practice of realising a three-part Faburden-piece from a prepared Faburden-tenor such as those we find in the Lambeth manuscript. We have shown above that these tenors must be discanted in this way; the resulting piece may be a true Faburden, a true Fauxbourdon, or a Fauxbourdon-at-pitch, but the same method - English discant - holds good for each. Guilielmus, it seems, was not such an ignoramus after all in this instance. How about the rest of his treatise?

Guilielmus' next chapter dealing with Fauxbourdon is the Regulae Contrapuncti Anglicorum,⁵⁹ and some writers have said that it flatly contradicts what has gone before. It would be more charitable to assume that Guilielmus did not set out to confuse and mislead his pupils. In the earlier chapter he told how to reconstruct a complete Faburden-piece (in the meaning of the later fifteenth century) from the written tenor-part. What he now does is to describe Faburden-Fauxbourdon from another angle: that of the singer who has in front of him not a prepared Faburden-tenor, but the plainsong itself. He talks here for the first time of a cantus firmus. Here is the gist of what he writes:

- (1) Fauxbourdon is a common English practice.
- (2) It is sung with three voices, tenor, contratenor and supranus.
- (3) If it is sung in the English manner, it should be assumed that

the supranus is the cantus firmus -- 'debet assumi supranum cantum firmum [esse]' -- and the said cantus firmus should govern the supranus or cantus; but this is to be understood in triple time, whether in mood, tempus or prolation, --- triple time, in contrast to the French manner, which adopted duple time about 1430, as Bessler has pointed out;⁶⁰ it is worth noting here that triple time-signatures in mood, tempus and prolation remained in use in English music until the sixteenth century. This again shows that Guilielmus knew what he was talking about. In this sentence he is clearly describing Fauxbourdon proper, with the cantus firmus in the

treble; he does not say that the plainsong is to be transposed up an octave, but the succeeding example makes this clear (it is out of place, as Handschin suggested: Bukofzer confirmed the fact); this must of course be the reason for the curious phrasing of this passage, 'debet assumi...debet regere supranum'.

(4) The first note of the cantus firmus should be doubled in length, - in order to allow the tenor to move up from the octave below to the sixth, as in the example.

(5) If after the first two notes [of the cantus firmus] there should follow two [successive] notes at the same pitch, the first of them should make an ornamental transition leading up to the second from below -- 'prima debet facere transitum sive passagium sub eodem puncto et sono'. This too is shown in the example.

(6) The last note should also be expanded to make a similar transition -- to effect a cadence, as in the example.

(7) Rauxbourdon, then, is to be sung with three voices, keeping to the stated rules, -- i.e. (3-6) above --

'sed quando habeat supranus pro consonantiis primam, octavam et reliquas sextas, et in fine concordiarum sit octava, hoc est habet sextas et octavas pro consonantiis supra tenorem, contratenor vero debet tenere dictum modum suprani;

'sed quando habeat pro consonantiis tertiam et quintam altas, hoc est primam, quintam, reliquias tertias, ultimus vero finis concordiarum sit quinta, ut patet per exemplum'.

The force of this passage seems to have escaped the notice of earlier writers. They took it that the second part of the quotation referred to the contratenor, although the contratenor is not given in the example referred to. Surely the parallel construction 'sed quando...vero...sed quando...vero' and the use of the subjunctive mood imply a balanced contrast, with 'supranus' as the subject in each case. Otherwise Guilielmus could perfectly well have begun the first part with 'supranus habet...' and the second with 'contratenor habet...' A translation should therefore run:-

But when the supranus has [sc. 'if the supranus should have!'] for consonances first an octave and the rest sixths, with an octave at the end

-- i.e. it has sixths and octaves as consonances above the tenor --
then the contratenor should keep to the said manner of the supranus;
but when it [the supranus] has for consonances the upper third and
fifth -- i.e. first a fifth, the rest thirds -- then the last chord must
be a fifth, as it appears from the example.

First Guilielmus describes a Fauxbourdon-treble; then a Faburden-mean in Wylde's manner. The example for the latter is missing, as is the example for his next paragraph; nor does he describe how to add a third part -- perhaps the first 'sed' in the passage quoted prepares the way for the coming exception to the rule that Fauxbourdon is sung with three voices. Final proof that our translation is right occurs eight paragraphs further on, where the author describes how to add a contratenor bassus beneath the tenor of a Fauxbourdon-piece. This can be done, says Guilielmus 'si Faulxbordon faciat supranum suum per sextas et octavas': an alternative form is clearly implied, and indeed his rules do not hold good for a Faburden-piece.

(8) It was this paragraph in particular which aroused dispute between Bessler, Handschin and Bukofzer: However, the manner of Fauxbourdon might be taken differently in our country, not by keeping to the above rules, but by keeping the actual cantus firmus as it stands (or 'is written'), and by keeping the same consonances stated above, in the supranus as in the contratenor, with however the possibility of making syncopations by sixths and fifths, the penultimate note being a sixth, and the contratenor doing likewise, as it shall appear from the example. Bukofzer correctly held that 'proprium cantum firmum sicut stat' simply means 'untransposed'; it would strain the Latin to say that 'sicut stat' refers to absence of ornamentation or to a res facta, as Handschin and Bessler respectively thought. Bukofzer goes on: 'the inserted paragraph is actually a brief return to English discant, which Guilielmus describes more fully at another place in the treatise' -- in other words, in the chapter De Modis Anglicorum. Bukofzer accepted the view that Guilielmus was either Italian or writing in Italy, as an adopted continental: he therefore had to explain the 'apud nos' in the passage under discussion by

saying that English discant was also practised on the continent. This is undeniable: but why, in that case, should Guilielmus describe English discant as an especially continental practice, contrasting it with 'English' Fauxbourdon? As we have found, he knew quite a lot about English music. Assume that 'apud nos' is not a contrast, and that he was writing this chapter from the point of view of an Englishman writing for continentals - his title for this passage is after all Regulae Contrapuncti Anglicorum - and the final piece of the puzzle falls into place. Guilielmus, whom we may now call William the Monk, is here explaining the specifically British practice ('apud nos') of Fauxbourdon with the plainsong at pitch in the upper voice and the lowest voices proceeding at the usual intervals below it.⁶¹ The second of the Lambeth litanies provides an example; and the practice is also demonstrated by the Scottish Anonymous.

From all this we can see that Guilielmus, writing towards the end of the fifteenth century, had a clear idea of what the terms Faburden and Fauxbourdon then implied. He used the French word, presumably because his audience was continental, just as Dundy used the English word in England. Whatever the name, by this date Faburden and Fauxbourdon were regarded as much the same thing. Guilielmus also knew the insular practice of Fauxbourdon-at-pitch. All in all, we may probably assume that he was an English monk who, like Hothby and the mysterious Robertus Anglicus,⁶² made Italy his home for a time. Since, as we have shown, he was in fact well informed about Faburden and Fauxbourdon in English music - he does not so much as mention any French or Burgundian contribution - his insistence that England was the home of the technique can no longer be disregarded. He is an important witness, if we hear him without prejudice.

The treatise of the Scottish Anonymous stands right at the end of the history of Faburden. Bukofzer and Georgiades accepted the dating 'after 1517' - the writer quotes Ornithoparcus. Neither seems to have noticed that there is a date included in the long chapter dealing with Faburden. In a discussion of the Magnificat tones,⁶³ the writer says: 'Of the quhilk aucht townis the choristers ar all expert and dayly dois vss be samy in kirks of god throcht all christianytie Except be reallm of Scotland send be 3eir of god anethouwsand fyvehundret fyvftie and aucht

3eir'. Later than 1558, then -- surprising proof of the tenacity of Faburden.

There is no need to dwell on what the Scottish Anonymous has to say: Bukofzer and Georgiades sum up his clear (though longwinded) directions very well.⁶⁴ He does not describe the original form of Faburden, but discusses everything from the viewpoint of Fauxbourdon. He also explains several hybrid forms like the Fauxbourdon with contratenor bassus that we find in Guilielmus' work. It is interesting to look through his musical examples, though: no less than six out of the eighteen preserve the plainsong at pitch in the middle part, although he does not usually bother to write out the mean himself. Here is an example where he does:

Example 5.

He has turned the plainsong into triple measure, ignored the ligatures, and added an extra bar at the end. Otherwise, this setting of the seventh tone (ff.101'-2) could have furnished an example for John Wylde's manuscript. Note the written b-flats in the outer parts only, and the cautionary b-quadratum in the Counter. There can be little doubt that these examples with the plainsong at pitch in the middle part, which include a litany (f.96'), Te Deum (f.98) and Sanctus (f.98), are traditional survivals from the older form of the previous century - though the writer himself describes them only from the point of view of the treble, which is, he says, transposed to the fourth above instead of to the octave. One setting preserves the plainsong at its original pitch in the treble, Salvator mundi (f.97). Here again, as in the similar Lambeth litany (no. 2), there is an unnecessary b-quadratum in the tenor part, warning the singer that the b is not to be sung as Fa.

There is one other sixteenth-century source which might possibly yield further evidence: the many English organ pieces which are arrangements of Faburdens - usually Faburdens to plainsong hymns. Since however the normal plainsong-settings in the Mulliner Book, for example, tend to transpose the chant fairly freely, this line of enquiry would probably not take us much further: if the plainsongs were sometimes transposed, then their Faburdens were probably treated in the same way, so that we

cannot safely deduce which type of Faburden was used - whether Faburden proper, Fauxbourdon, or Fauxbourdon at pitch. One example discussed by Bukofzer is Redford's O Lux on the Faburden.⁶⁵ Here the plainsong would fit at its original pitch in octaves and sixths above the Faburden, which is the bass of Redford's setting. In this particular piece we may also trace the chant, highly ornamented and transposed down a fourth, in almost every bar of the middle part; this is almost certainly a coincidence. All these Faburden-settings for organ appear to have been used for alternatim performance: presumably then, the other (choral) verses must have been sung in Faburden. In a normal alternatim setting of plainsong, the chant itself would be present throughout; here, the Faburden has usurped its place, so that the plainsong is heard only in the choral verses. These pre-Reformation organ pieces show how popular Faburden had become.⁶⁶ Even Morley (1597) mentions the practice - admittedly with a rather highbrow sneer.⁶⁷

The above is a first sketch for a new history of Faburden over two hundred years of English music, and much will have to be done before it is varnished and framed. One point still needs further research: Besseler's contention that Fauxbourdon was invented and named by Dufay in 1427, and that the English then took up the practice as a technique of improvisation.⁶⁸ We have seen that the original form of Faburden developed quite naturally from a fusion of extemporised discant and the English preference for placing the chant in the middle voice; and there are traces of Faburden in English musical sources from about 1400, if not earlier. Faburden could not have developed from Fauxbourdon, then, since the earliest evidence for the latter occurs only in the late 1420s. Hitherto, the earliest known reference to the word 'Faburden' in English sources has been a Durham indenture of 1447. However, it is an easy matter to assign a date to the letter which Richard Cliffe, second vicar-prebendal of Hemingbrough College, wrote to his superior, the Prior of Durham.⁶⁹ Cliffe held his post from 1427 to 1460, so that no-one has been able to use his undated letter as exact evidence. But he informs the Prior that "a felay of ouris, Sir John Rocliff, ye fifte vicare, has forsakyn his vicary, and is institute

and inducte in a perpetuall chauntery at Hull'. And he goes on to request that the vacant post should be given to an unnamed acquaintance of his, now "at Lichfelde, in ye college, in abitte", who is "als we her say, of connyng sufficiante in redyng and sigyng [singing] of plane sange and te syng a tribull til faburdun, als I have harde ye abilaste men of our kirke say and recorde of hyme". I have found no record of Sir John Rowcliff in Hull; but turning to another page of Thomas Burton's book, we find some useful lists of the vicars-prebendal of Hemingbrough. 'John Rowcliff' was presented to his post on the 25th of April 1427 and installed on the 20th November. The date of his departure for Hull is not given; but one William Watkinson, no doubt Cliffe's worthy friend, was duly presented to Rowcliff's post on the 27th of November, 1432. The letter was therefore written between 1427 and 1432, probably towards the end of the period. The term Faburden, then, was current by 1432 in Hemingbrough (Yorks), Durham and Lichfield, all of them provincial towns remote from such musical centres as London and Windsor; so it must have been coined at least ten years before - about 1420 or earlier, in fact. Indeed, Cliffe's letter rather suggests that any vicar-prebendal in any college was expected to be able to sing a treble to a Faburden-piece: if this was the case, we are probably justified in pushing the date much further back. No doubt churchmen resisted innovation then as they do today, taken by and large. Note that Cliffe refers to the original form of Faburden: his candidate can read and sing plainsong, and sing a treble to the Faburden.

The evidence of date confirms the evidence of style, therefore: Faburden preceded Fauxbourdon. Dufay did not 'overtrump' English discant, as Besseler maintained: he was content to follow suit. (It would really be better to abandon this metaphor: great composers do not usually wrangle for precedence or count their tricks in this way). The question remains: who first had the idea of altering the original form of Faburden, so that the plainsong lay in the top voice instead of in the mean? Since England was the birthplace of the first Faburden, it seems only logical to assume that the sister-technique of Fauxbourdon was also born (though not named)

on this side of the Channel; it would have travelled to the continent as a technique of improvisation, to be adopted by Dufay and others as the form that we find in the sources, partly art-music and partly extemporisation. The continental type first appears in the late 1420s: what relation does it bear to true Faburden?

If the English had already taken the step of transferring the plainsong to the treble voice by this date, the answer is simple enough. All that the continental composers had to do was to 'fix' the improvisation on paper by writing down the essentials. If the English were still using true Faburden exclusively, there are two possibilities. Either the continentals misheard the English treble line as the plainsong itself - an easy mistake for listeners reared on the French-Burgundian chanson, particularly if the English coloured the treble with additional ornament; or else Dufay or one of his contemporaries hit on the idea of shifting the chant to the treble. Which answer is the most likely?

The first, on the face of it. But Bessler has raised two objections: that the use of the chant in the treble was almost unknown in English music before about 1430; and that the chanson style, with the main musical interest lying in the decorated upper voice, was also unfamiliar to English composers before that date.⁷⁰ Certainly, treble cantus firmus was not common in English music until the 1420s: but it was by no means unheard-of. The first known use of chant in the treble is of English origin, as Bukofzer has shown,⁷¹ and there are similar pieces to be found in fourteenth-century English music which are undoubtedly older than the Apt hymns.⁷² There are eight (perhaps nine) examples in the Old Hall manuscript, one (or two) by William or John Excetre: the former's career can be traced back to 1384,⁷³ the latter's right back to the reign of Edward III.⁷⁴ Three later examples by Leonel Power and Oliver clearly foreshadow the methods of Dunstable.⁷⁵ All these pieces occur in the earliest layer of the source, which was probably copied when Dufay was still in his teens. Furthermore, these settings are part of a continuous tradition, while the Apt hymns appear to have been an isolated experiment, and a clumsy one at that. By Dunstable's

time, mean cantus firmus was almost unknown, for there is only one example in his entire surviving output: apart from his isorhythmic masses and motets, which do not concern us here, there are two cases of tenor cantus firmus, one with the chant in the mean, and five where Dunstable decorates the plainsong in the treble.⁷⁶ The same proportions hold good for the later works of Leonel Power, and for those of Dunstable's contemporaries -- and Dunstable (d.1453) and Power (d.1445) belong to the generation before Dufay (d.1474). The habit of placing the chant in the treble is at least as English as it is continental.

Chanson style, in which the lower voices are subdued to throw the finely-drawn, decorated treble into greater relief, was also well enough known to English composers of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Bukofzer quotes one tract which deals with fourteenth-century music, though it is written in a fifteenth-century hand: whoever wants to compose a ballade, rondeau, virelai, or psalm, says the anonymous writer, 'fiat primo discantus'.⁷⁷ The anonymous author of the Quatuor principalia musicae (1351?), describing a rudimentary form of English discant, says of the singers of the upper parts: 'frangere debent et florere notas prout magis decet'.⁷⁸ He even has a chapter which tells how the sacrosanct tenor itself may be ornamented in this way. There is very little secular music surviving in English sources of the period, admittedly, but we must allow for the wholesale destruction of manuscripts that has blighted our knowledge of fourteenth-century English music for so long.⁷⁹ Chaucer wrote at least one roundel to music by a French composer.⁸⁰ An important Machaut manuscript was for a time in English possession.⁸¹ And finally, the music of the Old Hall manuscript shows that the English had thoroughly absorbed chanson style.⁸² The source even contains music by Mayshuet (Mayhuet de Joan or Matheus de Sancto Johanne), a French composer of the late ars nova, and a Gloria by Antonio Zachara da Teramo, a late Trecento composer who has left us a Gloria anglicana elsewhere. By the time of Power and Dunstable, every English composer used chanson style almost all the time, with or without a plainsong in the treble; and since there are English works in this style in the same source that contains the earliest Fauxbourdons by

continental composers,⁸³ it is clear that the English had made this language their own before the advent of Fauxbourdon on the continent. A later witness, Martin le Franc, after praising the English for their 'frisque concordance', goes on to single out their melodic style for special mention:⁸⁴ 'en faincte en pause et en muance' -- these are all melodic terms. The pupils were now teaching their masters.

