

**THE ETON CHOIRBOOK: ITS INSTITUTIONAL AND
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND**

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PREFACE TO THE 2009 REVISION

A copy of the following thesis, submitted for the degree of D.Phil. at Oxford University, was deposited in the Bodleian Library in 1997.¹ Prepared under the joint supervision of Professor John Caldwell and Professor Andrew Wathey, and examined by Dr Margaret Bent and Professor John Harper, the thesis was a two-pronged study of the Eton Choirbook (*GB-WRec* MS 178; henceforth MS 178). An extended chapter on the physical structure of the MS itself was combined with studies of the institutional history and intercessory apparatus of Eton College, from the foundation of the college until shortly after the accession of Elizabeth I. The following, revised, version is in all essential regards identical to the thesis as approved and deposited in 1997. A small number of changes made here rectify internal inconsistencies within the 1997 draft of the thesis: certain citation forms (for example *RISM sigla*) have been regularised; typographical errors have been corrected; the MS collation (after p. 194) has been re-ordered and rendered in an easily printed format (unlike its 1997 precursor which was in the rather impractical form of a cello-taped *rotulus*); and the grainy monochrome thumbnail illustrations given in 1997 have been replaced with colour images. In all other regards, every effort has been made to preserve the pagination, layout and text of the 1997 draft, so that this 2009 copy can serve as a more-or-less exact duplicate of the less readily available deposit copy, should anyone wish to make vicarious reference to the thesis as approved in 1997.

Apart from cosmetic changes, therefore, no attempt has therefore been made to amend or delete elements that one might now wish to retract or revise – numerous as they might be. Following the revised abstract, however, are a number of addenda and corrigenda (cross-referenced by page number) that take into account bibliographical developments since 1997, and in which I have taken the opportunity to qualify statements made in 1997; more far-reaching revisions will be undertaken in the introduction to the facsimile edition of MS 178 which will be published by the DIAMM in 2010.

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Newcastle University, July 2009

¹ *GB-Ob* shelfmark MS. D.Phil. c.15398.

REVISED ABSTRACT

The Eton Choirbook (Eton College Library, MS 178) is one of the most important English musical codices surviving from the century before the Reformation. Its significance derives from its size and quality; from its value as a source of *unica*; and from its unbroken association with its host institution, one of the foremost royal foundations of the late Middle Ages. The aims of this thesis were to examine in detail the circumstances in which it was made; to establish the reasons for its compilation, when and how it was made, and the most likely sponsors; to consider its role within the devotional life of the college, to determine the reasons for its survival and for its present physical state; and to profile the careers and interests (as far as could be traced) of those who used it.

In Chapter One, the established historiography of MS 178 was considered in the light of what was then recent research, particularly Kate Selway's doctoral thesis in which she re-interpreted the role of Henry VI's collegiate foundations within the context of Lancastrian court politics. Selway's hypothesis facilitated a new reading of the evolution of Eton College from a substantial, but not spectacularly large, mixed-purpose chantry college into an altogether more ambitious foundation which drew heavily upon the example of William Wykeham's twinned foundations at Winchester and Oxford. This in turn enabled the college statutes, and in particular the changing profile of ritual provision from one draft of the statutes to another, to be considered anew within the context of shifting royal priorities.

Our appreciation of the ritual function of MS 178 depends upon a parallel understanding of the wider intercessory role of Eton College as a chantry foundation: votive antiphons were but one component within a comprehensive and integrated economy of intercession which lay at the heart of the college's *raison d'être*. In Chapter Two, the devotional and liturgical duties of the collegiate community were examined alongside a re-evaluation of the physical layout of the chapel (as elucidated by Andrew Martindale) and the available evidence concerning the spatial location and ritual functions of organs within the chapel.

Chapters Three and Five addressed a persistent lacuna in our knowledge of MS, namely the absence of any reference to it within the institutional archives until nearly three decades after it was copied. The identities of the scribe and the donor, the reasons behind the choirbook's copying, as well as its subsequent fate therefore needed to be inferred from the history of the choir itself. The choral foundation as established by Henry VI and his advisers was a product of the 1440s (indeed it was arguably conservative even by the standards of its time), and yet, even in reduced circumstances following its dissolution and partial restitution in the 1460s, the college evidently

succeeded in maintaining a thriving tradition of liturgical polyphony by the 1490s if not earlier. Determining how this was achieved required a micro-historical consideration of the development of the choir and its members. How did the choral foundation adapt to meet the requirements imposed by the musical repertoires of the later fifteenth century? Did chaplains, fellows and scholars participate in the singing of polyphony, alongside choristers and clerks? To what extent did practice on the ground match or exceed the founder's intentions as expressed in the foundation statutes?

At the heart of the thesis, Chapter Four considered the paleographical evidence of MS 178 itself: its physical attributes, its constituent repertory, the order in which the choirbooks was assembled, and the likeliest means and motivations behind its copying. The surviving paleographical data suggests that MS 178 was copied by one scribe during the course of four chronologically distinct phases. The final chapter investigated the fate of the MS between the 1520s and the late 1550s, with reference to the prior history of the choral foundation and to the evidence within the MS of physical alteration and deterioration.

Following the conclusion, in which the wider historiographical significance of the MS was considered, were a number of appendices. These included extracts from the college statutes and from singers' wills in the college register, an (inconclusive) examination of the career of the composer John Browne, biographical registers of clerks, choristers, chaplains and other selected members of the college, and some raw data concerning the college's finance and administration.

Addenda and corrigenda (2009)

CHAPTER ONE

Bibliographical note: since 1997, two major reference sources have been revised.

Although the main text has not been amended accordingly, these should be referred to in preference to the earlier editions cited in 1997:

ODNB: Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 61 vols. (Oxford, 2004), which comprehensively supersedes the old *DNB*.

NG²: The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 2nd Edition (Oxford: 2001)

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- 25, n. 9 see John Watts, *Henry VI and the Politics of Kingship* (Cambridge, 1996)
- 32 On Waynflete see V. Davis, *William Waynflete: bishop and educationalist* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1993), especially pp. 35-57.
- 28 Since the thesis was completed, there has been a quickening of interest among historians in the wider topic of collegiate foundations and their pious and political purposes. See, for instance, C. Burgess and M. Heale (eds.), *The Late Medieval College and its Context* (York: York Medieval Press, 2008). On one very prominent late-medieval royal collegiate foundation, St George's, Windsor see: *St George's Chapel, Windsor, in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. C. Richmond and E. Scarff (Windsor: Dean and Chapter of St George's Chapel, 2001); and *St George's Chapel Windsor in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. N. Saul (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005). In the latter, see especially C. Burgess, 'St George's College, Windsor: Context and Consequences', pp. 63-96, regarding the political/dynastic role of the college. For an outstanding study of a contemporary chantry foundation with school attached, see J. Goodall, *God's House at Ewelme: life, devotion and architecture in a fifteenth-century almshouse* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001).
- 45-9 The evolution of Henry VI's designs for Eton College have been coherently elucidated by John Goodall in 'Henry VI's Court and the Construction of Eton College', in *Windsor: Medieval Archaeology, Art and Architecture of the Thames Valley*, ed. L. Keen and E. Scarff, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 25 (Leeds, 2002). Goodall discerns clear Continental influence in the then unprecedentedly extensive use of diaper brickwork in the cloister range, as well as in the cusplless window tracery

throughout the domestic ranges. A part of the unexecuted architectural design for the college buildings as intended in the 'King's Will' of 1448, appears to be drawn upon a vellum sheet which once formed the cover of London, Society of Antiquaries, MS 252 (J. Goodall, 'Is this the earliest English architectural drawing?', *Country Life* (15 November 2001), pp.70-71).

- 48, n. 66 On the chronology and dissemination of Perpendicular architecture, see also C. Wilson, "“Excellent, New and Uniforme”": Perpendicular Architecture c. 1400-1547', in *Gothic: Art for England 1400-1547*, ed. R. Marks and P. Williamson (London: V & A, 2003) and J. Goodall, 'The Aerery Porch and its Influence on Late Medieval English Vaulting', in Saul, *St George's Chapel*, pp. 165-202.
- 51 Although the word 'fundator' might in fact be taken to mean 'benefactor' rather than 'founder', this intercession tellingly replicates the one laid down by Henry VI to be said on his behalf as founder (see. p. 455).
- 55-62 A number of musicological studies have been completed in and since the mid 1990s. On the repertory of MS 178: C. Hocking, 'Cantus firmus procedures in the Eton Choirbook' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 1996); L. Mackay, 'Mode in the Salve Regina settings of the Eton College choirbook' (Ph.D. thesis, Monash University, 2002); F. Fitch, 'Hearing John Browne's motets: registral space in the music of the Eton Choirbook', *EM*, 36 (2008), pp.19-40. On Eton College (from a slightly later period): K. Dexter, 'The Provision of Choral Music at St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, and Eton College, c.1640-1733' (Ph.D. thesis, London University, 2000). On the votive antiphon: N. Bisson, 'English Polyphony for the Virgin Mary: The Votive Antiphon, 1420-1500' (Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 1998). On other institutional contexts: F. Kisby, 'The early-Tudor Royal Household Chapel, 1485-1547' (Ph.D. thesis, London University, 1996); B. Lee-de Amici, 'Ad Sustaincionem Fidei Christiani: Sacred Music and Ceremony in Medieval Oxford' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1999). A. T. Shaw, 'Reading the liturgy at Westminster Abbey in the Late Middle Ages' (Ph.D. thesis, London University, 2001); A. Buckle, 'Music and liturgy, patronage and authority: the College of St Mary, Warwick in the later Middle Ages' (D.Phil. thesis, Oxford University, forthcoming). Among a large number of published contextual studies, see *inter alia* F. Kisby (ed.), *Music and Musicians in Renaissance Towns and Cities* (Cambridge, 2001); essays by Roger Bowers on St George's Windsor (in Richmond and Scarff, *St George's Chapel*, pp. 171-214) and Westminster Abbey (in *Westminster Abbey: The Lady Chapel of Henry VII*, ed. T. Tatton-Brown and R. Mortimer

(Woodbridge, 2003)).

57, n. 108: A third revision of MB x-xii has since commenced: *The Eton Choirbook: II*, ed. F. Ll. Harrison, MB, xi (3rd edn, rev. D. Fallows, London, 2002); *The Eton Choirbook III*, ed. F. Ll. Harrison, MB, xii (3rd edn, rev. M. Williamson, London, 2009). A third edition of *The Eton Choirbook: I* (MB, x) will follow at a later date.

CHAPTER TWO

97 Vernacular versions of the memorial to the Holy Trinity, stripped of versicle and response (i.e. the antiphon *Libera nos* and collect *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus*) were included in the King's Primer of 1545 and subsequent Reformed Primers based upon it;² it is therefore quite likely that these items continued to be recited, whether in Latin or English, after the Reformation. On attendance at *Salve*, see also below, p. 117.

110 On the re-ordering of the chapel the painting of scenes from the *Golden Legend* and *Speculum Historiale*, and the spatial context for MS 178 see M Williamson, 'Picture et scriptura: the Eton choirbook in its iconographical context', *Early Music*, 28 (2000), pp. 359-80.

117, n. 122: 'It should be noted that more clerks should be present to sing the anthem of the blessed (virgin) Mary every day after Vespers, such that there are always at least three or four of them present on any given occasion.' The episcopal visitor, William Atwater (bishop of Lincoln and dean of the Chapel Royal) had been a fellow of Eton in the 1480s, and he could therefore take an informed view as to the duties that could reasonably have been expected of the college's lay clerks. Compare, however, with Nicholas Heath's later injunctions for Rochester Cathedral (1543) which stipulate attendance at the *Salve* by choristers on feria, and by 'prests, clarks and choristers' on double and principal feasts, when an 'anteme in prycksong' was sung after Compline.³ Taken at face value, Atwater's injunction might betoken a relatively modest performing ensemble, with only one or two singers to each of the lower three voice-parts (assuming the absence of supernumeraries: see below, pp. 374-94).

² *The Primer set forth by the King's majesty* (London: Richard Grafton, May 1545) (STC 16040): collects after Lauds. See also STC 16053 (Grafton, 1551), ff. D.ii^v-iii.

³ Frere, *Use of Sarum*, 2, p. 235.

- 124 Recently, the Early English Organ Project (<http://www.earlyorgans.org.uk>) has done much to elucidate the archaeological and ritual evidence of the pre-Reformation organ. See also S. Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ* (Cambridge, 1996) and, more specifically J. Harper, 'Continuity, discontinuity, fragments and connections: the organ in church c. 1500-1640', in *Essays on the History of English Music: Sources, Styles, Liturgy, Culture*, ed. E. Hornby and D. Maw (Woodbridge: forthcoming) and *idem*, *Sacred Pipes and Voices 1500-1700* (forthcoming).
- 126-8 Given the evidence of later repertories and of contemporary archival entries, the book 'for Organys' listed in 1465 and 1531 was almost certainly intended for Lady Mass, during which the organ was regularly played, and among whose rota of sequences *Ave mundi spes Maria* was a part (*Breviarium*, 2, col. 519).
- 129, n. 161: in fact, 'the cryers' were played not on the feasts of the four doctors but on the days when writings by Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory or Jerome were read at Matins.

CHAPTER THREE

- 139 Ralph Cromwell was Lord Treasurer (1433-43), not Lord Chancellor
- 178, n. 148: on members of the fraternity of St Nicholas, see *The Bede Roll of the Fraternity of St Nicholas*, ed. N. and V. James, 2 vols., consecutively paginated (London Record Society, 39, 2004). The Henry Smith, master of the fraternity in 1453-4, was parish clerk of St Nicholas Acon and died in 1458 (*ibid.*, pp. 33 and 51).
- 179, n. 149: on Hopton, see *Bede Roll*, p. 119.

CHAPTER FOUR

A note on citation: for the sake of clarity quire signatures/opening numbers are given in italics throughout (e.g. gathering *g*); capital L or R refers to the written layout of each opening, L to the verso of the previous folio and R to the next recto (i.e. opening *g5* comprised folios *g4v* and *g5r*). In general reference is made to recto/verso only where it concerns the physical attributes of each vellum leaf. The modern numerical foliation is included, for the purpose of cross-reference, in the MS collation after p. 194.

- 183, n.2 See G. Curtis and A. Wathey, 'Fifteenth-Century English Liturgical Music: a List of the Surviving Repertory', *RMARC*, 27 (1994) for full listings of concordances. The three concordances mentioned here give complete readings; several other sources give partial or fragmentary concordances.
- 184 On the frequency with which polyphony was sung, see above, p. 117. To the days suggested here should also be added Saturdays, on which the services of the day (*plenum servitium*) pertained to the BVM.
- 185, n. 4: For a facsimile of *GB-Llp 1: The Arundel Choirbook: London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 1: A Facsimile and Introduction*, ed. D. Skinner (London: Roxburghe Club, 2003)
- 210, item 30: although both indices give *b1* as first opening for Lambe's *O Maria plena gracia*, it begins in fact on *b2*. The confusion may have arisen due to the excision of what had been folio *a8*. General scribal techniques will be examined in more detail, with some revisions to the findings given here (for instance, with regard to the formation of note-heads), in the facsimile edition of MS 178 (DIAMM, 2010).
- 282 Lambe, *Salve regina* (opening *h2L*, staff 1): the nimbed figure in this illuminated initial is, of course, John the Baptist (as noted by Ker, *MMBL*, 2, p. 74). The allusion to John 1.29 is completed by the figure of the evangelist's eagle perching to the right of the lamb.
- 283 A further instance of pictorial reference to an antiphon text can be found in Banester's *O Maria et Elizabeth* (opening *m3R*, staff 1) whose initial O comprises two infants with locked hands. This allusion, first identified by Catherine Hocking (in 'Cantus firmus Procedures', pp. 78-9) refers to the dance performed by Jesus and John the Baptist at the Visitation (and by inference to the prospect of dynastic procreation anticipated in the text). A number of initials contain flowers, particularly in gatherings *k-l*, in

conjunction with music by Richard Davy, but also in some settings by Robert Fayrfax and Robert Wylkynson. These will be discussed in the facsimile edition (DIAMM, 2010)

- 289 William Horwood was briefly employed at Lincoln Cathedral between February and Michaelmas 1461; shortly before (in 1457-8) he had been admitted a clerk member of the fraternity of St Nicholas, London, to which he was re-admitted on his return from Lincoln, in 1462-3.⁴ The alignment of dates is too close to warrant a dissociation between the Lincoln and London identifications (as attempted by James & James),⁵ particularly as Horwood served as master of the fraternity shortly before he returned back to Lincoln in 1476.

On the identification of William Cornysh, see D. Skinner, 'William Cornysh: clerk or courtier?', *Musical Times*, 138/1851 (May 1997), pp. 5-17. The later career of Davy is still disputed between Ashburton/Exeter(d. 1521: see N. Sandon in *ODNB*, following Nicholas Orme and John Harper) and Fotheringhay College (d. 1538: see D. Skinner in *NG*²).

There seems no good reason to dismiss as 'speculation' the identification of Walter Lambe with the fifteen-year-old elected to a scholarship at Eton July 1467.⁶

- 290 In November 1474 a John Hampton was listed among members of the college of Westbury-on-Trym receiving bequests under the terms of the will of William Cannynge, dean of Westbury.⁷
- 319 On cantus firmi see Hocking, 'Cantus firmus Procedures' and M. Williamson, 'Royal image-making and textual interplay in Gilbert Banaster's *O Maria et Elizabeth*', *EMH*, 19 (2000), pp. 237-78
- 323 The use of multiple cantus firmi in MS 178 is further examined in M. Williamson, 'Double cantus firmus compositions in the Eton Choirbook', in *Essays on the History of English Music: Sources, Styles, Liturgy, Culture*, ed.

⁴ Roger Bowers, 'Horwood, William (c.1430–1484)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, May 2006 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/41178>, accessed 20 July 2009]

⁵ *Bede Roll*, pp. 47, 59 and 100/102.

⁶ Roger Bowers, 'Lambe, Walter (fl. 1476–1504)', *ODNB*, 2004; online edn, May 2006 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37646>, accessed 20 July 2009]

⁷ T. P. Wadley (ed.), *Notes or Abstracts of the Wills Contained in the Volume Entitled the Great Orphan Book and Book of Wills (Bristol, 1886)*, p. 151 (the will was dated 12 November and proved on 29 November 1474).

- E. Hornby and D. Maw (Woodbridge: forthcoming)
- 325 Hocking ('Cantus firmus procedures', pp. 7-8) also suggested the following cantus firmus identifications:
1. Browne, *O Maria salvatoris mater* (openings a2-a4; number 1 in MS): *Venit dilectus meus* (sixth psalm antiphon at Matins, Assumption).
 2. Wylkynson, *O virgo prudentissima* (e1-e3: only e1L survives; number 11): *Angelus autem Domini*: first psalm antiphon at Lauds, Easter Sunday);
 3. Davy, *O Domine caeli terraeque* (k4-k6; number 30): *Symon dormis* (antiphon to *Benedictus*, Lauds, Wednesday in Holy Week).
 4. Banester, *O Maria et Elizabeth* (m3-m5; number 35): *Regnum mundi* (respond, Common of Virgins). This was also independently identified by the present author and discussed in 'Royal image-making' (see note above).
- 333 The relationship between MS 178 and 'Lost Choirbook 2' (see Curtis and Wathey ('Fifteenth-Century Liturgical Music', p. 23) will be considered in the facsimile edition (DIAMM, 2010).

CHAPTER FIVE

- 352-5 On the career of the composer John Mason, see R. Bowers, 'The Cultivation and Promotion of Music in the Household and Orbit of Thomas Wolsey', in *Cardinal Wolsey: Church, State and Art*, ed. S. J. Gunn and P. G. Lindley (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 187-8, and *idem*, 'Mason, John', in *NG*².
- 384, n. 194: add A. C. de la Mare and B. Barker-Benfield (eds.): *Manuscripts at Oxford: an Exhibition in Memory of Richard William Hunt (1908-1979)* (Oxford, 1980), 115-6, Fig. 75. Turges's *Gaude flore virginali* was discovered among various fragments during repair work to rooms in New College in 1965.
- 389 On Robert Cotterell and Fotheringhay College, see D. Skinner, 'Music and the Reformation in the Collegiate Church of St Mary and All Saints, Fotheringhay' in Burgess and Heale, *Late Medieval English College*, pp.253-74 and, from the same volume, M. Williamson, 'The Will of John Boraston: Musicians within Collegiate and Parochial Communities', pp. 180-98 at 188-9.

CHAPTER SIX

Bibliographical note: Reformation studies have blossomed since the mid 1990s, producing a correspondingly burgeoning bibliography. In the field of musicology, see especially: D. Page, 'Uniform and Catholic: Church Music in the Reign of Mary Tudor (1553-1558)' (Ph.D. thesis, Brandeis University, 1996) and D. Marsh, 'Music, Church, and Henry VIII's Reformation' (D.Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 2007); the social consequences of institutional reform upon musicians under Henry VIII is touched upon in D. Skinner, 'Music and the Reformation...Fotheringhay' (see above), M. Williamson, 'Evangelicalism at Boston, Oxford and Windsor under Henry VIII: John Foxe's Narratives Recontextualized', in *John Foxe at Home and Abroad*, ed. D. Loades (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 31-46 (where the later career of John Taverner is discussed) and, more tangentially, *idem*, 'The Role of Religious Guilds in the Cultivation of Ritual Polyphony in England: the Case of Louth, 1450-1550' in *Music and Musicians in Renaissance Cities and Towns*, ed. F. Kisby (Cambridge: CUP, 2001), pp.82-93 at 90; R. Bowers, 'The vernacular litany of 1544 during the reign of Henry VIII', in *Authority and Consent in Tudor England: Essays Presented to C.S.L. Davies*, ed. G.W. Bernard and S.J. Gunn (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 151-78; and *idem*, 'The Chapel Royal, the first Edwardian Prayer Book, and Elizabeth I's Settlement of Religion, 1559', *Historical Journal*, 43 (2000), pp. 1-28 (where the vernacular church music of John Sheppard and his contemporaries is considered as a by-product of Elizabeth's apparent preference for the 1549 Book of Common Prayer); themes from this latter essay recur in *idem*, 'The Prayer Book and the Musicians, 1549-1662', *Cathedral Music* (April 2002), pp. 36-44. On Humanism and music: R. C. Wegman, *The Crisis of Music in Early Modern Europe 1470-1530* (New York/London: Routledge, 2005), especially 105-66, and H.-A. Kim, *Humanism and the Reform of Sacred Music in England: John Merbecke the Orator and The Booke of Common Praier Noted (1550)*, St Andrews Studies in Reformation History (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); also B. Quitslund, *The Reformation in Rhyme: Sternhold, Hopkins and the English Metrical Psalter, 1547-1603*, St Andrews Studies in Reformation History (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008). Some useful historiographical observations can also be found in C. Burgess and A. Wathey, 'Mapping the soundscape: church music in English towns, 1450-1550', *Early Music History*, 19 (2000), 1-46

Among Reformation historians, Eamon Duffy remains the pre-eminent apologist for 'traditional' religion, most recently attempting a complete rehabilitation of Mary Tudor: E. Duffy and D. Loades (eds.), *The Church of Mary Tudor* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); E. Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor* (New Haven/London: Yale UP, 2009); also L. Wooding, *Rethinking Catholicism in Reformation England*

(Oxford: Clarendon, 2000). See Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* (New Haven/London: Yale UP, 1996) for a comprehensive and sympathetic examination of the a leading reformer. On Edward VI: D. MucCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation* (London: Allen Lane, 1999), and J. Loach, *Edward VI* (New Haven/London: Yale UP, 1999). On Henry VIII see, for instance, A. Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII* (Cambridge: CUP, 2003) and G. W. Bernard, *The King's Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church* (New Haven/London: Yale UP, 2005), the latter attributing doctrinal/institutional changes of the 1530s-40s directly to Henry himself and not to court factions (as exemplified, for instance, in D. MacCulloch (ed.), *The Reign of Henry VIII: Politics, Policy and Piety* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995)); and on court ceremonial, F. Kisby, “‘When the King Goeth a Procession’: Chapel Ceremonies and Services, the Ritual Year, and Religious Reforms at the Early Tudor Court, 1485-1547’, *Journal of British Studies*, 40 (2001), pp. 44-75. These are (by necessity) very selective examples from what has become an exceedingly substantial bibliography.

404-5 For *DNB*, see *ODNB*, especially Felicity Heal's entry on Richard Cox.

422 On the material impact of Reform and, in particular, on 1552 inventories, see E. Duffy, ‘The End of it All: The Material Culture of the Medieval English Parish and the 1552 Inventories of Church Goods’, in *The Parish in Late Medieval England*, ed. C. Burgess and E. Duffy, Harlaxton Medieval Studies 14 (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2006), pp. 381-99.