The English, then, were quite capable of developing Fauxbourdon from Faburden without further assistance from the continent. The change from mean to treble cantus firmus probably took place about the middle of Power's lifetime, before English music started to appear in continental sources: by then the composer's interest had shifted from the mean to the treble. One interesting example is the carol Abide, I hope it be the best,⁸⁵ which occurs both in the Selden Manuscript, dating from about 1450, and in the Trinity Roll, which in spite of its void notation is probably some twenty years older. (The well-known Agincourt carol, Deo gracias, Anglia, which must have been written within a decade of the battle (1415), appears in the Trinity Roll with a prolation time-signature, but in the Selden manuscript in the later fashion of tempus perfectum). Abide, I hope... is the only carol in the older source written in tempus perfectum. The burdens show the strong influence of Faburden. Burden I, a solo, is repeated at pitch as the mean of Burden II; there are two accented unisons between tenor and mean, but otherwise the outer voices are very close to Faburden. In the later version, though, Burden II has been transposed down a fourth in its entirety: the result is that Burden I now appears at pitch in the top voice, doubled fairly closely by the mean at the fourth below. In short, what was a stylised Faburden has now become a stylised Fauxbourdon-at-pitch. Was the scribe who edited this carol deliberately bringing it up to date? It is dangerous to proceed too much by inferences; but I hope to have shown that there is no reason why the English should not have developed Fauxbourdon themselves, and every reason why they should. Dunstable's music is full of Fauxbourdon-like passages in chanson style. The psalmodic Magnificat is a fine example of stylised Fauxbourdon, with the plainsong transposed to the upper octave.⁸⁶

The other plainsong arrangements with the chant in the treble are not psalmodic and are therefore far more elaborate, though passages like the following, from Regina celi letare,⁸⁷ are common enough (the plainsong notes are asterisked):

Example 6.

It seems reasonable enough to suppose that Fauxbourdon, like Faburden, grew from English stock on English soil. What support for this hypothesis do the early continental Fauxbourdons offer? Bessler insists that Dufay invented and named Fauxbourdon in the communion Vos qui secuti estis, part of his Missa Sancti Jacobi; the mass was supposedly written for Robert Auclou, Dufay's friend and patron, who was curate of St. Jacques de la Boucherie, Paris, during a hypothetical visit in 1427-28 when Dufay would have heard English music and met English composers in the retinue of John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France.⁸⁸ Alas, Mme. Clercx has shown that both Dufay and Auclou were almost certainly in Bologna throughout the period in question.⁸⁹ The fact remains that Dufay's communion is a very early Fauxbourdon, the first to be copied into the Bologna manuscript, and the only one which has a Latin canon explaining how the missing contra is to be supplied. (Too much has been made of this canon, perhaps: if Fauxbourdon needed an explanatory note of this kind, it is only natural that it should be supplied for the first piece in the manuscript and not for the rest). Bukofzer was not prepared to accept outright that Vos qui secuti estis was the first Fauxbourdon.⁹⁰ He pointed out that Limburgia and Binchois had equal claims of seniority; and he showed that one piece by Binchois, Ut queant laxis,⁹¹ which appears in a source only slightly younger than the Bologna manuscript, is unique in its own way, just as Dufay's communion is, with its Latin tag. Ut queant laxis, 'an altogether unprecedented kind of fauxbourdon', consists of two voices with a third to be supplied, like any normal Fauxbourdon, but with this difference: the written voices are not tenor and discantus, but tenor and contra -- the upper voice must be supplied at the fourth above the contra. The tenor moves in fifths and thirds beneath the given contra, which has the plainsong transposed to the upper fifth. The supplied discantus will come out at the octave above the original pitch of the

plainsong, and the piece will sound just like any other Fauxbourdon in performance. Nevertheless, this unusual way of writing the music down clearly shows that Binchois' hymn-setting had its precedent after all: in the original form of English Faburden. Plainsong (admittedly transposed) in the mean, tenor in fifths and thirds beneath it, upper voice to be supplied at the fourth above the mean -- this is far too close to the directions of John Wylde's manuscript for any coincidence. Ut queant laxis may even help to explain how change from Faburden to Fauxbourdon came about: many plainsongs lie rather low to be Faburdened as they stand. The fairly common transposition of the chant to the upper fifth in the mean would of course yield the chant at the upper octave in the treble, a fourth above the mean.⁹²

Judging from his recorded career, Binchois is a far stronger candidate than Dufay for the honour of having transmitted Faburden to the continent. In 1424 he was in the service of William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk; he may even have visited the Duke's country seat at Amptill in Bedfordshire, not ten miles from the town of Dunstable.⁹³ Dufay, on the other hand, cannot be shown to have had any personal contact with the English at all. Binchois' compositions, too, often have a decidedly English cast of countenance, so much so that even fifteenth-century scribes were hard put to it to distinguish between his works and those of English masters of the time.⁹⁴ Several of his plainsong-settings are also unique in that they are unornamented, 'purely mechanical' Fauxbourdons with all three parts written out in full.⁹⁵ They are far closer in style to realisations of the much later English Faburden-tenors, than to the Fauxbourdons of Dufay and his contemporaries. In short, they are probably an attempt to put on paper the simple, functional Faburdens or Fauxbourdons which the composer must have heard improvised by English choirmen. It may have been Dufay who invented the French name and the characteristic shorthand of the written two-voiced Fauxbourdon, and who popularised the form in Italy; Binchois does not seem to have crossed the Alps himself. But all in all, Dufay can no longer be claimed as the sole inventor, let alone the transmitter, of Fauxbourdon. It is far safer to draw conclusions

from fifteenth-century theorists and from the music that they discussed, than to build up hypotheses about an improbable meeting between Dufay, speaking French in Walloon dialect, and Dunstable, speaking Anglo-Norman French after the school of Stratford-atte-Bow with a Bedfordshire accent.

A final word: this sort of discovery, which upsets an apparent 'fact' of musical history,⁹⁷ cannot be dealt with fully in the few pages which this chapter occupies. A point which needs more investigation, for example, is the link between Faburden-Fauxbourdon and the rare continental plainsong-settings which place the chant in the middle voice.⁹⁸ But when all is said and done, Faburden and Fauxbourdon were modest, unspectacular music, carefully restricted to a few humble occasions in the framework of the liturgy. Because composers used forms for such simple and unpretentious functions, -- office hymns, Te Deum, Magnificat, psalmody and so forth -- the music itself likewise reduced to its barest essentials. As a result, Faburden and Fauxbourdon present in a particularly clear form one of the great changes underlying Renaissance music: the urge towards controlled dissonance, towards the rhythmically disciplined harmony of the sixteenth century. Their real importance has been too much exaggerated by recent controversies, and it is time that we saw them in their own humble setting once more. They are a symptom, not a cause.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

1. Manfred Bukofzer, Geschichte des englischen Diskants und des Fauxbourdons nach den theoretischen Quellen, Strassburg, 1936; Thrasybulos Georgiades, Englische Diskanttraktate aus der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts, München, 1937.
2. Sanford B. Meech, "Three Fifteenth-Century English Musical Treatises", in Speculum X, 1935, 235ff.
3. Georgiades, Ib. 105; H.E. Wooldridge, The Polyphonic Period, Part I (The Oxford History of Music, 2nd ed., rev. P.C. Buck, I), O.U.P., London 1929, 295-329.
4. Bukofzer, Ib., 121ff.
5. Heinrich Bessler, Bourdon und Fauxbourdon, Leipzig 1950; see also "Der Ursprung des Fauxbourdons", in Die Musikforschung, 1, 1948 106ff.
6. Von Ficker's articles: "Zur Schöpfungsgeschichte des Fauxbourdon", in Acta Musicologica, 23, 1951, 93ff; and "Epilog zum Faburdon", Ib., 25, 1953, 127ff. Bessler's replies: "Tonalharmonik und Vollklang", Ib., 24, 1952, 131ff.; and "Das Neue in der Musik des 15. Jahrhunderts", Ib., 26, 1954, 75ff.
7. In The Musical Quarterly, 38, Jan. 1952, 22ff.
8. In Kongressbericht Bamberg, Kassel-Basel, 1954, 120-124; convincingly refuted by Flasdieck in "Elisab. Faburden....", op.cit. infra, 203-216
9. In "Das Ergebnis der Diskussion über "Fauxbourdon"", in Acta Musicologica, 29, 1957, 185ff.; the editors then closed their columns to this argument -- and who shall blame them?
10. "Aux origines du faux-bourdon", in Revue de Musicologie, 40, Dec. 1957, 151ff.
11. In "Franz. fauxbourdon und frühneuengl. faburden", in Acta Musicologica, 25, 1953, 111ff.

12 II 5 e in MS.

18. Hothby: Tard' il mio cor (ballade).

BMar; 164. See no. 16 above.

The signa congruentiae in bar 22, and the musical repeat in bars 8-14 and 23-29, show that this must be a ballade, and this supports our suggestions for the forms of nos. 16-7 above.

9 II 4-5 semibreve, minim, in MS.

10 II 4 followed by unneeded semibreve rest.

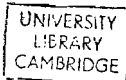
17 I-III must be transcribed in irregular metre, short of radical emendation: either this cadence or the one in bar 20 must fall on a weak minim; there are similar cadences on to weak minims in Diva panthera above, bars 14 and 16. Since these works accompany a collection of theoretical treatises, Hothby may have been trying to catch his pupils out.

24 II 6 minim in MS.

28-9 III a third too high in MS; compare bars 13-4.

19. Examples to Chapter Five.

Full references are given where each example occurs in the text.



12. In "Französisch faux-bourdon und frühneuenglisch faburden (H.M. Flasdieck). Epilog zum Faburdon (R.v.Ficker). Eine Erwiderung", Ib., 26, 1954, 85ff.
13. in "Elisab. Faburden "Fauxbourdon" and ME. Burden "Refrain" in Anglia, 74, 1956, 188ff.
14. Bessler, "Das Ergebnis...", 187; his "Dufay in Rom", in Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, 15, 1958, 2, again speaks of 'the overwhelming majority of the Anglicists' (my translation); Clercx, "Aux origines...", 154.
15. "Elisab. Faburden...", 238
16. "Das Ergebnis...", 187.
17. Op.cit., 151-4.
18. British Museum, Lansdowne MS 763, ff.116-116'. We shall use the modern spelling of 'Faburden' except in quotation: the early spelling varies. For the sake of convenience, we shall use 'Faburden' to denote the original English form, and 'Fauxbourdon' when referring to the continental and later English practice of transposing the plainsong an octave in the upper voice. By the later fifteenth century, neither English nor continental sources upheld this distinction, but it will prove useful here.
19. "De praeceptis artis musicae et practicae compendiosus libellus", - Cod.336, MS Lat.1581, Lib.of S.Marco, Venice, 1-48'; in E.de Coussemaker, Scriptorum Nova Series, III, 1879.
20. See H.Riemann, Musiklexikon (11th ed., rev.A.Einstein), Berlin,1929, I, 493-494, and further ref.there.
21. Ib. 27-28.
22. Op.cit., 44
23. Note the dislike of cadences on to b or e in the plainsong; these would yield Phrygian cadences on to e and a (via b-flat) in the Faburden voice respectively. In fact, the music of the time

does not always bear this out.

24. These low notes beneath Gam Ut rarely occur in English music before the Eton manuscript -- was transposition common? On the other hand, the English Anonymous tells singers how to change the Sights when Countering in order to plunge deep below the plainsong, "yf ye haue a low voice" (f.115'). And Binchois, whose musical idiom is often indistinguishable from the style of his English contemporaries, frequently ventured below the Gam.
25. Bukofzer, Geschichte..., 128, for example.
26. See note 24.
27. E.de Coussemaker, op.cit., IV, 294, Cap.XI, "Quomodo sub plano cantu discantandum est". Here is Bessler's 'Bourdonkontratenor' -- in mid-fourteenth century!
28. "Zur Schöpfungsgeschichte...", 121f.; Flasdieck, "Elisab. Faburden..." 216ff.; Bessler ("Das Ergebnis...") objects that the term Faburdon may not be interpreted as the Guidonian Fa plus Burdon because there is no other example in English where a composita is headed by a solmisation syllable. He even quotes Flasdieck to his own purpose, neglecting to say that Flasdieck goes on to make hay of this argument. There are plenty of noun-plus - noun compositae in English, and technical jargon is full of unique word-coining. No one would deny that the Latin word 'solmisare', for example, was formed from Guido's hexachord-syllables, simply because the formation is unique in Latin. Why, the original derivation of these very syllables from the hymn Ut queant laxis was itself a unique proceeding!
29. See for example the amusing poem from the late fourteenth century which Francis Lee Utley reprints as "The Choristers' Lament", in Speculum, XVI, 1946, 194ff. The wretched pupils speak of 'pat froward file. pat men clipis fa', and one says 'I fayle in pe fa: it files al mi fare'.
30. Bourdon und Fauxbourdon, 114.
31. See for example A.Pirro, Historie de la musique...., Paris 1940, 53.
32. Geschichte... 70-71.

33. See the edition by J. Wolf, SIMG, I, 91.
34. See E. de Coussemaker, Op.cit., I, 312: cantus coronatus in the thirteenth century!
35. Bessler, "Das Ergebnis...", 187.
36. 'The Airt of Musick', British Museum, Add. MS 4911; for Faburden f. 94ff.
37. See Aleyn's Gloria, for example (probably before 1373), in the Old Hall MS, ff. 51-6, published in The Old Hall Manuscript, edd. A. Ramsbotham, H. B. Collins and Dom Anselm Hughes, 3 vols, Burnham and London 1933-38, I, 7-10.
38. In Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music, London 1951, 47-48.
39. reference to the edition (see note 37). The musical examples to this chapter will be found at the end of the Musical Appendix.
40. See some of the pieces with the chant in the mean in these publications. Dom Anselm Hughes, Worcester Mediaeval Harmony, Burnham, 1928, (e.g. nos. 12-13); Luther A. Dittmer, The Worcester Fragments, American Institute of Musicology, 1957, nos. 82a (not printed), 85.
41. See "Fourteenth-century polyphony in a Fountains Abbey MS Book", by H. K. Andrews and Thurston Dart, in Music and Letters, 39, January, 1958, 1ff.; and Denis Stevens' useful comments in "The Second Fountains Fragment; a Postscript", Ib., April, 1958, 148ff.
42. British Museum, Add. MS 40011B, described by Bukofzer in Studies..., 86ff. Since this chapter was written, Frank Ll. Harrison's magnificent survey Music in Medieval Britain (London 1958) has appeared; the first complete examination of pre-Reformation music in England, this rich volume is particularly excellent in dealing with the liturgical aspects of medieval music. Ex. 19 (pp. 150-151) is a late fourteenth-century setting of the hymn O lux beata Trinitas, from the MS Sloane 1210 in the British Museum; Dr. Harrison gives it as an example of treble cantus firmus, with the chant transposed an octave up -- but the mean corresponds far more closely to the chant, transposed up a fifth.
43. Reference is to Mediaeval Carols, ed. John Stevens, Musica

Britannica IV, London 1952.

44. "Fauxbourdon Revisited", 32-33.
45. In Renaissance News, iii, 63.
46. See editorial notes, op.cit.
47. Though I sing (9A) bears the strange heading 'le bon l.don'; since R.H.Hobbins reads this as 'le bouldon', I scented a reference to 'Bourdon' (Secular Lyrics of the XIVth and XVth Centuries, Oxford 1952, 13). But an examination of the MS confirmed Dr.Stevens' impeccable editorship: it must be the name of the tune.
48. Geschichte..., 123; "Fauxbourdon Revisited", 31.
49. "Processional Psalms in Faburdon", in Musica Disciplina, IX, 1955, 105ff.
50. It is not clear from his article, though, that In exitu Israel appears on ff.67-70 of the MS (British Museum, Harley 2945).
51. In Early Bodleian Music, ed.J.Stainer, 2 vols, London 1901, I,pl. XCVIII (faes.) and II, 181.
52. In "Changing Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music", in The Musical Quarterly, 44, Jan.1958, 16.
53. The collections of mensural tenor-parts in British Museum, Lansdowne MS 462 and the Vatican Lib., MS Reg.Lat 1146 do not appear to contain any Faburdens. This is not so surprising for these tenors, like those of the Bayeux MS, all seem to have been lifted from polyphonic pieces.(See concordances in Bukofzer, Studies...., 38-41). The fact that one of the Lansdowne tenors appears in the Old Hall MS as the lowest voice of an anonymous Sanctus (f.84'; ed.III, 20ff.), in which the plainsong migrates between the Lansdowne tenor and the middle voice, shows that the tenors were not all intended per se as counter-points to plainsong.