428 Thomas Smith was deprived of the provostship in July 1554; when Henry Cole was appointed provost (on 13 July).

437, n. 178: the similarity of format and style between the two copies of Wylkynson's canon MS 178 (MS 178, f. *ee9v* and *GB-Lbl R.M. 24 d 2*, f. 188v) suggests that Baldwin copied direct from MS 178. For this piece, Baldwin used diamond-headed notes (in contrast with the round-headed style used without exception elsewhere in the *R.M. 24 d 2*); he also replicated the marginalia found in MS 178 with such deliberation as to confirm that he had seen the canon in its original source.

438, n. 179: for Haddon: *Liber Precum Publicarum, seu Ministerij Ecclesiastice administrationis Sacramentorum, aliorumque rituum et ceremoniarum in Ecclesia Anglicana* (London, 1560) (STC 16424)

439 MS 178 was not deposited in the college library until the nineteenth century (R. Birley, ‘The History of Eton College Library’, *The Library*, 5th series, 11/4 (1956), pp.231-61 at 243, n. 2). The post-Reformation history of MS 178 will be discussed in the facsimile edition (DIAMM, 2010)

CONCLUSION

- 442, n. 2: since 1997 the British Academy series, EECM, has also undergone a revolution in format, in which as few changes as possible are made to the source notation. see, for instance, Roger Bray's edition of Fayrfax (EECM 43 and 45) whose appearance is radically different to that of MB x-xii.
- 443, n. 3: more recently, the history and character of Marian piety over the *longue durée* have been surveyed in Miri Rubin's magisterial *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (London: Allen Lane, 2009)
- 443, n. 4: recent contributions to the long-running pitch debate also militate against 'high-pitch' theory: A. Johnstone, "'As it was in the beginning": organ and choir pitch in early Anglican church music', *EM*, 31 (2003), pp.506-25 makes a compelling case for continuity of default pitch standard (at A=475Hz) throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, based on organological evidence; S. Ravens, "'A sweet shrill voice": the countertenor and vocal scoring in Tudor England', *EM*, 26 (1998), pp. 123-34 argued for a similar pitch standard, but drawing upon less verifiable physiological evidence.
- 446, n. 8: even in parish churches, it is possible to find references to lavishly-scored polyphony (M. Williamson, 'Liturgical Polyphony in the Pre-Reformation English Parish Church: a Provisional List and Commentary', *RMARC*, 38 (2005), pp. 1-43 at 38: Rye (Sussex), 1515: 'for the fetchyng off a masse at Cranbroke off .vij. parts and for the prykyng of the same, ij s. viij d.')
- 446, n.9: for a more recent complete edition of Carver: K. Elliott (ed.), *The Complete Works of Robert Carver & Two Anonymous Masses*, Musica Scotica, I (Glasgow, 1996)
- 447, n. 12: it is also worth noting that Sutton the composer had been a fellow of Magdalen College prior to his appointment at Eton (*BRUO*, p.1822). His seven-part *Salve regina* predated the seven-part polyphony inventoried at Magdalen in 1522 (see p.446) by nearly half a century, and John Sheppard's two seven-part settings of the antiphon *Libera nos* (the chant used by Sutton as his *cantus firmus*) by seventy years. Although these instances of seven-part scoring may be entirely coincidental, it is tempting to speculate that Magdalen maintained a long tradition of seven-part singing.
- 449 Wylkynson's symbolism is discussed in Williamson, '*Pictura et scriptura*'

and, in the wider context of scorings, by Willem Elders in *Symbolic Scores: Studies in the Music of the Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 97-120. Wylkynsons's angelological interests are discussed by Catherine Hocking in 'Cantus firmus Procedures', pp. 124-34.

450 'late 1500s' = end of the first decade of the sixteenth century

451, n. 18: see, more recently, Bowers, 'The Music and Musical Establishment' in Richmond and Scarff, *St George's Chapel*, pp.198-212.451, n. 19: see also H. Jeffries, John Plummer, the Royal Household Chapel and *St George's Chapel, Windsor* (M.Mus. dissertation, Royal Holloway, University of London, 1999) and *eadem*, 'The Composer John Plummer and St George's Chapel', in Saul, *St George's Chapel*, pp. 135-50.

APPENDICES

463, §10 The *informator choristarum* attends the *Salve* with the choristers ('informatore choristarum eos comitante')

464 Scholars attend with choristers in Lent (or, at least on vigils in Lent), but are not explicitly required to sing. On feast days in Lent, as well as outside of Lent, an alternative antiphon to *Salve regina* ('unam aliam aniphonam de eadem Beata Virgine') is sung.

471, §4 St Augustine of Canterbury ('Sancti Augustini Anglorum apostoli')

478 **Abyndon**: see *NG*²

Blackborne: see *Bede Roll*, p. 247.

Belyall, Robert: lay clerk, EC, summer 1507 to Michaelmas 1508; probably the same as Richard/Robert Billiold, chorister of St George's, Windsor, 1492-9, and member of a musically active family: Thomas Billiold (lay clerk, St George's, 1489-1504), John Belyold (chorister, St George's, 1503-4) and William Belyold (chorister, St George's, 1503-4, from December 1503) (*GB-WRch* XV.34.62-71; *GB-Ob* MS Berkshire Rolls, 5). Another Belyall (no forename) was a chorister at Magdalen college, Oxford, in 1496 and then Demy, 1497-1501 (*BRUO*, p. 164).

479 **Byrde**: see A. Ashbee & D. Lasocki (with P. Holman and F. Kisby), *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485-1714*, 2 vols. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998) (*BDECM*), pp. 221-2

480 **Darlington**: *Bede Roll*, p. 264

Dewland: Dns Michael Dulard was elected priest-member of the St Nicholas Fraternity in 1476-7 (*Bede Roll*, p. 107) and had probably been transferred to St George's from the choir of Salisbury Cathedral (Bowers, 'Music and Musical Establishment', in Richmond and Scarff, *St George's Chapel*, p. 201).

Edmunds: *Bede Roll*, pp. 172/174 and 183

Fyscher: a Thomas Fischer was admitted clerk member of the Fraternity of St Nicholas in 1490-1 (*Bede Roll*, p. 152).

Googe: a Richard Gowge was admitted clerk member of the Fraternity of St Nicholas in 1496-7 (*Bede Roll*, p. 167).

Grene: see *Bede Roll*, p. 264

481 **Hale:** see *Bede Roll*, 220

Halle, Richard: see *Bede Roll*, pp. 238 and 246.

Halle, William: see *Bede Roll*, pp. 89 (*recte* 1470) and 197 (d. 1505); the member of the Fraternity was listed on both occasions as lay, not clerk, so militating against this identification. Likewise there is no evidence to associate the clerk of Eton with the Vicar of Whittington, Worcs.

Hatfyld: see *Bede Roll*, pp. 164 (admitted clerk member, 1495-6) and 171 (where dead, 1497-8)

482 **Lambe:** see *Bede Roll*, pp. 134 and 228.

483 **Norman:** see *Bede Roll*, p. 274

485 **Staysmore:** may also have belonged to a Staffordshire family. A William Starismore of Walsall was listed 69th of the 72 scholars elected KS, EC, in 1467 (aged 10) ('Early Election Rolls', *Etoniana*, 12 (1911), pp. 177-89 at 183). Other members of the family (William, Richard, Alys, Roger) served the church in various capacities between 1494 and 1511 (G. P. Mander, 'The Walsall Church-Wardens' Accounts' in *Collections for a History of Staffordshire*, 52 (William Salt Archaeological Society, 1928), pp. 175-267 at 179, 185, and 232-4)

486 **Whetley:** see *Bede Roll*, pp. 216 and 232 (but as lay member, not clerk)

Wodecock: a John Wodecock/Woodcok was admitted clerk member of the St Nicholas Fraternity in 1468x70, and died as such in 1480 (*Bede Roll*, pp. 82 and 124)

487 **Belgrave:** probably not the same as the Rector of St George's Canterbury (as in *Registrum Thome Bourgchier*, p. 332); but perhaps James Belgrave,

chaplain, who lost of a Bible while lodging with William Pacy, chaplain, in London, c. 1470 (PRO C 1/46/52)

- 488 **Chamber:** more likely William Chamber, admitted priest member, St Nicholas Fraternity, 1506 (*Bede Roll*, p. 198)
- 489 **Dolphynby:** priest member, Fraternity of St Nicholas, admitted 1507-8 (*Bede Roll*, p. 203). Ordained priest 20 December 1505, to title of Stratford-at-Bow Priory.
- Elys:** see *Bede Roll*, pp. 130-131 and 155.
- 496 **Arnold:** elected KS, EC, 1470 (aged 13, of parish of St Faith in St Paul's, London, listed 35th out of 40 ('Early Election Rolls', p. 187)
- ADD: **Aylofffe**, Thomas: chorister, St George's, Windsor, 1479-80; KS, EC, c.1480-84; sch., KCC, 1484-7 (*GB-WRch XV.34.57*; *BRUC*, p. 26)
- Bardesey:** *Bede Roll* (pp. 231/233) gives 'Byrdys yee' for John Birdisie. George Bardesey was bequeathed riding gear, a book and an old sword in 1493 by John **Boraston** (see below, pp. 539-40); he also accompanied the college bursar, William Wedehoke on college business in Uxbrudge in 1500 (ECR 61/AR/F/10, under *Custus Forinseci*).
- 497 ADD: **Bury**, Thomas: chorister, household chapel of Margaret Beaufort by June 1504; sent to Eton as scholar; subsequently gentleman of chapel royal, 1517-54 (Kisby, 'Mirror of Monarchy: Music and Musicians in the Household Chapel of the Lady Margaret Beaufort. Mother of Henry VII', *Early Music History*, 16 (1997), p.234; *BDECM*, pp. 220-1)
- Bygge:** the chorister of 1494-5 and the scholar admitted to King's in 1506 (aged 17) are unlikely to be the same unless the latter's age on admission to Cambridge was recorded incorrectly
- 498 **Chard:** William Chard was admitted to the Fraternity of St Nicholas as a clerk member in 1508-9, but his death is recorded as a lay member in 1511-12 (*Bede Roll*, pp. 211 and 227).
- Cotterell:** see F. Kisby, 'A Mirror of Monarchy', pp. 203-34 at 223 and 227. He was paid in 1505 for pricking a mass by Alexander Bell of Magdalen College, Oxford.
- Crokwell:** can be identified with Thomas Cropwell, bequeathed a pair of sheets in 1493 by John **Boraston** (see below, pp. 539-40)
- ADD: **Dylcocke**, Edward: chorister, St George's, Windsor, 1472-8 (left on 27 March 'ad exhibicionem puerorum de Etona') (*GB-WRch XV.34.52-54* and

V.B.2). Not in *Register* or *BRUC*.

499 **Eyls: recte Gyls**

Freman: Richard Freman was elected KS, EC, in 1469 (aged 13, of London, listed 37th out of 51) and again in 1470 (aged 14, of St Mildred's parish, London) ('Early Election Rolls', p. 186). In August 1470 he transferred from the choristers' table in hall to the lower scholars' table (ECR 61/NR/1). In 1469, as chorister, he was bought provisions by Richard Boveat, *informator chorisatarum* (see above, p.478) (ECR 61/BD/C/8)

Goldyng: was a chorister of St George's, Windsor, until 29 March 1473 (*GB-WRch*, V.B.2)

ADD: **Greneway, Thomas:** chorister, St George's, Windsor, 1468-72, and subsequently scholar, Eton; an Andrew Greneway was chorister, St George's, Windsor, 1478-9 (*GB-WRch* XV.34.51 and 55-56). Probably members of the same (local) family: a William Greneway was paid for roofing work at St George's, 1468-9 (*GB-WRch* XV.34.56).

Gyot: had been chorister since at least 1468, when bought provisions (ECR, 61/AR/C/8). He was elected KS, EC in 1474 (aged 13, of Hoddesdon, Herts, listed 26th out of 27) and again in 1475 (aged 14, listed 5th out of 33) ('Early Election Rolls', pp. 188-9).

Hanson: Thomas: elected KS, EC, 1470 (aged 12, of Dorney, Bucks, listed 3rd out of 40) ('Early Election Rolls', p. 186); transferred from choristers' to schoalrs' table in hall, September 1470 (ECR, 61/NR/1)

500 **Lambe, Walter:** see Kisby, 'Mirror of Monarchy', p. 223 and *NG*²

501 **Raynolds:** Henry Reynolde, admitted clerk member of the St Nichoals Fraternity in 1478-9 (*Bede Roll*, p. 114) is likelier than the lay member admitted in 1457 who died in 1480.

502 **Scalon:** dates corrected from 1494-5 to 1484-5

Talyour/Taylor: these have been one and the same, although Talyour is listed first among the choristers in 1486 (ECR 61/NR/2) implying seniority.

Testwode: elected KS, EC, 1469 (aged 12, of Tewkesbury, listed 49th out of 51) and again in 1470 (aged 12 [sic], listed 39th out of 40) ('Early Election Rolls', p. 187). No evidence is available to associate Thomas Testwood, chorister of Eton (1470) with Robert Testwood, *inter alia* lay clerk of St George's, Windsor, where he was burnt for heresy, July 1543 (Williamson, 'Evangelicalism', pp. 37-8)

503 **Tow:** elected KS, EC, 1468 (aged 12, of Windsor, listed 29th out of 56) and again in 1469 (aged 13, listed 23rd out of 51) and again in 1470 (aged 13 [sic], listed 25th out of 40) ('Early Election Rolls', pp.184-5 and 187)

Trende: elected KS, EC, 1470 (aged 13, as of parish of St Laurence, London, listed 31st out of 40) ('Early Election Rolls', p. 187).

ADD: Watwood, William: chorister, household chapel of Margaret Beaufort; sent to EC as scholar, August 1502 (Kisby 'Mirror of Monarchy', p. 234). A Robert Wetwood was chorister, St George's, Windsor, 1489-93 (*GB-WRch* XV.34.62-66) and later a gentleman of the chapel royal (Bowers, 'Music and Musical Establishment', in Richmond and Scarff, *St George's Chapel*, p. 208, n. 184; *BDECM*, p. 1114).

Wickam: see Skinner, 'Music and the Reformation...Fotheringhay', p. 270. He returned to Cambridge as lay clerk, KCC, in the spring of 1537 (KCC, Mundum Book 11, 1536-7, f. 5).

504-6 No further biographical information has come to light since 1997. Entries in *NG²* and *ODNB* (both by Roger Bowers) settle firmly upon the household of John de Vere as the composer's workplace, but neither article addresses the topographical specificity of Browne's *O Maria salvatoris mater* in its inclusion of saints whose combined association can only have been with Oxford University (Katherine, Mary Magdalen, Frideswide).

De Vere's chapel choir was certainly large enough to support polyphony on a lavish scale: in 1507-8 shoes were bought regularly for between nine and sixteen boys of the chapel (Longleat House, Misc. MS 11, ff. 118-122v), and the earl's post mortem inventory of 1513 included thirty surplices, as well as *inter alia* twenty-three processional, eight antiphonal and nineteen pricksong books (W. St John Hope, 'The Last Testament and Inventory of John de Veer [sic], Thirteenth Earl of Oxford', *Archaeologia*, 66 (1915), pp. 275-348 at 342). Conversely, although the most informative documents date from the last five years of the earl's life (by which time the composer might have died), they make no further mention of the John Browne, chaplain(?) in 1490. A musician of that name did indeed serve the earl, but as a minstrel: John Broun 'luter' in 1507-8 (Longleat House, Misc. MS 11, f.129v); John Brown, 'my lord of Oxford's mynystrell', 1509 (Essex County Record Office, D/Y 2/3, p. 8) and 'John Browne luter' who received a bequest of 40s. under the terms of the earl's will in 1513 ('Last Testament', p. 319). The association between the composer and the earl must therefore be treated with caution.⁸

⁸ By the same token, it would be equally speculative to associate Richard Pygott the composer with the

507, n. 11: Lambe's association with the boy of that name, elected KS in 1467 has been queried in *ODNB*.

509 There is no compelling evidence to associate the songs in *GB-Lbl* with William Browne in preference to John (on William Browne: *BDECM*, p. 201).

510 1492/1498: *Bede Roll*, pp. 157 and 173.

511 1509/1510/1514/1518: *Bede Roll*, pp. 215, 221 (*recte* admitted lay member as Magister Johannes Browne), 239 (bis) and 261

Two men by the name of John Browne appear to be associated with the Boston Guild of the BVM: one was the chamberlain's clerk between 1516 and 1522, acting as a collector of levies (and one of several local men with the same surname) ; the other, Dns John Browne, chaplain and schoolmaster in 1520-1 was a different person (*GB-Lbl* Egerton 2886, ff. 8v, 73-4, 103, 161, 169v, 173, 194v); he was evidently resident in Boston even when not employed directly by the Guild of the BVM, as he is listed in the 1526 clerical subsidy among the stipendiary chaplains in Boston (H. Salter, *A Subsidy Collected in the Diocese of Lincoln in 1526*, Oxford Historical Society, 63 (Oxford/London: 1909), p. 59). There are no grounds for associating any of these (even the chaplain, whose appearance is somewhat late) with the composer.

539 The contents of Boraston's will are discussed, and some general observations drawn from them concerning the social structure of late-medieval collegiate foundations, in Williamson, 'Will of John Boraston' in Burgess and Heale, *Late Medieval English College*.

548 **Nominal Rolls** were tabulated records of attendance at hall. Each of the four thirteen-week terms was allocated one side of a narrow parchment roll, giving two rolls each year (for only two years, 1492-3 and 1539-40, do both rolls survive). Each term is provided with a ruled grid, with names of fellows, chaplains/singing-men, scholars, choristers, vestry clerks, servants and commensals entered in sequence, one name to each row. Full weeks of attendance are recorded with an 'O' and partial weeks with a 'C'; on occasion a dot is placed in the middle of the figure (the parallels with mensuration signs are self-evident).

549 **Election rolls:** for transcriptions see 'Early Election Rolls', *Etoniana*, 12 (1911), pp. 177-89

Richard Pygott who, as a member of de Vere's retinue, was bequeathed 40s. in 1513 ('Last Testament', p. 319). The composer had entered the household of Cardinal Wolsey by 1517 (*BDECM*, pp. 933-5).

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ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| ACA | Arundel, the Castle, archives of the Duchy of Norfolk |
| AM | <i>Annales Musicologiques</i> |
| AS | <i>Antiphonale Sarisburiense</i> , ed. W. H. Frere (Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, London, 1901-26) |
| ASO | Manuscripts of the Warden and Fellows of All Souls College, Oxford |
| BIHR | <i>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</i> |
| <i>Breviarium</i> | <i>Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Sarisburiensis</i> , 3 vols (Cambridge, 1879-86) |
| BRUC | A. B. Emden, <i>A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to A.D. 1500</i> (Cambridge, 1963) |
| BRUO | A. B. Emden, <i>A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500</i> , 3 vols (Oxford, 1957-9) |
| BRUO1540 | A. B. Emden, <i>A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford from A.D. 1501 to A.D. 1540</i> (Oxford, 1974) |
| BVM | Blessed Virgin Mary |
| <i>Cat. Anc. Deeds</i> | <i>Catalogue of Ancient Deeds</i> , 6 vols. (London, 1890-1915) |
| CPL | <i>Calendar of Papal Letters</i> (London and Dublin, 1893-) |
| CPR | <i>Calendar of Patent Rolls</i> (London, 1891-) |
| CYS | Canterbury and York Society |
| DNB | <i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> |
| Dns | Dominus |
| EC | Eton College |
| ECR | Eton College Records: archives of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College |
| ed.; edn; eds | edited/editor; edition; editors |
| EECM | Early English Church Music (London, 1962-) |
| EETS | Early English Text Society |
| EHR | <i>English Historical Review</i> |
| EM | <i>Early Music</i> |
| EMH | <i>Early Music History</i> , ed. I. Fenlon (Cambridge, 1981-) |
| GB-Cgc | Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College |
| GB-Cjc | Cambridge, St John's College |
| GB-Cp | Cambridge, Peterhouse |
| GB-Cu | Cambridge, University Library |
| GB-CRr | Chester, Town Archive |
| GB-En | Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland |
| GB-Lbl | London, British Library |
| GB-Llp | London, Lambeth Palace Library |
| GB-Oas | Oxford, All Souls College archives |
| GB-Ob | Oxford, Bodleian Library |
| GB-Och | Oxford, Christ Church archives/library |
| GB-Omc | Oxford, Magdalen College archives |

| | |
|-----------------|--|
| <i>GB-Ome</i> | Oxford, Merton College library |
| <i>GB-Onc</i> | Oxford, New College archives |
| <i>GB-Otc</i> | Oxford, Trinity College library |
| <i>GB-Ouc</i> | Oxford, University College library |
| <i>GB-WRch</i> | Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter of the Royal Free Chapel of St George, The Aerery, St George's Chapel, Windsor |
| HBS | Henry Bradshaw Society |
| H & W | J. Heywood and T. Wright, <i>Ancient Laws of the Fifteenth Century for King's College, Cambridge, and for the Public School of Eton College</i> (London, 1850) |
| <i>HKW</i> | H. M. Colvin (general ed.), <i>The History of the King's Works</i> , 6 vols. (London, 1963-82) |
| HT | Hilary Term (runs from late December to late March) |
| <i>JAMS</i> | <i>Journal of the American Musicological Society</i> |
| <i>JEH</i> | <i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i> |
| <i>JPMMS</i> | <i>Journal of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society</i> |
| <i>JRMA</i> | <i>Journal of the Royal Musical Association</i> |
| KCC | Cambridge, King's College, archives of the Provost and Fellows |
| KCRO | Kent County Record Office (for the manuscripts of the Viscount De L'Isle) |
| KS | King's Scholar |
| LIS | List and Index Society |
| <i>LPFD</i> | <i>Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, 1509-1547</i> , ed. J. S. Brewer and R. H. Brodie, 21 vols (London, 1862-1910) |
| MB | Mundum Book / Musica Britannica |
| <i>MD</i> | <i>Musica Disciplina</i> (Rome, 1948-) |
| <i>ML</i> | <i>Music and Letters</i> (Oxford, 1920-) |
| <i>MMB</i> | F. Ll. Harrison, <i>Music in Medieval Britain</i> (London, 1958) |
| MT | Michaelmas Term (end of September to end of December) |
| <i>NG</i> | <i>The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</i> , 20 vols, ed. S. Sadie (London, 1980) |
| NtsRO | Northampton County Record Office |
| OHS | Oxford Historical Society |
| pr. | probate granted |
| <i>PRMA</i> | <i>Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association</i> (London, 1874-) |
| PRO | Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London |
| <i>Register</i> | Wasey Sterry, <i>The Eton College Register, 1441-1698</i> (Eton, 1943) |
| <i>RMARC</i> | <i>R. M. A. Research Chronicle</i> (Cambridge/London, 1961-) |
| TT | Trinity Term |
| <i>VCH</i> | <i>Victoria County History</i> |
| UCO | Manuscripts of the Master and Fellows of University College, Oxford |
| Venn & Venn | J. Venn and J. A. Venn, <i>Alumni Cantabrigienses</i> , 4 vols (Cambridge, 1922-7) |
| WAM | Westminster Abbey Muniments |
| WCM | Winchester College Muniments |

INTRODUCTION

The Eton choirbook (Eton College MS 178) is unique among English Medieval music manuscripts. It is by no means complete: nearly half of its leaves have disappeared. Even in its present state, however, it is perhaps the most finely-produced manuscript of its kind. Similarly, the archival sources of Eton College, although incomplete, are among the best-preserved of all medieval English collegiate foundations. Nearly five centuries after it was written, the manuscript remains within the walls of the institution for which – and perhaps in which – it was compiled, within earshot of the chapel in which it was used. It is exceeded in size and state of preservation by the Lambeth and Caius choirbooks, but both of the later choirbooks have become detached from their parent institutions which were dissolved within a generation of those manuscripts' compilation.

The historiographical significance of MS 178 is exceeded by its importance as a musical source: the great majority of its surviving contents are *unica*. It preserves the work of a distinguished generation of English musicians, and most of the extant late-fifteenth-century English votive antiphon repertory. In musicological discourse, the manuscript and its constituent repertory have become synonymous with each other; terms like 'Eton style' or 'Eton antiphons' are comprehensible shorthand for the late-

fifteenth-century English votive antiphon repertory. Related to this is the vexed question of the origins of the so-called 'Eton style'. The comparative dearth of surviving musical precursors and the uniqueness of MS 178 as a source have tended to exaggerate the importance of both college and choirbook in the history of English choral polyphony. During the 1460s, when choral polyphony in the 'florid style' was becoming established, Eton College was on the brink of extinction; even during the years of prosperity preceding its founder's deposition in 1461, when it had enjoyed royal patronage, the college was equipped with a conservative constitution, at least in terms of the number of specialist musicians employed. After the college had been restored in 1466, it took a number of years for the choir to be re-staffed: despite its royal pedigree, Eton is unlikely to have been the source of the 'Eton style'.

In assessing the background of MS 178, it is necessary to take into account the prehistory of the manuscript: the characteristics of the establishment for which it was written; the liturgical apparatus of which it formed a part; the nature of the ensemble which used it; and the possible role of music within the wider institutional context. Underpinning the constitutional framework of the college were the founder's statutes. These were not immutable, but represented a legalistic rendition of the founder's intentions during the 1440s and early 1450s, and were the basis for the administration of the college. Historical perceptions change, and the character of Henry VI and the effectiveness (or otherwise) of his kingship have undergone fundamental re-appraisal since during the last twenty or thirty years. In Chapter One, Henry's role as founder is examined in the light of recent work by historians. The old image, the saint-king, has long been supplanted by that of a weak, incompetent king whose reign unhappily

coincided with the loss of English possessions in France and ended with his deposition in 1461. Recent work on Henry's regime and, more specifically, on the role which Eton College and King's College, Cambridge, played within the public piety of the Lancastrian government has cast further doubt on Henry's own role as king and founder. In current historical perceptions, Henry has been reduced to a cipher for the machinations of Court cliques: this passivity, it has been maintained, applied equally in his nominal role as founder. The king's reduction in status from the old 'Good King Henry' may in due course be revised; militating against the contention that Henry was a mere observer of the foundation of Eton and King's are the changes of plan and the dilatory execution of these plans, attributes which characterized Henry's kingship as a whole. Henry clearly took an interest in his colleges, even if the impetus behind their foundation had come from elsewhere. Nevertheless, there has been a tendency to discern a causal link behind Henry's involvement and the genesis of MS 178 some thirty years after his death. Of course, if Eton had not been founded, MS 178 would not have come into existence. But MS 178 was not a product of Henry's vision. The choral staff provided under his statutes did not (and could not) take into account the demands of a musical style which had not yet come into existence. The legists and administrators who devised the statutes relied on well-established legal and administrative precedents, not the musical requirements of the 1460s and 1470s.

While Eton and the Eton choirbook are synonymous with the late-Medieval votive antiphon, the nightly singing of Marian antiphons was only one part of the multi-faceted liturgical and devotional life of the college. In Chapter Two, the statutory provision for intercessions, obits and votive masses is examined in detail. Historians have made clear

distinctions between chantry colleges, academic colleges and colleges of canons.¹ These distinctions have tended to over-stress the differences while ignoring the many constitutional similarities between the different categories. There is also the question of chronology: chantry colleges and academic colleges were more popular among benefactors of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and it is in their constitutions and statutory instruments that later developments in liturgical and devotional practices were reflected. Many of the shared characteristics of the fifteenth-century educational colleges resulted from the familiarity of those who drafted their statutes with the ordinances of previous foundations, and the application of these ordinances (with additions and amendments subsequently incorporated in them) to the needs of the new foundations. The core of the Eton statutes was derived from those of William Wykeham for Winchester College; previously, the physical and administrative organization of Winchester College (and New College, Oxford) had been inspired by Wykeham's own work at Windsor Castle.² In turn, William Waynflete, provost of Eton until his elevation to the bishopric of Winchester in 1447, incorporated substantial elements of Henry's statutes into his own for Magdalen College, Oxford. Provision intercessions was considerably more lavish at Eton than at Winchester, particularly in the injunctions concerning the Marian devotions associated with singing every evening of the *Salve regina* (which was not mentioned in Wykeham's statutes). Did the Eton statutes act as a spur or catalyst to the development of the *Salve regina*? Almost certainly not. The statute *De precibus, oracionibus ac aliis suffragiis* absorbed the Winchester article on

¹ See, for instance, A. H. Thompson, 'Notes on Colleges of Secular Canons in England', *The Archaeological Journal*, 74 (new series, 24) (1917), pp.139-239.

² J. W. Sherborne, 'Aspects of English Court Culture in the Later Fourteenth Century', *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. V. J. Scattergood & J. W. Sherborne (London, 1983), pp.12-4.

which it was based almost word-for-word. The singing of the *Salve regina* was by the 1440s such an established custom that it would perhaps have been surprising if it had been omitted; at other contemporary collegiate foundations, it is outlined in detail. But the conservatism of the Eton statutes means that those liturgical and devotional practices which are enshrined in them reflected contemporary practice. The preoccupations revealed in Henry's statutes were the preoccupations of his peers (albeit manifested on a lavish scale). The sophisticated liturgical apparatus, of which the *Salve regina* ceremony was but one component, was derived from a variety of sources and fulfilled a number of different functions. The involvement of all members of college underlines the chantry element, which had been a part of the college's make-up *ab initio*, and continued to be after the shift of emphasis to an educational function. Catechesis and intercession were complemented, not supplanted, by grammar. Alongside the canonical hours sung in chapel ran a parallel daily *cursus* of offices said by the scholars and choristers: the choristers said the hours of the BVM in chapel, while the scholars recited offices based on the canonical hours which punctuated the working day. The content of these hours was derived not just from the Use of Salisbury but from books of hours. The prominence of para-liturgical texts was later mirrored in the number of primer texts used in MS 178.

Also examined in Chapter Two is the physical environment in which the *Opus Dei* was performed. Three issues arise: how the choir was disposed during the canonical hours and Masses; where the *Salve regina* was sung; and where organs were used, both physically and liturgically. Henry VI's plans for a vast minster were never finished, and so his statutes needed to be adapted in light of the changed circumstances. The most

significant physical change was the abandonment of the great nave and the adaption of the quire to the needs of both parish and college. The choir screen was built nearly half-way down the quire and not under the chancel arch as originally planned. The space between the chancel arch and the coffered choir/rood-screen was almost certainly where the *Salve regina* was sung, rather than the ante-chapel. The magnificent series of *grisaille* murals of the miracles of the BVM, largely taken from the *Speculum Historiale* and *Legenda Aurea*, take on added significance in this light: as well as a means of covering a great expanse of masonry left bare by the absence of choir stalls, they also formed a suitable arena in which the votive antiphons might be sung. The organ was an inseparable part of the liturgy and its furniture. Chapter Two concludes with an examination of the use, purchase and maintenance of organs at Eton, and the light this may shed on the liturgical apparatus as a whole. By the end of Henry VIII's reign, there were probably five organs in chapel, as many as at Durham Cathedral. In a chapel with no aisles, no Galilee Chapel (unless the ante-chapel was used as a *de facto* Galilee) and no Jesus Mass loft, there was probably no acoustic need for so many organs. The implication is therefore that their function was determined by liturgical considerations. Organ polyphony was a substitute for choral polyphony: the extent to which the organ infiltrated the daily liturgy was a reflection on the amount of choral polyphony sung and, hence, on the circumstances which shaped MS 178.

In Chapter Three, the nature and composition of the chapel staff are examined. The precedents which influenced the constitution of the college as a whole were also relied upon in the organization of and provision for the *Opus Dei*. Numerically, Winchester

was the likeliest precedent, with sixteen choristers and three clerks. The addition of a fourth clerk at Eton, the *informator choristarum*, represented an adaption of Wykeham's arrangements in light of contemporary practice. The large number of chaplains (ten) and ancillary clerks (six) was dictated by the needs of the large minster planned by Henry, and the number of daily Masses, as well as a desire to reflect the largesse of the Lancastrian regime. None of these chaplains or ancillary clerks had any statutory obligation to participate in the singing of polyphony. The full chapel staff, including the chaplains, all the clerks and the choristers, numbered thirty-six; but, of these thirty-six, only the four *clerici generosi* were to be professional singers, a status reflected in their entitlement to eat at the *mensa generosorum*. Although a royal foundation, Eton College was seemingly under-used as a source of royal sinecures: once the original nominees had been admitted, the college became self-governing and self-perpetuating. An exception was Henry Abyndon, a clerk in the household chapel of Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester, who spent four years at Eton, from 1447 until his appointment to the royal household chapel in 1451. But his appointment to Eton, not necessarily contingent on royal intervention, may have been as a favour to Eton and not to him: as an experienced singer in the service of a royal duke, he was probably recruited in order to give a fillip to the relatively new choir. His appointment, moreover, was probably as organist rather than as singer. Twice, in the 1440s after the college's foundation and in the late 1460s after its re-establishment, singers had to be recruited. In the 1440s, the task was relatively easy, given the college's wealth and royal connections, and given the small number of singers needing to be found; in the 1460s and 1470s, with limited financial resources and without royal patronage, the task was long and arduous, made more so by

the larger number of singers demanded by the choral polyphony then becoming widespread. Apart from Edward IV's loan of five choristers from the royal household chapel, recruitment was piecemeal; Eton did not enjoy the rights of impressment which its sister college in Cambridge was later to use so systematically. It was not until the 1480s, after the move into the now-completed chapel, that stability and continuity were achieved under a full-time *informator choristarum*, and then on a modest scale.

Given the difficulties the college had faced during the decades preceding the compilation of MS 178, why was this sumptuous manuscript compiled in such apparently unpromising circumstances? Why were the most texturally profligate pieces written at Eton? And how did MS 178 relate to the choir's overall repertory? What objectives were envisaged when copying began? And when was it copied? These questions are predicated on the assumption that MS 178 was compiled at Eton, for Eton and, possibly, by staff of Eton. In Chapter Four, the paleographical evidence within MS 178 is examined in order to address these questions. Archivaly, MS 178 is a ghost until its appearance in an inventory of 1531: no records of payments for parchment, ink, ruling, copying or limning survive. It is unlikely that the costs incurred in its manufacture would not have been recorded if they were paid out of the college chest. Hence the likelihood is that MS 178 privately commissioned. There are no marginalia within the manuscript which hint at its donorship or authorship. But there is enough evidence within the choirbook to give some clues as to when it was compiled, how the work progressed and, perhaps, why it was begun in the first instance. It is a highly organized

manuscript, layered according to repertory type and vocal range, and indexed twice. It has previously been regarded as a monolith, copied from cover to cover according to a pre-ordained format. Changes in scribal method suggest that it was in fact copied in stages, and was begun at what is now gathering g, perhaps as a fair copy of the choir's stock of *Salve regina* settings. After four or five gatherings had been finished, after the scribe had copied the large-scale antiphons which are now at the front of the choirbook, the project then mothballed into the 'great ledger', incorporating either the bulk or the totality of the choir's polyphonic repertory for the evening offices. As the project grew in scale and ambition, higher production values were used: batch-ruled gatherings were prepared in advance, pricking and ruling methods systematized, notational and textual penmanship rationalized, and higher quality limning used (strap-work cadels giving way to painted initials, and blue-on-red initials used for second and third openings of each piece). However pre-planned the manuscript appears, it would not appear that it was mapped out in detail before the copying process took place. The motives behind its compilation have therefore to be conjectured in new light. The received hypothesis is that MS 178 was a pre-planned anthology of contemporary polyphony, garnered from the four corners of the realm, involving the commissioning of compositions from various composers. In fact, there is no reason to assume that most (perhaps all) of the repertory contained in MS 178 was not already available at Eton, and that MS 178 was intended to be a fair copy, more fitting the solemnity and splendour of its environment than the assorted rolls and books which had hitherto been used. The traditional dating of the manuscript has been 1490-1502. For a number of reasons, it is unlikely to have been begun before around 1500, and was probably finished in 1504 or 1505. This new dating

helps to narrow down the field of possible donors: we can reject Hugh Fraunce, a fellow who left Eton in Michaelmas Term 1499, perhaps in favour of Walter Smythe, one-time sacrist of Magdalen College, Oxford. Smythe served as precentor during most of the years he held a fellowship at Eton (1492-9, 1502-15; from 1515 to 1525, he was vice-provost), and who left books of polyphony to the college on his death in 1525.

Given the lack of allusions to MS 178 within the archives, the context in which it was used assumes added importance in determining when and why it was compiled. This context is considered in Chapter Four. There can be little doubt but that it was written for use at Eton: compositions by Robert Wylkynson, *informator choristarum* from 1500, are present in all layers of the manuscript. The presence of a codex containing such demanding repertory seems at odds with the evidence that survives of the choir which use it, especially as the most elaborate polyphony, of nine and thirteen parts, was written at Eton. The 1490s and 1500s were years of stability, with a slow turnover of singers, and therefore a propitious time for the choirbook's copying. But there were seldom more than seven clerks at any one time, and it is likely that at least one of those seven was a non-musician. Unless the five or six singer-clerks were supplemented, the performing ensemble would have been small. It is therefore likely that others joined in the singing of the antiphons. Some of the chaplains may have joined the chorus. Occasionally, chaplains were paid for playing the organ, copying music or teaching the choristers. But there is no evidence that the chaplains were expected to act as singers *en bloc*. Similarly, a few of the fellows are known to have been singers, as they either owned books of polyphony or were composers. A large pool of trained singers was available among the scholars, some of whom had been choristers

at Eton, St George's, Windsor, or (in larger numbers) King's College, Cambridge. Performance of polyphony and participation in the Marian devotions, entrusted in the statutes to a very small minority within college, may thus have been rather more widespread than is implied in either the statutes or in the earliest surviving school timetables. A small minority of the scholars became professional musicians after they left Eton; it might have been at Eton that they first began their musical careers. Walter Lambe and, perhaps, John Browne, were admitted to Eton as scholars in 1467, when the choir was at its most threadbare. It was perhaps at that time that the expedient was adopted of employing musical scholars as part-time singers in the chapel, an experiment which became standard practice and was used to good effect by Robert Wylkynson in his nine-part *Salve regina* and thirteen-part *Credo/Jesus autem transiens*.

The present binding of MS 178 dates from the middle of the sixteenth century; there are also mid-sixteenth-century marginalia within the manuscript. The implication is that MS 178 was restored to use during the Marian restoration during the mid 1550s. By then, it would have been fifty years old, some of its repertory another ten or twenty years older. At which point it had fallen out of use is not known, but can be approximated from contextual evidence, such as the amount of new polyphony copied during the 1530s and 1540s. Although many leaves disappeared before the mid-late sixteenth century, no effort seems to have been made to destroy or deface it, unless damaged leaves were removed when it was rebound. Perhaps this was because, by the time it had become

theologically and liturgically unacceptable, between 1548/9 and 1553, it had been lying neglected and forgotten in the chest on the rood loft for a number of years. Under Edward VI, library books were sold for scrap to a Cambridge binder. From the number of liturgical books which had to be bought after the restoration of Catholicism, we know that most or all of the antiphoners, graduals, missals, breviaries, lectionaries and other books had been sold or destroyed during the early 1550s. The most plausible reason for the survival of MS 178 was that it had been put away and forgotten about, only to be found in 1553/4, when the rood loft and sacristy were combed for books of Salisbury Use. Finding a large book of liturgical polyphony, albeit outdated, the choir made do with MS 178 until more suitable music could be found and copied. Prominent among the lost leaves were those containing Magnificat settings. Perhaps these were lost because the choirbook, lying face-down in the chest, had been plundered piecemeal (the Magnificats are at the back of the manuscript). Perhaps the gatherings containing the Magnificats simply dropped out as the original binding weakened with age; most of the losses are of whole gatherings or bifolia, rather than single leaves forcibly removed. But the manuscripts may have been extracted for continued use under Henry VIII, and the votive antiphons, stylistically and liturgically outmoded, had been discarded.

There are eleven appendices containing material relating to the text. Appendix A is a comprehensive transcription of the suffrages said daily, including the evening devotions during which the votive antiphon was sung. It follows the order of article thirty of the statutes, each clause being given a number in the transcription. All the orisons, of which only the first lines appear in the statutes, have been identified and are presented complete. Appendix B is an abbreviated transcript of the thirty-first article, which

outlines the daily liturgical *cursus*, including the rota of votive Masses. Appendix C, the biographical register, is frequently referred to in the main text; here, clerks, choristers, chaplains, and selected scholars and fellows are listed alphabetically under three headings, with known biographical information outlined. In Appendix D, the career of John Browne is considered. Appendix E is a yearlist of clerks, chaplains and choristers. In Appendix F, college officers - the vice-provost, the two bursars, the precentor and the succentor - are listed by year; the aim is not to give biographical information, but to illustrate the alternation of offices between fellows. Appendix G is a summary of income and expenditure on commons, stipends of chaplains and clerks and the monies spent on maintaining the fabric and running of the chapel. Six wills from the college registers, two including bequests of music, are included in Appendix H, either as transcriptions or as selected extracts.

Some unavoidable omissions

Given the contextual nature of this study, comparison needs to be made with other, similar, institutions. These have included King's College, Cambridge, Magdalen College and New College, Oxford, Winchester College, Fotheringhay College, Tattershall College, Arundel College and St George's, Windsor. The Lady chapel choirs of monastic and secular cathedrals have not been studied in detail. The histories of the older foundations have been examined extensively in earlier studies, particularly Roger Bowers's pioneering thesis, 'Choral Institutions Within the English Church: Their

Constitution and Development, 1340-1500' (Ph.D. thesis, University of East Anglia, 1975). Given that the thesis centres around Eton College, it has been practical to study only those institutions which were constitutionally similar to it. Lay clerks migrated from Eton to other institutions, which included both secular colleges and monastic and cathedral foundations; the biographical register cannot therefore be considered as exhaustive. A definitive prosopography would have needed many years' work in every institutional and county archive in England, Wales and, possibly, Scotland.

I have not attempted to discuss or analyse the music of MS 178 in detail. I had originally intended to devote at least one chapter to matters of compositional technique, structure, and chronology, but it gradually became apparent this was beyond the scope of the thesis. Despite the discovery of a number of scraps and fragments of mid-late-fifteenth-century polyphony, the origins of the 'Eton style' remain a vexed question. The issues demand a thorough examination, which would require a whole thesis (at least) and not one or two chapters.

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CHAPTER ONE

HISTORY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

1.1: HENRY VI AS KING AND FOUNDER

On 11 October 1440, letters patent were issued at Sheen palace in the name of the young King Henry VI founding a college of priests at Eton.¹ The college was to consist of a provost, ten priests, four clerks, six choristers, twenty-five poor scholars, a schoolmaster, and twenty-five poor and infirm men. The letters patent put on a legal footing a project which had begun in August 1440, when land had been purchased in Eton; on 12 September, the intention to establish a college at Eton had been publicly expressed.² The site, a small town near the royal residence at Windsor Castle, was carefully chosen. The parish church, which was to become the chapel of the new royal college, was dedicated to the Assumption of the BVM: by bringing distinction upon the church and its dedicatee, Henry and his advisers simultaneously celebrated his own assumption of majority rule in the late 1430s. The college was thus a deliberately conspicuous expression of Lancastrian piety; Eton College, and its twin foundation, King's College, Cambridge, were the only lasting achievements of a reign otherwise marked by failure abroad and dissent at home, culminating in

¹ G. Williams (ed.), *Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton* (Rolls Series, London, 1872), 2, pp.279-85.

² B. Wolffe, *Henry VI* (London, 1981), pp.133-4.

the king's deposition in 1461.

Throughout most of his life and for half a century after, Henry VI was the subject of polemic and propaganda; yet, until comparatively recently, he remained 'the most shadowy figure of all England's post-Conquest kings'.³ As he himself was the prisoner of his father's legacy, so his historians have been in thrall to the writings of his early-Tudor hagiographers, John Rous, John Blacman, Polydore Vergil and Sir Thomas More. John Blacman, perhaps his most ardent hagiographer, was - appropriately - a fellow and precentor of Eton; it was he who, probably at the prompting of the neo-Lancastrian Henry Tudor, transformed the genuinely popular posthumous devotion to Henry VI into the full-blown 'myth of the royal saint'.⁴

The one consistent theme which has permeated all appraisals of Henry has been his unworldliness. To his Tudor biographers, this was clear evidence of his saintliness; in current historiography, perhaps not surprisingly, the same evidence has been turned against Henry, signifying ineffectual administration, divisive statecraft and plain incompetence. In contrast with his decisive and chivalrous father,

Henry presided over the liquidation of our first overseas empire and by his policies provoked the first significant revolt among his English subjects for three-quarters of a century.⁵

Lyte wrote his history of Eton during the late nineteenth century, from a Victorian

³ B. Wolffe, *Henry VI* (London, 1981), p.3.

⁴ Wolffe, *Henry VI*, p.5; see M. R. James (ed.), *Henry the Sixth: a reprint of John Blacman's Memoir* (Cambridge, 1919).

⁵ Wolffe, *Henry VI*, p.15.

viewpoint: to him, Eton and King's Colleges were part of a tide of anti-monasticism, which began in the fourteenth century and led inexorably to the dissolution in the 1530s, and founded after the Wykehamist models to educate an officer class, fit to administer church, state - and, ultimately, empire.⁶ To Wolffe, Eton College and King's College, Cambridge, were the products of Henry's personal and ostentatious, if conventional, piety, a vainglorious but deleteriously-executed commemoration by Henry of his assumption of majority rule in 1437;⁷ the colleges were Henry's pet projects, the saving grace of an otherwise dreadful government, '...the only great achievements of his reign'.⁸

More recently, Henry's reputation has suffered further, the motivation behind the foundation of Eton and King's Colleges being attributed not to his personal piety but to the corporate commitment of his courtiers to bolster the prestige and manifest the public piety of the Lancastrian monarchy. In a recent dissertation, Henry's role has been portrayed as that of a mere cipher: the primary motivation behind the foundations was the desire of the Earl of Suffolk, William de la Pole, to strengthen his grip on the royal household by creating a coalition of interest in the two institutions, in the process generating a consensus in his favour among the principal courtiers.⁹ This theory has been modified in another thesis, in which the initiative is

⁶ See H. C. M. Lyte, *History of Eton College (1440-1910)*, 4th edn (London, 1911), pp.1f.

⁷ Wolffe, *Henry VI*, p.135.

⁸ Wolffe, *Henry VI*, p.145.

⁹ J. Watts, 'Domestic Politics and the Constitution in the Reign of Henry VI, c.1435-61' (Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge University, 1990), pp.217-8; the enlargement of the college in 1443, according to Watts, was a result of household officers moving into key positions of state.

credited to a wider group, though not to Henry himself;¹⁰

The king's piety is traditionally held responsible as the motivation behind the royal foundations, but it is clear that neither the king's piety, nor perhaps the king himself, lay at the heart of the matter.¹¹

While Henry may have been involved - he initialled many of the plans - Katherine Selway maintains that the primary motivation was the need to enhance the dignity of the Lancastrian monarchy; far from being a private, personal endeavour, Eton and King's were very public, visible manifestations of Lancastrian piety, part of a public relations campaign which had begun after the deposition of Richard II in 1399.

Henry's coronations as king of England (6 November 1429) and France (2 December 1431) were show-pieces of propaganda designed to affirm and enhance the dignity and, above all, legitimacy of the Lancastrian regime. Henry's emergence into majority rule demanded a suitably conspicuous act to mark the transition from conciliar to personal rule, and to set the tone for his reign as a whole.¹² Henry V had set about the foundation of Syon and Sheen, a Bridgettine nunnery and a Carthusian house within sight of the newly-revived Sheen palace, almost as soon as he ascended the throne, perhaps following through a plan hatched during the previous reign.¹³

¹⁰ K. E. Selway, 'The Role of Eton College and King's College, Cambridge, in the Polity of the Lancastrian Monarchy' (D.Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 1994).

¹¹ Selway, 'The Role of Eton', p.66.

¹² Selway, 'The Role of Eton', p.103.

¹³ W. N. M. Beckett, 'Sheen Charterhouse from its foundation to its dissolution' (D.Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 1992), p.10.

In their proximity to a royal residence (in breach of Bridgettine and Carthusian practice), in their chantry function, in their endowment with the estates of alien priories confiscated in 1378, and in their ambitious scale, Sheen and Syon afforded ideal precedents to those involved in the foundation of the royal colleges. Sheen was:

...the most ambitious monastic foundation attempted by an English king, and one designed to place the monarchy at the spiritual centre of English life.¹⁴

Exactly the same criteria applied to Eton and King's Colleges. Like Eton and King's, Henry V's foundations were endowed with lands previously belonging to French abbeys, which had been confiscated after the expulsion of alien cells in 1378. Winchester and Fotheringhay Colleges, too, had been funded through the expropriation of these lands; parliament had recognised this form of endowment when it specifically exempted the lands earmarked by Edward, Duke of York, for Fotheringhay.¹⁵ In 1437, similar confiscated estates assigned to Queen Joan of Navarre returned to the crown on her death; these estates, together with possessions still in royal hands or enfeoffed to royal servants, were a potential source of tensions at the council of Basle.¹⁶ The opportunity to put these funds to pious uses and, more importantly, the need to be seen to be doing so was a motivating, rather than an enabling, factor.¹⁷ The means willed the end.

¹⁴ Beckett, 'Sheen Charterhouse', p.10.

¹⁵ Selway, 'The Role of Eton', p.15.

¹⁶ Selway, 'The Role of Eton', p.21.

¹⁷ Selway, 'The Role of Eton', p.23.