54. Dr. Harrison has unearthed several more Faburden-tenors, some monophonic and some embedded in polyphonic pieces — settings of Faburdens for voices which foreshadow the later organ arrangements of Faburdens. There are four single Faburden-tenors to Rogation Kyrie litanies (cf. the Lambeth MS) in the Bodleian Lib., MS. Rawl. liturg. e.45, ff. 57'-58 and 59'-60' (Not ff. 57'-61', as stated in Music in Medieval Britain, 411). They are all examples of Fauxbourdon, with the octave transposition of the chant in the treble. The Pepys MS 1236 of Magdalene College, Cambridge, contains a polyphonic setting of the Faburden to one of these Litanies -- Not Fauxbourdon, since the chant fits in fifths and thirds at pitch above the tenor (Harrison, op.cit., 410ff.). Ex. 140 (p.356) gives the Faburden on which Sheppard built his setting of the processional psalm Laudate pueri (in the Gyffard part-books, British Museum, Add. MS 17802-5): Dr. Harrison transposes the plainsong up a fourth as if it were a case of Fauxbourdon, but the chant fits at pitch in Faburden. The anonymous setting of Alma chorus domini, also from the Gyffard books (ex.189, p.393) is also based on Faburden: for the first two bars of the example, the bass is the treble line of the Faburden transposed down an octave, for the last two, it is the Faburden-tenor itself. All these settings are alternatim arrangements. This suggests another thought: several alternatim pieces quoted by Dr. Harrison employ the chant transposed to the upper fourth (sometimes the lower fifth); and some are, he implies, built on the Fauxbourdon of the chant similarly transposed, as is the Laudate pueri of Sheppard already cited. Transposition to the fourth above is not a regular practice in Fauxbourdon; but if a chant is Faburdened, then the treble naturally sings the chant at the fourth above. Applying Occam's razor and seeking the simpler solution, we ought therefore to assume that in any such alternatim setting, the intervening choral verses were sung in true Faburden, not in 'Fauxbourdon-with-the-plainsong-transposed-to-the-upper-fourth': see for example the processional prose Gloria laus (exx.210-211, pp.407f.), the processional antiphon Collegerunt (p.408, n.3), the troped lesson Laudes Deo (ex.198, pp.400f.) -- all from the Pepys MS --, Sheppard's respond and prose Gaude, gaude, gaude Maria (exx.194ff., pp.397ff., from Oxford, Christ Church MSS 979-983), Ludford's sequence Laetabundus (ex.188, p.392, from British Museum, Roy.App.45-48). By contrast, cases where Fauxbourdon (or Faburden transposed to the upper fifth) have been used are: the anonymous hymn O lux beata Trinitas, from Pepys MS (ex.177, p.383) - here again the mean is slightly more faithful to the chant, transposed to the fifth above --, Banester's setting of the hymn Exsultet celum laudibus from the same source (ex.176, pp.382f.) - he uses Fauxbourdon - and the anonymous troped Kyrie Deus creator omnium from MS Archer 2 of the Shakespeare Birth-place Lib., Stratford-on-Avon (ex.61, p.278), which is a lightly stylised Fauxbourdon.

55. Geschichte...., 154ff.

56. Bessler, Bourdon ..., 105-8; J.Handschin, "Eine umstrittene Stelle bei Guilielmus Monachus", in Kongressbericht Basel, 1949, 145ff.; Bukofzer, "Fauxbourdon Revisited", 43-46.
57. See Appendix IV, 'Gulielmo'.
58. Coussemaker, op.cit., III, 288aff.; see n.56 for the comments of Bukofzer.
59. Coussemaker, op.cit., 292aff.
60. Bessler, Ib.106.
61. Guilielmus' remarks about the supranus making syncopations with sixths and fifths, and the contratenor doing likewise, can hardly refer to the example of syncopation at the end of the treatise, as Handschin and Bukofzer suggest - even though the example is written in the Treble Sight of English discant. If the contratenor is there supplied at the fourth below the upper voice, the result is a cacophonous sequence of accented seconds, when the tenor is ascending; when the tenor falls, the effect is a more pleasing succession of 7/4 chords revolving on to 6/3 chords. The example is merely an illustration of the paragraph before, "Regulae circa cognitionem syncoparum", which deals with syncopation in two voices, not three. Guilielmus has used Treble Sight here as a useful way of getting both voices on to the same staff by writing the upper part an octave lower. He describes this practice earlier on (Coussemaker, op.cit. 291a): 'Nota quod ad habendam perfectam perfectionem consonantiarum acutarum, nota quod unisonus accipitur pro octava'. The fact that he naturally uses Treble Sight in this way also hints that he is probably English.
62. See Appendix IV, 'Robertus'.
63. British Museum, Add.4911, f.102'.
64. Bukofzer, Geschichte.... 85ff.; Georgiades, Englische Diskanttraktate.... 95ff.
65. "Fauxbourdon Revisited", 30; the piece is easily accessible (with one or two other Faburden-settings) in Denis Stevens' edition, The Milliner Book, Musica Britannica I, London 1951, 23f.

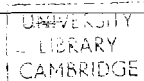
66. For further examples see H. Miller's examination of the collection in British Museum, Add. MS 29996, ff. 158-178' - which has approving comments from Thomas Tomkins in the seventeenth century! - in The Musical Quarterly, XXVI, Jan. 1940, 50ff.; some corrections in Bukofzer, op.cit. Dr. Harrison quotes some further cases; Avery Burton's organ setting of Te Deum (alternatim), for example (op.cit., ex. 187, pp. 390-391). Te Deum was regularly set in Faburden like this; the two surviving choral settings of Te Deum, one by Taverner and one anonymous, also have the unusual transposition of Burton's piece - down one tone. Taverner's arrangement uses the chant itself; the anonymous setting, like Burton's, uses either the Fauxbourdon bass (chant transposed a tone below pitch in the treble) or the Faburden (chant transposed down a fifth in the mean). Probably the former; these are two possible ways of describing the same result. Either would perhaps help to explain the further transposition which invariably takes place in both organ and choral arrangements at vv. 21 and 22 - the music moves down another fourth, right through to the end of the piece (Op.cit., 388-390).
67. Thomas Morley, ed. R. A. Harman, A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music London 1952, 206f.; note that his example implies Fauxbourdon-at-pitch.
68. Summed up in "Das Ergebnis...", op.cit.
69. Printed by Thomas Burton in his The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Hemingbrough in the County of York (ed. and enlarged by James Raine), Yorks, Arch. Soc. Extra Series, No. 1, York 1888, Document XIII; for Cliffe and Rocliff, pp. 82-3; for 'ye' read 'pe', no doubt.
70. See n. 68.
71. The setting of Sanctus in Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, MS 334, ff. 1-1'; see Bukofzer, Geschichte..., 115.
72. For example, the setting of the prose Gloria laus et honor in Dittmer, op.cit., 161f.; such pieces are rare, but then so are the sources - it is enough that the habit persisted, and was developed in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries by the Old Hall composers.
73. See my article "Heinrich IV", in Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, ed. F. Blume.

74. See my article, "A fourteenth-century ceremonial motet and its composer", in Acta Musicologica, 29, 1957, 65ff.
75. For Power, see the edition, op.cit., III, 66ff.; for Oliver, Ib., 81ff. and 86ff.
76. See Bukofzer's edition, John Dunstable, Complete Works, Musica Britannica VIII, London, 1953.
77. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 410, pt.II. ff.7'-8; quoted in Bukofzer, "Fauxbourdon Revisited", 38. Harrison cites a fourteenth-century example of ornamental treble in a Magnificat from the Bodleian Lib., MS Lat.Th.e.30 (op.cit., ex.126, p.346); cases could be multiplied.
78. Coussemaker, op.cit., IV, 294-5.
79. Mr. Denis Stevens and Mr. Jeremy Noble are preparing a long-needed study and edition of English fourteenth-century mass-music -- fragments and all - which should help to fill this gap.
80. "The note, I trowe, maked was in France" (Parlement of Foules, line 677).
81. Paris, Bib. Nat., MS frç.9221; the Duke of Clarence had it of the Duke of Berry in 1412. It was later returned, apparently. (F. Ludwig (ed), G. de Machaut Musikalische Werke, II, Einleitung, Leipzig 1928, p.11*, note 1.)
82. See Bukofzer, Studies..., 54
83. Bologna, Conservatorio di Musica G-B. Martini (olim Liceo Musicale), MS Q 15.
84. Dr. Harrison gives the passage in full (op.cit., 250).
85. John Stevens, ed., op.cit., nos. 10 and 42.
86. Bukofzer, ed., John Dunstable, no. 36.

87. Bologna MS (see n.83), ff.276'-277.
88. "Das Ergebnis...", op.cit.
89. Op.cit., 160ff.
90. "Fauxbourdon Revisited", 34.
91. Venice, S.Marco Lib. MS it. IX, 145, f.25; published in J.Marix, Les musiciens de la cour de Bourgogne au XVe siècle, Paris 1937, 226.
92. There are compositions by other continental masters which transpose the plainsong up a fifth when it forms the mean, including two of Dufay's hymn-settings -- both show strong influence of Faburden (see G.Dufay, Sämtliche Hymnen, ed.R.Gerber, Das Chorwerk, 49, nos.5 and 17, Audi benigne conditor and Christe redemptor omnium).
93. Marix, Histoire.... op.cit., 177ff.
94. See my paper, "Some English Contemporaries of Dunstable", in Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association, 81, 1955, 82-3.
95. See Bessler, Bourdon und Fauxbourdon, 162.
96. Thurston Dart convincingly suggests that the 'Faux' of 'Fauxbourdon' may have referred to the use of falsetto for the octave transposition. Since, as we have shown, Fauxbourdon must have developed from true Faburden, the word may also refer to the 'feigning' of the English sights, which would probably have puzzled the continental masters. If however they understood the original form of Faburden, with b-flats in the lowest voice instead of the accustomed b-naturals, there is no reason why 'Fauxbourdon' should not be taken as a more or less literal translation of the English term: the b-flats involve 'falsa musica' in the Burden. There are no known examples of true Faburden in continental sources, on the other hand.
97. It is only fair to point out that Otto Ursprung correctly described Faburden as long ago as 1931! See his Katholische Kirchenmusik, in Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft, ed.Bücker, Potsdam 1931, 142. He

does not seem to have realised the implications of what he was saying, nor did he have the reprints of Bukofzer, Georgiades and Meech to help him. But inspired guess or no, he was quite right.

98. See n.92. Also Dufay's Whitsuntide sequence Veni sancte spiritus, Trent Cod.92, ff.100'-101, no.1453, pub.in D.T.O. XXVII, Teil 1, Band 53, 29-30;the anonymous hymn Pange lingua gloriosi, Ib.f.78, no.1431 pub.ib., 88; Dufay's Benedicamus Domino, Mod.B.f.29; there are further examples in the Bologna MS, and among the works of Binchois.



APPENDIX I

List of Manuscripts and their sigla

- Ao Aosta, Seminario Maggiore, MS without shelfmark. See de Van, G., 'A recently discovered source of early fifteenth-century music', in Musica Disciplina II, 1948, 5ff.
- B 109 Bologna, Conservatorio di Musica G.B.Martini, MS 109.
- Bas Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, MS F.X. 1-4.
- Ber Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, MS 78 C 28 (Hamilton 451).
- BL Bologna, Conservatorio di Musica G.B.Martini, MS Q.15 (olim 37); list in de Van, G., 'Inventory of Manuscript Bologna, Liceo Musicale, Q 15 (olim 37)', in Musica Disciplina II, 1948, 231ff; see Besseler, H, 'Bologna' in MGG.
- BMar Bologna, Conservatorio di Musica G.B.Martini, MS A.32; Padre Martini's diplomatic copy of Fa.
- BMR British Museum, MS Roy. 24.d. 2. (Baldwin collection).
- BQ Bologna, Conservatorio... MS Q 16.
- BR Brussels, Bib.Royale, MS 5557; see Sylvia Kenney, 'Origins and Chronology of the Brussels Ms.5557' in Revue Belge de Musicologie VI, 75ff.
- BU Bologna, Università, MS 2216; see Besseler, H. 'Bologna' in MGG.
- Bux Munich, Staatsbib. MS mus. 3725; see Schnoor, in Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft IV, 1921, 1ff.
- Ca Cambrai, Bib. Municipale, MS 11; see Besseler, H., Archiv für Musikwissenschaft VII, 1925, 244ff.
- Cas Rome, Bib. Casanatense, MS 2856.
- Ch Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 1047; see Kenney, G., 'The Manuscript Chantilly, Musée Condé 1047', in Musica Disciplina VIII, 1954, 59ff.
- CMP Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys Lib., MS 1236; see Byrd, D.M., M.Litt.dissertation, 'A Review of Fifteenth-Century Church Music in England, with Special Reference to the Pepys MS 1236', in the Cambridge University Library.
- Cord Chansonier Cordiforme, Paris, Bib.Nationale, MS Rothschild 2973.
- CUJ Cambridge, University Lib., MS Ji.V.18.
- Dij Dijon, Bib.Publique, MS 517.

- Esc Escorial, Monasterio, MS IV.a.24; see Aubry, J.-P., 'Iter hispanicum', in Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft VIII, 1907, 528ff.
- Fa Faenza, Bib.Comunale, MS 117; see Plamenac, D., 'Keyboard Music of the 14th Century in Codex Faenza 117' in Journal of the American Musicological Society IV, 1951, 179ff.
- FM Florence, Bib.Nazionale Centrale, MS Magliabecchiano XIX, 112 bis; see Bessler, H., in Archiv für Musikwissenschaft VII, 1925, 238.
- FM 176 Florence, Bib.Nazionale Centrale, MS Magl. XIX, 176.
- Glog Berlin, Oeffentliche Wissenschaftliche Bib.(olim Preussische Staatsbib.), MS Mus. 40098 (Z.98); Glogauer Liederbuch.
- Jard Old print: Le Jardin de Plaisance et Fleur de Rathorique c.1501; see reprint in Droz, E, and Piaget, A., Le Jardin de Plaisance, I, 1910 (text), and II (1924), Introduction et Notes.
- Lab Chansonnier Laborde, Lib. of Congress, Washington, D.C., USA.
- MC Mellon Chansonnier, Yale University Lib., New Haven, Conn., USA.
- ModB Modena, Bib.Estense, MS A.X.1, ll. (olim lat. 471); see Associazione dei musicologi italiani, Catalogo, ser.VIII, 1916, 15.
- MuEm Munich, Staatsbib., MS mus. 3232a (olim lat. 14274), once St. Emmeram; see Dézes, in Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft X, 1927, 79ff.
- MuL Munich, Staatsbib. MS mus. 3224; see Bessler, H., in Archiv für Musikwissenschaft VII, 1925, 235.
- MuS Munich, Staatsbib., MS Cim. 351^a (olim mus.3232); Schedelsches Liederbuch.
- Niv Chansonnier Nivelles de la Chaussée, Paris, Bib.G.Thibault.
- OA Oxford, Bodleian Lib., MS Ashmole 191; see Hughes, Dom A., Medieval Polyphony in the Bodleian Library.
- OC Oxford, Bodleian Lib., MS Add. C.87; see Hughes, op.cit.
- OH Old Hall, St.Edmund's College, The Old Hall MS; see Barclay Squire, W., in Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft II, 1901, 356ff.; corrections in Bukofzer, M.F., Studies, 36-7; edition by Ramsbotham, A., Collins, H.B., and Hughes, Dom A., The Old Hall Manuscript (3 vols.) 1933-8.

- OU Oxford, Bodleian Lib., University College MS B.192; see Hughes, op.cit.
- Op Oporto, Bib. Comunal, MS 714.
- OS Oxford, Bodleian Lib., MS Arch. Selden B.26; see Hughes, Dom A., Medieval Polyphony in the Bodleian Library.
- Pal Cancionero de Palacio, Madrid, Bib. del Palacio Real, MS 2.I.5.
- Par Paris, Bib. Nationale, Acq. Nouv. Fr. MS 4379 (part of Sev).
- Pav Pavia, Bib. dell' Università, Cod. Aldini 362.
- Per Perugia, Bib. Comunale, MS 431 (olim G.20).
- Pix Chansonnier Pixérécourt, Paris, Bib. Nationale, MS franç. 15123 (olim suppl. franç. 2637).
- Ricc 2356 Florence, Bib. Riccardiana, MS 2356; see Plamenac, D., 'The "Second" Chansonnier of the Biblioteca Riccardiana', in Annales Musicologiques II, 1954, 105ff., from which I have taken much information.
- Ricc 2794 Florence, Bib. Riccardiana, MS 2794.
- Roh The rohan manuscript, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, MS 78 B.17 (Hamilton 674); edited by M. Löpeltmann in Die Liederhandschrift des Cardinals de Rohan, 1923.
- Sev Seville, Bib. Colombina, MS 5-1-43; thematic catalogue by Anglés, H., in Estudis Universitaris Catalans XIV, 1929, 236ff.; corrections and reconstruction of Sev and Par by Plamenac, D., in The Musical Quarterly XXXVII - XXXVIII, 1951-2, nos. 4, 1-2; I have taken a great deal of information from the latter.
- Spec Hradec Králové, Czechoslovakia, Museum, Codex Speciálník.
- Stras Strasbourg, Bib., MS 222 C.22 (now destroyed); see van den Borren, Ch., Le Manuscrit musical 222 C.22 de la Bibliothèque de Strasbourg..., in Annales de l'Académie royale d'archéologie de Belgique, LXXI-LXXIV, 343ff., 272ff., 128ff., and 71ff. respectively.
- Thott Copenhagen, Kongelige Bib., MS Thott 291⁸; see Jeppesen, K., Der Kopenhagener Chansonnier, 1927.
- Tr 87-92 Trent, Castello del Buon Consiglio, MSS 87-90, 92; see DTO 14-15.
- Tr 93 Trent, Archivio Capitolare, MS 93; see DTO 61.

- TuB The Cyprus manuscript, Turin, Bib. Nazionale, MS J.II.9.
Ver Verona, Bib.Capitolare, Cod.DCCLVII.
WarU Warsaw, University Lib., MS without shelfmark (olim St.Petersburg,
Imperial Lib., MS F.I.378).
Wolf Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August-Bib., MS Extravag.287.

Any other sources which do not appear in the above central list have full particulars where they appear in the text.

ENGLISH MUSIC SURVIVING ABROAD, LISTED UNDER COMPOSERS

The following catalogue lists all the known works by English composers which survive in continental MSS, together with any other works which may be attributed to them with reasonable certainty. The music of John Dunstable has not been included, since Bukofzer's John Dunstable makes this unnecessary; I have however included one work which is probably from his pen and has not been included in Bukofzer's edition. I have found little reason to disagree with any of Bukofzer's attributions in the cases where sources disagree over authorship. Where he has accepted a doubtful work into the Dunstable canon, an entry will be found in this catalogue under the name of the 'rejected' composer, with a reference to the Dunstable edition; the doubtful works which Bukofzer attributed to Bedingham, Benet, Power and Forest are however given again here for the sake of completeness.

The list is numbered in the left-hand column, for easy reference. Then follow:- (1) the composer's name (2) titles of works, arranged under their liturgical headings (3) sources, in order of preference, normally chronological (4) any further remarks; observations dealing with Mass cycles, paired movements of the Ordinary, etc., will be found under the first work of the group listed below. The catalogue is divided into (I) sacred and (II) secular music. A similar list of possible and probable English works follows the main catalogue; where an anonymous work seems almost certain to be English, a cross (+) is added to its number in the list. Contrafacta are listed under secular works, with a reference under their 'liturgical' title in the catalogue of sacred music. If no composer's name is given after a source reference, then the work appears anonymously in that MS. All works are for three voices unless otherwise stated,

and in 'white' or 'void' notation. For sigla of sources, see List of MSS; the figures immediately following the sigla refer to the folios or pages on which the music stands, 'verso' being indicated by a stroke (') after the number; the number of the work in the MS follows the folio reference, when a reliable inventory of the source in question has been published.

(I) SACRED WORKS

JOHN ALEYN

Isorhythmic Motet

- 1 Sub Arturo - Fons citharizantium - In omnem terram
Ch 70'-1, Johannes Alanus (in contra). Black notation.
BL 225'-6 and 225' bis, Jo. Alani (Johannes Alanus in contra). Black notation.
 f.225' bis was the original f.225', a parchment folio containing the discantus. It must have been lost or mislaid at an early date, before the MS was bound up; the third scribe (as I see it), who still had access to the same master copy of the motet, repaired the omission on a paper folio which was bound in as a substitute for the missing original; and when the parchment leaf was found again, it was added at the very end of the MS.
 Facsimile of Ch in Wolf, Schrifttafeln, pl. 30-1. Printed DTO 76, 9ff. Probably composed 1358.

Surviving in English sources only

Single movement of the Ordinary

- (a) Gloria
OH 5'-6 6, Aleyn. Black notation.
 Printed OH ed. I, 7ff.

ANGLICANUS

Paired movements of the Ordinary

- 2 Sanctus
Tr 87 17'-8 12 "Cantus sequens scilicet sanctus"

est cantus Anglicanus" (note on previous f.16'). Paired by the scribe with the following Agnus (no.3).

3 Agnus

Tr 87 18'-20 13

See Sanctus no. 2 above. The piece is English in style, though there is no common motto.

Single movements of the Ordinary

4 Gloria

Tr 92 151'-2' 1515 "Et in terra anglicanum"
Printed UTO 61, LI.

5 Credo

Ao 138'-40 95
Tr 92 105'-6 1460, Anglicanus
Tr 92 204-4' 1553

See also Bodoil, Forest, Saurby, de Anglia, supplement.

Antiphon

6 Regina celi letare

Tr 92 230 1576, Anglicanus
Chant not used.

CHRISTOPHER ANTHONY

Single movement of the Ordinary

7 Sanctus

Tr 90 432'-4 1121, Cristofferus Anthony

Canticle

8 Magnificat (primi toni)

Tr 90 375'-6 1090, Cristofferus Anthony
Tr 93 16'-7 1600

Hymn

9 Ut queant laxis

Tr 90 376' 1091 Cristofferus Anthony
On St. John.

BEDINGHAM.Mass cycles:

10 Kyrie (Deul angouisseux?)

Tr 88 26'-7 213

10 - 15 form a Mass cycle.

The scribe has united this piece with the following Gloria and Credo, which are undoubtedly by Bedingham, and with the Benedicamus Domino (no.15 below). Although its connection with Binchois' chanson (printed DTO 14 - 15, 242ff.) is far vaguer than that of the other movements, including no.15, the Kyrie clearly belongs to this Mass; in the rest of the cycle, the song is paraphrased with great freedom. The editor of DTO 61 ignored both Kyrie and Benedicamus.

11 Gloria Deul angouisseux

Tr 88 27'-9 214Tr 90 383'5 1098, Bedingham Langensteiss
Printed DTO 61, LXVI.

'Langensteiss', or 'Longshanks' (Dom Anselm Hughes' suggestion; literally 'Longbottom'), probably refers to Binchois rather than Bedingham. The odd words 'De langwesus' appear in place of Binchois' name over the chanson in Tr 88 no.345. On the other hand, the scribe may have thought that Bedingham wrote the song as well.

12 Credo Deul angouisseux (4v.)

Tr 88 29'-30' 215Tr 90 386'-9 1099Printed DTO 61, LXVII.

The scribe of Tr 90 did not bother to repeat the composer's name here.

A tenor bassus is added to this movement.

13 Sanctus Deul angouisseux

Tr 88 17'-9 208Printed DTO 61, LXVIII.

Although this Sanctus-Agnus pair (13-14) lies very close to the rest of the Mass in Tr 88, they are not there copied as one single unit, and are in different fascicles.

- 14 Agnus Deul angouisseux
Tr 88 19'- 21 209
 Printed DTO 61, LXIX.
- 15 Benedicamus Domino (Deul angouisseux)
Tr 88 31 216
 Clearly part of Bedingham's Mass, though this is the only known case where an English composer includes an item from the Proper in a Mass-cycle. (The Missa S. Georgii in Tr 88 no. 300ff. does not seem English; it is a setting of the Proper, almost certainly made for Georg Hack, Bishop of Trent 1444-65 -- to this day Italians attach great importance to the feast of their name-saint or onomastico).
- 16 Kyrie
Tr 88 46'-7 225
 16-20 form a Mass cycle, which we can luckily attribute to Bedingham on the strength of the Sanctus. Kyrie, Credo and Agnus share a common motto opening, whose outline is also present in the Gloria and Sanctus. The scribe clearly believed that these movements formed a cycle.
- 17 Gloria
Tr 88 47'-9 226
Tr 93 30'-2 1613
- 18 Credo
Tr 88 49'51 227
Tr 93 32'-4 1614
- 19 Sanctus
OC 223', Bedyngham (discantus and first part of contra only, next folio missing).
Tr 88 51'-3 228
Tr 93 34'6 1615
OC has plainsong intonation Sarum 9.
- 20 Agnus
Tr 88 53'-4 229
Tr 93 319-20 1799
 The scribe of Tr 93 omitted to copy this movement after no. 19 with the rest of the cycle, and added it later: the editors of the catalogue in DTO 61, vi-x, failed to notice this. Tr 93 has plainsong intonation Sarum 5.

Paired movements of the Ordinary

21 Sanctus

Tr 90 389'-92 1100Pairs musically with the following Agnus.
(no.22)

The scribe has united this pair with the Gloria and Crede Deul angouisseux (11 - 12 above), wrongly in this case. The editors of the catalogue in DTO 14 - 15 have erroneously supplied the words Deul angouisseux beneath the tenor of this pair. On stylistic grounds, these two pieces are probably by Bedingham; further, the scribe of Tr 90 copied them as part of a Mass attributed to him; and a note to Tr 90 no.966 refers to Dufay's Gloria (no.1102) as 'post missam Badingm'.

22 Agnus

Tr 90 392'-5 1101Contrafacta

Beata es - Grant temps ay

See no.151 below

Sancta Maria succurre miseris - (Pour une suis)

See Frye, So ys emprentid, no.157 belowSurviving in English sources only:Antiphon

(a) Vide Domine

BMR 104'-5 Bedyngheam

This and the next two items are late 16th-century copies (in the Baldwin Collection) of exercises in Proportions.

Other forms

(b) Manus Dei

BMR 105'-6, Bedyngheam

(c) Salva Jesu

BMR 106'-7, Bedyngheam

JOHN BENNETMass cycles

- 23 Gloria
- Ca 20^s-2. Black notation.
Ao 208^s-10 155 Bonnet (index Bennet)
Tr 90 118^s-20 905
Tr 93 148^s-50 1715
 Printed John Dunstable no.56; DFO 61, LXII (not p.108 as stated in John Dunstable, but p.119)
Tr 87 favours Power, and Tr 90 Dunstable, as the composer of various movements of this Mass (nos.23-26 here). Bukofzer rightly observed that Ao is a more reliable guide. The movements are united by a common motto opening and perhaps a common plainsong tenor, so far unidentified.
- 24 Credo
- Tr 87 37^s-9 26, Leonellus
Tr 90 193^s-5 and 194B (inserted $\frac{1}{2}$ -folio) 943
Tr 93 263^s-5 1774
 Printed John Dunstable no.57; DFO 61, LXIII.
- 25 Sanctus
- Ao 194^s-5 145, Bennet (index)
Tr 87 103^s-4 78
Tr 90 254^s-6 971, Dumpstabl
Tr 93 326^s-8 1802
 Printed John Dunstable no.58; DFO 61, LXIV.
- 26 Agnus
- Ao 207-8 154, Bennet (index)
Tr 92 98 1451 (1st Agnus missing)
Tr 87 106-7 80, (Leonel, cut away?,)
Tr 90 256^s-7^s 972
Tr 93 328^s-9^s 1803
 Printed John Dunstable no.59; DFO 61, LXV.
- 27 Gloria
- Tr 92 165^s-7^s 1521, Benet
 Printed DFO 61, XLVI.
 In general style, and in the motto opening of the discantus, this work is clearly linked with the Sanctus-Agnus pair following (nos.28-9 below)

28 Sanctus

BL 24'-5, Jo. Benet Anglicus. Black notation.
Facsimile in Early English Harmony I,
pl. 51-2' Wolf Geschichte, II - III, no. 73.

29 Agnus

BL 25'-6, Jo. Benet de Anglia. Black notation.
Facsimile in Early English Harmony I,
pl. 53-4.

Paired movements of the Ordinary

30 Gloria Jacet granum

Ao 82'-4 70, Bonnet (index)
Tr 87 31'-3 21
Tr 87 141'-2' 127
Tr 90 123'-5 907
Tr 93 153'-5 1717

On St. Thomas of Canterbury: Respond in tenor. Although the Sanctus, no. 31 below, is anonymous in all sources, it is the correct partner for this Gloria. The other Sanctus (no. 32) is attributed to Benet, but presents the plainsong at a different pitch. The pair is presumably all that remains of a complete cycle, since the Gloria was not normally paired with the Sanctus; the isolated Sanctus was presumably written for another occasion, probably before the pair was composed.

31 Sanctus Jacet granum (i)

Ao 214'-6 158
Tr 92 18'-9 1379
Tr 90 271-2 982
Tr 93 344-5 1814
Tr 93 359'-61 1826

32 Sanctus Jacet granum (ii)

Tr 90 249'-50 969, Benet (under tenor)
Tr 93 321-2 1800, Benet

33 Gloria

OC 221 (no discantus; lost with previous folio)
MuEm 145'-7 269, Benet
Tr 90 116'-8 904
Tr 93 146'-8 1714

The motto opening of this movement pairs with the next Credo (no. 34), though the Credo is pitched a fifth higher: possibly the clefs are

wrong. This anonymous Credo must have been written by Benet.

34 Credo

Tr 90 186'-8 940
Tr 93 256'-8 1771

Single movements of the Ordinary35 Kyrie (canonic) (with trope Deus creator) (4v)

Tr 87 130-1 107 and 108

Second discantus derived canonically:

4 voices, not 3 as in DTQ 14-15 (catalogue).

See Bukofzer, Studies, 85 n.59.

36 Gloria

Ao 210'-2 156 Bonet (index)

Tr 92 44'-5 1403 Leonell

MuEm 111'-3 224

Printed DTQ 61, LIV.

Benet's name sometimes appears in the index to Ao as 'Bōn'; here it is further shortened to 'Bō'. On the whole, Ao is a more reliable source, though the style of this piece would not preclude Leonel Power as its composer.

37 Credo

OC 221' and 224 (MS wrongly bound)

MuEm 141'-2' 264, Benet

Tr 90 188'-9 941

Tr 93 258'-9' 1772

38 Sanctus

Tr 92 226'-7 1572, Jo. Benet (cut away, but quite legible; not in catalogue DTQ 14-15).

39 Sanctus

Tr 92 82'-3 1434, Benet

Facsimile in Apel, Notation, p.105

Isorhythmic motets

40 Lux fulget ex Anglia - O pater pietatis - (Tenor missing)

ModB 135'-6, Benet (lower half of f.136 missing, with tenor and end of contra).

On St. Thomas of Hereford, whose synodal feast was included in the Use of Hereford only. By studying the dissonances between discantus and contra, and superimposing the three colores, it is possible to suggest what the tenor may have been, though I have not yet been able to identify it.

- 41 Tellus purpurium - Splendida flamigero micuit - (Tenor)
ModB 125'-6, Jo. Benet
 The tenor is textless, and remains unidentified. On St. Alban.

Surviving in English sources only

Isorhythmic Motet

- (a) Gaude pia Magdalena - (Tenor) O certe precipuus
OC 222'-3, Benett
 On St. Mary Magdalene: tenor is a respond.
 See Harrison, Music in Medieval Britain,
 306, and ex. 86

BENNET, BENNIET: see Benet.

BLOME

Paired movements of the Ordinary

- 42 Gloria
Tr 92 153'-4 1516
 Paired in MS with Blome's Credo (no. 43)
 There is no musical relationship, apart
 from a general similarity of style; but
 the scribe has paired these two movements.
- 43 Credo
Tr 92 154'-5 1517, Bloym

Single movements of the Ordinary

- 44 Sanctus
Ao 248'-50 178, Blome (and index)
- 45 Sanctus
Tr 87 20'-1 14, Bloym

BLOYM: see Blome.

JOHN BODOILPaired movements of the Ordinary

46 Gloria

BL 170'-1, Binchois. Black notation. Printed Marix, Les musiciens, 160-3. This Gloria pairs in motto and all details of style and structure with Bodoil's Credo (no.47); they must both belong to the same composer. Both contain the typically English breve rests in all voices at once, and are thoroughly English in style. Further, though several English compositions are wrongly attributed to Binchois in the sources of the time, there is no known example of the reverse happening. There is little doubt, therefore, that this Gloria is English, and was written by Bodoil.