1.2: ETON COLLEGE WITHIN THE TRADITION OF ROYAL FOUNDATIONS

Eton College stemmed from a long tradition of royal foundations. Edward the Confessor's Westminster Abbey, royal *ab initio*, was rebuilt by Henry III in 1245, partly to emulate similar exploits by the Capetian kings of France, but also to replace Fontevrault as a royal mausoleum; Edward I's Eleanor Crosses (1291), ostensibly a personal statement of grief for the dead queen, also served to mirror the crosses which marked the funeral procession of St Louis from Paris to St Denis; Edward III's refoundation of St Stephen's, Westminster, was the Plantagenet riposte to the Sainte Chapelle in Paris; the same king's works at St George's, Windsor (like Henry V's at Sheen, combined with the revitalization of a royal residence) provided a religious core for the Order of the Garter.¹⁸

As precedents for the foundations of the 1440s, these older royal works were diverse in constitution and purpose. William Wykeham, and other late-medieval episcopal founders, perceived a need (for educational establishments) and proceeded to meet the demand (by founding colleges); conversely, Henry VI's advisers saw a need to found a religious institution before they had defined its purpose (beyond the

¹⁸ Selway, 'The Role of Eton', p.23; see also H. M. Colvin, R. Allen Brown and A. J. Taylor, *The History of the King's Works*, 2 (London, 1963), pp. 870-82, 998-1000 for the chronologies of the works at Windsor and Sheen.

enhancement of Lancastrian prestige). Henry V's foundations at Sheen and Syon (as well as his abortive scheme for a Celestine house) were clearly borne out of his own ascetic piety as well as the desire to entrench the spiritual standing of the house of Lancaster. Even Henry V had run into problems: building work on his houses had been begun before the negotiations with the Bridgettine and Carthusian orders had been concluded, necessitating partial demolition and reconstruction in order for them to conform; his desire for daily obits similarly conflicted with the requirements of the orders; and the French houses, whose one-time possessions were to endow the new foundations, had to be appeased before the Grande Chartreuse could assent.¹⁹ It was perhaps because of the difficulties encountered by Henry V in negotiating with foreign parent-houses that his son's advisers opted for a secular, rather than a monastic, institution. This would more easily enable the founder(s) to dictate the constitution and purpose of the foundation, as well as to meet the requirements for a chantry:

Eton College was originally intended as a Lancastrian chantry or prayer house having more in common with Sheen or Syon than with establishments like Winchester College.²⁰

The educational element of Eton was absent from the original scheme, and was almost certainly the fruit of Thomas Bekynton's and William Waynflete's influence on the king;²¹ but the original scheme hardly resembled Sheen and Syon. As dukes of Lancaster, Henry VI's ancestors had been involved in the College of St Mary-in-

¹⁹ Beckett, 'Sheen Charterhouse', pp.63, 77.

²⁰ Selway, 'The Role of Eton', p.6.

²¹ Selway, 'The Role of Eton', pp.80-98, 232-42.

the-Newark, Leicester, founded as a hospital in 1330 and converted into a college of secular canons in 1354.²² It was this kind of aristocratic/dynastic collegiate foundation that Eton College first resembled. Perhaps more closely, it mirrored the Fitzalans' college at Arundel, Thomas Beauchamp's college at Warwick, or Edward, Duke of York's Fotheringhay, all located within sight of their founders' principal residences (together with a number of smaller colleges, like Pleshey), serving as chantry and mausoleum.²³ To these could be added the episcopal foundations: Bishop Grandison's collegiate church at Ottery St Mary, Archbishop William Courtenay's Maidstone College (1395) and Chichele's Higham Ferrers (1422). The initial constitution of Eton College - provost, ten priest-fellows, four clerks, six choristers, twenty-five scholars (plus schoolmaster) and twenty-five bedesmen - represented an amalgam of functions - chantry, school and almshouse - which were derived from these older collegiate foundations. The charitable element, which was to be reduced (from twenty-five paupers to thirteen), was an echo of the earlier Lancastrian hospital at Leicester, where provision had been made for the maintenance of one hundred poor men and ten poor women;²⁴ equally, it mirrored Henry V's concern for charity as manifested at Sheen, where the monastery's annual surplus was to be given in alms annually on All Souls' day.²⁵

²² Selway, 'The Role of Eton', p.35.

²³ See M. W. Thompson, 'Associated Monasteries and Castles in the Middle Ages: A Tentative List', *The Archaeological Journal*, 143 (1986), pp.305-21, especially pp.318-21; Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', pp.4011, 4014-20.

²⁴ Selway, 'The Role of Eton', p.35.

²⁵ Becket, 'Sheen Charterhouse', p.74.

1.3: REVISIONS AND ENLARGEMENTS

The translation of Eton College from concept to reality was difficult: either because of the personal whim of the king or – as has been most recently argued – because the scope and role of the project changed according to the priorities of whoever had the king's ear.²⁶ The half-completed college which was left on Henry VI's downfall in 1461 was fundamentally different from the modest, mixed-purpose, chantry college originally envisaged in the early 1440s: in its constitution, its objectives, and its physical fabric. In examining the constitution of the college, and in assessing the role of the chapel and its staff within it, it is necessary to account for the changes of plan which dogged the project during its first ten years: how influential was the Wykehamist model, and William Waynflete who was probably responsible for its adoption? Did the chantry role (and that of the *Opus Dei* in general) dwindle as more emphasis was placed upon the college's educational function?

The available evidence suggests that the decision to expand the college was taken in two stages: in the mid to late 1440s the constitution was brought into line with that of Winchester College, transforming the modest, multi-purpose chantry college into a large-scale, primarily educational, foundation of seventy scholars (the statutes being amended simultaneously or soon after); a radical physical expansion of the college began in 1448 or thereabouts, entailing the demolition of the near-complete chapel. Documentary evidence of these stages of revision and enlargement

²⁶ See above, pp.25-8

exists in three forms: records of payments for newly-recruited personnel, which began to take effect in 1446-7;²⁷ building accounts, including the various plans and instructions still extant in the college archives; and the statutes, issued in their final form was settled after 1447, but which had been substantively established beforehand.

1.3.1: the adoption of the Wykehamist foundations as exemplars

One of the most important features of Lyte's historiography of Eton College was the significance he attached to Winchester and New College, Oxford, as models for Eton and King's.²⁸ Evidence for an exemplary role of the earlier, Wykehamist, colleges is considerable: Henry VI visited Winchester College more than once during the initial stages of Eton's foundation (for instance, in August 1441); William Waynflete, headmaster of Winchester, was employed at Eton, as provost from March 1442 (it has been presumed, to organize the education at Eton along Wykehamist lines); a network of old Wykehamists was presumed to have been at work in the foundation of Eton and King's; some thirty-five Winchester scholars was believed to have migrated to Eton in the early 1440s; the design of the chapel at Eton (as begun anew in the late 1440s) was conspicuously compared with that of New College, Oxford; and the *Amicabilis Concordia* of 1444 bound all four colleges – Winchester,

²⁷ See below, pp.149-56.

²⁸ Lyte, *History*, pp.2-4.

New College, Eton and King's – into a pact of mutual legal interest.²⁹ Doubt has been cast on this hypothesis: it was not until the Autumn of 1443 that Eton and King's were conjoined along Wykehamist lines (and hence the Wykehamist model was not a motive for the foundation of Eton or King's); the influence of Wykeham's foundations was minimal elsewhere, All Souls College, for instance, having a markedly dissimilar constitution; it was the influence of William Waynflete and of his practical experience as a schoolmaster which resulted in the absorption of the Wykehamist model, rather than a conscious *a priori* desire to replicate Winchester and New College.³⁰ In fact, the influence of Winchester College and New College, Oxford, was seminal, and increased. Architecturally, constitutionally and practically, Eton was indebted to Winchester, and it is necessary to examine in detail the processes whereby Winchester came to be adopted as a model.

It was not until the late summer of 1443 that the hitherto separate foundations – Eton College and King's College, Cambridge – were formally conjoined along the Wykehamist model; on 13 September, Suffolk, Bekynton, Bishop John Carpenter and Richard Andrew, the king's secretary, met at Eton with the foundation fellows to determine the union between Eton and King's.³¹ This meeting was no doubt the fruit of plans which had been in the making for some weeks or months. Seven months after Henry VI visited Winchester College in August 1441, William Waynflete, the headmaster at Winchester, was appointed provost of Eton; the subsequent changes of

²⁹ As summarized in Selway, 'The Role of Eton', pp.223-4.

³⁰ Selway, 'The Role of Eton', pp.224-9, 232f.

³¹ Selway, 'The Role of Eton', p.226.

plan, the increase in the number of scholars and, probably, the union with the university college can probably be attributed to Waynflete, whose experience as a schoolmaster may have been instrumental in his promotion.³² Appointed executor by Henry VI in his `Will' of 1448, Waynflete (and John Chedworth, Bishop of Lincoln) were entitled to amend the statutes of Eton as they saw fit;³³ in fact, the statutes issued in 1443, which Waynflete helped to produce, were essentially the same as Wykeham's earlier statutes. As an executor of Ralph Cromwell, and in his own right, Waynflete was also responsible for the compilation of statutes for Tattershall College, in 1469/70, and Magdalen College, Oxford.³⁴ Selway argues that, under Waynflete's auspices, the statutes of 1443 reflect '...the growth of the educational concept of the foundation and the simultaneous decline of the bedesmen/chantry element'.³⁵ In fact, only the number of bedesmen was reduced (from twenty-five, equal to the number of scholars, to thirteen). Neither absolutely nor relatively was the (quite separate) chantry role reduced under Waynflete's influence. Members of foundation, scholars included, participated in numerous daily prayers on behalf of the king and his family;³⁶ a far greater number of intercessory prayers were prescribed at Eton than had been in the equivalent article of the Winchester statutes. During the mid 1440s, when the number of scholars was being

³² Selway, 'The Role of Eton', pp.232-242.

³³ Selway, 'The Role of Eton', pp.235-6.

³⁴ Selway, 'The Role of Eton', p.241; Selway attributes the addition of provisions for a grammar master at Tattershall (not present in Cromwell's earlier draft statutes) to Waynflete's influence.

³⁵ Selway, 'The Role of Eton', p.228.

³⁶ See below, pp.64-86, 357-71.

increased, the chapel staff also expanded from ten (four clerks and six choristers) to thirty-six (ten chaplains, ten clerks and sixteen choristers).³⁷ This expansion took place before the decision was taken to rebuild the chapel into a great minster (and was therefore not a consequence of it); thus, even though the number of specialist singers employed remained largely the same, the total number increased nearly 300% - proportionately more than the number of scholars did. The chapel staff was therefore a key component in the college's constitution even after the decision to expand the school; indeed, should the college's income decline drastically, Henry stipulated that, whatever economies were made, eight choristers and four clerks (one of them to be the organist) must remain, even if the school should close.³⁸ The fellows, chaplains, clerks and choristers formed the core of the greater foundation; of this core, only one chaplain-conduct remains today.

1.3.2: The chronology of the statutes

The transformation of Eton College from modest chantry into large-scale neo-Wykehamist college was largely effected by the time the first extant set of statutes was drawn up. There exist two sets of statutes: the *Liber Originalis (LO)* of which several copies survive, which was the text edited by Heywood and Wright and

³⁷ These totals do not include the fellows, whose role may initially have been to staff the chapel as well as administrate the college (see below, p.43).

³⁸ ECR 58 (statutes, transl. & ed. Noel Blakiston), p.197 (Statute 64, *addendum*).

translated by Noel Blakiston, and which became the definitive code;³⁹ and a set which antedates the *LO*, rediscovered in 1975 at St John's College, Cambridge, and returned to Eton.⁴⁰

The *LO* was dated by Heywood and Wright at 1444 and by Blakiston at 1447. In substance, the code as exemplified in the *LO* was almost certainly compiled by 1447, but finalized and written up in the late 1440s. In statute 31, provision is made for the obits and anniversaries of William Waynflete, described as 'Willelmi Wintoniensis episcopi nuper præpositi nostri Regalis Collegii'.⁴¹ Waynflete was consecrated bishop of Winchester at Eton on 13 July 1447, and was succeeded as provost by John Clerk (who died in November, to be succeeded in turn by William Westbury:⁴² this clause of the statutes cannot have been devised before the summer of 1447. Somewhat surprisingly, scant mention is made, even in the final statutes, of Margaret of Anjou, who married Henry VI at Titchfield Abbey on 23 April 1445 and was crowned Queen at Westminster on 30 May following. In statute 31, numerous references are made to Henry VI and to his parents, Henry V and Katherine of Valois, whose memories were to be celebrated during the founder's lifetime.⁴³ Only towards the end of statute 31 is mention made of Queen Margaret, 'our most

³⁹ ECR 60/1a (*Liber Originalis*); see also ECR 60/2 (the Vice-Provost's Book, a working copy) and ECR 60/11 (a mid-fifteenth-century copy of the *Liber Originalis*); J. Heywood and T. Wright, *Ancient Laws of the Fifteenth Century for King's College, Cambridge, and for public school of Eton College* (London, 1850); N. Blakiston, 'The College Statutes' (ECR 58, Eton, 1973).

⁴⁰ ECL, MS 300. Like MS 231 (bursary accounts, 1471-5), MS 300 is catalogued anomalously, as part of the college collection rather than as an archive.

⁴¹ 'William, bishop of Winchester, previously provost of our Royal College'; H & W, pp.568.

⁴² Lyte, *History*, p.31.

⁴³ H & W, pp.562, 263, 266-7.

esteemed consort'.⁴⁴ This clause deals with the arrangements for her obit, which was to be held annually on the day of her death (or soon after). The following clause is the one which covers the arrangements for Waynflete's obit (and in which he is referred to as bishop and one-time provost). The proximity of these two clauses, coupled with Margaret's conspicuous absence from most of the statutes, suggests that this part of article 31 was added as an afterthought to the body of the statutes, which had been finalized in substance by the middle of 1445. Only this or careless indifference to the Queen can account for her absence from the statutes as a whole.

The earlier, incomplete, code of statutes (MS 300) represents a mid-way point in the college's transformation, and was probably drawn up around 1444. It is written in a neat cursive hand, which was also responsible for numerous annotations which at various points fill the entire margin. It was foliated in red by the same scribe, who left spaces at the head of each clause for illuminations (which were never inserted). Although the script is not of the highest quality, the fact that spaces were left for illuminations suggests that, at the time of writing, this was considered more than a rough draft. But, with the addition of a large number of marginal notes, combined with cancellation of the original text, what had been envisaged as a settled code of statutes was amended beyond recognition. The glosses can be dated with some certainty, as, in the marginal notes on f.27^v, William Waynflete is described as 'nuper prepositus': the notes (or, at least, this part of them) cannot have been written before Waynflete's elevation to the bishopric of Winchester in the summer of 1447. The date of the main body of the text is less easy to determine, but almost certainly

⁴⁴ H & W, pp.567-8.

post-dated the arrival of Waynflete as provost in 1443: although the layout differs markedly from that of the Winchester statutes (and from the final version of the Eton statutes), there is enough in common between MS 300 and the Wykehamist code to suggest that the influence of Winchester (and Waynflete) was already at work.⁴⁵ More significant is the presence of what became articles four and five of the final statutes, which obliged Eton and King's Colleges to assist each other in legal disputes, and made provision for the exclusive election of scholars from Eton to King's: it was in September 1443 that the conjunction of the two colleges was effected.⁴⁶ The autumn of 1443 is thus the earliest possible date for the original text of MS 300, which may, in fact, have been written during the following year, in response to the decisions taken late in 1443.

Three codes of statutes – *LO*, MS 300 and Wykeham's statutes for Winchester College – are tabulated overleaf (Figure 1.1). A comparison of the three codes clearly illustrates the similarity of *LO* with the Winchester statutes, as well as the role of MS 300. Most conspicuous, perhaps, is the correspondence of order between *LO* and the Winchester statutes; although most of the clauses in *LO* had already been present in MS 300, their re-arrangement in *LO* was clearly indebted to Wykeham's example.

⁴⁵ See below, pp. 39-41, for a tabular comparison of the three codes of statutes (the *LO*, MS 300 and Winchester College statutes).

⁴⁶ Selway, 'The Role of Eton', p.226.

Figure 1.1: Chapter headings in the final statutes (*Liber Originalis*), the intermediate statutes (MS 300), and the statutes of Winchester College (WC)

| number and position in <i>Liber Originalis</i> | position in MS 300 | position in WC |
|---|-----------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Intention and plan of founder | | (1) |
| 2. The total number of scholars, clerks, priests and other persons in the same | | 2 |
| 3. Who and of what sort are to be elected scholars | 8 | 3 |
| 4. The annual election of scholars to Eton and King's College, Cambridge | 9 | 4 |
| 5. That the colleges are to help one another in disputes | 10 | |
| 6. The scholars' oath on their fifteenth birthday | 11 | 6 |
| 7. The election and oath of the provost | | 7 |
| 8. The office of provost | | 8 |
| 9. The election and oaths of fellows | 5 | 9 |
| 10. The number, stipends and duties of chaplains, clerks and choristers | (6) | |
| 11. The obedience of fellows, chaplains and clerks to the provost | 1 | 10 |
| 12. The vice-provost, precentor and sacristan, their offices and oaths | 2 | 11 |
| 13. The bursars and their office | 3 | 12 |
| 14. The schoolmaster, the usher and their oaths | 4 | 13 |
| 15. Weekly commons | 12 | 14 |

| | | |
|--|-----|----|
| 16. Sitting at table and reading from the Bible at meals | 13 | 15 |
| 17. Of not lingering in hall after meals | 14 | 16 |
| 18. Of not bringing in outsiders at the college's expense | 15 | 17 |
| 19. Prohibition of absence without leave, of bearing of arms and of rough games | 16 | 18 |
| 20. Permissible expenses of fellows while going about on college business | | 19 |
| 21. Prohibition of slanderers, gossips and whisperers | | 20 |
| 22. Corrections of minor offences | 23 | 21 |
| 23. Care of sick members of college | 28 | 22 |
| 24. Ejection of the provost | 24 | 23 |
| 25. Retirement of fellows | 25 | 24 |
| 26. Expulsion of scholars and choristers | 26 | 25 |
| 27. Expulsion of fellows | 27 | 26 |
| 28. The portions of provost, fellows, <i>et alia</i> | (7) | 27 |
| 29. Annual allowances for livery | 16 | 28 |
| 30. Prayers to be said daily for the founder | 19 | 29 |
| 31. The saying of Masses, Matins and other canonical hours in the collegiate church, and the order of standing | 18 | 30 |
| 32. The keeping of silence in chapel | 20 | 31 |

| | | |
|--|------------------|---|
| 33. The provost to have fellows' consent in major decisions | 21 | 32 |
| 34. The college's manors, possessions and advowsons | 22 | 33 |
| 35. The seal, chests and inventory | 31 | 34 |
| 36. The disposition of rooms | | 35 |
| 37. The repair of chapel, hall, and other college buildings | 32 | 36 |
| 38. College servants (no women) | 34 | |
| 39. The rendering of accounts and surveys | 35 | 37 |
| 40. The auditors to report to the fellows | 36 | 38 |
| 41. The return of keys to the provost by the bursars after they compile the accounts | 37 | 39 |
| 42. The making and keeping of indentures | 38 | 40 |
| 43. Thrice-yearly chapters and readings of the statutes | 33 | 41 |
| 44. The keeping of books | 29 | 42 |
| 45. The custody of the statutes | 30 | 43 |
| 46. Prohibition of boisterous or disorderly behaviour in chapel, hall, etc. | | 44 |
| 47. That there be no favouritism | | 45 |
| 48. Curfew and the exclusion of women | 39 | 46 |
| <i>et cetera</i> | <i>et cetera</i> | <hr/> <i>Finis et conclusio omnium statutorum</i> |

According to Lyte, the decision to expand the college was taken in the autumn of 1443, after Waynflete's arrival as provost.⁴⁷ This expansion brought the constitution of Eton College into line with that of Winchester, with the greater number of scholars and reduction in the number of almsmen. The evidence contained in MS 300 suggests that the constitution as codified in the *LO* was not yet settled in the autumn of 1443, and that it was not until 1447 or later that the changes initiated in 1443 were finalized:

| initial constitution (1440) | constitution in MS 300⁴⁸ | final constitution |
|------------------------------------|--|---|
| provost | provost | provost |
| 10 fellows | 10 fellows (6 chaplains) ⁴⁹ | 10 chaplains |
| 4 clerks | 6 clerks (4 <i>generosi</i> + parish clerk + subsacrist) | 10 clerks (4 <i>generosi</i> + parish clerk + vestry clerk + 4 assistants) |
| 6 choristers | 16 choristers | 16 choristers |
| schoolmaster | schoolmaster | schoolmaster |
| | usher | usher |
| 25 scholars | 70 scholars | 70 scholars |
| 25 almsmen | 13 almsmen | 13 almsmen |
| | 20 commensals | 20 commensals |

Although it was to be superseded by the *LO*, MS 300 demonstrates the decisive influence of Winchester College. The most significant differences between Eton, as originally conceived, and Winchester were removed at this intermediate stage: the

⁴⁷ Lyte, *History*, pp.18-19.

⁴⁸ That is, in the main body of the text.

⁴⁹ Only in the additions of *circa* 1447.

choristers were increased in number to sixteen and the scholars to seventy; and the schoolmaster was joined by an usher. Even those aspects of the revised constitution which differed from the Winchester model can be accounted for in light of the Wykehamist model: the provision of chaplains, a body of liturgists distinct from the executive body of fellows, may have been borne of the experience at Winchester, where the dual function of the chaplain-fellows had not been very successful.⁵⁰ The number of clerks, six, was double that provided at Winchester: but this was partly because the dual function of the chapel as collegiate and parish church necessitated the employment of a parish clerk; with the employment of a specialist *informator choristarum* becoming standard, the presence of four specialist singers (rather than the three employed at Winchester) represented merely an interpretation of the Wykehamist model in light of mid-fifteenth-century requirements. Significantly, when MS 300 was first drafted, only three *clerici generosi* were envisaged; in a number of places, the original ‘tres’ has been scratched out or interlined, and ‘quatuor’ written instead.⁵¹ The presence of chaplains, moreover, had not been envisaged when MS 300 was first written: there had originally been no mention of chaplains in MS 300 and, throughout the main body of text, ‘capellani’ was inserted as an afterthought.⁵² Five new chaplains joined the college payroll at Easter 1448:⁵³

⁵⁰ R. Bowers, ‘Choral Institutions within the English Church: Their Constitution and Development, 1340-1500’ (Ph.D. thesis, University of East Anglia, 1975), pp.4013-14.

⁵¹ For instance: f.15 (original foliation), under *Qui et quales sunt in clericos dicti nostri Collegii assumendi et de eorum stipendiis*.

⁵² For instance: f.22v (original foliation), under *De modo sedendi in mensis et lectura biblie [ac de senescallo aule, cancelled]*: ‘(I)tem statuimus et ordinamus et volumus quod prepositus viceprepositus magister informator presbiteri socii <capellani> hostiarius clerici...’.

either MS 300 was amended in 1447 or early in 1448 and the chaplains recruited in response, or MS 300 was amended in response to events. Either simultaneously or soon after, the substantial additions were made in the margins, including the revised chapel staff of six clerks and six chaplains. Later in 1448 or early in 1449, the king changed his mind again (or it was changed for him by his advisers): in 1448-9, recruitment of clerks and chaplains began afresh, almost certainly in response to another increase in provision from six to ten of each. This was the final upward revision. Whether or not it had been envisaged as a final code of statutes, MS 300 was already groaning with amendments, revisions and glosses, and was scrapped; the *LO* was an engrossment of MS 300 with its additions, together with subsequent changes, reorganized almost entirely according to the Winchester model.⁵⁴ The likeliest date for the *LO*, therefore, is *circa* 1449 or 1450.

The role of MS 300 as an intermediate code of statutes was seminal, as it included a number of provisions which were not derived from the Winchester statutes, and which made their way into the *LO*. One of the most significant of these, at least with regard to the genesis of the Eton choirbook, was that part of statute 30 (according to the *LO* numbering) which outlined the singing of the evening antiphon by the choristers.⁵⁵ This clause is present in the main text of MS 300, and we can thus be confident that it had been considered part of the college's

⁵³ See below, pp.157-62 and 513.

⁵⁴ See Figure 1.1, pp. 39-41 above.

⁵⁵ H & W, pp.555-6.

devotional apparatus from an early stage;⁵⁶ the whole clause was transferred from MS 300 to the *LO* almost *verbatim*. Elsewhere, amendments were made which were subsequently incorporated into the *LO*: the seven daily Masses outlined in the *LO*, for instance, had originally been five in the main body of MS 300, but became seven in the detailed marginal emendation.⁵⁷

The *LO* therefore represents little more than an engrossment and reorganization of the code of statutes as laid out and amended MS 300, with only a small amount of new material; thus some apparent anomalies in the *LO*, such as the absence of Queen Margaret, were probably a result of the piecemeal evolution of the statutes, many of which antedated the king's marriage. Although it was written in the late 1440s, much of the text of the *LO* had been settled long beforehand. The most significant difference between the two codes of statutes was the internal organization; the near-identity of the *LO* with Wykeham's ordering merely reflects the considerable influence that Winchester exerted.