47 Credo

BL 158'-9 and 159'-61, "Anglicanum patrem". Black notation.
Ao 176'-9 126, Anglicus (index: de Anglia)
Tr 92 79'-82 1433 J. Bodoil (index: Bodoil)
 Printed DTQ 61, XI.
DTQ 61 notes the unusual splitting of the surname and suggests that the name should perhaps read 'Borromeno Doil'; the double christian name which the 'J' would imply, however, could not be paralleled at this time. It is likely that 'Bodoil' is French or Italian phonetic rendering of 'Bodwill' or 'Bodwell'; it cannot be a mis-spelling of Binchois', for this piece is three times called 'English' in BL and Ao.

BONET, BONNET: see Benet

BYTTERINGSingle movement of the Ordinary

48 Gloria

OH 13'-4 14, Byttering. Black notation.
Ao 242'-4 175
 Printed OH ed. I, 39ff.
 The first letter of Byttering's name is unknown; all the initials in OH where it occurs have been removed.

Surviving in English sources onlySingle movements of the Ordinary

- (a) Gloria (canonic)
OH 14' 15, Byttering. Black notation.
 Printed OH ed. I, 47ff., without fourth
 (canonic) voice.
 See Bukofzer, Studies, 81ff.
- (b) Credo
OH 66'-7 75, Byttering. Black notation.
 Printed OH ed. II, 149ff.
- (c) Credo (freely isorhythmic)
OH 72'-3 81, Bittering. Black notation.
 Printed OH ed. II, 203ff.

Isorhythmic motet

- (d) En Katherinae solennia - Virginalis contio - Sponsus amat sponsum
OH 110'-1 136, Byttering. Black notation.
 Printed OH ed. III, 145ff.

Antiphon

- (e) Nesciens mater
OH 38' 47, Byttering. Black notation.
 Printed OH ed. I 157ff.

RICHARD COCKXMass cycle

- 49 - Kyrie (with trope Deus creator)
BR 20'-2 Riquardus Cockx; nos. 49-53 form a
 cycle on an unidentified tenor.
- 50 Gloria
BR 22'-4, Riquardus Cockx
- 51 Credo
BR 24'-6, Riquardus Cockx
- 52 Sanctus
BR 26'-8, Riquardus Cockx
- 53 Agnus
BR 28'-30, Riquardus Cockx

DE ANGLIASingle movement of the Ordinary

54 Credo

Ao 142'-4 97, de Anglia (index)Tr 90 205'-7 948Tr 93 276'8 1779Sequence

55 Benedicta es celorum regina

BL 205'-6, de Anglia. Black notation.BU pp.82-3. Black notation. (First part of discantus missing).Tr 92 177'-8, 1531, de Anglia.Printed DTO 76, 81.Sequence of York and Hereford Use, not Sarum. It is nevertheless found in a Sarum Gradual (Bodleian Lib., MS Rawl. Liturg. d.3, f.71), according to Harrison, Music in Medieval Britain, 88.Antiphon

56 Spes nostra salus nostra

BL 204'-5, de Anglia. Black notation.

For Trinity Sunday.

See also Anglicanus, Bodoil, Power.

DRIFFELDEPaired movements of the Ordinary

57 Sanctus Regnum mundi

Tr 90 258 and 259'-60 973Tr 93 330-1 1804Though anonymous, this piece pairs in its motto opening and its tenor with the Agnus Eructavit cor meum (no.58). Tenor: 9th respond at Matins for Nativity of a Virgin and Martyr. The Verse of this respond is Eructavit cor meum.

58 Agnus Eructavit cor meum

Tr 92 202'-3' 1552, Driffelde

See no.57

JOHN DUNSTABLEPaired movement of the Ordinary

59 Sanctus

Tr 92 212'-3 1560

Since Bukofzer does not mention this piece in the Introduction to John Dunstable, or in any of his writings, he must have overlooked it. It bears a note on f.213: "Agnus huius ab an-[teriore]. in 6to folio". This must be f.207', which contains (with f.208) the Agnus printed in John Dunstable, no.14; this is paired in Tr 87 with Dunstable's Sanctus, no.14 of the Complete Works, though there is no musical connection beyond the fact that both pieces use Sarum plainsongs in their tenors. (The scribe's reliability is shown by his similar note to Tr 92 no.1561, which unites Dufay's Sanctus papale to its fellow Agnus Custos et pastor, both for the installation of a pontiff). I have not yet had a chance to transcribe this movement, which appears to have Sarum 5 in the Tenor, transposed up a fifth; the Agnus in question also has Sarum 5 in the tenor, transposed down a tone. A final judgment must await transcription of the whole piece.

FORESTSingle movements of the Ordinary

60 Gloria (isorhythmic)

BL 84'-5, H.de lantins. Black notation. (Paired with the next Credo in the MS, 85'-6, Hugo de Lantins; the two agree musically).

MuEm 152'-3 274, Forest

Tr 90 142'-3 918

Tr 93 172'-3 1728

Probably by Hugo de Lantins, though the movement appears in English surroundings in MuEm, Tr 90 and 93. The undeniable pairing in BL settles the matter.

61 Credo Alma redemptoris mater

Tr 92 113'-4 1471, Anglicanus

Printed DFO 61, XLIX.

Bukofzer (Studies, 41) pointed out how closely the treatment of the plainsong in this movement

resembles that of the motet Ascendit Christus (no.65 below). It should further be noted that this Credo stands next to another Credo which is ascribed to Forest (no.62 below). The rhythmic style strongly recalls Forest's compositions.

62 Credo

Tr 92 115'-6 1472
Tr 92 188'-90 1541, Forest (and index)
 Printed DFO 61, XLVII.

Isorhythmic motet

- 63 Gaude martyr cum triumpho - Collaudemus venerantes - (Tenor)
ModB 126'-7, Forest
 Tenor unidentified. On a Virgin and Martyr (St.Catherine?).

Antiphons

- 64 Alma redemptoris mater - Anima mea liquefacta est - Alma redemptoris mater

BL 186' (beginning of discantus only; rest of 186'-7 blank). Black notation.

Ao 196'-7 147

ModB 94'-5, Forest

Tr 90 341'-2 1052

- 65 Ascendit Christus - (Tenor) Alma redemptoris mater
OH 57' 65 (beginning of discantus only), Forest. Black notation.
ModB 96'-7, Dunstaple
 Printed John Dunstaple no.61; DFO 76, 53ff.
 The English source attests the evidence of style: this work is Forest's. Further, it immediately follows another motet by Forest (no.67 below) in OH. See Bukofzer's notes.

- 66 Ave regina celorum, ave
Tr 87 126'-7 102, Forest
ModB 118'-9, Forest

- 67 Qualis est dilectus
OH 56'-7 64, Forest. Black notation.
ModB 108'-9, Polmier
Tr 90 337'-8 1049
Tr 93 363'-4 1829 (textless).
 Printed OH ed.II, 77ff.

68 Tota pulcra es

Tr 92-104'-5 1459 Forest (not named in catalogue, DTO 14-15)
ModB 99'-100A (first of two ff.100), Forest
Printed DTO 76, 80ff.

WAL.FREY: see Walter Frye.

WALTER FRYE

Mass cycles

69 Gloria Flos regalis Etheldreda (4v).

BR 30'-2, W.Frye

Nos.69-72 form a cycle on St.Etheldreda;
the chant in the tenor is still unidentified.
The fourth voice is called Bassus.

70 Credo Flos regalis Etheldreda (4v).

BR 32'-4, W.Frye

71 Sanctus Flos regalis Etheldreda (4v).

BR 34'-6, W.Frye

72 Agnus Flos regalis Etheldreda (4v).

BR 36'-8, W.Frye

73 Kyrie Nobilis et pulcra (with trope Deus creator)

BR 38'-40 W.Frye

Nos.73-7 form a cycle on the respond
'Nobilis et pulcra', for St.Catherine
of Alexandria, in the tenor.

74 Gloria Nobilis et pulcra

BR 40'-2, W.Frye

75 Credo Nobilis et pulcra

BR 42'-4, W.Frye

76 Sanctus Nobilis et pulcra

BR 44'-6, W.Frye

77 Agnus Nobilis et pulcra

BR 46'-8, W.Frye

78 Gloria Summe Trinitati

BR 2'-5, W.Frye

Nos.78-81 form a cycle on the Trinity, based
on the respond for Trinity Sunday or All
Saints' Day.

- 79 Credo Summe Trinitati
BR 5'-8, W.Frye
- 80 Sanctus Summe Trinitati
BR 8'-10, W.Frye
- 81 Agnus Summe Trinitati
BR 10'-12, W.Frye

Respond

- 82 Ave regina celorum mater
Wolf 1-2 (discantus: all of 1st part and some of 2nd missing; tenor and contra of 1st part imperfect)
Sev 37'-8 37, Frye (cut off); tenor and contra of 2nd part missing.
Ber 47'-9 ("A")
FM 29'-30
Tr 90 298'-9 1013 with florid and mechanical 2nd discantus (4v).
Tr 90 371'-2 1086
MuS 37'-9, Wal.Frey, with 2nd discantus added (4v).
Ricc 2794 15'-6
Lab 7a'-9 (discantus of 1st part missing)
Per 82'-3
Glog no.144
Spec 16' with added altus (4v).
Ver 53'-5 with added altus (same as Spec?) (4v).
Bux nos.159, 160, 258 (organ arrangements)
Flemish painting in private collection (reproduced in Pirro, Histoire, pl.VII, facing p.80; Besseler, Die Musik, pl.XIII, facing p.200); also on a banderole in an imitation of this painting (see Bollettino d'Arte 1924-5 158).
Printed in Vincent, A.J.H., 'Note sur la modalité du chant ecclésiastique et sur son accompagnement', in Revue archéologique XIV 1857 679; Pirro op.cit.153-4 (opening only, with organ version too);
Reese, Music in the Renaissance, 94-5 ex.24;
Klingmann, Das Glogauer Liederbuch, I, 110.

Antiphons

- 83 O florens rosa
MuS 98'-101, Frey

84 O sacrum convivium
MuS 80'-2, Frey
 On Corpus Christi.

85 Trinitatis dies premitur
MuS 72'-3, Frey

Contrafactum

Sancta Maria succurre miseris - (So ys emprentid)
 See no.157 below.

Surviving in English sources only

Prose

(a) Sospitati dedit
CMP 84'-5, Frye
 On St. Nicholas.

GERVASIUS DE ANGLIA see Jervays

JOHN HOTHBY

Single movement of the Ordinary

86 Kyrie (with trope Cunctipotens genitor)
Fa pp.2-3; BMar p.63, Hothbi Carmelita.
 The trope is not given in the MSS, but
 the plainsong is used.

Canticles

87 Magnificat (quinti toni)
Fa pp.82-3; BMar p.73, Hothbi.
 Alternatim; starts at 'et exultavit'

88 Magnificat (octavi toni)
Fa pp.76-9; BMar pp.71-2, Hothbi carmelita
 Alternatim; starts at 'et exultavit'.

Antiphon

89 Quae es ista (4v).
Fa p.75; BMar p.71, Hothbi charmelita
 Assumption BMV, Lauds.

Versicle

90 Ora pro nobis
Fa pp.44-5; BMar p.68, Hothbi
 Visitation of BMV, and Octave, before Lauds.

Unique setting of versicle.

A most complicated puzzle in proportions.

Other forms

91 Ave sublime triumphale

Fa p.180; EMar p.74, Hothbi
No further text.

JERVAYS

Single movement of the Ordinary

92 Gloria

OH 26'-7 28, Jervays, Black notation.
BL 22'-3, Gervasius de Anglia. Black notation.
Printed OH ed. I 114ff.

KNYFF

Single movement of the Ordinary

93 Credo

AO 140'-3 96, Knyf (cut; index:Knyff)
De Van failed to record this surname.

LEONEL, LEONELL, LEONELLUS, LYONEL: See Power.

RICHARD MARKHAM

Single movement of the Ordinary

94 Credo

Tr 92 156'-8' 1518, Ricardus Markham
Printed DTO 61, L.

NELBELAND: see Neweland.

NEWELAND

Single movement of the Ordinary

95 Sanctus

AO 254'-6 182 Neweland
Not 'Nelbeland', as de Van spells the name.

PIAMOR: see Pyamour.

PLOMER: see Plummer.

JOHN PLUMMERAntiphons

- 96 Descendi in hortum meum
ModB 105'-6, Polunier.
Tr 90 309'-10 1030 (time-values doubled).
- 97 Tota pulcra es (i)
ModB 101'-2, Polunier
- 98 Tota pulcra es (ii)
OS 31'-2 (end of tenor missing). Black notation.
ModB 120'-1, Polunier
Tr 90 338'-40 1050
 Facsimile of OS in Stainer, Early Bodleian Music, I, pl.XCIV-XCV; transcription in II, 168ff.
- Qualis est dilectus
 See Forest, no.67 above.

Surviving in English sources onlyMotet

- (a) Anna mater matris Christi (3v. or 4v).
OC 222 and 224' (leaves bound out of order), J.Plomer.
 The fourth voice is an optional discantus. The text is a compilation of responds from the rhymed office of St.Anne: it could not be sung as a respond in the liturgy.

POLBERO: see Power.

POLMIER, POLUMIER: see Plummer.

LEONEL POWERMass cycles

- 99 Gloria Alma redemptoris mater
As 219'-21 162, Leonell (index Leonell)
 'Pondera' at foot of 219', for 'Powere'?'
Tr 87 3'-4 3
Tr 90 112'-4 902
Tr 93 142'-4
 This early tenor mass uses the well-known Marian antiphon (nos.99-102). The whole mass is printed, ed.Feiningger, Documenta Ser.I, no.2.

100 Credo Alma redemptoris mater
Ao 221'-3 163 Leonel (index)
Tr 87 4'-6 4

101 Sanctus Alma redemptoris mater
Ao 223'-5 164
Tr 87 6-7' 5
 Clearly by Leonel.

102 Agnus Alma redemptoris mater
Ao 224'-6 165
Tr 87 7'-8' 6
 Clearly by Leonel.

Missa Rex seculorum: see John Dunstable, nos.19-22.

Missa Sine nomine, Credo and Agnus see above nos.24, 26.

Paired movements of the Ordinary

103 Gloria (isorhythmic)
Ao 231'-3 169, Leonell (index Leonel)
 The isorhythmic tenor of this piece is the beginning of Sarum Gloria 5; the scribe has paired it with the next Credo (no.104), whose tenor is an isorhythmic version of the opening of the Sarum Credo. Though the treatment of the upper voices and the isorhythmic plan differ in the two pieces, the caccia-style Credo is probably by Power, for the basic idea is common to both; and no other English composer of the time used the chants of the Sarum Ordinary in this particular way.

104 Credo (isorhythmic)
Ao 233'-4 170
 Index: 'Patrem cuius tenor est cantus de feriali patrem'. See no.103 above. The work appears in a series of cycles and paired movements of the Ordinary by Power and Dunstable (fascicles XIX-XX).

Single movements of the Ordinary

105 Credo
OH 61' 70, Leonel (discantus only). Black notation.
Ao 238'-40 173 (plainsong intonation Sarum 1).

106 Credo

OH 70'-1 79, Leonel. Black notation.
BL 109'-10, de Anglia. Black notation.
 Printed OH ed. II, 185ff.
 Paired wrongly in BL with Gloria by Grossim.

107 Sanctus

OH 94'-5 112, Leonel. Black notation.
Ac 257'-8, 184
Tr 87 105-5' 79
 Printed OH ed. III, 66ff.

Gloria: see John Dunstable, no.3; Benet, no.35 above.

Communion

108 Beata viscera Marie virginis

Ac 10' 5, Leonell (index: Leonel)
 For Lady-Mass Salve sancta parens, or
 Assumption BMV.

Introit

109 Salve sancta parens

ModB 109', Leonel.
 For Lady-Mass of the same name, or Vigil
 of Assumption BMV.

Respond

110 Gloriose virginis Marie (4v).

ModB 74, Leonel.
FM 34'-5

Hymn

For Nativity BMV.

111 Ave maris stella

Tr 92 97' 1450, Leonel (?)
 According to the catalogue in DTO 14-15,
 the composer's name was then visible. This
 is no longer the case, but this hymn is so
 clearly English in style that we must
 accept the evidence of the editors.

Sequence

112 Salve mater salvatoris

Tr 92 193'-5 1544, Leonel
Tr 92 215-5' 1562
ModB 116'-7
 Printed John Dunstable no.62; DTO 76, 58ff.
 Sequence BMV, Leonel's on grounds of style
 (see Bukofzer's notes).