1.3.3: changes to the fabric

If Winchester College became a model for the Eton's constitution, it was New College, Oxford, which was to be the most conspicuous exemplar for its fabric. The development of the college's building works have been discussed at length

⁵⁶ ECL, MS 300, f.31v.

⁵⁷ ECL, MS 300, f.28; H & W, pp.562-4.

elsewhere, and need only to be summarized here.⁵⁸ Little is known of the exact dimensions or layout of the buildings erected during the mid 1440s. The progress of the building works until 1448 can be projected from the materials employed. Thus, it is likely that the domestic ranges were reaching completion by the end of 1443: on 30 November, contracts were drawn up for carpentry work on the east wing and in the cloisters and hall.⁵⁹ Between 1445 and 1447, the old parish church was extensively refitted, despite rapid progress being made on the new chapel.⁶⁰ By 1445-6, the bedeshouse was built and the vice-provost's library and chamber complete; and the hall was in a usable state by 1448-9, stained glass being put up a year later.⁶¹ At this time, the new chapel, probably measuring 103 feet by 32 feet (almost the same dimensions as the choir of New College chapel), was nearing completion.⁶² At this point, in 1448 or 1449, it was decided to demolish much of what had already been built and start afresh on a far greater scale. The near-complete chapel was taken down, and designs prepared for a new one – far larger, and increasing in size with each revision of the plans – for which more substantial foundations were prepared.

It has been argued that the change of plan in 1448/9 was borne of necessity: the

⁵⁸ D. Knoop and G. P. Jones, 'The Building of Eton College', *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, transactions, xlv-xlvi (1934-7), pp.70-117; Selway, 'The Role of Eton', pp.123-42; *HKW*, 2 (London, 1963), pp.279-92.

⁵⁹ Selway, 'The Role of Eton', p.126.

⁶⁰ Selway, 'The Role of Eton', p.126; *HKW*, ii, pp.283-4.

⁶¹ Selway, 'The Role of Eton', pp.126-7

⁶² *HKW*, 2, pp.284-5.

high water-table had undermined the first chapel, which had to be replaced by one built on raised ground, upon surer foundations.⁶³ This may have been the case, but it does not account for the considerable increase in size of the college buildings in general and of the chapel in particular: if structural failure had afflicted the original, smaller, buildings, why the increase in size? It may not have been coincidental that architectural revision so soon followed the final revision of the college's constitution. Arguably, the extension of the college's fabric and the enlargement of its personnel were part and parcel, both symptomatic of the burgeoning scale of the project as a whole. A clear instance of interdependence between the new buildings and the revised statutes was the injunction that the fellows should say Matins and Vespers in the nave of the collegiate church;⁶⁴ this clause is unlikely to have applied to the first design, which does not appear to have included a nave. The increase in the number of chapel staff outlined in the *LO* also reflected the increase in scope from college chapel into the great minster envisaged in 1449.⁶⁵ Thus structural failure was merely a convenient pretext for demolition and rebuilding on a much more ambitious scale, which also allowed for (and corresponded with) another constitutional revision.

Architectural fashion in the mid fifteenth century favoured austerity; Thomas

⁶³ *HKW*, 2, pp.287-8, and Wolffe, *Henry VI*, p.143; this takes into account the dispatch of workmen to Winchester to take soil samples from another riverside site; it may also have been the reason for the prohibition on the use of chalk, brick and the friable Reigate stone used (apparently unsuccessfully) in the first new chapel (*HKW*, 2, p.288).

⁶⁴ *H & W*, p.559.

⁶⁵ In MS 300, provision was made for six chaplains and six clerks (i.e., the four *clerici generosi* plus parish clerk and sacristan); in the *LO*, both chaplains and clerks had been increased in number to ten. See above, pp.37-45.

Elkyn, appointed in 1439 as mason of the Divinity School in Oxford, was given instructions to refrain from ‘frivolous curiosities’, in contrast to the more elaborate work which preceded and followed.⁶⁶ The appointment of Roger Keys as master of works at Eton in 1448 was probably no coincidence: he had been in charge of building All Souls College, Oxford, whose medieval fabric is thoroughly austere.⁶⁷ An understandable desire to build according to current fashions may have underlined Henry’s (or his advisers’) direction to avoid excessively ornate carving; indeed, the caution against excessive ornament in the ‘Avyse’ is perhaps more than coincidentally similar to Thomas Elkin’s instructions. But this does not account for the radical enlargement of the chapel in the ‘Avyse’ of 1448/9, which included plans for an eight-bay nave;⁶⁸ whatever the king’s attitude was in the early 1440s, the title of ECR 39/81, ‘The Kynge’s owne avyse’, strongly bespeaks the king’s personal stamp and his closer interest in the project by the later 1440s. Some enlargement had been envisaged in plans drawn up not long before the ‘Avyse’, but these need not have entailed the demolition, not only of the chapel, but also of most of the domestic ranges already built.⁶⁹ The expansion may have been pushed by the Earl of Suffolk, who exercised a decisive role, but it may also have been at Henry’s instance; most significantly, whoever drew up the intermediate plans and the

⁶⁶ See R. C. H. Davis, ‘The Chronology of Perpendicular Architecture In Oxford’, *Oxoniensia*, 11-12 (1946-7), p.79.

⁶⁷ *HKW*, 2, pp.288-9.

⁶⁸ ECR 39/81.

⁶⁹ ECR 39/71 (7/12 February 1448), 39/74 (1447/8) and 39/78 (12 March 1448: the ‘Will’). See Selway, ‘The Role of Eton’, p.133, where these plans are tabulated.

‘Avyse’, the most ambitious plan of all, took as their yardstick the chapel of New College, Oxford.⁷⁰ These changes of plan represented ‘a thought process in action over a condensed period of time’, occasioned by the necessity (and opportunity) to build afresh.⁷¹ The stated intention was to exceed William Wykeham’s chapel in size and grandeur. Wolffe attributed these revisions and the burgeoning scale of the enterprise to Henry’s personal whim;⁷² but, as an advertisement of Lancastrian piety, the larger collegiate buildings, if completed, would have been unsurpassed.

1.4: ETON AS A ROYAL COLLEGE

In the foundation charter, issued on 11 October 1440, Eton College was referred to as a royal college. It remained royal in name after Henry’s deposition and long after those who succeeded him were, in turn, overthrown by Henry Tudor; in the annual account rolls and in legal transactions, the formula ‘collegium regale’ persisted. To this day, Henry’s Cambridge college has retained its royal nomenclature. What did this mean in practice? The fragility of Eton’s royal status was brought home even before Henry’s deposition. So closely was it associated with a profligate royal household that a number of its endowments were confiscated

⁷⁰ ECR 39/75 and 39/81: according to the ‘Avyse’ the choir was to be 47’ longer, 8’ wider and 20’ higher than that at New College, and the pinnacles to be 10’ higher.

⁷¹ Selway, ‘The Role of Eton’, p.136.

⁷² Wolffe, *Henry VI*, p.142.

under the Resumption Acts of the 1450s.⁷³ The college's temporary dissolution by Edward IV was perhaps a natural consequence of its Lancastrian origins. After rehabilitation with the Yorkist regime, King's College, Cambridge, was patronised generously by Richard III, modestly by Henry VII and also by Henry VIII; after the founder's death, Eton's only effective patron was Bishop William Waynflete, erstwhile provost, who paid for the completion of the chapel and closely supervised the building works.⁷⁴ Its name aside, Eton effectively ceased to be a royal college after the deposition in 1461. Conversely, Fotheringhay College, mausoleum and chantry of the dukes of York, became royal with the accession of its chief living patron to the throne; a year after his usurpation, Edward IV issued a new foundation charter, fifteen years later transferring his father's and brother's remains from Pontefract to the choir at Fotheringhay.⁷⁵ During building works at Fotheringhay Castle in 1478, the fellows of King's gave a bribe of 2s. 6d. to the royal purveyor seeking to impress masons from their own building site:⁷⁶ a college may be royal in name, but it was only royal in fact if it had a living royal patron.

Either with a view to soliciting his favour, or in response to his own prompting, the fellows of Eton wrote to Henry VII on 30 January 1505, undertaking to say daily

⁷³ The fate of Eton College during the 1450s and 1460s is well-known; see Lyte, *History*, pp.61-6; see P. Strong, 'Bursary Account Rolls, 1442-1642' (ECR 61, Eton, 1982), pp.98-110 for a list of the college estates affected by the resumptions of 1450, 1455 and 1461.

⁷⁴ Selway, 'The Role of Eton', pp.154-7, 232-42.

⁷⁵ R. Marks, 'The glazing of Fotheringhay church and college', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 129 (3rd series, 38) (1976), p.81.

⁷⁶ *HKW*, 2, p.650.

suffrages for him.⁷⁷ Among other prayers was one laid down by Henry VI to be said for him during his lifetime:

Quesumus omnipotens et misericors Deus ut rex et fundator
noster Henricus Septimus qui in tua miseracione regni
suscepit gubernacula virtutum.....⁷⁸

Other references in the same letter to ‘Henricus septimus fundator noster’ clearly underline the intention that Henry VI, already celebrated by flattering biographers, was to be cast aside in favour of Henry VII, the reigning king, as the commemorated founder. The college received no special royal favours as a result of the letter; similarly, there is no evidence that Henry continued to be hailed as *fundator* after his death in 1509.⁷⁹ After a visit to King’s on St George’s Day, 1506, Henry did indeed adopt the Cambridge college as his own;⁸⁰ but this was followed by a period of renewed patronage by the Tudors.⁸¹ It had taken twenty-one years for Henry VII’s interest to be re-awakened in King’s (which had previously been a beneficiary of Richard III’s patronage); there is no evidence that Henry ever patronized Eton as a way of underpinning his attempts to get Henry VI canonized. Henry VIII coerced the college into the unfavourable exchange of St James’s Hospital for less valuable

⁷⁷ ECR 60/14 (register 1), pp.95-7.

⁷⁸ ECR 60/14, p.95; see below, Appendix A, p.357, §1.

⁷⁹ ECR 61/AR/F/14 (audit roll, 1504-5, under *Custus forinseci*): ‘Et pro scriptura & le lymnyng libri suffragiorum pro rege’; there is no mention of Henry VII or Elizabeth of York in Malim’s ‘Customary’ of 1560. Lyte (in *History*, p.92) notes that Henry VII dined in hall in October 1505 - at the college’s expense.

⁸⁰ Beckett, ‘Sheen Charterhouse’, p.144.

⁸¹ *HKW*, 3, 1485-1660, 1 (London, 1975), pp.187-195.

estates in 1531;⁸² in 1546, royal commissioners prepared a *valor* of the college, with a view to its dissolution, and it was only by concerted action that Eton, Winchester and the Oxbridge colleges were spared dissolution, and then specifically exempted under the Edwardine Chantries Act.⁸³

None of the surviving documentary evidence suggests that Eton College was conceived as a strategic outpost of the Court or the royal household. Henry VI only nominated the first founder-members;⁸⁴ soon thereafter, Henry allowed the college to be self-governing, electing fellows and scholars, hiring staff and administering its affairs without overt royal interference.⁸⁵ There was probably no need for such an arm of royal patronage. The careers and incomes of the king's servants, not least the members of his chapel, could be furthered by grants of corrodies in other nominally-independent foundations.⁸⁶ The choristers of the royal household chapel, together with children of household staff, esquires, pages and nobility, were taught grammar by a master appointed by the dean of the royal household chapel; by 1526, this

⁸² Lyte, *History*, p.103; ECR 60/298 (lease book 2), ff.6v-7 (dated 5 September, 23 Henry VIII).

⁸³ Lyte, *History*, pp.116-7; A. Kreider, *English Chantries: The Road to Dissolution* (Harvard/London, 1979), pp.181-3, 192.

⁸⁴ G. Williams (ed.), *Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton*, 2 (Rolls Series, London, 1872), 281: Bull of foundation (Pope Eugenius IV), 28 January 1441.

⁸⁵ The right of nomination was transferred by letters patent on 26 January 1446 (A. B. Cobban, *The King's Hall within the University of Cambridge in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1969), p.188).

⁸⁶ For the ecclesiastical preferments of, for example, Henry Abyndon, see Emden, *BRUC*, pp.1-2.

school had become fixed at Westminster.⁸⁷ After their voices broke, or at the age of eighteen, the children of the royal household chapel could be sent to study at Oxford or Cambridge if they had found no suitable position at court.⁸⁸ Failing this, royal authority could intercede on their behalf: when William Bretten's voice broke in 1546, the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield received a letter instructing them to appoint him to a vicar choralship.⁸⁹ The official foundation of King's Hall, Cambridge, in 1337 formalized *ad hoc* arrangements begun by Edward II twenty years earlier for the education of boys from the royal household chapel;⁹⁰ it was the relationship between the grammar school at Court and King's Hall which, Cobban argues, was the inspiration behind William Wykeham's dual foundation of school and college.⁹¹ King's Hall was a royal foundation in every sense: it was exempt from episcopal and archiepiscopal visitations, it acted as an adjunct to the royal household chapel, and it was an instrument of the crown, successive kings retaining exclusive, personal patronage.⁹² The only exception was between during Henry VI's minority in the 1420s and the period, between 1440 and 1462, when the right of nomination was transferred to Eton and King's.⁹³

⁸⁷ Cobban, *The King's Hall*, pp.60-1.

⁸⁸ Cobban, *The King's Hall*, pp.20-1.

⁸⁹ A. Ashbee (ed.), *Records of English Court Music*, 7 (Aldershot, 1993), p.97.

⁹⁰ Cobban, *The King's Hall*, pp.9-10.

⁹¹ Cobban, *The King's Hall*, pp.63-5.

⁹² Cobban, *The King's Hall*, pp.19, 21, 104.

⁹³ Cobban, *The King's Hall*, pp.188-9.

At Eton College, only the provostship seems to have become the gift of the monarch. When Provost Westbury died in 1477, Henry Bost, provost of Queen's College, Oxford, was nominated by Edward IV. Given the college's delicate relations with the Yorkist regime, it could hardly afford to ignore the king's nomination, and Thomas Barker, who had already been elected by the fellows, prudently declined in Bost's favour.⁹⁴ Each of the succeeding provosts until and beyond the Reformation were royal nominees.⁹⁵ An attempt by the fellows to elect Richard Bruerne without prior royal assent in 1561 provoked a conflict with Queen Elizabeth I which led to a visitation, deprivations and the imposition of William Day as provost.⁹⁶ There is no indication that lowlier offices were used as royal sinecures. During the last two decades of the fifteenth century, several choristers of St George's, Windsor, proceeded to scholarships at Eton;⁹⁷ conversely, between 1485 and 1558 there is only one likely instance of a chorister leaving the royal household chapel to become a scholar at Eton.⁹⁸ Likewise, there was minimal overlap of adult personnel between Eton and the royal household chapel: apart from Henry Abyndon only one clerk, William Edmunds, served at both institutions.⁹⁹

⁹⁴ Lyte, *History*, pp.79-80.

⁹⁵ Lyte, *History*, pp.111 (Robert Aldrich, 1535), 126 (Sir Thomas Smith, 1547), 137 (Henry Cole, 1554), 164 (William Bill, 1559).

⁹⁶ Lyte, *History*, pp.166-8.

⁹⁷ See below, Appendix C, pp.496-503, under Bardesey, Chard, Goldyng, Hampshire, Hobbys, Scalon.

⁹⁸ William Saunders, a scholar at Eton, c.1518-24 (W. Sterry, *The Eton College Register 1441-1698* (Eton, 1943) p.295; Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, pp.230-1).

⁹⁹ See below, p.480.

1.5: THE ETON CHOIRBOOK IN MODERN MUSICOLOGY

Eton College was the environment in which MS 178 originated and was used: just as historiographical evaluations of Eton College and its role have changed, so it is necessary to re-examine MS 178 as a product of this environment, both in the light of recent research on Eton College and in its own right as a musical source of prime importance. The approaches taken by music historians have inevitably reflected the preoccupations and the historiographical assumptions of their times: in seeking an English equivalent to the ‘Burgundian School’ of composers; in attributing to Henry VI the role of an ascetic visionary; and in overestimating the importance of Eton College and its choral establishment as a spur to later – probably unrelated – musical developments. As well as the archival data, which has been discussed (and is examined in detail in Chapters Three, Five and Six), it is necessary to rehearse some of the work undertaken to date by musicologists.

Historiographical work on MS 178 has largely preceded musical interest in its repertory since the publication of the first modern scholarship was undertaken in the late nineteenth century. The modern historiography of MS 178 effectively begins with Barclay Squire’s article in *Archaeologia*, ‘On an early Sixteenth Century MS. of English Music in the Library of Eton College’.¹⁰⁰ Originally given as a paper before the Society of Antiquaries, the article largely concerns MS 178 as an artefact, its starting point being M. R. James’s *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Eton College* (Cambridge, 1895). Barclay Squire’s agenda is perhaps best

¹⁰⁰ *Archaeologia*, 56, part 1 (1898), pp.89-102.

represented in his own words:

That this music would sound beautiful to our ears is extremely improbable, and in this respect, if it is fair to judge so large a mass of music from the few numbers which Mr. Stainer and I have scored, the Englishmen were possibly inferior to their Netherlandish contemporaries. But to a musical historian the collection is of infinite value and interest, and it is most sincerely to be wished that some means could be found of scoring and publishing it in modern notation.....it reveals the fact that almost alone in England, during the troubled times at the end of the fifteenth century, a school of native composers was educated and flourished at King Henry's College and its closely allied foundations at Oxford and Cambridge.¹⁰¹

Barclay Squire had heard none of the Eton repertory, except perhaps a few of the pieces which he had score-read; perhaps the first time that the Eton repertory was heard by music historians was on 22 February 1927, when Dom Anselm Hughes gave a paper to the Royal Musical Association.¹⁰² During this paper, the lay clerks of Eton College sang William Cornysh's *Ave Maria* and part of the first polyphonic verse of William Stratford's Magnificat, directed by Henry Ley (precentor of Eton);¹⁰³ the choice of music was clearly dictated by the male-voice choir available. But R. R. Terry, previously choirmaster at Westminster Cathedral, clearly had knowledge of the repertory: he was able to direct attention to the use of coloration in parts of the Stratford Magnificat not sung during the paper;¹⁰⁴ he had also directed Richard Davy's Passion setting within the Tridentine liturgy while he was at

¹⁰¹ Barclay Squire, 'On an early Sixteenth Century MS.', p.102.

¹⁰² Dom A. Hughes, 'The Eton Manuscript', *PRMA*, 53 (1927), pp.67-83.

¹⁰³ Hughes, 'The Eton Manuscript', pp.69, 71.

¹⁰⁴ Hughes, 'The Eton Manuscript', pp.78-9.

Westminster Cathedral.¹⁰⁵ Over and above the Passion's liturgical utility, the likeliest reason for Terry having chosen it was its relative simplicity. Christopher Page argues that it was in the 1920s that the 'English *a cappella* renaissance' began, spearheaded by the Oxbridge collegiate choirs, most notably King's College, Cambridge.¹⁰⁶ That these foundations were Anglican (Page stresses the Protestant roots of the 'renaissance') may account for the absence of the Eton repertory from the collegiate choirs' repertories until very recently, as well as the complexity of the music itself.¹⁰⁷ Frank Harrison's edition of the Eton choirbook, the first complete edition, was published between 1956 and 1961;¹⁰⁸ it remains the standard text. Harrison's archival and historical work ante-dated the edition: two articles appeared in 1952 and 1953.¹⁰⁹ *Music in Medieval Britain*, in which the Eton repertory was assessed in detail for the first time, was published in 1958, when only the first *Musica Britannica* volume of his edition was available.¹¹⁰ During recent years, over thirty years since the *Musica Britannica* edition was issued, a spate of recordings has introduced the repertory to a wider audience for the first time.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁵ Hughes, 'The Eton Manuscript', p.81.

¹⁰⁶ C. Page, 'The English *a cappella* renaissance', *EM*, 21 (1993), p.454.

¹⁰⁷ Page, 'The English *a cappella* renaissance', p.468.

¹⁰⁸ F. Ll. Harrison (ed.), *The Eton Choirbook*, MB, x (1956; 2nd edn, 1967/ reprinted, 1983), xi (1958; 2nd edn, 1973) and xii (1961; 2nd edn, 1973).

¹⁰⁹ F. Ll. Harrison, 'The Eton College Choirbook', *Kongressbericht*, ISMR Fifth Congress (Utrecht, 1952), pp.224-232, and 'The Eton Choirbook: its background and contents', *AM*, 1 (1953), pp.151-175.

¹¹⁰ F. Ll. Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain* (London, 1958).

¹¹¹ The first attempt at a comprehensive series has been made by 'The Sixteen' under Harry Christophers for Harper Collins, of which five volumes have been issued: 'The Rose and the Ostrich Feather' (1991), 'The Crown of Thorns' (1992), 'The Pillars of Eternity' (1992), 'The Flower of all Virginity' (1993), and

The most recent discussions on Eton College and the Eton choirbook have been parts of wider studies: Roger Bowers's thesis, 'Choral Institutions within the English Church', and Neil Ker's *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*.¹¹² The repertory contained in MS 178 has been discussed in other recent studies,¹¹³ but these references have either concentrated wholly on the repertory itself or have taken as their starting points the archival and historiographical works discussed above.¹¹⁴ The two most important original studies, by Harrison and Bowers, share broadly similar objectives: to examine the performance and composition of, and provision for, liturgical polyphony in England (or Britain) before the Reformation; to relate this polyphony, in its varied genres, to the institutions which nurtured it; to chart the growth and adaptation of vocal forces to the demands of new styles of composition.

'The Voices of Angels' (1995).

¹¹² Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', chapters 5 and 6 in general, and pp.5005-7, 5057-62, 6014, A026-30 and A040-3 in particular; N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 2 (Oxford, 1977), pp.773-4.

¹¹³ The Eton repertory has been referred to in a number of repertorial studies: M. and I. Bent, 'Dufay, Dunstable, Plummer – A New Source', *JAMS*, 22 (1969), pp.394-424; C. J. Williams, 'The Salve Regina settings in the Eton Choirbook', *Miscellanea Musicologica*, 10 (1979), pp.28-37; see also the description by Roger Bowers of Cambridge University Library, MS Buxton 96 (a roll containing the bass part of John Browne's *Stabat mater*) in I. Fenlon (ed.), *Cambridge Music Manuscripts, 900-1700* (Cambridge, 1982), pp.114-7; F. L. Harrison, 'Faburden in Practice', *MD*, 16 (1962), pp.11-34.

¹¹⁴ H. E. Wooldridge, *The Oxford History of Music, The Polyphonic Period, Part II, Method of Musical Art, 1400-c.1600* (2nd edn, revised P. C. Buck, Oxford, 1932), pp.157-166; F. L. Harrison, 'English Polyphony (c.1470-1540)', *New Oxford History of Music*, 3, *Ars Nova and the Renaissance, 1300-1540*, ed. Dom A. Hughes and G. Abraham (London, 1960), pp.303-348; A. H. Sanders, 'England: from the beginnings to c.1540', *Music from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance*, ed. F. W. Sternfeld (London, 1973), pp.302-4; J. A. Caldwell, *The Oxford History of English Music*, 1, *From the Beginnings to c.1715* (Oxford, 1991), pp.189-208.

In addition, Harrison relates the use of polyphonic forms to the prevailing liturgical circumstances; and Bowers demonstrates the increasing specialization and 'laicization' of choral polyphony, connecting these with the demands for skilled singers and choir-trainers - the rise of a music profession. In his essays on MS 178 and its background, Harrison outlines the rise of collegiate institutions comparable with Eton, the statutory requirements at Eton, the fifteenth-century history of the chapel choir (and a thumb-nail history of the college), the biographies of the composers, and a description and index of the manuscript;¹¹⁵ in *Musica Britannica*, a digest of these elements is combined with an edition of the music itself.¹¹⁶ In the space available, Harrison covers an ambitious agenda with a remarkable combination of succinctness and thoroughness. He was reliant, however, on secondary sources, as well as the assistance of Wasey Sterry.¹¹⁷ Similarly, Albert Mellor, who had written the last study of music at Eton, did not use the college archives, himself, but took advice from M. R. James, and based his early history on pre-existing publications;¹¹⁸ Mellor's chronology spanned from 1440 to 1929, hardly affording the opportunities either for thoroughness or for scholarly discourse. Roger Bowers consulted the archives exhaustively, but the scope of his discussions on Eton was, by necessity, selective. Thus, although there have been a number of studies of MS 178

¹¹⁵ See Harrison, 'The Eton Choirbook', *AM*, 1 (1953), pp.168-175.

¹¹⁶ The repertory is discussed in greater detail in *MMB*, pp.307-329 and *NOHM*, pp.308-321.

¹¹⁷ Harrison, 'The Eton Choirbook', p.156, n.2.

¹¹⁸ A. Mellor, *A Record of the Music and Musicians of Eton College* (Eton, 1929). M. R. James was perhaps the first scholar to examine the college muniments systematically; nevertheless, his study, 'Organs and Organists' (in *Etoniana*, 24 (1919), pp.369-76) began only in 1506, and is no more than a listing of payments.

and its collegiate background, none yet published has been based on an empirical, thorough-going examination of the numerous archives.

Given the reliance of most previous studies on secondary sources, it is hardly surprising that some defective data and arguments have been accepted without question. One example is Harrison's acceptance of Anselm Hughes' *terminus ante quem* of MS 178 of 1502;¹¹⁹ this was derived from Barclay Squire's comments on the appearance in the manuscript of the arms of Henry Bost.¹²⁰ As is argued below, this dating is inaccurate: Bost was provost of Eton until his death in February 1503/4, not 1502/3;¹²¹ the rationale behind it is also questionable, as it relies on the assumption that arms could only be illustrated during their bearer's lifetime.¹²² Indeed, the dating of the manuscript has not yet been firmly established, and minute archival and prosopographical evidence has not been cited in any of the rival datings.¹²³ Although the divergences are not wide - 1490 and 1510 are the extreme *termini* - there is enough evidence to discard or, at least, qualify the earlier date, and to revise the commonly accepted *terminus ante quem*: 1502 is the earliest possible date at which MS 178 was completed, not the latest.

Questionable historiographical attitudes, as well as defective historiographical

¹¹⁹ Dom A. Hughes, 'The Eton Manuscript', p.69; Harrison, 'The Eton College Choirbook', p.232.

¹²⁰ Barclay Squire, 'On an early Sixteenth Century MS.', p.92.

¹²¹ Bost's will, which is in the college register (ECR 60/14, pp.129-30), is dated 25 November 1503, and was proved on 20 February 1503 (new style 1504).

¹²² See below, pp.287-99.

¹²³ M. R. James argued for 1500-10; Barclay Squire implicitly favoured 1502; Anselm Hughes followed Wooldridge's estimate of 1490-1502/4; Harrison accepted 1502 as the latest probable completion date.

deductions, have also coloured musicological interpretations of MS 178 and its background. The myth of Henry VI's saintliness lurks behind much of what has been written about MS 178:

The Old Hall manuscript is both a testimony and a monument to the active interest of Henry V of England in the music of his Royal Chapel. In the Eton manuscript, the most important collection of English church music of the last decades of the fifteenth century, we possess what may well be regarded as a memorial to the saintly devotion and munificent benefaction of his son Henry VI.¹²⁴

With these words Harrison prefaces his first publication on MS 178. By 1975, the virtue of 'saintly devotion' has become the vice of 'extreme piety':

Considering Henry 6's well-known extreme piety, it seems reasonable to feel confident that in regard to provision for the chapel services, whatever was felt to be necessary for the college chapel to fulfil its duties would indeed be provided - if not provided to excess.¹²⁵

Even so, the influence of Blacman's hagiography persisted until shortly after Dr Bowers was writing, when Wolffe and Griffiths published their revisionist biographies (late 1970s and early 1980s). If, as Kate Selway argues, Eton College and King's College, Cambridge, were carefully planned expressions of Lancastrian polity, and not Henry VI's personal projects, the apparently excessive provision of chapel staff can no longer be regarded as yet another example of Henry's whimsy; neither can the king's personal piety be said to have found ultimate musical fulfilment in the copying and use of MS 178 and its contents.

¹²⁴ Harrison, 'The Eton College Choirbook', p.224.

¹²⁵ Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', p.5073.

Evidence for the origins of MS 178 must therefore be sought anew, not just within the manuscript itself and within the college archives, but also in the available information about those who worked at Eton. None of these strands of information is complete on its own: the careers of many of the singers remain shadowy; nearly half the folios of the complete Eton choirbook are missing; a number of annual account rolls have been lost, together with whole classes of smaller draft and subsidiary account books and rolls.¹²⁶ The Eton choirbook is nevertheless unusual in having remained at its parent institution. Arundel College, arguably the source of the Lambeth choirbook, was dissolved in 1545;¹²⁷ the Caius choirbook parted company with its parent institution at the same time; the Forrest-Heyther partbooks, initially copied for use at Cardinal College, remain in Oxford, although the college itself was refounded on a much smaller scale; the pre-Reformation repertories of King's College, Cambridge, and Magdalen College, Oxford, are now known only through inventories; similarly, Tattershall and Fotheringhay Colleges - together with many other ecclesiastical institutions - have disappeared, together with their repertories. Although the choral establishment, which existed at Eton at the time when MS 178 was written and used, has disappeared, the archival records it generated remain; even if we may still be unable to ascertain from these records the exact date of MS 178, its cost, and the name(s) of the sponsor(s) and copyist(s), we may build up a detailed profile of the circumstances which gave rise to its existence.

¹²⁶ See below, pp.545-9, for listing of college accounts.

¹²⁷ See D. Skinner, 'Nicholas Ludford (c.1490-1557): a Biography and Critical Edition of the Antiphons, with a Study of the Collegiate Chapel of the Holy Trinity, Arundel, under the Mastership of Edward Higgons, and a History of the Caius and Lambeth Choirbooks' (D.Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 1995),

1.6: MS 178 IN THE CONTEXT OF CONTEMPORARY CHORAL PRACTICE

Roger Bowers assembled a Mass of evidence to illustrate the expansion of choirs in the fifteenth century, in line with the growth of choral, rather than soloistic, liturgical polyphony.¹²⁸ He also conclusively argues that the liturgical music of the later fifteenth century demanded bodies of professional lay singers.¹²⁹ Eton was established shortly before the move from soloistic to choral polyphony began. Unlike at St George's, Windsor, there is no sign that there was a radical overhaul of the chapel staff in order to accommodate the requirements of the late-fifteenth-century repertory contained in MS 178; at the time, funds were scant. But the very existence of the Eton choirbook amply demonstrates that the choir was in fact large and skilled enough to perform this music. It may be that performances of five-, six-, seven-, eight-, nine-, even thirteen-part polyphony were undertaken with minimal vocal resources: in which case, our perceptions of the late-medieval performing ensemble - especially with regard to its size - need to be revised. Alternatively, and more probably, the performing ensemble at Eton was rather less fixed than at other, smaller institutions. If so, the choir on paper – or parchment – represented the minimum, and not the maximum, choral ensemble available: in which case, archival records need to be used with greater circumspection, as they do not always tell the

pp.148-167.

¹²⁸ Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', chapters 5 and 6.

¹²⁹ Bowers, 'Choral Institutions'; *idem*, 'Obligation, agency, and *laissez-faire*: the promotion of polyphonic composition for the Church in fifteenth-century England', *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources and Texts*, ed. I. Fenlon (Cambridge, 1981), pp.1-20; R. Bowers,

whole story.

The same deterministic use of archival evidence has also tended to apply to the way in which statutory instruments have been used by music historians. Far from being all-encompassing, unchanging prescriptions, statutes were legalistic documents which, like any other legal instruments, became obsolete, were amended or ignored according to the needs of the times: at Eton, for instance, the founder's provisions for an almshouse, for onerous chapel attendance by the scholars, and for the building of a minster-chapel were quietly shelved without concomitant alterations to the statutes. In some instances, statutes were expressions of ideals rather than practicalities: in 1507, Merton College, Oxford, imposed a requirement that competence in pricksong should be a condition of admission for scholars, but this requirement was abandoned as impractical in 1519.¹³⁰ Similarly, at York Minster, by 1507, the vicars had to gain competence in pricksong, descant and faburden before they were received their full portions, but, at the same time, the employment of lay singers hints at the ultimate failure of this arrangement.¹³¹ Roger Bowers has conclusively demonstrated the importance of a sound statutory framework and the availability of resources to the provision of polyphony on a day-to-day basis;¹³² but over and above these criteria was the role of individuals whose intervention helped to determine the performance of polyphony and the manufacture

¹³⁰ 'The Musicians of the Lady Chapel of Winchester Cathedral Priory, 1402-1539, *JEH*, 45 (1994), pp.210-237 (especially pp.224-5).

¹³⁰ Harrison, *MMB*, p.168.

¹³¹ Harrison, *MMB*, p.181.

¹³² Bowers, 'Choral institutions', chapters 4 and 5.

of polyphonic codices. Bowers has rejected any notion of musical or compositional ‘patronage’ within the English church.¹³³

Nevertheless, no amount of statutory and financial provision nor continuity of personnel, however necessary these might have been, could guarantee musical excellence: while there may have been few ecclesiastical ‘patrons’, the support of a sponsor or, in the case of Eton, a sympathetic precentor could effect a transition from adequacy to excellence. The post of precentor usually rotated among the fellows, like the two bursars’ posts; but, for much of his time as fellow of Eton, Walter Smythe occupied the position almost continuously: it may be coincidence that he was precentor at the time MS 178 was copied. The large inventory of polyphony sung at All Saints’ church, Bristol, vividly illustrates the limitations of archival evidence.¹³⁴ On paper, no specific provision for liturgical polyphony appears to have been made at All Saints’, at least in terms of providing a team of lay clerks; yet, with apparently meagre resources, the choir’s repertory included the sort of pieces more usually associated with choral institutions of the first rank. It is likely, if not certain, that at Bristol it was the chantry priests, employees of the numerous guilds and intercessory chantries within the church, and not a team of lay clerks who formed the backbone of the parish choir. If, as Clive Burgess suggests, clerks and chaplains were paid by individual parishioners living in Bristol, this suggests that a number of singers would have been available whose existence need never have been

¹³³ Bowers, ‘Obligation, agency and *laissez-faire*’, pp.1-20.

¹³⁴ See F. Ll. Harrison, ‘The Repertory of an English Parish Church in the Early Sixteenth Century’, *Renaissance-Muziek 1400-1600: Donum natalicium René Bernard Lenaerts*, ed. W. Elders, R. Lagas, G. Persoons (Louvain, 1969), pp.143-7.

recorded in corporate accounts.¹³⁵ It is very unlikely that such a scheme of extra-institutional provision was made on a large scale at Eton - it was largely unnecessary; but, as is demonstrated below, complete lists of personnel cannot always be derived from account rolls alone. Neither do the account rolls clearly indicate the exact composition of the choir, whether the chaplains regular sang choral polyphony, like the Bristol chantrists, or whether the lay clerks formed a distinct body of polyphonists to the exclusion of others: such issues must be decided by inference. It may also be necessary to qualify the assertion that ‘by the early sixteenth century, it is clear that the holders of lay clerkships at any type of church were always skilled singers of polyphony’:¹³⁶ it is by no means clear that all the lay clerks at Eton were skilled polyphonists, if ‘skilled’ implies that they were highly trained, educated, careerist specialists. The assumption that they were has led most music historians to neglect those parts of the archives which have not appeared to impinge directly on the subject matter. The appearance of choral personnel in seemingly esoteric areas of college life as the stable, the kitchen, the gardens and the collection of rents may signify nothing more than the feathering of nests by supplementing modest salaries; but, like their modern successor, the provincial cathedral lay clerk, a number of the lay clerks at Eton (especially the longest-serving) held down second jobs and had financial commitments apart from their lives as lay clerks. This throws into doubt both their ability to perform the daily

¹³⁵ C. Burgess, “‘For the Increase of Divine Service’: Chantries in the Parish in Late Medieval Bristol’, *JEH*, 36 (1985), pp.54-9.

¹³⁶ R. Bowers, ‘The Vocal Scoring, Choral Balance and Performing Pitch of Latin Church Polyphony in England, c.1500-58’, *JRMA*, 112 (1987), p.55, n.40.

liturgy *sans cesse* and also any notion of exclusive professionalism; instead, what emerges, is a two-tier structure in which a number of singers migrated from one institution to another but others migrated not from choir to choir but from occupation to occupation.

Underlying much which has been written on MS 178 has been a number of assumptions whose veracity must be tested, even if this leads merely to confirmation or partial revision rather than to wholesale rejection. The status of Eton College as a royal foundation has already been challenged: in all but name it ceased to be royal in 1461. The same applies to the choirbook. The opening sentence of Harrison's first article, by analogy, implies that MS 178 owed its existence to the forethought of Henry VI as much as Old Hall supposedly did to the personal interest of Henry V. The sundry coats of arms within the choirbook lead us no further to Henry VI as royal founder than to his distant predecessor, Edward the Confessor; within other painted initials, naturalistic devices include an owl (probably a brown owl, or 'brownie', a pun on John Browne's name) as well as the standard forms of basilisk, flora and fauna so often used *circa* 1500, but nothing as unequivocal as the Lancastrian antelope which has been used to link H6 to Henry VI's early chapel.¹³⁷ In fact, the coats of arms are all of particular, local interest.

A number of untested assumptions and preconceptions relate to the place of MS 178 within the liturgy at Eton. Was MS 178 intended to contain the totality of the chapel choir's polyphonic repertory? The common assumption has been that it was

¹³⁷ See M. Bent, 'The Progeny of Old Hall: More Leaves from a Royal English Choirbook', in *Gordon Athol Anderson (1929-1981), In memoriam von seinen Studenten, Freunden und Kollegen*, 2 vols, ed. L. Dittmer, Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen, 39 (Henryville/Ottawa/Binningen, 1984), pp.30-1.

not. Detailed inventories of contemporary choral establishments, most notably All Saints' Church, Bristol, and King's College, Cambridge, listed eclectic repertoires which incorporated votive antiphons, Masses, Lady Masses, Magnificat settings and sundry liturgical items. At King's in 1529, there were five 'greate bokys wyth rede lether conteynynge the most solemne antems off v parts'; four smaller leather-bound books contained Masses by Cornysh and Cooper; six books contained a Mass each by Cornysh and Pygott as well as a votive antiphon by Davy; a further twenty-six books contained sequences, Kyries, Magnificats, a Nunc dimittis setting, Fayrfax's Mass *Regale*, antiphons and responds for various feasts as well as *feria*, and a secular song (in the same book as sequences and Kyries by Taverner).¹³⁸ The repertory listed in the Bristol inventory could almost have been identical: Masses by Fayrfax, ritual antiphons and responds, a Passion setting (possibly Davy's setting of the St Matthew Passion, copied by William Brygeman while he was a clerk at Eton), processional music, Kyries, Alleluias and sequences from the Lady Mass, polyphonic settings for High Mass, proses, a Jesus antiphon and numerous Mary antiphons.¹³⁹ Lists of payments and inventories made elsewhere suggest that, by the early sixteenth century, choral polyphony was a stock-in-trade of the principal offices and Masses of the day as well as of festal processions (in the case of Bristol, a major element in the parish's liturgical calendar).¹⁴⁰ If polyphony played an

¹³⁸ Harrison, *MMB*, pp.432-3.

¹³⁹ Harrison, 'On the Repertory', p.145; in an inventory made in 1535-6, forty polyphonic codices were listed (*ibid.*, p.147).

¹⁴⁰ For repertory lists for Tattershall College and the Lady chapel choir at Worcester, see Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', pp.A059 and A061, and for Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1522, see Harrison, *MMB*, p.431.

equivalent role at Eton, MS 178 *ipso facto* cannot have been the only polyphonic codex on site; in 1511-2, not long after the manufacture of MS 178, keys were bought for the chest in which the books of polyphony ('canticorum') were kept.¹⁴¹ Yet, in the 1529 inventory made twenty years or more since MS 178 had been finished, only one other music manuscript is listed, and that was the old organ book which had been in college since 1465 or before.¹⁴² Moreover, among the large number of votive antiphons and Magnificats, Davy's setting of the Matthew Passion was copied; after the main stint of copying had been completed, Robert Wylkynson's thirteen-part round, *Credo/Jesus autem transiens* was added at the end of the manuscript. Sung as the gospel on Palm Sunday, the Passion was a markedly different liturgical entity to either the Magnificats or the votive antiphons, which centred around the daily office of Vespers; it has been suggested that Wylkynson's canon (as well as his nine-part *Salve regina*) was intended for semidramatic performance.¹⁴³ If other polyphony books existed, there was surely no reason to copy these *miscellanea* into a codex which was unmistakably intended for use within the evening liturgy. Reinhard Strohm asserts that 'Eton College must surely have owned' a Mass codex, a companion volume to MS 178;¹⁴⁴ if it did – and there is no evidence that it did – why was a Passion setting copied into the MS 178, which was primarily for use in the evening offices? It is argued below that MS 178 was not the fruit of some pre-ordained scheme of copying, but grew in scope, perhaps from

¹⁴¹ ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1511-2, under *Custus ecclesie*), pp.130-1.

¹⁴² M. R. James, 'Chapel Inventories', *Etoniana*, 28 (1921), p.447.

¹⁴³ R. Strohm, *The Rise of European Music, 1380-1500* (Cambridge, 1993), p.402, n.101.

quite modest beginnings.¹⁴⁵ To assume that two codices were copied as a complementary pair, one for the Mass and one for the office, is to assume that MS 178 and its phantom partner represented a concerted, co-ordinated scheme of repertory accretion and compilation for which no documentary evidence exists. Small-scale Mass books there may have been, although they have left no trace; the fact that the provenance of MS 178 is so shadowy by implication inhibits strong confirmation or refutation of the existence of other codices. Although MS 178 was the only polyphonic codex listed in the 1529 inventory (which was generally detailed and exhaustive), it may have been that smaller, more workaday rolls and manuscripts containing Masses and liturgical items were kept by the *informator choristarum* or the precentor, either in their lodgings or in the chest on the rood-screen. This may have been so, but underlying this suggestion is the assumption that the chapel choir fulfilled the same liturgical functions as the choirs, say, of King's College, Cambridge, and All Saints', Bristol: that is, it sang polyphony at all major services and processions (High Mass, Lady Mass, Matins, Vespers and Compline, as well as the evening anthem).

Although the evidence is fragmentary and inconclusive, MS 178 may in fact have contained the greater part of the full choir's repertory, at least for the first decades of the sixteenth century. At Eton College, there was no special provision for the education of the choristers; although the *informator choristarum* probably

¹⁴⁴ Strohm, *The Rise of European Music*, p.388.

¹⁴⁵ See below, Chapter 4, pp.183-338.

played a major role in their tuition in song, in preparation for their study of grammar, responsibility for their education was assigned to the *informator scholarum*, who was also in charge of seventy scholars and a number of commensals. Thus, unlike at King's, Tattershall, Fotheringhay, Arundel and King's, where the college schools existed primarily for the benefit of the choristers, the school at Eton was (or became) tailored to the needs of the scholars, who outnumbered the choristers by over four to one: the choristers had to make do as best they could. How this worked in practice is impossible to ascertain: neither of the existing sixteenth-century school timetables make any mention of the choristers (which may suggest either that they were fully integrated within the school as a whole, or, less likely, that their education, by 1530, had become dissociated altogether). As is argued below, a number of the scholars' liturgical duties had been abandoned by 1530, almost certainly because they impinged on the school timetable;¹⁴⁶ if this dispensation from chapel applied to the choristers, in whole or part, there would probably have been neither the need nor the opportunity for choral polyphony within the Mass on the scale of the evening anthem. This could easily have been justified by recourse to the statutes, in which only the votive antiphon was required to be sung polyphonically - and then only implicitly.¹⁴⁷ Such a circumscribed repertory would have been extremely unusual, if not unique, if surviving records of comparable institutions represent a universal norm; even if such restrictions applied in the 1500s and 1510s, payments made for pricking during the 1520s and 1530s suggest that they no longer applied later on.

¹⁴⁶ On the scholars' devotional role, see below, pp.83-109.

¹⁴⁷ H & W, p.555.

Nevertheless, the absence of any other polyphonic codices in the 1529 inventory is conclusive: if other polyphonic sources existed, they were either too piecemeal to merit listing in the inventory, or they were kept elsewhere. In any case, there is no reason to assume that any other music manuscripts comparable to MS 178 were in use.

The most important question must surely be why MS 178 was compiled in the first instance, and who took the decision to assemble it. Because of the high quality of the manuscript, its orderly layout, and the geographically diverse provenance of its contents, musicologists have tended to see it as a planned, carefully garnered anthology of the best contemporary music, as well as a repository for pieces by the ‘in-house’ composers, John Sutton, Robert Hacomplaynt, William Brygeman, Walter Lambe, Robert Wylkynson, and perhaps John Browne. Although the ‘anthological’ argument is more often implied than stated, Frank Harrison appears to have regarded MS 178 as a purpose-made panopticon of the best sacred polyphony available, containing not only ready-composed but also custom-written antiphons, as if the fellows of Eton sought to create a definitive record:

John Browne is the outstanding member of the second group and ranks among the greatest composers of his age. He takes *pride of place* at the beginning of the manuscript with the eight-part ‘O Maria salvatoris mater’, and also wrote for the collection a seven-part Magnificat, four six-part antiphons, five antiphons and two Magnificats in five parts. What remains of this imposing *contribution* shows imagination and technique of the highest order.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁸ F. Ll. Harrison, ‘English Polyphony (c.1470-1540)’, in *New Oxford History of Music*, 3, *Ars Nova and Renaissance 1300-1540*, ed. Dom A. Hughes and G. Abraham (Oxford, 1960), p.312; the italics are mine.

Written in 1959/60, Harrison's *NOHM* essay was his latest major piece of work which dealt with MS 178 and its repertory: it is unlikely that he chose his words carelessly. The implicit assumptions behind the paragraph quoted was that MS 178 was purpose-made from new; that it was collected from near and far then copied and then performed (in that order); that composers were invited to contribute to it as if it were some sort of compositional *Denkmäler*; and perhaps that the manuscript was constructed in the same order in which it was eventually bound. This scenario is possible: the Caius choirbook, for instance, contained music by composers working in Westminster, as if in celebration of a local musical tradition.¹⁴⁹ It may also be that, during the compilation of MS 178, new repertory was copied in speculatively: the presence of whole *tranches* of antiphons by Browne and Davy could have been the result of wholesale acquisitions. Moreover, the internal organization of the manuscript, in which repertory is layered according to voice-parts, vocal ranges and liturgical use, may be indicative of a planned, strategic campaign of copying.

Yet such an interpretation ultimately derives from the primary assumption that the choirbook was an anthology of repertory which was largely new, much of which had been specially commissioned to supply a liturgical demand, some of which was hunted out by college scouts from distant corners of the realm. Underpinning this assumption is the high quality of the codex itself, 'in writing and illumination the finest surviving English musical manuscript':¹⁵⁰ such high standards of production must surely be indicative of equally ambitious motives on the part of those

¹⁴⁹ See Skinner, 'Nicholas Ludford', pp.169-82.

¹⁵⁰ Harrison, 'English polyphony (c.1470-1540)', p.308.

responsible for the choirbook's compilation. A number of factors, however, militate against this hypothesis. The evidence contained in the manuscript itself bespeaks a more piecemeal process of compilation. Many of its contents were probably already part of the choir's repertory at the time it was compiled; it would seem odd for a *Gaude flore virginali* attributed to John Dunstable, and hence fifty or more years old, to be included in an up-to-date manuscript;¹⁵¹ although there is evidence that at King's College, Cambridge, and Fotheringhay College, payments were made to college agents for seeking out specific pieces for the college choirs, there is no evidence that this happened at Eton, unless the rent collectors took detours on their way to out-lying college estates.¹⁵² The presence of music by 'Etonian' composers was probably due to the mundane reason that they were already *in situ*: repertory travelled with the migrations of singers, hence a number of MS 178's contents found their way into the repertory of All Saints', Bristol, having been copied out of the choirbook by William Brygeman while he was at Eton. Similarly, it would be surprising if there had been no repertorial traffic between Eton and King's, given the regular contact between members of the two foundations;¹⁵³ indeed, pieces by Robert Wylkynson, who is only known to have worked at Eton, reached King's, but

¹⁵¹ But see Bent & Bent, 'Dufay, Dunstable, Plummer - a New Source'; it should be noted that a Dunstable Magnificat setting was listed in an inventory at King's College Cambridge, as late as 1529 (Harrison, *MMB*, p.433): like the *Gaude flore virginali* at Eton, this may have been a part of the choir's repertory for some decades previously.

¹⁵² See below, pp.300-18.

¹⁵³ If Sygar, composer of two four-part Magnificats in MS 178, was the John Sygar, conduct-chaplain at King's, 1499-1501 and 1508-1514 (Harrison, *MMB*, p.463), inter-collegiate transmission would account for their inclusion. The *Salve regina* by Robert Hacomplaynt, fellow and provost of King's, must surely have reached Eton via the same route.

are not recorded in the repertories of other foundations. Whether Walter Lambe's compositions were included in MS 178 on the strength of his status as a college *alumnus* is debatable. But a thoroughly mundane factor was his having been for a number of years a clerk at St George's, Windsor; the proximity between Eton and Windsor almost certainly accounted for the transmission of the Magnificat by Robert Mychelson, Lambe's colleague at St George's. In turn, Nicholas Huchyn, a chorister then lay clerk at Arundel College, would have known Walter Lambe (and his family) during Lambe's period at Arundel; his *Ascendit Christus* and *Salve regina* could easily have reached Eton via Windsor.