Antiphons

113 Alma redemptoris mater (i)

Ao 212'-4 157, Leonelle (index Leonel)Tr 92 169'-71 1524, LeonelModB 100B-101, Dunstable (100B is the second of two ff.100).Printed John Dunstable no.60; DTO 53, 33f (1st part).Ao is far more reliable than ModB in its ascriptions.

Alma redemptoris mater (ii)

See John Dunstable no.40; in Tr 93 this piece is numbered 1828, 1828A and 1828B in the catalogue (DTO 14-15), not 1838 as Bukofzer says.

114 Anima mea liquefacta est (i)

ModB 110'-1, Leonel

115 Anima mea liquefacta est (ii)

BU p.86, Leonel. Black notation. For two voices, contra omitted.MuEm 150'-1' 272, Leonellus.

Has alternative text in red 'Christus resurgens' (antiphon for Easter Sunday).

ModB 117'-8, LeonelFM 32'-4Facsimile of FM 32'-3 in Apel, Notation, p.135 (not of the whole motet, as Apel rather implies).

116 Ave regina celorum, ave (i) (4v).

OS 5'-6. Black notation.BL 277'-8, Leonel. Black notation.Tr 92 132'-3 1491Ao 195'-6 146Tr 92 171'-2 1525Facsimile of OS in Stainer, Early Bodleian Music, I, pl.XLII-XLIII.Printed Ib. II, 88ff.; DTO 7, 210.

Christus resurgens

See no.115 above.

117 Ibo mihi ad montem myrrhae

ModB 98'-9, Leonel.

118 Mater ora filium

Tr 92 140'-2 1505Tr 92 181'-2ModB 110, LeonelPrinted DTO 14-15, 212ff.

- 119 *Quam pulcra es*
ModB 111'-2, Leonel
- 120 *Regina celi letare*
Tr 92 142'-3 1507
Tr 90 458'-9 1136, Leonell Anglicus
- 121 *Salve regina (with trope Virgo mater) (i)*
Ao 203'-6 152
ModB 86'-8, Leonel
Tr 92 231'-3' 1577, Dunstable
Tr 90 366'-8' 1081, Dunstable
Printed John Dunstable no.63; DTO 14-15, 191ff.
ModB is slightly more reliable than Tr 90 and 92 in its ascriptions, but Bukofzer did not rule out Dunstable altogether.
- 122 *Salve regina (with trope Virgo mater) (ii)*
BL 243'-5, Leonellus Powero, Black notation.
Based on the chant 'Alma redemptoris mater'; migrant, chiefly in discantus.
- 123 *Virgo prudentissima*
Tr 92 102' 1456, Leonel cut off? The bottoms of the letters 'L-e-o---e-l' are discernible, if one looks for them.

Surviving in English sources only

Paired movements of the Ordinary

- (a) *Gloria (isorhythmic)*
OH 19'-20 21. Black notation.
Printed OH ed.III, [32]ff. (not 169, as stated in Index I).
Ascribed to Power with great plausibility in Bukofzer, Studies, 59f. Common motto with (b) ?
- (b) *Credo (isorhythmic)*
OH 71'-2 80, Leonel. Black notation.
Printed OH ed.II, 194 ff.
- (c) *Gloria (5v).*
OH 16'-7 18, Leonel. Black notation.
Printed OH ed.I, 60ff.
Bukofzer pointed out the common motto and other similarities shared between

this Gloria and the next Credo (d), in Studies, 43ff.

(d) Credo (5v)

OH 64'-5 73. Black notation.
(Not 72 as given in Bukofzer, Studies, 44, ex.4).
Printed OH ed.II, 125ff.

(e) Sanctus(4v).

OH 96'-7 114, Leonel. Black notation.
Printed OH ed. III, 76.
Pairs with next Agnus (f): see Bukofzer, Studies, 60ff.

(f) Agnus (4v)

OH 107'-8 133, Leonel. Black notation.
Printed OH ed.III, 136ff.

Single movements of the Ordinary

(g) Gloria

OH 17'-8 19, Leonel. Black notation.
Printed OH ed.I, 65ff.

(h) Gloria (isorhythmic) (4v).

OH 18'-9 20, Leonel. Black notation.
Printed OH ed.III, [23]ff.(not 160, as stated in Index I).

(i) Gloria

OH 20'-1 22, Leonel. Black notation.
Printed OH ed. I, 70ff.

(j) Credo

OH 68'-9 77, Leonel. Black notation.
Printed OH ed.II, 167ff.

(k) Sanctus

OH 81' 92, Leonel. Black notation.
Printed OH ed.III, 7ff.

(l) Sanctus

OH 83-3' 95, Leonel. Black notation.
Printed OH ed.III, 15ff.

(m) Sanctus

OH 88' 105, Leonel. Black notation.
Printed OH ed.III, 36ff.

- (n) Sanctus
OH 93'-4 111, Leonel. Black notation.
 Printed OH ed.III, 58ff.
- (o) Sanctus(4v).
OH 95'-6 113, Leonel. Black notation.
 Printed OH ed.III, 70ff.
- (p) Agnus
OH 104' 126, Leonel. Black notation.
 Printed OH ed.III, 118ff.
- (q) Agnus
OH 105'-6 129, Leonel. Black notation.
 Printed OH ed.III, 128ff.
- (r) Agnus
OH 106 130, Leonel. Black notation.
 Printed OH ed.III, 132ff.

Antiphons

- (s) Ave regina celorum(ii)
OH 36 46, Leonel. Black notation.
 Printed OH ed.I, 151f.
- (t) Beata progenies
OH 38 46, Leonel. Black notation.
 Printed OH ed.I, 156

JOHN PYAMOUR

Antiphon

- 124 Quam pulcra es
ModB 93'-4, Piamor ('Priamor' is a myth').
Tr 92 172'-3 1526

SOURSBY

Paired movements of the Ordinary

- 125 Sanctus
Ao 251'-3 180 Soursby (index Saurbsi)
 De Van did not record the spelling from
 the index of Ao; and he misread the 'r'
 of 'Soursby' for an 'e'.
 Paired with 126.

126 Agnus

Ao 253'-4 181

Paired by the scribe with Soursby's
Sanctus, though there is no common motto.

Single movements of the Ordinary

127 Sanctus

Tr 92 127'-8 1486, AnglicanusTr 92 200'-2 1551, SorbiTr 90 265-6' 977Tr 93 336-7' 1808Printed DTO 61, LIII.

128 Sanctus

Ao 250'-2 179

The tails of the long 's' and 'y' which
are all that are left of the composer's
name, exactly match the scribe's writing
of the surname over no.125 above.

Plainsong intonation resembles Sarum 2.

SORBI, SOUESBY: see Soursby.

SANDLEY: see Standley.

STANDLEYMass cycle

129 Kyrie (canonic)

Tr 88 314'-5 436, Standley

Two voices are given, the second marked
Tenor/Contra. Nos.129-33 form one Mass
cycle; each movement has a similar canon.
The whole Mass is printed in Feininger, L,
Monumenta,

130 Gloria (canonic)

Tr 88 315'-7 437

131 Credo (canonic)

Tr 88 317'-9 438

132 Sanctus (canonic)

Tr 88 319'-21 439

133 Agnus (canonic)

Tr 88 321'-2' 440

Antiphon?

134 Virgo prefulgens avia

ModB 132'-3, SandleyTr 92 195' 1545, Winchois (discantus only, incomplete)

In Tr 92 this composition appears at the end of a series of English works; in ModB it appears in the wholly English final fascicle XIV (in the last six fascicles there is only one work which is not English). We may take it that Standley is therefore the composer.

On a Virgin and Martyr (St. Catherine?).

STONEAntiphons

135 Ibo mihi ad montem myrrhae

ModB 104'-5, Stone (Stoue?)

136 Tota pulcra es

ModB 103'-4, Stone (Stoue?)

STOUE: see Stone

SUPPLEMENTZACARIAS DA TERAMOSingle movements of the Ordinary137 Gloria (with trope Gloria laus)OH 28' 30, Black notation. (Tenor missing).BL 86'-7, Zacar. Black notation.MuEm 37'-8' 72, Zacharie maius ① (index).WarU 18'f.

Black notation.

Troped contra in BL and MuEm only.

This and the following composition are listed here for the sake of interest only: Zacharias was certainly Italian.

138 Gloria

BL 156'-7, Zacar. Black notation. "Et in terra Anglicana".WarU 16'f.

These two are the only works of Zacar with

English associations; I have not included 'Mayshuet' (i.e. Matheus de Sancto Johanne or Mayhuet de Joan). in this list, even though he was a French composer whose music appears in OH. Such works of his that I have been able to examine do not show any sign of English influence.

Anonymous works also appearing in English MSS

Mass cycles

- (a) Kyrie Quem malignus spiritus (with trope Rex genitor)

CUJ 244¹-6

This Mass cycle (with nos. 139-42) bears in CUJ the rebus 'Long ioy bref langleur', with a long and a breve for the corresponding words. Thurston Dart once pointed out to me that this motto may well refer to Gilles Joye. On the other hand, there is no known sacred music surviving, from his pen; and a Burgundian Mass dating from his time (fl. 1462-d. 1484) would more probably have used four voices, not three. The trope Rex genitor seems to have been unknown to continental composers: at least, no settings appear to have survived. The Kyrie is not copied in Tr 90 and 93. (Thurston Dart observes that the trope is for Holy Innocents' Day or quarta die Pentecostes, citing Frere, Use of Sarum II 207). Since Leonel Power's motto seems to have been 'Joye sainz fine', the Mass may possibly be a late work of his. It is certainly English in style, and since only one sacred composition by a continental master is known to have survived in English sources copied c. 1425-75, we are on fairly safe ground in suggesting that this Mass is of English origin.

- 139 Gloria Quem malignus spiritus

CUJ 246¹-8

Tr 90 100¹-3 897

Tr 93 130¹-3 1707

- 140 Credo Quem malignus spiritus

CUJ 248¹-50 (tenor and discantus imperfect)

Tr 90 172¹-4¹ 935

Tr 93 241¹-2¹ 1765

The plainsong intonation Sarum Credo 1

is worked into the upper voice of the opening duet. This use of double cantus firmus is extremely rare at this period. The only parallel that comes to mind is Dunstable's isorhythmic motet Veni Sancte Spiritus (John Dunstable no.32).

- 141 Sanctus Quem malignus spiritus
CUJ 250'-1 (contra imperfect) ²
Tr 90 234'-6 962
Tr 93 303'-5 1791

- 142 Agnus Quem malignus spiritus
CUJ 251'-2
Tr 90 237'-9 963
Tr 93 306'-8 1792

- 143 Kyrie Veterem hominem (with trope Deus creator) (4v).
Tr 88 264'-6 404

Thurston Dart has shown that this Mass (nos.143-7) is probably of English origin: see his letter in M&L XXXV 1954, 183. Thomas Morley quotes part of it in his Plain and Easy Introduction (ed.Harman,124). The favourite English trope Deus Creator lends further support to this attribution, though four-part Masses by English composers were rare at this date. The fourth voice is called 'tenor bassus'. The tenor is an Epiphany antiphon.

- 144 Gloria Veterem hominem (4v.)
Tr 88 1'-3 199

- 145 Credo Veterem hominem (4v.)
Tr 88 3'-5 200

- 146 Sanctus Veterem hominem (4v.)
Tr 88 5'-7 201

- 147 Agnus Veterem hominem (4v.)
Tr 88 7'-9 202

Single movements of the Ordinary

- 148 Credo
OH 62 70a (discantus missing) Black notation.
OU 27 (fragmentary discantus only)
Tr 90 207'-9 949
Tr 93 278'-80 1780

149 Agnus

OH 107 132 (discantus missing). Black notation.
Ac 245'-6 176

Antiphon

150 Sancta Maria intercede

OS 3'-4. Black notation.
Ac 158' 110
 Facsimile of OS in Stainer, Early Bodleian Music I, pl. XXXVIII - XXXIX; transcribed Ib., II, 78ff

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(II) SECULAR WORKSBEDINGHAM

151 Durer ne puis (rondeau)

Op 58'-9, Bedyngham de Anglia
Esc 6', Dunstable (f.7, with tenor and contra, lost)
 Printed John Dunstable, no.64
 Style suggests Bedingham rather than Dunstable.

152 Fortune

MuS 48'-9
 (? Same as Op no.9, 'Fortune lasse-moy la vie'; Pix 118'-20, 'Fortune a tort').

153 Grant temps ai eu (ballade)

Pix 57'-9
Esc 33'-5
FM 176 62'-4, Bellingan
Tr 90 462'-3 1140, Bedingham (contrafactum with Latin text 'Beata es').
Ricc 2356 29'-30
 Printed DIO 22, 70.
 Refers to a long-expected visit to 'Madame Florence'.

154 Le serviteur (rondeau)

Tr 90 461'-2 1139, Bedingham.
Contrafactum with Latin text (prose?)
 'Superno nunc emittitur' underlaid.

No further French text. Perhaps it had the same text as Dufay's more famous setting, published DTO 14-15, 238f, wrongly attributed to Isaak.

Printed DTO 14-15, 239f.

? Same as MuS 123'-5, 'Le Serviteur', with Latin text in contra: 'Celebris hic dies agitur'

155 Mon seul plaisir (rondeau)

Op 59'-60, Bedyngham de Anglia. Black notation.

Pix 69'-70

Esc 27'-8

Par 23'-5

Cord 44'-6

Wolf 41'-2

Pav 24'-5

Lab 65'-6

Berl 20'-1 ("M")

FM 176 58'-9 Duffay

Ricc. 2356 48'-9

MuS 22'-3 (Facsimile in Apel, Notation, 137).

Bas no.115

Par 3'-4 (quodlibet for two voices: discantus is Bedingham's).

Text only:

Roh 82'-3, (printed Löpelmann no.137)
British Museum, Lansdowne MS 380, 239'.

Jard LXII (verse 1 only)

Appears as lauda in Laude spirituali di Feo Belcari...e di altri..., Florence 1863, LXII and CCXXXIV.

Tenor used for a four-part song in Regensburg, Proske-Bibliothek Cod.C.120 pp.274-7.

Text of verse 1 used by Nino le Petit for a song in Florence Conservatory B.2439, Brussels Bib.Royale 11239, and Paris, Bib.Nat.fonds français 1597; tenor of this in Tournai, Bib. de la Ville, MS without siglum, 19'-20'. Same text set differently in Paris, Bib.Nat.fonds français 12744.

156 O rosa bella: concordantiae

Tr 89 120 575 'ut posuit Bedingham'

Printed with Dunstable's song in John Dunstable no.54; DTO 14-15, 229ff. For ascription to Dunstable of the song itself see Bukofzer's notes: Op gives the name 'Bedyngham', but the earliest MS attributes the piece to Dunstable.

Pour une suis: see Frye, 'So ys emprentid', no.157 below.

BELLINGAN: see Bedingham.

BORTON: see Morton.

WALTER FRYE

157 So ys emprentid (ballade)

OA 196' (first few notes of discantus only).
Black notation.

Pix 55'-7, 'Pour une suis'

MC , Frye, 'Soys emprentid'

Esc 31'-3, 'Pour une suis'

Lab , 'Pour une suis' (discantus lost)

Tr 90 283'-4 990 (contrafactum with text
'Sancta Maria succurre miseris')

Tr 90 308'-9 1029 (textless)

FM 176 60'-2, Bellingan (not 61' as stated in
Bukofzer, An Unknown Chansonnier 25,
note 45), 'Pour une suis'.

Arranged as Mass cycle by G.le Rouge in
Tr 90, 1031-5; Vatican Lib., Archivio di
San Pietro MS B.80, 71-80, 'Soyez empruntich'.
Bukofzer, op.cit., does not give the folio
references to Lab or MC; neither of these
sources, now in America, has been properly
investigated in print, and no catalogues are
at all easily available. One would have
expected closer references from Bukofzer,
who was usually exactness itself. His
attribution to Frye seems likely to stand:
perhaps Bedingham merely translated the song
into French. FM 176 is often wrong in its
ascriptions, and similarly mis-spells
Bedingham's name at the head of 'Grant temps'
(no.150). It is worth noting, however, that
in three of the four sources that have the
French text, the work immediately precedes
Bedingham's ballade 'Grant temps': a striking
coincidence (Esc, FM 176 and Pix).

158 Tout a par moy (rondeau)

Cord 40'-2

MC 45'-6, Frye

Wolf 4'-5

Par 18'-9 (old 11'-2)

Lab 11'-2 (later hand: Frye)

Berl 29'-30 ("T")

Ricc 2356 63'-4

Niv XXVI'-XXVII, Binchois

Bux no.252 'Tant apart' (organ arrangement)

Printed Plamenac, The French Chansonnier, 530f.;

Text: Roh 83 (printed Löpelmann no.138); Paris, Bib.Nat.fonds français MS 24315, 28'; Jard LXXVII (Droz-Piaget no.164).

Also set by Tinctoris for two voices (Segovia, Catedral, MS without siglum, CCIII^o-CCV); by Agricola, for three voices (Florence, Bib. del Conservatorio di Musica, Cod.B. 2439, LXVIII^o-LXX) and for four (Ib V^o-VII, and Canti C No.cento Cinquanta, Petrucci, 1504, 18^o-20); and anonymously, for five voices (Vienna, Nat.Bib. Cod.18746, no.25), with tenor 'Circumdederunt me'. Josquin's Mass 'Faisant regrets' uses part 2 of the rondeau (printed Smijers, A., Josquin des Prés: Werken, Missen, III 33ff). It also occurs as a lauda in Laude spirituali di Feo Belcari...e di altri, Florence 1863, CXIX.

Probably by Frye, on grounds of style, and because MC is reliable in its attributions.

GALFRIDUS DE ANGLIA

159 Che faro io (2v).

Op no.3, Galfridus de Anglia

160 O zemo suspiro (2v).

Op no.4, Galfridus de Anglia

HERT

161 O rosa bella

Tr 90 444^o-5^o 1127, Hert
A reworking of Dunstable's setting.

JOHN HOTHBY

162 Amor(rondeau?)

Fa pp.181-2; BMar p.75, Hothby
No further text; signum congruentiae
suggests rondeau-form.

163 Diva panthera (bergerette?)

Fa p.177; BMar p.74, Hothby
No further text; a cadence a third of the
way through suggests that it may be a short,

one-stanza virelai, or bergerette. There is no signum congruentiae in BMar.

164 Tard il mio cor (part 2: Tardi sarte) (ballade)

Fa pp.178-9; BMar p.74

No further text. Clearly a ballade, though there is no 'ouvert/clos' indication for the first part. Since Fa contains various theoretical works, it seems likely that the last three items are examples of the three formes fixes.

ROBERT MORTON

165 C'est temps perdu d'estre en amours (rondeau)

Sev 99' (discantus only) completed by:-

Par 31 (tenor and contra only)

Ricc 2356 82'-3

Per 61'-2 Morton

Cas 51'-2, Caron

FM 176 59 92'-3

Printed as 'Est temps', from Per, in Marix, Les Musiciens, 95.

Cas is unreliable in its attributions (Josquin, for example, becomes 'Bosfrin', 'Bolkim', etc.) and presents a later, rather smoother version of the rondeau;

Per is more reliable, and there the work appears in a small group of four pieces by Morton. We may conclude that this composition is Morton's.

Cf. similar rondeau in Paris, Bib.Nat. fonds français 1719, 22, 'C'est temps perdu de servir sans congnoistre', printed in Françon, M., Poemes de Transition I-II, Cambridge (Mass) and Paris 1938, XCI. Facsimile of Sev and Par in Plamenac, 'The French Chansonnier' 1951, pl.VI-VII.

166 Cousine trop vous abusez (free form)

Pix 17'-8

Ricc 2356 9'-10 and 34'-6 (copied twice)

FM 176 95'-6, Mortoni.

Printed in Plamenac, 'The "Second" Chansonnier', Music Supplement no.1.

Elend du hast umfangen mich, Elent, Enelend du hast umbfangen mich
see no.174 below.

Il sera pour vous: see no. 169 below.

167 La Perontina (rondeau)Cas 92¹-3, Morton

No further text. Signum congruentiae in the middle shows that this is a rondeau. 'La Perontina' must be 'Péronne', a figure of French pastoral lore.

Printed in Marix, Les Musiciens, 97f.

168 Le souvenir de vous me tue (free form)Pix 20¹-1Cord 30¹-1Wolf 47¹-8 (? Marix, Histoire, 240, says 48¹-9)Dij 87¹-8 (? Marix, Histoire, 240, says 84¹-5)Lab 55¹-6Thott 26 (f.25, with discantus missing)FM 176 52¹-3, MortonRicc 2356 47¹-8Per 78¹-9 (old 88¹-9) with contra secundus (4v).BQ 136¹-7B 109 121¹-2Bux no.256 (organ arrangement)

Printed Jeppesen, Der Kopenhagener Chansonnier, no.20.

Text only: Roh 185 (printed Löpelmann no.579);

Jard LXXII, 1st verse only (printed Droz-Piaget no.18).

Related settings by A.Greban, in Rome Capella Giulia, MS XIII, 27, 65¹-6; by Tinctoris, for four voices, on Morton's discantus (Segovia, Cathedral, MS without siglum CXVII), and for two voices, on Morton's tenor (Ib., CCIII').

CXVI'-

169 L'homme arméMC 44¹-5

Discantus has text 'Il sera pour vous'.

Cas 156¹-7, Morton (with additional Bassus entailing 3 changes in the original contra). Printed Marix, Les Musiciens, 96. Lederer, Ueber Heimat und Ursprung der mehrst.

Tonkunst, 1906, 423

The text 'Il sera pour vous' twice names 'Maistre Symon' or 'Symonet le Breton', and Bukofzer ('An Unknown Chansonnier' 19ff.) suggests him as composer, although Morton's version in Cas is virtually the same as MC.

The 'old-fashioned' fauxbourdon cadences of MC, which contains another (undisputed) work of Morton's, can be paralleled in the rest of his compositions; and from 1457-65 both these composers were employed at the Burgundian court (Marix, Histoire, 193,209). Furthermore, the arranger of the 'L'homme armé' tune, whichever he was, has split the melody in 'migrant' fashion between the tenor and the contra - a technique which immediately sets one thinking of England. The upper voice (in rondeau form) is topical and refers to a 'terrible Turk'. This perhaps connects with the fall of Constantinople in 1453. There is no reason why Morton should not have written this arrangement of the well-known song.

No-one has published the version in MC.

170 Ma dona bella

Esc 127 Morton

Pirro mentions this as a song of Morton's, with an Italian text in the discantus and a French text (unspecified) in the contra (Histoire, 118). Aubry, in his Iter Hispanicum II, 532, gives the text 'Je vis tous jours en esperance' for Esc, f.127'; since he only lists French chansons in his catalogue, he does not state what is on f.127. Pirro had obviously transcribed the piece, from the way he talks about it.

171 N'aray-je jamais mieux que j'ay (rondeau)

Pix 109^a-10

MC 29^a-30, Morton (contra 2 si placet:4v).

Esc 130^a-1

Par 14^a-5

Cord 32^a-3

Wolf 6^a-7 (Marix, Histoire, 240, gives 7^a-8)

Dij 116^a-7 (CXIII^a-CXIII^a)

Berl 17^a-8 ("N")

Niv I^a-II

Thott 2^a-3 (not 3^a-4, as stated in Plamenac, "The "Second" Chansonnier", catalogue).

FM 176 53^a-4, Mortoni

Rice 2356 57^a-9

Printed in Jeppesen, Der Kopenhagener Chansonnier, no.3.

Text only: Roh no.24 (according to Marix; not, according to Plamenac; opp.cit); Jard LXXII (printed Droz-Piaget no.110)

Related settings: Masses based on this song

were written by Ghiselin (Petrucci, 1503) and Josquin (Missa 'Di dadi', Missarum Liber 3, Petrucci 1514; reprinted Smijers, Josquin des Pres : Werken, Missen, III, 93ff.); there is an anonymous four-voiced motet on Morton's tenor, 'Gaude virgo decus morum' (Verona, Bib. Capitolare MS DCGLV, 104^{ff.}); the song 'Helas n'avray ie mais mieux' is not related to Morton's rondeau (in Op 67', and Cord 57').

Text was later set by Claudin de Sermisy (in Trente et six chansons, Attaingnant, 1530); and by Nicolas (de la Grotte?) in Mellange, Le Roy and Ballard, 1572.

172 Mon bien ma joyeux (free form)

Pix 188¹⁻⁹, Morton. (tenor: 'Morton bien')
Printed in Marix, Les Musiciens, 98f.
No further text.

Motectus: see no. 174 below.

173 Vien avante morte dolente (rondeau)

Per 60¹⁻¹, Morton (textless)
Cas 63¹⁻⁶, Basin (transposed down a fourth).
Printed (from Per) in Marix, Les Musiciens, 94.
No-one seems to have noticed the concordance in Cas before.
Cas presents a smoother and later version than Per, and is unreliable in its attributions. In Per, the piece is included in a group of four songs attributed to Morton. His claim is therefore much stronger than Basin's. The Italian text is perhaps not that of the original; only the first line is given in Cas.

174 Vive madamme par amours (free form)

Pix 48¹⁻⁹
Ricc 2356 15¹⁻⁶, 'Elent' (no further text)
Per 63¹⁻⁴, Morton, 'Motectus' (textless)
MuS 11¹⁻¹², 'Enelend du hast umbfangen mich'
The French text must be the original;
Marix printed the 'Motectus' from Per as a sacred piece (Les Musiciens, 240).
The version of MuS was printed in Rosenberg, Das Schedelsche Liederbuch, no. 1.
The beginning of the German version is

quoted in the quodlibet no. 117 of the Glogau songbook (published in Reichsdenkmale IV and VIII).

(Textless): see no. 173 above.

175 (Textless) (rondeau?)

Per 62'-3, Morton.

Pal (as villancico)

Printed (from Per) in Marix, Les Musiciens, 93; (from Pal) in Anglés, Cancionero musical de Palacio, I, 34, and (text only) II, 23f. (Vols. V and X respectively of Monumentos de la Música Española, general Ed. H. Anglés, 1941-).

ROBERTUS DE ANGLIA

176 El mal foco arda

Op no. 19, Ro. de Anglia

177 O fallaze e ria fortuna

Op no. 2, Ro. de Anglia

ANONYMOUS PIECES WITH ENGLISH TEXTS

178 Agwillare habeth standiff (ballade) (2v).

Tr 88 209'-10 348

Text very corrupt, but clearly copied from an English original: see Ficker's reconstruction (MQ XXII, April, 1936, 138-9). The piece is clearly a ballade, as the directions 'closs' (for 'clos'), the refrain at the end, and the signa congruentiae indicate.

179 Alas alas is my chief song (ballade)

MC 77'-9

Ascribed to Frye by Bukofzer, and printed by him in 'An Unknown Chansonnier'. I do not feel that other English composers can safely be ruled out for this piece, or for no. 181 below. The traits of style to which Bukofzer points are common to many English songs of the fifteenth century. Nevertheless, in the only case where the composer of an English text has been named by a continental scribe, that name is Frye's (see no. 158).

180 Herte mi

Stras 107' 189

For this piece, and for nos. 181-3, see

Thurston Dart, 'Une contribution anglaise'.
Mr. Dart informs me that he has since found
an English text which agrees with the
remaining words of the Strasbourg incipit,
so that we may be sure that this piece, and
probably nos. 181-3, are of English provenance.

181 Myn hertis lust (ballade)

MC

See no. 179, Bukofzer gives no folio reference.
He ascribes the song to Frye.

182 Princesse of Youth (ballade)

Esc 78'-80

Printed in Bukofzer, 'The First English
Chanson on the Continent', 121f.

Probably English, like no. 180 above

183 For grief

Stras 35, no. 50

See no. 180

184 Schak melodye

Stras 64, no. 99

Perhaps instrumental? See No. 180

185 Trurr

Stras 37, no. 54

A more doubtful case than 183-4.

See no. 180

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(III) SACRED WORKS IN FOREIGN SOURCES WHICH ARE POSSIBLY
ENGLISH

Complete and fragmentary Mass cycles, and

paired movements of the Ordinary

186+ Kyrie Alma redemptoris mater (with trope Deus creator)

Tr 87 146'-8 133

Pairs with no. 187 musically, and as copied
in the MS. Deus creator was a trope favoured
by English composers.

187+ Gloria Alma redemptoris mater

Tr 87 148'-9' 134

188* Gloria Alma redemptoris mater (with trope Spiritus et alme)

Tr 90 148'-50 922

Tr 93 179'-81'

Pairs with Agnus no.189

189+ Agnus (Alma redemptoris mater)

Tr 93 361'-1' 1827

Wrongly paired with Benet, Sanctus Jacet
gramum (i).

190 Gloria Dixerunt discipuli

Tr 90 158'-60 928

Tr 93 189'-91 1738

Tenor: Ant. at Lauds, St.Martin of Turin
(in Sarum calendar). Pairs with 191.

191 Credo Dixerunt discipuli

Tr 90 216'-9 953

Tr 93 288'-91 1784

192 Kyrie Fuit homo missus a Deo

Tr 88 35'-7

192-6 form a cycle on the respond for the
Nativity of St.John the Baptist(Matins).

193 Gloria Fuit homo missus a Deo

Tr 90 103'-5 898

Tr 93 134'-5 1708

194 Credo Fuit homo missus a Deo

Tr 90 175'-7 936

Tr 93 243'-5 1766

195 Sanctus Fuit homo missus a Deo

Tr 90 239'-41 964

Tr 93 308'-10 1793

196 Agnus Fuit homo missus a Deo

Tr 88 37'-8 220

197 Gloria O Patris sapientia

Tr 90 160'-2 929

Tr 93 191'-3' 1739

Pairs with no.198

198 Credo O Patris sapientia

Tr 90 221'-3 955

Tr 93 293'-5 1786

199 Gloria O quam suavis

Tr 90 108'-10 900

Tr 93 138'-40 1710

199-201 form a cycle, with the Agnus lost, on the well-known antiphon to Magnificat, Corpus Christi.

- 200 Credo O quam suavis
Tr 90 180'-2 938
Tr 93 248'-50
- 201 Sanctus O quam suavis
Tr 90 244'-6 967
Tr 93 314'-6 1796
- 202 Gloria Paratur nobis
Tr 90 125'-7 908
Tr 93 155'-7 1718
 Pairs with Agnus no.203. Tenor is antiphon at Lauds, Corpus Christi. The other movements of the cycle are missing.
- 203 Agnus Paratur nobis
Tr 90 272'-3' 983
Tr 93 345'-6 1815
- 204 Gloria Salve sancta parens (4v).
Tr 90 98'-100 896
Tr 93 128'-30 1706
 204-7 form a cycle on the Introit to the Lady-Mass of the same name; the omission of the Kyrie was an English practice. On the other hand, the addition of a contra bassus beneath the c.f. in a tenor-Mass was a continental device. Perhaps the Kyrie has been lost.
- 205 Credo Salve sancta parens (4v).
Tr 90 170'-2 934
Tr 238'-40 1764
- 206 Sanctus Salve sancta parens (4v).
Tr 90 230'-2 960
Tr 93 299'-301 1789
- 207 Agnus Salve sancta parens (4v).
Tr 90 232'-4 961
Tr 93 301'-3 1790
- 208+ Kyrie (with trope Deus creator)
Tr 89 114'-6 573
 208-12 form a cycle related by the unique use of three tenor voices, a device I have met elsewhere only in a motet by

John Plummer (no.97a), which has an optional discantus we well. Although there is little English music in Tr 89, this Mass may well be English. The trope, an English favourite, adds further weight to this supposition.

209+ Gloria

Tr 89 107'-9 569

210+ Credo

Tr 89 109'-11 570

211+ Sanctus

Tr 89 111'-3' 571

212+ Agnus

Tr 89 113'-4 572

213+ Kyrie

Tr 88 61. 234

'Kyrie officii praecedentis proximi', i.e.214-7 below. This Mass immediately follows one by Bedingham (nos.15-9 above) which also has a Kyrie. The movements of the present cycle are English in style, except perhaps the Kyrie, which moves in much faster note-values and may perhaps have been added by a later continental master.

214+ Gloria

Tr 88 54'-5 230

215+ Credo

Tr 88 55'-7' 231

216+ Sanctus

Tr 88 58-9 232

217+ Agnus

Tr 88 59'-60 233

218 Gloria (4v).

Tr 90 318'-21 1036

218-20 form a cycle, with the Agnus missing, united by a motto beginning.

Perhaps not English, since it is written
for four voices.