Oxford was another major source of polyphony. Richard Davy was clerk and *informator choristarum* at Magdalen College during the early 1490s; he was one of the major 'contributors' to MS 178, author of eleven of the pieces, including the single polyphonic setting of the St Matthew Passion. Traffic between Eton and Oxford was greater than between Eton and King's: most of the college's fifteenth-century fellows were Oxonians and, most significantly, Walter Smythe, precentor at Eton during the 1500s, had previously been sacrist and (perhaps) precentor at Magdalen, and certainly knew Davy's compositions, if not the man himself. While at Eton, Smythe would have remembered the antiphons he had listened to or sung while at Oxford, and may have sent to Magdalen (or returned himself) to copy them - unless he had already made copies while he was there (we know he owned books of polyphony).¹⁵⁴ Five antiphons by Davy appear in MS 178 in a continuous run immediately after the layer of *Salve regina* settings; this could be evidence of

¹⁵⁴ See below, pp.315-18.

speculative copying of specially-imported works *en bloc*, but the mundane explanation that the exemplar was Smythe's own copies of Magdalen repertory is much the likelier one. Edmund Turges was probably a chaplain at New College in 1507-8 and may have had longer-standing Oxford connections.¹⁵⁵

London and the Court, both being within easy riding or navigating distance of Eton, accounted for a large proportion of the Eton repertory: Robert Fayrfax, William Cornysh (either the 'younger', member of the royal household chapel, or the 'elder' master of the Lady Chapel choir at Westminster Abbey), William Horwood and William Stratford all worked in London, and their compositions numbered nineteen, or nearly a quarter of the complete choirbook. Works from further afield – a *Salve regina* by John Hampton of Worcester and another by Richard Hygons of Wells – were probably transmitted to Eton through the migrations of singers. John Browghing, a lay clerk at Eton in 1489 subsequently became a vicar-choral of Wells:¹⁵⁶ the traffic probably travelled in both directions, even if Eton was more a staging-point than a destination. Even if works were not transmitted direct from place of composition to Eton, an intermediate source is likely. There is thus no good reason to assume that the decision was taken to compile MS 178 before the repertory had been assembled, riders being dispatched to distant corners to garner the best available repertory.

However piecemeal the process of compilation or the processes leading up to

¹⁵⁵ R. Bowers, 'The Vocal Scoring', p.66; Turges's setting of *Gaude flore virginali*, found in fragments of a choirbook of c.1500-10 at New College, Oxford, was included in MS 178 (openings r1-r2).

¹⁵⁶ See below, p.479.

the compilation (and even if all the repertory contained in MS 178 was in use at Eton before MS 178 was copied) there remains the question of why it was copied at all. MS 178's two near-contemporary choirbooks, Lambeth and Caius, offer confusing examples. Caius 667 was a gift, probably to St Stephen's, Westminster, by Edward Higgons, as is indicated in the manuscript itself.¹⁵⁷ The Lambeth choirbook, largely copied by the same man as Caius 667, appears to have been written for Arundel College, perhaps at Higgons's behest (he was master of Arundel at the time), containing compositions by Arundel men and a transfusion of repertory from St Stephens.¹⁵⁸ In both cases, the manuscripts were acts of munificence, if not patronage, given as single items by one benefactor, and copied in bulk. In the case of MS 178, Harrison tentatively suggested Hugh Fraunce (fellow of Eton until 1498) as a donor.¹⁵⁹ Hugh Fraunce is unlikely, however, to have been the donor: he does not appear to have had any musical interests, and the date by which he was suggested to have donated the choirbook, 1497-8, was almost certainly too early.¹⁶⁰ The silence of the college account rolls strongly suggests that the codex was copied at private expense, either bought as a gift or, rather more likely, sponsored as an on-going project within college.

Historiographical perceptions of early-Tudor musical codices is dominated by the three choirbooks, Eton 178, Lambeth 1, and Caius 667. The preservation of the repertory contained in MS 178 owes so much to the survival of the manuscript itself

¹⁵⁷ P. Fugler, 'The Lambeth and Caius Choirbooks', *JPMMS*, 6 (1983), p.15.

¹⁵⁸ Skinner, 'Nicholas Ludford', pp.148-52.

¹⁵⁹ See, for instance, *MB*, x, p.xvi.

that the choirbook has assumed an emblematic importance: it has given its name to two or three generations of composers' labours. This has become so ingrained in modern musicological discourse that it is necessary to discard the notion of an 'Eton style' - a convenient label for historians, but a historiographical absurdity. It will be argued below that Eton College, although a wealthy foundation, could not and did not try to assemble a large choir of lay singers to compare with St George's, Windsor, or other choral foundations of the first grade; furthermore, at the time when the so-called 'Eton style' or 'florid style' was in its infancy, Eton College was on the verge of extinction, and in no position to be pioneering a revolutionary new musical genre. The term 'Eton style' therefore needs to be qualified or abandoned altogether. The survival of a handful of inventories also suggests that the 'great ledger' was a numerically small phenomenon in late-medieval musical manuscript-making. The inventories of Magdalen College, Oxford, All Saints', Bristol, King's College, Cambridge, reveal the existence of rolls, scrolls, quires bound and unbound, small, 'mean' and large books, of paper and parchment, all intended to act as serviceable, practical and unpretentious adjuncts to the liturgy. At King's, five books bound in leather contained 'the most solemne antems off v partes'.¹⁶¹ No hint is given as to the quality of these choirbooks or partbooks, whether they were professionally limned or texted, or whether they had been purchased or produced at common or individual expense. That they contained the 'most solemne' votive antiphons is significant: the other, smaller, books at King's were either workaday

¹⁶⁰ For Fraunce's biography, see *BRUO*, pp.722-3; the brass stand made to support a book given by him was probably for a liturgical book.

¹⁶¹ Harrison, *MMB*, p.432.

volumes of liturgical polyphony, carols or Mass movements, or were miscellanies of different liturgical types bound together. Coming at the head of the list, the five leather-bound codices clearly occupied a special place in the choir's polyphonic repertory; even though polyphony adorned much of the liturgy, it was the votive antiphon which took pride of place.

Likewise, the votive antiphons contained in MS 178 were the staple of the choir's repertory at Eton; whether or not the Mass ordinary and other liturgical items were sung to prick-song, the votive antiphon was the focus of the choral day in the liturgical life of Eton College. As at King's, the quality and size of the codex reflected the solemnity of the Marian devotion. But the manufacture of MS 178 was also motivated by purely practical considerations: the clarity of layout of the finished manuscript together with its detailed indices enabled the inclusion of a large number of compositions which could be easily found, which were all (eventually) bound in the same volume, and whose demands, in terms of the voice-parts and vocal ranges, were readily identifiable. Here, practicality and solemnity were both satisfied: facility of use may have been a prime factor in the decision to make one fair copy of the various quires and books which may hitherto have been used. Even the use of cadels and painted initials served the practical purpose of visibly identifying the beginning of each piece. Paul Fugler suggested that the presence of uncorrected errors in the Lambeth choirbook was evidence that it was a presentation or library copy.¹⁶² This assumes both that the motives of those who commissioned and copied such high-grade codices were anything other than practical, and that those who sang

¹⁶² Fugler, 'The Lambeth and Caius Choirbooks', p.20.

from them were sight-reading; neither assumption is justified, at least with regard to MS 178. Although William Brygeman left his assorted books and rolls to All Saints', Bristol, 'under the Condicion that no Childern shuld be tawte upon the seid books', this does not necessarily mean that a choirbook like MS 178 was kept only for reference: the same proviso applied to all of his books, scrolls and rolls, and not just to the prime quality codices (if indeed he left any).¹⁶³ The presence of uncorrected mistakes in MS 178, as well as occasional 'corrigitur' markings (especially in the earliest layers) strongly suggests that the pieces were known to the singers before the manuscript was copied and that either they remembered their voice-parts well enough not to make wholesale corrections (but, if necessary, to make corrections from memory) or that they still possessed the exemplars. It is most unlikely that MS 178 was bought off-the-shelf as a means of augmenting the choir's repertory. In this sense, MS 178 bears more resemblance in its origins to Old Hall than to Lambeth or Caius, which were one-off gifts. Although the costs of production were very probably borne by one of the fellows (the possible identity of whom is discussed below), MS 178 could have been copied or supervised in-house, only the skilled artisanal stages of production were executed by outsiders. The project may well have originated on a much smaller scale, as a fair copy or as an engrossment of the *Salve regina* settings, expanding into a 'great ledger' once copying was well under way. It may thus be unnecessary to seek high-minded motives behind the choirbook's origins: it originated as a practical solution to practical needs.

¹⁶³ Harrison, 'The Repertory of an English Parish Church', p.145.

CHAPTER TWO

LITURGY, DEVOTION, AND THE DAILY ROUND

By requirement of the college statutes, each day was punctuated by the recitation of intercessory prayers, as well as the regular *cursus* of Masses and offices in chapel. This round of prayer began as members of college rose from bed and ended only when they returned to their beds at night. It was in this respect that Eton College most resembled a chantry, as each of the most important events in daily life – rising, the principal chapel services, eating and retiring – were accompanied by prayers on behalf of the founder.

The form which these prayers took was tried and tested. A number of precedents existed in the statutes of recent foundations; but the recitation of collects and psalms for the king (and queen and family) had become a staple of English monastic practice in the late tenth century when the *Regularis Concordia* was issued.¹ Nevertheless, the core of the statutory guidelines was derived from William of Wykeham's statutes for Winchester College, to the extent that large sections of Wykeham's statutes were transfused directly into the Eton statutes. The statute governing communal suffrages at Eton was considerably more extensive than its Wykehamist model, incorporating a number of devotions and injunctions not present

¹ T. Symons (ed.), *Regularis Concordia Anglicae Nationis Monachorum, Corpus Consuetudinarum Monasticarum*, vii-3, ed. K. Hallinger (1984), pp.83 (§19, *De psalmis specialibus post nocturnes*), 84 (§21, *De matutinis laudibus*), 91 (§33, *De ordine diurno inter sextam et uesperas*), 92 (§34, *De oratione post completorium*).

in the earlier statutes;² although this may have reflected Henry's own religious preoccupations, it may also have represented a codification of what had become *de facto* practice at Winchester (and elsewhere) since the 1390s. In turn, Bishop Waynflete and Cardinal Wolsey adopted the Wykehamist formulae in their foundations of Magdalen and Cardinal College, drawing to some extent on Henry's additions; although Archbishop Chichele's statutes for All Souls deviate in some respects from this pattern, his injunctions overlap with Wykeham's to a considerable extent. Moreover the statutes of Edward, Duke of York, for Fotheringhay College employ many of the same forms. The recitation of intercessory prayers, one of the principal functions of secular colleges, took similar - sometimes identical - forms both within and beyond the family of academic episcopal foundations; Eton College can therefore serve as an exemplar of all the Wykeham-inspired colleges founded before 1530. Whether or not the Eton statutes were based on contemporary Wykehamist practice, they bear the hallmarks of late-medieval Marian liturgy as set out in books of hours: daily, except on Good Friday, the choristers recited the hours of the BVM.³ Similarly, it was not Matins *de die*, but Matins of the BVM that the scholars recited as they made their beds, and Vespers of the BVM that they said in the schoolroom before they filed into hall for supper.⁴ Perhaps most significantly, many of Henry's liturgical formulae can be found more in books of hours than in the Sarum breviary or manual. This mirrors the prevalence of Primer texts in MS 178.

² H & W, pp.552-7, Article xxx, *De precibus et orationibus ac aliis suffragiis, per praepositum ac socios presbyteros perpetuos, et capellanos, clericos, scholares, et choristas, singulis diebus dicendis.*

³ H & W, p.553.

⁴ H & W, p.553-5.

2.1: THE DEVOTIONAL DAY

The role of intercession at Eton was two-fold: to seek the blessing, guidance and protection of God, individually and collectively, by direct invocation or through the BVM or the Real Presence or Jesus; and to seek absolution for the founder and his family, this chantry function particularly conspicuous, more so than at Winchester College. On waking, all the fellows, chaplains, clerks, scholars and choristers who were in college recited, 'in honour of the most holy and indivisible Trinity', the Trinity antiphon, *Libera nos*, with its versicle, *Benedicamus Patrem*.⁵ This was followed by the 'customary oration of the Trinity', *Omnipotens, sempiterna Deus, qui dedisti famulis tuis* which also served as a collect at Lauds of the BVM:⁶

Liberate us, save us, justify us, O blessed Trinity.

Let us bless the Father and the Son with the Holy Spirit:

Let us praise him and exalt him above all others for ever.⁷

Almighty and everlasting God, who hast given unto us thy servants grace by the confession of a true faith to acknowledge the glory of the eternal Trinity and, in the power of the divine majesty to worship the Unity; We beseech thee, that thou wouldest keep us steadfast in this faith, and evermore defend us from all adversities, who livest and reignest, one God, world without end. Amen.⁸

⁵ H & W, p.552 (Article xxx, *De precibus et orationibus ac aliis suffragiis*); see below, Appendix A, pp.455-68, for a transcript of the suffrages discussed.

⁶ H & W, p.552: collect, Mass *In Commemoratione Sancte Trinitatis* (*Breviarium*, 2, col. 50), also *Facsimiles of Horae de Beata Maria Virgine from English MSS. of the Eleventh Century*, ed. E. S. Dewick (HBS, 21, London, 1902), col. 20: collect at Lauds of BVM.

⁷ Some books of hours have, 'V. May the Lord's name be blessed: R. From this time and for evermore', instead of the liturgical versicles. In his statutes for Winchester, however, Wykeham specified *Benedicamus* (T. F. Kirby, *Annals of Winchester College* (London, 1892) p.500).

⁸ As translated by Cranmer, the collect for Trinity Sunday, Book of Common Prayer.

The same invocations to the Trinity were said at Winchester College.⁹ Indeed, the wording of the Eton statutes is identical with Wykeham's up to this point, except that, at Winchester, this injunction only mentions the fellows. Perhaps this was oversight on Wykeham's part, or perhaps the participation of the scholars had become standard practice at Winchester since the promulgation of the statutes: in the statutes of Fotheringhay College, drawn up in the early 1410s and perhaps influenced by Wykeham's statutes (again replicating some of his phraseology), this rubric applied to all members of college.¹⁰ The combination of antiphon (*Libera nos*), versicle (*Benedicamus* or *Sit nomen Domini benedictum*) and collect (*Omnipotens sempiterne Deus*) also appeared in books of hours as a composite suffrage after Lauds, for use throughout the year. This suggests that Henry (and/or his advisers) and Wykeham had both been following an accepted convention; as is argued below, many of the clauses of the Eton statutes not directly drawn from Wykeham's provisions were derived from (or allied to) the devotional material contained in books of hours and other secular sources of Marian liturgy. After the Trinity/Lauds collect, the intercessors were directed to pray for the founder, himself. At Winchester the collect to be said during the lifetime of the founder, *Rege quesumus, Domine, pontificem*

⁹ Kirby, *Annals*, p.500.

¹⁰ A. H. Thompson, 'The Statutes of the College of St. Mary and All Saints, Fotheringhay', *The Archaeological Journal*, 75 (New Series, 25) (1918), p.294.

fundatorem nostrum, was taken from the Mass *Pro episcopo* in the Sarum Missal;¹¹ after the founder's death, this was replaced with the prayer, *Deus, qui inter apostolicos*, the collect for bishops from the Mass of the dead.¹² The format of these prayers was a prototype for other fifteenth-century episcopal foundations, like Magdalen and All Souls Colleges, Oxford.¹³ The prayers used at Eton, of necessity, differed - the founder was a King, not a bishop - but followed Wykeham's formula. During Henry's lifetime, the statutes ordained the recitation of the prayer, *Quesumus omnipotens Deus*, the royal equivalent of *Rege quesumus*, taken from the Mass *Pro rege* in the Sarum Missal.¹⁴ There was no special prayer for the king in general use within the Sarum *Missa pro defunctis*: instead, the general prayer, *Absolve quesumus*, was adapted from the Sarum *Commendatio animarum*;¹⁵ a precedent for this had been set at Fotheringhay, where *Absolve quesumus* was said for Edward, Duke of York, similarly adapted.¹⁶

¹¹ W. G. Legg, *The Sarum Missal* (Oxford, 1916), p.396.

¹² *Breviarium*, 2, col. 529; also A. Jefferies Collins, *Manuale ad usum Percelebris ecclesie Sarisburiensis* (HBS, 91, London, 1916) p.145.

¹³ *Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford*, 2 (1853), Statutes of Magdalen College, p.52; G. R. M. Ward, *The Statutes of All Souls College, Oxford* (London, 1841), p.76.

¹⁴ Legg, *Sarum Missal*, p.397; *Quesumus, omnipotens Deus* was also said during the Litany of the BVM (*Facsimiles of Horae de Beata Maria Virgine from English MSS. of the Eleventh Century*, ed. E. S. Dewick (HBS, 21, London, 1902), col. 42); its use can also be traced back to pre-Conquest coronation orders and to the *Regularis Concordia*: J. W. Legg (ed.), *Three Coronation Orders* (HBS, 19, London, 1900), p.63; *Regularis Concordia*, p.83 (§19, *De psalmis specialibus post nocturnos*).

¹⁵ Jefferies Collins, *Manuale ad usum...Sarisburiensis*, p.121. To the original text of the prayer, 'Absolve quesumus, Domine, animam famuli tui .N. ut animas omnium fidelium defunctorum ab omni vinculo delictorum...' was added 'regis Henrici Sexti fundatoris noster', in place of the forename.

¹⁶ Thompson, *Statutes of...Fotheringhay*, p.294; an earlier usage can also be found at Arundel (founded by Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, in 1380), although the change of wording included in the Eton and Fotheringhay statutes (M. A. Tierney, *The History and Antiquities of the Castle and Town of Arundel* (London, 1834), 2, p.763).

Having said these suffrages, and while they were making their beds, the scholars recited Matins of the Virgin Mary, after which they went to the schoolroom.¹⁷ Here, around the time the choristers were in chapel saying Matins and other Hours of the BVM, the usher and the scholars, in alternation, recited a form of devotion evidently derived from the morning offices. It began with Psalm 66/67, *Deus misereatur nostri* ('God be merciful unto us and bless us'), which was customarily sung at Lauds on Sunday, and was one of the psalms incorporated into Lauds of the BVM (and was also one of the psalms prescribed by Alcuin to be said on rising);¹⁸ the *Kyrie*, *Pater noster* and Angelic Salutation were then said.¹⁹ After the *Ave Maria*, as in the Hours of the BVM, were the versicles, *Et veniat super nos...*, *Et respice...*, and *Sit splendor...*, taken from the office of Prime;²⁰ following the order of Prime, the versicles were concluded with the collect, *Omnipotens, sempiterna Deus*:

Almighty and eternal God, direct our actions according to thy will,
that in the name of thy chosen Son, we may be worthy to abound in
good works. Who liveth and reigneth...

and the prayer, *Actiones nostras*, which was said during the Canon of the Mass:²¹

¹⁷ H & W, p.553; the choristers said Matins of the BVM in chapel either before or after Matins and Prime of the Day.

¹⁸ *Breviarium*, 2, col. 30; see, for instance, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 62 (Sarum hours, Briggittine, c.1400), f.24^v; G. F. Browne, 'On a "Temporale" of 1350-1380', *Archaeologia*, 68 (1917), p.155. Psalm 66/67 is also present in post-Conquest monastic sources of Lauds of the BVM (S. E. Roper, *Medieval English Benedictine Liturgy: Studies in the Formation, Structure, and Content of the Monastic Votive Office, c.950-1540* (New York/London, 1993), pp.188, 229).

¹⁹ H & W, p.553.

²⁰ *Breviarium*, 2, col. 55; see Appendix A, p.460.

²¹ F. H. Dickinson, *Missale ad Usus insignis et praeclarae ecclesiae Sarum* (Burntisland, 1861-1883), col. 630; *Facsimiles of Horae*, col. 42; both *Omnipotens, sempiterna Deus* (as collect for the first Sunday after

We beseech thee, O Lord, to go before all our doings with thy favour and further them with thy help; that all our work may be begun, continued and ended in thee. Through Christ...²²

Like the bedside recitation of Matins, this pre-school office was not a feature of Wykeham's Winchester statutes. Its function is clear: it incorporated elements of the morning offices which were simultaneously being recited, unabridged, in chapel; as such, it supplemented the Matins of the BVM which the scholars, themselves, had said by their beds; and it focussed the minds of the scholars on their ensuing work, in both the concluding prayers and in the versicles. Either this statute was carefully devised from scratch or it was based on a pre-existing model. The Eton statutes are not conspicuously innovative: it is less likely that Henry or his advisors sought to set a new precedent than follow an old one. The saying of Matins of the BVM at the bedside, the *alternatim* recitation of elements of the remaining morning hours, Prime and Lauds (with the usher, not the schoolmaster, himself) and the prayers for guidance in the day's work together suggest a carefully tailored genesis in an

the octave of Christmas) and *Actiones nostras* (as collect for the second Sunday in Lent) predated the Norman Conquest, as part of early-eleventh-century Winchester use (B. J. Muir (ed.), *A Pre-Conquest English Prayer-Book* (BL MSS Cotton Galba A.xiv and Nero A.ii (ff.3-13)) (HBS, 103, London, 1988), pp.101, 117).

²² This is a paraphrase of the original Latin text, which cannot be rendered word-for-word in English (see Appendix A, p.460); the same collect, paraphrased and extended, appears as a post-communion prayer in the Book of Common Prayer, as 'Prevent us, O Lord'. Another version of this collect was also said in the Litany of the BVM (*Facsimiles of Horae*, col. 42): 'Actiones nostras quesumus Domine et aspirando preveni et adjuvando prosequere ut interveniente sancta Dei genetrice semperque virgine Maria cuncta nostra operatio et a te semper incipiat et per te cepta finiatur. Per Christum...'

academic environment. It is therefore possible, if not likely, that this injunction was a *de jure* confirmation of what had become *de facto* Winchester College practice.

The end of the school day was marked by similar devotions. This began with the solemn singing of a Marian antiphon (unspecified, probably one of the four main antiphons determined by the season), together with the versicle, *Ave Maria*.²³ After this came the grace, *Meritis et precibus*:²⁴

By the merits and prayers of his Holy Mother, may the Son of God bless us.

This could be replaced with either *In omni tribulacione* or *Famulorum tuorum*:

In all (temptation and) tribulation, in necessity and infirmity, in pestilence and distress, succour us, most holy Virgin Mary. Amen.²⁵

We beseech thee O Lord to pardon the offences of thy servants, that we, who are unable to please thee by our deeds, may be saved by the intercession of the mother of thy son, O Lord our God.²⁶

²³ H & W, p.554.

²⁴ J. W. Legg (ed.), *Missale ad Usam Ecclesie Westmonasteriensis*, 3 (HBS, 12i, London, 1897), col. 1379: grace after dinner.

²⁵ *GB-Lbl*, MS Harl. 917 (fifteenth-century book of private prayers), f.18; this invocation, though apparently common, does not appear to have any direct liturgical sources. It was one of the prayers specified by John Carpenter to be said after the post-Compline antiphon (*Sancta Maria virgo intercede*) at Salisbury Cathedral in 1395 (Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', p.4061). Both *GB-Lbl*, MS Harl. 917 and ECL, MS 300 have 'In omni temptacione et tribulacione...'

²⁶ *Breviarium*, 2, col. 93: *Memoria* of BVM at Lauds.

After the prayer came the psalm *De profundis*, said without note for the souls of all faithful departed. Then, echoing the form of the morning prayers, came the *Kyrie*, *Pater noster*, and *Ave Maria* (with its versicles). The office concluded with the prayer *Absolve quesumus*. After reciting Vespers of the BVM, the scholars went to Hall for supper.²⁷ While the scholars' morning schoolroom prayers incorporated elements of Lauds and Prime, the after-school office also echoed the evening liturgy of the chapel itself. Neither Vespers nor Compline, perhaps, were the main sources - the scholars would shortly be reciting Vespers of the BVM anyway - but the Marian devotion which the choristers sang around the time of Vespers of the day.²⁸ The Marian antiphon and *Ave Maria* were at the heart of the choristers' evening devotion; *Meritis et precibus*, a plea for intercession by the BVM, followed the recitation of the Angelic Salutation in both services; on both occasions, the *Kyrie*, *Paternoster* and *Ave Maria* were said in the same, albeit customary, order; the psalm, *De profundis*, was recited. Moreover, the alternative prayer, *Famulorum tuorum*, another prayer intercession by the BVM, was customarily said at memorials of the BVM.²⁹ The third intercessory prayer, *In omni tribulacione* had been ordained by Edward, Duke of York, to be said after the *Ave Maria* during the Marian devotions at Fotheringhay College;³⁰ unlikely many of the collects in Henry's statutes, *In omni tribulacione* does not appear in Wykeham's statutes, and it is not unlikely that the Fotheringhay

²⁷ H & W, p.555; at the behest of the provost, vice-provost or schoolmaster, Vespers of the BVM could be said by the scholars at another convenient time of day.