- 219 Credo (4v).
Tr 90 321'-4 1037
- 220 Sanctus (4v).
Tr 90 251'-4 970
Tr 93 322'-6 1801
- 221 Gloria
Ao 268'-9 190
Pairs with no.222; same motto and tenor.
- 222 Credo
Ao 269'-71 191
- 223+ Sanctus (With Benedictus trope Mariae filius)
Tr 90 268'-9' (not -9, as stated in DTO
14-15)980
Tr 93 339'-41 1811
The trope is taken from the troped Sanctus
Sancte ingenite genitor. I have not found
any cases where this trope is used by
continental composers of the time; and on
the other hand, it is used, also for the
Benedictus only, in a conductus setting
in the Old Hall MS, and as the tenor of
motets by Damett and Sturgeon. See Bukofzer,
Studies, 67. Paired in the MS with no.224,
the two discantus open with the same rhythm.
- 224+ Agnus
Tr 90 269'-70 981
Tr 93 340'-1 1812
- 225 Sanctus
Tr 90 2608-1 974
Tr 93 331'-2' 1805
Paired by the scribe with no.226.
- 226 Agnus
Tr 90 262-3 975 (not 262' as stated in DTO
14-15).
Tr 93 333-4 1806
- 227 Sanctus (2v).
Tr 92 223'-4' 1570
Paired here with Agnus Tr 1571 (no.270
below); the motto pairs with no.228,
however. Third voice missing?

- 228 Agnus
Tr 87 107'-8 81
- 229 Sanctus
Tr 92 220'-2 1568
Imperfect? Paired with no. 230
- 230 Agnus
Tr 92 222-3 1569

Single movements of the Ordinary

- 231+ Kyrie (with trope Lux et origo)
Ao 11'-2 6
The Sarum melody of the troped Kyrie lies in the top voice in this simple conductus-style setting. Follows an introit by Leonel Power in the MS
- 232 Kyrie
Ao 12' 7.
Free setting; tenor strongly resembles a 'square' in style and construction.
- 232 bis Gloria
233 Gloria
Tr 92, 128'-30, 1487
TuB 29
Early setting with 'telescoped' texts, when this was very rare on the continent. English? See Bukofzer, Studies, 65.
- 234 Gloria (2v).
MuEm 140'-1 263
In a clump of English music. A reduction of an originally three voiced composition?
- 235+ Gloria
Ao 84'-6 71
Follows a Gloria by Benet. Conductus style; declamatory.
- 236 Gloria
Ao 87'-9 72
- 237+ Gloria
Ao 246'-8 177
In English fascicle XXI, between two works which are certainly English.
- 238+ Gloria (canonic)
Ao 201'-2 150
In English fascicle XVII. Strongly resembles

the canonic works of OH.

239 Gloria Cuius maledictione

Tr 90 137'-9' 915Tr 93 167'-9' 1725

240 Gloria Ecce Maria genuit

Tr 90 135'-7 914Tr 93 165'-7

Tenor is antiphon at Lauds; Circumcision;
also Memoria BMV Matins, Octave of St.
Stephen to Purification (not in Epiphany).

241+ Gloria O praeclara stella maris

Tr 90 120'-2 906Tr 93 150'-2 1716

Sandwiched between two works by Benet,
here anonymous.

242+ Gloria Viri Galilei

Tr 90 114'-6 903Tr 93 144'-6 1713

Tenor is antiphon at Lauds, Ascension.
Sandwiched between works by Leonel and
Benet (here anonymous) in an apparently
English fascicle.

243+ Gloria (with trope Spiritus et alme)Tr 90 152'-4 924Tr 93 183'-5 1734

A trope favoured in OH by the English;
Dunstable uses it too.

244+ Gloria (canonic) (6v).

Tr 90 154'-6 925Tr 93 185'-7 1735

This fine multiple canon (6 in 3) must
be English: at this time there were no
canons of comparable complexity written
by continental masters.

245+ Gloria (canonic)

Tr 90 158 927Tr 93 189 1737

Canon 2 in 1, with a free contra. Seeing
how close it lies to 244 in the MS, this
is probably English too. The scribe does
not make it clear that the discantus should
start at the octave above the written tenor;
otherwise dissonances result. This Gloria

'telescopes' the text between the canonic voices, a technique which was also used in OH by Byttering and Pycard.

246+ Gloria (canonic)

Tr 90 166'-7 932

Tr 93 210'-11 1749

This is an experimental canon, sharing some features of the isorhythmic motet. The discantus has two sets of words. When the singer reaches the first double bar at 'unigenite Jesu Christe', he must go back and sing the same music again, to the second text, 'Qui tollis... altissimus Jesu Christe'. For the repeat, the two lower voices have new music. 'Cum sancto... Amen' is straightforward. So far as I know, this technique is otherwise unknown at this date, though one could regard the first part of the movement as an inverted isorhythmic motet, the color appearing in the top voice instead of the lowest. It recalls the experimental uses of isorhythm and canon which we find in the Old Hall MS, and may well be English.

247 Gloria

Tr 90 127'-9 909

Tr 93 157'-9 1719

248 Gloria (4v).

Tr 90 129'-30' 910

Tr 93 159'-60' 1720

Printed DTO 61, XLV. The strange bursts of choral declamation for four voices in this piece, interspersed with long rests, are hard to parallel in the music of the time, English or otherwise. The movement recalls the later falsi-bordoni; though the composer may have been aiming at the effect of Faburden, this Gloria has no fellows in similar style by English composers.

249+ Gloria

Tr 90 132'-4 912

Tr 93 162'-4 1722

The opening of this movement is corrupt: the discantus should have an alto clef, and a semibreve c should be added before the first note of the tenor. The sectional

structure and fragmentary imitation recall Bodoil's Gloria and Credo (nos. 46-7)

250+ Gloria

Tr 90 156'-7' 926 (not -7, as in DFO 14-15)
Tr 93 187'-8'

This piece is flanked by the canonic Glorias no. 244-5 above, which are probably of English origin. In the melodic phrasing, syncopations and harmonic style it seems very English.

251+ Credo

Stras 108'-9 182, Lampens.

Thurston Dart has suggested that this movement may be English, perhaps by Iambe, who is represented by a conductus-style Sanctus in the Old Hall MS ('Une contribution anglaise au manuscrit de Strasbourg').

252+ Credo

Ao 240'-2 174
Tr 87 30'-1 20

Flanked in Ao, in the English fascicle XX, by known English works; next to a Gloria by Benet in Tr 87. Certainly English in style also.

253+ Credo

Tr 879-10 7

Printed DFO 61, LII.

This work is English in its melodic and harmonic style, in its use of coloration, and in the breve rests which precede and follow the phrase 'sepultus est' in all three voices. It ends most unusually as a duet, and may be imperfect, lacking a final full section.

254 Credo Homo quidam fecit

Tr 90 219'-21 954
Tr 93 291'-3 1785

Tenor is antiphon to Benedictus, second Sunday after Trinity.

255 Credo Letare Jerusalem

Tr 90 213'-6 952
Tr 93 285'-8 1783

Tenor is introit for Sunday medie quadragesime.

256 Credo

Tr 90 195¹-7 944
Tr 93 265¹-7 1775

257 Credo

Tr 90 209¹-12 950
Tr 93 281¹-3 1781

258 Credo

Tr 90 223¹-4¹ 956
Tr 93 295¹-7 1787

259+ Sanctus

Ao 183 132

Only tenor and contra survive, lightly cancelled. The scribe cannot ever have had the missing discantus, for the contemporary numbering is continuous: no leaf has been torn out. It is possible to restore the upper part with tolerable accuracy, since it was clearly a lightly ornamented version of Sarum 5. The rest of the music in this series is by Binchois and 'de Anglia'. Since Binchois favoured the low F-clefs that are used here, the composition may be his: it is sometimes hard to tell his style from that of the English composers, and he also used Sarum plainsongs, on occasion.

260+ Sanctus

Ao 256¹-7 183

This work is certainly English: it appears in the English fascicle XXI, between works by Neweland and Power. Sarum 2 lies in the discantus.

261+ Sanctus

Tr 87 33¹-4 22

Sandwiched between works by Benet and Dunstable. Sarum 3 in discantus. Very probably English.

262 Sanctus

Tr 92 199¹-200 1550
 Sarum 2 in discantus?

263+ Sanctus (with Benedictus trope Marie filius) (4v).

Tr 90 280-2 987
Tr 93 353-5 1819
 See note to 223.

264+ Sanctus

Tr 90 263'-4' 976Tr 93 334'-5'

Next to Soursby's Sanctus no.127.
Sarum 5 in tenor, which has the wrong
clef in the MS.

265+ Agnus

Ao 202'-3 151

English in style, and copied into the
English fascicle XVII.

266+ Agnus

Ao 216'-7 159

An unusual essay in proportions, very
English in harmony and melodic outline.
Copied into English fascicle XVIII.

267+ Agnus

Tr 87 21'-2 15

Paired with Bloym's Sanctus (no.45),
wrongly: the compositions are in different
modes, and the scribe has added 'Agnus non
pertinet ad Sanctus'. Sarum 4 in tenor;
English in style, which might account for
the scribe's original mistake. Sandwiched
between works by Blome and Dunstable in
an apparently English fascicle (II).

268+ Agnus

Tr 87 108-8' 82

Copied at the end of an apparently English
fascicle (IX); conductus-style.

269+ Agnus

Tr 92 198'-9 1549

Occurs in a clump of English works, and
is English in style.

270+ Agnus

Tr 92 225-6 1571

Next to a work by Benet in an apparently
English series. Paired, probably in error,
with Sanctus, no.227.

271 Agnus (partly 4v).

Tr 90 276-6' 985Tr 93 349-9' 1817271 bis AgnusAo f.181 129 an.

Introit

272 Salve sancta parens

MuEm 76'-7 148Communion

273+ Beata viscera

Ao 10 4

Copied next to Leonell's setting of the same communion, and very similar in style.

Sequence

274+ Gaude Dei genitrix (4v).

Tr 92 173'-4 1527Sequence for memoria de BMV. Follows a long series of English works in the MS. Resembles Power's four-voiced Gloriose virginis (109) and Ave regina celorum (i) (115).Prose

275+ Gloria laus et honor (2v).

Tr 92 110 1464

Eastertide prose sung by 7 boys 'in eminentiori loco'; two settings for three parts in Egerton 3307. This one, which has the plainsong at pitch in the upper of two voices, is here copied between two works by Dunstable amongst a series of English works.

Isorhythmic motets

276 Hac clara die turba festiva - Hac clara die turba mulierum - Nova efferens gaudia

Tr 92 136'-7 1498Printed DTO 76 85.The text of all three voices is taken from the sequence Hac clara die of the Lady-Mass Salve sancta parens. The whole sequence is used. Brev.Sar.(II 518) reads 'Nova efferens'. Two taleae, one color; tenor only isorhythmic.

277+ Regali ex progenie - (Tenor) Sancta Maria virgo

Tr 92 134'-5 1494

I have not traced any settings of these antiphons by continental composers at this period. The former was set by Fonteyns, in

the Old Hall MS, in conductus style. The latter was set many times by the English, and its chant is here used as the tenor.

Antiphons

278 Angelorum esca

FM 22'-3

Lauds, Corpus Christi, though the text of this example differs at the end. This copy is corrupt, Pairs with 'Substantiam et dulcedinem' no.312 (? for same feast)?

279+ Ave regina celorum,ave (with trope Fons totius puritatis)

FM 24'-8

Next to a work by Dunstable, and very English in style, with simultaneous breve rests in all voices, etc.

280+ Ave regina celorum ave (i) (2v).

BU p.62. Black notation.

Reduced from three voices to two ? (See Power, Anima mea liquefacta est, no.114). Plainsong in tenor.

281 Ave regina celorum ave (ii)

BU p.69. Black notation.

Plainsong in discantus; conductus style.

282 Ave regina celorum ave (iii)

Tr 90 372'-3 1087

Copied next to Frye's Ave regina celorum mater (no.81).

283+ Ave regina celorum mater (4v).

FM 30'-2

Copied between works by Frye and Power in an apparently English series (fascicle III-IV). This is not the respond, which repeats the end of the first section of text.

284+ Descendi in hortum meum

Ao 193'-4 144

Copied between works by Dunstable and Bennet at the head of an English series. Plainsong in discantus, most of the time at the fourth above. Surely English.

285+ Gaude flore virginali (4v).

Tr 89 170'-3, nos. 617-8

Harrison, MUSIC in Medieval Britain, ex.87, quotes this work, saying that

it is probably English. He calls the style in evidence, and points out that the text has the 'variations peculiar to it in English Books of Hours and polyphonic settings'. Against this, it seems to me that the style is not particularly English in the passage that he quotes: the cadence at the end, with its unresolved B-flat, seems very clumsy, and results from the simultaneous use of the 'Fauxbourdon' cadence in the upper three voices with the 'dominant' bass in the second contra. There is moreover only one proven piece of English music in this MS, and that is a secular song, Dunstable's O rosa bella, with Bedingham's Concordantiae. On the other hand, one must assume that Dr. Harrison has made a search of many continental Books of Hours and polyphonic settings of this antiphon, before venturing such a statement as the words quoted above.

286+ Gaude Maria virgo

FM 36'-7

Very English in style, and copied in the apparently English fascicle IV.

287 Ibo mihi ad montem myrrhae (i) (4v).

MuEm 50'-1 94. Black notation.

Imitative opening. Chant not used.

288+ Ibo mihi ad montem myrrhae (ii)

Tr 90 284'-5 no.991-2.

Next to a work by Frye. Plainsong in the discantus, transposed up a fourth. English in style.

289+ Nesciens mater (i)

Ao 271'-2 192

So far as I know there are no settings of this antiphon by continentals though it was fairly popular amongst English composers of the time. The chant is in the contra, and the whole treatment is thoroughly English.

290+ Nesciens mater (ii)

Tr 90 464'-5' nos.1143 - 4

Facsimile of f.465' in DTO 14-15 pl.VII. Very free paraphrase, if the chant has been used at all. Again, a text favoured by the English.

- 291 Qualis est dilectus
Tr 88 330'-1 445
- 292 Quam pulcra es (i)
Tr 88 329'-30 444
- 293+ Quam pulcra es (ii)
Tr 90 342'-3' 1053
 Immediately follows a group of antiphons (here anonymous) by Dunstable, Forest and Plummer. Decidedly English in style. Chant not used.
- 294 Quam pulcra es (iii)
Tr 89 218'-20 655
- 295+ Regina celi letare
MuEm 58'-9 lll. Black notation.
 English in style.
- 296+ Salve regina (with trope Virgo mater) (i)
Tr 92 228'-9' 1575
 Immediately followed in the MS by Anglicanus' Regina celi and Power's setting of Salve regina (and trope). Plainsong in discantus?
- 297 Salve regina (with trope Virgo mater) (ii)
Tr 90 305'-7, nos.1025-6
 Chant not used.
- 298+ Salve regina (with trope Virgo mater) (iii)
FM 37'-8 and 39'-42 (on ff.38'-9 the scribe has made a false start with the wrong music, and cancelled it). In an apparently English fascicle (IV).
- 299+ Salve regina (i)
BU p.80
 Near works by 'de Anglia', Power and Dunstable, though in a different fascicle. Chant ornamented in discantus. Old-fashioned prolation time-signature.
- 300+ Salve regina (ii)
MuEm 147'-9 270
 Follows a work by Benet in the MS, in fascicle well-populated by English music. Chant in discantus, freely paraphrased.

- 301 Salve regina (iii)
Tr 88 200'-3 343
 Chant in discantus.
- 302 Salve regina (iv)
Tr 90 324'-6' 1038
- 303+ Sancta Maria non est tibi similis
Tr 87 144'-5 130
Tr 92 228 1574
 Next to a work by Dunstable in Tr 87:
 Respond and antiphon. The piece has
 an English flavour.
- 304+ Sancta Maria succurre miseris
MuEm 93'-4 194
 The opening resembles Dunstable's setting
 (John Dunstable no.49) and the layout of
 duets, full sections, and time-signatures is
 also similar. Bukofzer thought this piece
 English (Ib.p.183, notes to no.49).
- 305+ Sub tuum presidium
Tr 90 458 1135
 Copied next to an antiphon by Power,
 and English in style.
- 306 Tota pulcra es (i)
Tr 88 331'-2' nos.446-7
- 307 Tota pulcra es (ii)
Tr 88 333'-4 and 333, nos.449 and 448
 The scribe has filled in the second part
 of this antiphon on the previous blank
 folio.
- 308 Tota pulcra es (iii)
FM 53'-4'

Trope to Salve regina

- 309 Virgo mater
Tr 90 350-2, nos.1061-2
 Plainsong in contra (and discantus?).

Unidentified texts

- 310 Gaude virgo, que de celis
Tr 87 121'-2 97
 Marian sequence?

311 Sicut malus inter ligna

FM 42'-4

Antiphon from Song of Songs?

312 Substantiam et dulcedinem

FM 23'-4

On Corpus Christi? Second part of
'Angelorum esca', no. 278 above? It
ends as a duet: is it a polyphonic Verse,
to be completed by the Respond in choral
unison?