²⁸ H & W, p.555.

²⁹ *Breviarium*, 2, col. 93.

³⁰ Thompson, 'The Statutes of...Fotheringhay', p.292.

statutes were consulted.³¹ A slightly earlier precedent for *In omni tribulacione* had been established in Salisbury in 1395.³²

The devotional day concluded, as it had begun, at the bedside. After the first curfew bell had rung, the scholars and choristers knelt by their beds and said, *alternatim*, the Compline hymn, *Salvator mundi, Domine*.³³ What followed was almost a digest of the office of Compline: the versicle, *Custodi nos, Domine*, the *Nunc dimittis* with its antiphon, *Salva nos, Domine, vigilantes*, the *Kyrie, Pater noster, Ave Maria*, and the Apostles' Creed. The place of the post-Compline Marian antiphon was taken by the Mary antiphon, *Stella celi* with its versicle *Ora pro nobis*.³⁴ After *Stella celi*, the psalm, *De profundis*, the collect, *Absolve quesumus* and (after the founder's death) the prayer, *Anima regis Henrici sexti...in pace requiescant* were said.

This formula was also used after grace at lunch and supper, when Psalm 129/130, *De profundis*, the Lord's Prayer, the Angelic Salutation, the oration, *Absolve*

³¹ We know that, in drawing up the statutes for Tattershall College, Ralph Cromwell and his executors examined the constitutions of Fotheringhay, Whittington and Manchester Colleges, as well as those of St Stephen's, Westminster (KCRO, MS U1475 Q/20, consultations regarding statutes, Tattershall College, circa 1455).

³² See above, p.88, n.25..

³³ H & W, p.556.

³⁴ A four-part setting of this antiphon (without the versicle) by Walter Lambe is in MS 178 (openings v4-5); the text appears in most late-medieval English books of hours, for instance, *Hore beatissime virginis Marie ad legitimum Sarisburiensis* (London, 1520), fo.xliiii: 'A deuowte prayer to besayd to our blessid lady a yenste the pestelence'.

quesumus, and *Anima regis Henrici sexti, fundatoris nostri...in pace requiescant* were said; they were also said by those present in choir after High Mass, None (*horam diei nonam*) and Compline.³⁵ This was similar to the clause in Wykeham's statutes, though slightly modified;³⁶ but the source for this commendation was the liturgy of the dead, in which Psalm 129/130, *Absolve quesumus* and *Anima...requiescant* were recurrent elements.³⁷ Thus prayers for the founder's soul, said on rising from and retiring to bed, also punctuated mealtimes when most or all of the college membership were present, as well as the most important liturgical services of the day: in this respect, Eton College acted as a chantry in as thorough-going a way as any other. Also derived from Wykeham's statutes was the direction to say Psalm 129/130, the *Kyrie*, *Pater noster*, *Ave Maria*, and the prayer, *Absolve quesumus*.³⁸ Wykeham had directed that this suffrage should be recited for the soul of Edward III and Queen Philippa, Prince Edward (the Black Prince) and Wykeham's parents, John and Sybill, and of Richard II, Queen Anne of Bohemia and Wykeham, himself, after their deaths.³⁹ At Eton, the suffrage was to be devoted only to Henry and his parents (as king, Henry had no need to recognise the good offices of royal patrons). To this

³⁵ H & W, pp.552-3. It would seem that *horam diei nonam* refers to the office, rather than the hour of the day, given that it applied to the recitation specifically by those who were in chapel; it may be a coincidence that breakfast began (according to clock time) at 9 o'clock (R. A. Austen-Leigh (ed.), 'Eton and Winchester in 1530', *Etoniana*, 9 (1907), p.133). It was stipulated that, before Henry's death, *Absolve quesumus* and *Anima regis...requiescant* should be dedicated to his parents.

³⁶ Kirby, *Annals*, pp.500-1; Wykeham required an additional prayer to be said after *Ave Maria*.

³⁷ See, for instance, Jefferies Collins, *Manuale...Sarisburyensis*, pp.121-4 (*Commendatio animarum*), p.133 (*Vigilia mortuorum*) and p.162 (*Inhumatio defuncti*).

³⁸ H & W, p.552; Kirby, *Annals*, p.500. At Winchester, instead of *Absolve quesumus*, both *Inclina Domine* and *Fidelium Deus* were said.

³⁹ Kirby, *Annals*, p.500.

effect, Wykeham's provisions were amended, so that during Henry's lifetime Psalm 20/21, *Domine in virtute tua*, and the versicle *Domine exaudi orationam meam*, should be said instead;⁴⁰ in the meantime, his parents would have to go uncommemorated.⁴¹ *Domine in virtute tua* was a logical text to recite during the king's lifetime:

The King shall rejoice in thy strength, O Lord:
exceeding glad shall he be of thy salvation.

Thou hast given him his heart's desire:
and hast not denied him the request of his lips.

For thou shalt prevent him with the blessings of goodness:
and shall set a crown of pure gold upon his head.

He asked life of thee...

The same psalm had been sung by the royal household chapel as the eight-year-old Henry had processed into Westminster Abbey for his coronation on 6 November 1429 (and again in Paris on 2 December 1431).⁴² Although the Coronation liturgy may not have been the direct source for this, the daily recitation of this particular psalm in an institution originally conceived as a memorial to his assumption of majority rule was symbolically significant.⁴³ Wykeham had been unspecific as to where, when and by whom *Domine, in virtute tua* should have been said. In the

⁴⁰ H & W, p.552.

⁴¹ Although the wording of the statutes strongly suggests that Psalm 129/130, etc. went unsaid during the king's lifetime, this may have been an oversight.

⁴² Wolffe, *Henry VI* (London, 1981), pp.48, 60; W. Ullmann (ed.), *Liber Regie Capelle: a manuscript in the Biblioteca Publica, Evora* (HBS, 92, London, 1961), pp.27, 51.

⁴³ Psalm 71/72, 'Give the King thy judgments, O God', for instance, could have been equally appropriate.

Winchester statutes, the direction had been for the psalm to be said by any member of college, anywhere at a time of their own choosing ('quolibet quolibet die hora qua voluerit');⁴⁴ this direction was carried through, almost *verbatim*, into the Eton statutes.⁴⁵ But, unlike the comparable statute at Winchester (which was directed only towards the priest-fellows), the Eton statute applied to fellows, chaplains, clerks, choristers and scholars alike. By 1530, the recitation by the scholars of *De profundis* (which had superseded *Domine in virtute* after the founder's death in 1471) had become fixed to the end of early morning school, when all the scholars recited the psalm and prayers before going to breakfast. Thus the statutory requirement for intercession was reconciled with the school's need for order: it was impractical for all seventy scholars (and sixteen choristers) to recite the psalm individually at random times of the day without disrupting classes.

2.1.1: the recitation of intercessions within the school day: the evidence of two sixteenth-century *curricula*

No evidence survives from the fifteenth century indicating how the statutes were interpreted in practice: how the liturgical and devotional obligations of the scholars and choristers were reconciled with the demands of the schoolroom. There are two extant sixteenth-century *curricula* written by headmasters of Eton, but both

⁴⁴ Kirby, *Annals*, p.500.

⁴⁵ H & W, p.552.

of these are inconclusive, as one was written for another school (and possibly with this school's needs and constitution specifically in mind), and the other postdates the Elizabethan settlement. The earlier of these *curricula* cannot have been written before 1528, nearly a quarter of a century after MS 178 was compiled. Nevertheless, both sources are important, if limited, evidence of scholastic and devotional practice at Eton.

Among the earliest known Eton *curricula* is that of William Cox, headmaster from 1528 until 1534;⁴⁶ it was a digest of Eton practice, compiled as a model for Dame Joanna Bradbury's school at Saffron Walden, founded in 1522.⁴⁷ It primarily concerns the academic timetable (describing each day's syllabus in each of the seven forms) and the maintenance of discipline. It was also drawn up with another school's use in mind: it is unclear whether Cox merely gave a description of the Eton timetable, or if he tailored the curriculum specifically to the needs of the new school at Saffron Walden. If the latter was the case, our interpretation of Cox's *curriculum* should be circumspect, as there were a number of constitutional dissimilarities between the two foundations - not least the absence of a collegiate chapel at Saffron Walden. Equally, Cox was more concerned with the academic aspect of school governance, rather than the *minutiae* of the scholars' (and choristers') devotional obligations. Nevertheless, there are references to the forms of prayer outlined in the statutes:

⁴⁶ R. Austen-Leigh, 'Eton and Winchester in 1530', *Etoniana*, 9 (1907), pp.131-6.

⁴⁷ Austen-Leigh, 'Eton and Winchester', p.131; see also *VCH*, Bucks, 2, pp.175-82.

They [the scholars] come to schole at vj. of the clok in the mornynge.⁴⁸
 They say Deus misereatur, with a colecte;⁴⁹ at ix. they say De profundis
 and go to brekefaste.⁵⁰ Within a quarter of an howere cum ageyne, and
 tary [till] xj. and then to dyner; at v. to soper, afore an antheme and
 De profundis.⁵¹

Written some thirty years later, the *Consuetudinarium* of William Malim
 (headmaster, 1555-1563) postdates many of the doctrinal reforms which rendered the
 statutes obsolete. Nevertheless it gives a similar picture of the daily round:⁵²

5am - Scholars get up, repeating their prayers while dressing, each
 one repeating in turn, the rest following in alternate verses.⁵³
 They make their beds after prayers are over, clean their rooms and
 go down in pairs to wash, and then take their places in the
 schoolroom.⁵⁴

6am - The usher enters the schoolroom, kneels at the upper end,
 and begins prayers.⁵⁵ School continues until 9am without
 interruption, when the Headmaster and Usher leave the
 schoolroom.⁵⁶

10am - A præposter shouts, 'Ad preces consurgite' and the

⁴⁸ There can be little doubt that clock-time was used at Eton: the mechanical clock in the chapel was repaired frequently and, in most years, one of the clerks (usually but not always the sacrist) was paid to maintain it. On the reckoning of time within the late-Medieval working day, see B. F. Harvey, *Living and Dying in England 1100-1540: The Monastic Experience* (Oxford, 1993), pp.154-9

⁴⁹ See Appendix A, pp.459-60, §5.

⁵⁰ Appendix A, pp.456-7, §2.

⁵¹ Austen-Leigh, 'Eton and Winchester', p.133; see Appendix A, pp.462-3, §8.

⁵² R. A. Austen-Leigh (ed.), 'Malim's Consuetudinarium', *Etoniana*, 5 (1905), pp.65-71, and 'Life at Eton in 1560', *Etoniana*, 36 (1923), pp.561-575.

⁵³ Appendix A, p.455, §1. The statutes directed that Matins of the BVM were to be said while scholars were making their beds: that these prayers were said antiphonally suggests the recitation of psalm-verses.

⁵⁴ Austen-Leigh, 'Life at Eton in 1560', p.570.

⁵⁵ Appendix A, pp.459-60, §5.

⁵⁶ Austen-Leigh, 'Life at Eton in 1560', p.572; Malim does not mention breakfast, although there is an intermission between 9am and 10am.

scholars stand for prayers.⁵⁷

8pm - They go to bed saying their prayers.⁵⁸

Sterry argued that Malim's *Consuetudinarium* was compiled for the visitation of Eton College by the royal commissioners on 9 September 1561;⁵⁹ this was instigated by William Cecil, following the election of Richard Bruerne as provost without royal assent, and resulted in the deprivation of four fellows and a chaplain and the imposition of the reformist William Day as provost.⁶⁰ If indeed Malim wrote his *Consuetudinarium* with its presentation to the inspectors in mind, the absence of a number of Henry VI's suffrages is understandable, given their overtly Marian and purgatorial references. But the festal calendar bespeaks Marian (or late-Henrician), rather than Elizabethan, origin; Malim made no effort to hide the continued celebration of forbidden feasts, most notably the Assumption of the BVM, after the passing of the Act of Uniformity in April 1559.⁶¹ If Malim omitted any suffrages from his customary, it is less likely that he did so for fear of the visitors' censure than because they had already been discontinued, or because he was more eager to depict the college's educational utility than its ideological purity. The feast of the Translation of Thomas Becket (7 July) had been abolished in 1538;⁶² in the

⁵⁷ Possibly Appendix A, pp;. 456-7, §2.

⁵⁸ Appendix A, pp.466-8, §10.

⁵⁹ Austen-Leigh, 'Malim's *Consuetudinarium*', p.65.

⁶⁰ Lyte, *History*, pp.165-8.

⁶¹ E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c.1400-c.1580* (New Haven/London, 1992) p.566.

⁶² Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p.412.

Consuetudinarium, Malim uses the past tense in his description (elsewhere using the present tense), similarly the election of the boy bishop on 13 November, a practice outlawed by royal proclamation in 1541.⁶³ But the language of Catholicism permeates Malim's calendar ('The Assumption of the Virgin Mother is a principal double feast') and Catholic feasts, such as the Feast of Relics, were written about as if they were still being celebrated.⁶⁴ Malim's calendar was therefore in accordance with late-Henrician strictures, obits and all; although the Use of Salisbury had been discontinued in 1559 in accordance with the Act of Uniformity, it does not necessarily follow that prayer outside chapel had yet been reformed when Malim wrote his *Consuetudinarium*.⁶⁵ Malim cannot therefore be discounted purely on the grounds that he was writing after the Elizabethan Settlement.

How were Henry VI's ordinances regarding daily prayers reconciled with the demands of the schoolroom timetable? Neither Malim nor Cox were particularly interested in the content of the prayers, but rather in their position within the daily routine. Neither explicitly mentions the short recitation which was said by all college members immediately on rising; Malim does not specify exactly what sort of prayers were said by the scholars as they dressed (these could either have been *Libera nos/Omnipotens sempiterne Deus/Absolve quesumus*, Matins of the BVM, or

⁶³ Austen-Leigh, 'Life at Eton', pp.567/569; Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p.430.

⁶⁴ Austen-Leigh, 'Life at Eton', pp.567-8.

⁶⁵ Lyte, *History*, p.161; apart from the purchase of English orders of Communion, adjustments to the new liturgy were implemented cautiously. See below, pp.435-46.

whatever form of prayer supplanted these after the Act of Uniformity);⁶⁶ Cox specifies *Deus misereatur* 'with a colecte' (and, presumably, the associated versicles and preces) at 6am, when the Usher entered the schoolroom, corresponding with Malim's 'prayers' (which, though unspecified, were probably the same).⁶⁷ At 9am, before breakfast, Cox (but not Malim) specified *De profundis*, which could refer either to the psalm with *Kyrie*, *Pater noster*, *Ave Maria* and *Absolve quesumus*, the time and place of whose recitation Henry VI had left open, or to the similar recitation (without *Kyrie*) said as a post-grace;⁶⁸ at 10am, Malim (not Cox) mentions prayers at the resumption of lessons (after breakfast), which could refer to either the *De profundis* (with *Kyrie*, *Paternoster*, *Ave Maria* and *Absolve quesumus*) or to the post-grace. The post-grace was said, according to the statutes, either in hall or in chapel, whereas both Cox's (9am) and Malim's (10am) prayers were said in the schoolroom; if both Malim and Cox were referring to the same set of prayers, it is most likely that they were referring to the *De profundis* whose place and time of recitation was not stipulated in the statutes.⁶⁹ According to Cox, supper was followed by 'an antheme and De profundis', which resembles the end-of-school rite more closely than the post-grace;⁷⁰ this is not mentioned by Malim. Cox's day ends at 5pm, whereas Malim's continues until 8pm when, after two hours of lessons, 'they go to bed saying their

⁶⁶ Appendix A, p.455, §1.

⁶⁷ Appendix A, pp.459-60, §5.

⁶⁸ Appendix A, pp.456-9, §§2, 3.

⁶⁹ Appendix A, pp.; 456-7, §2.

⁷⁰ Austen-Leigh, 'Eton and Winchester', p.133.

prayers’;⁷¹ this may have been the devotion which began with the hymn, *Salvator mundi* – at least in position, if not still in substance.⁷² Neither Cox nor Malim are very specific: neither mention explicitly the suffrages said in hall after grace (which both probably ignored, as suffrages said at meals did not impinge directly on the classroom schedule), nor the recitation of Matins and Vespers of the BVM, and Malim is particularly veiled regarding the actual content of the prayers. Nevertheless, taken together, both Malim’s *Consuetudinarium* and Cox’s rules produce a daily rota compatible with (even if not absolutely concordant with) the fifteenth-century statutes.

It is striking, however, that neither Cox nor Malim make any mention of the chapel in the scholars' daily round. Henry VI had ordained that, at the elevation of the host during High Mass, both choristers and scholars were to file into chapel and kneel in veneration of the host, saying *Adoramus te Christe, Domine Jesu Christe, fili Dei vivi* and *Absolve quesumus*.⁷³ The entrance of the scholars during Mass may have originated at Winchester College: no graduals appear to have been provided for the scholars there (at least when an inventory was made in 1531), implying either that they did not attend Mass at all or that they attended, but did not sit in the stalls or take an active part in the whole service.⁷⁴ If High Mass began at 10am, as it did in the royal chapel, this devotion would take place around 10.30am, at which time school

⁷¹ Austen-Leigh, ‘Life at Eton’, p.574.

⁷² Appendix A, pp.466-8, §11.

⁷³ H & W, p.554; see Appendix A, p.461, §6.

⁷⁴ Harrison, *MMB*, pp.434-5; antiphoners were provided for the scholars, but there were graduals only for fellows, conducts and clerks, plus three set aside for the choristers.

was still in progress;⁷⁵ lessons ended for lunch at 11am. The dislocation involved in transferring all seventy scholars into chapel during lessons would certainly have merited mention. Perhaps Cox omitted this particular ritual because the school at Saffron Walden did not have its own chapel where High Mass was recited daily. Similarly, religious and liturgical reform had probably rendered obsolete the requirement to attend the Elevation by the time Malim wrote his *Consuetudinarium* (even though there are significant traces of pre-Reformation practice in it); perhaps the prayers at 10.00am, when the præposter shouted "ad preces consurgite", were a vestige of the old rite when the scholars would have risen together from their desks and gone to chapel. It may also be possible that neither Malim nor Cox mentioned the prayers at the Elevation because they had already been discontinued by 1528.

2.1.2: the division of the liturgical workload

Although the *curricula* of Malim and Cox may not accurately reflect the liturgical and devotional apparatus of pre-Reformation, they nevertheless underline the clear division of labour laid out in the statutes, especially the near-complete division between school and chapel; excepting the attendance at the Elevation at High Mass the scholars as a body only attended chapel on Sundays, and on principal and major double feast days.⁷⁶ The sixteen choristers formed a body distinct from the scholars: although they entered chapel with the scholars during High Mass, their

⁷⁵ Ullmann, *Liber Regie Capelle*, p.16.

⁷⁶ Austen-Leigh, 'Eton and Winchester', p.134.

chapel duties were more onerous, including the offices of the BVM as well as the singing of the Lady anthem every night. The statutes did not require all sixteen choristers to attend the offices of the day, Lady Mass or even High Mass, but (by implication) only the duty choristers - including the *Puer ebdomodarius responsoriorum*, the *Puer ebdomodarius lectionis* and the *Puer ebdomodarius thuribuli* - as specified in the Salisbury Customary.⁷⁷ The fellows were another distinct grouping, responsible for the saying of Matins and Vespers (together with those choristers, clerks and chaplains deputed for the purpose), and the celebration of three of the seven daily Masses.⁷⁸ The chaplains and clerks formed a fourth grouping, responsible between them for the liturgy as a whole; although it is never stated explicitly in the statutes, they attended all the services in chapel between them on a rota basis (except on feasts and Sundays, when they attended *en masse*).⁷⁹ Only on Sundays and on major feasts did the whole college attend chapel; this may partly account for the care taken to specify the most important feasts in the statutes.⁸⁰

The division between festal and ferial attendance was marked. In common with Winchester College (and nearly all southern English collegiate foundations of

⁷⁷ Frere, *Use of Sarum*, 1, pp.69, 96, 186, 187, 290; according to some versions of the Salisbury Customary, the choristers only attended as a body at Vespers, Compline, Prime and Mass (*ibid.*, p.40, §24; 93, §44).

⁷⁸ H & W, pp.559, 564.

⁷⁹ H & W, p.557; between them, the chaplains, clerks and choristers 'ad hoc specialiter deputatos' were bound to attend Vespers, Matins, Mass 'et aliae Horae canonicae de Die'. It was almost certainly the role of the fellow-precentor to draw up the rota.

⁸⁰ See below, Appendix B, pp.469-71.

the later Middle Ages), Eton College adhered to the Use of Sarum.⁸¹ This adherence included the customs as well as the liturgy (i.e., service books and chants) of Salisbury. Thus, it was through the college's observance of the Salisbury Customary that the sixteen choristers were bound only to attend Vespers, Compline, Prime and Mass of the day (as well as Mass) on Sundays, double feasts and feasts of nine lessons (with triple invitatory).⁸² It must be noted, however, that the customs of Salisbury may not necessarily have been observed unaltered at Eton. This was implied in the statutes themselves: the parish clerk was not only to be conversant with the ordinal of Salisbury, but also the customary of the college.⁸³ If the college had its own customary, it would be expected that the college would develop its own customs, and that these need not have accorded with those of Salisbury in every detail. Nevertheless, care was taken to prescribe on which feasts (and at which services on those feasts) the full college was expected to attend; this suggests that chapel staffing on *feria* and lesser feasts was expected to be skeletal.

This would have had considerable implications on the performance of polyphony. If the college adhered to the customs of Salisbury, and did not develop its own (with, for instance, an obligation placed on all sixteen choristers to attend at daily Mass, Vespers and Compline), the singing of polyphony may have been

⁸¹ H & W, p.557; Kirby, *Annals*, p.501.

⁸² Frere, *Use of Sarum*, 1, pp.40 (§24), 93 (§44).

⁸³ H & W, p.514: the parish clerk was to have the first tonsure, and to be 'sufficiently instructed, or in the process of being instructed, in reading, chant, the ordinal of Salisbury and the customary of the said college'; he was also, preferably, to be chosen from among the scholars of the grammar school.

restricted to feasts and Sundays only, apart from the nightly votive antiphon. This is particularly significant in our interpretation of MS 178, in which votive antiphons so conspicuously outnumber settings of the Magnificat. If the choristers, clerks and chaplains only attended Vespers on major double feasts and Sundays, there would have been less demand for Magnificat settings than for the more frequently sung votive antiphons.

In Figures 2.A-2.C, chapel attendance on *feria*, lesser feasts and major feasts is shown. As well as the offices of the day and of the BVM, the seven daily Masses (including High Mass) are listed. The celebrant or president is indicated, where known. The ‘deputies’ were those specially deputed (either by the precentor, by the rulers of the choir or, perhaps, by the *informator choristarum*) to attend offices and Masses on *feria*: that is, the boy hebdomodaries, clerks and chaplains whose task it was to begin the chants, read lessons, or assist at Mass. The roles of the hebdomodaries varied from season to season and from service to service.

Figure 2.A: chapel attendance on feria

| <i>service</i> | <i>celebrant</i> | <i>attendants</i> |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Matins | | fellows and deputies ⁸⁴ |
| Lauds | | deputies |
| Prime | | deputies |
| Matins of BVM | | choristers |
| Lady Mass | a chaplain | assistants |
| Mass <i>De requie</i> (Terce) | a chaplain | assistants (deputies) |
| High Mass (Sext) | provost/fellow | deputies (deputies) |
| (None) | | (deputies) |
| <i>Missa quarta</i> | a chaplain | assistants |
| Chapter Mass | chaplain | assistants |
| Mass of the Annunciation | a fellow | assistants |
| Mass <i>ad libitum</i> | a fellow | assistants |
| Vespers & Compline of the BVM | | choristers |
| Vespers | | fellows and deputies |
| Compline | | deputies |
| Mary anthem | <i>informator choristarum</i> | choristers (and scholars in Lent) |

⁸⁴ 'Deputies' were those deputed to attend by the precentor, i.e. the chaplains, clerks and choristers acting in rotation. The statutes do not explicitly refer to the saying of the little hours of the day (or of the BVM): it would seem likely, however, that 'aliae horae canonicae' included the little hours of Terce, Sext and None of the day. Similarly 'Matutinas' is assumed to mean the three-fold composite office of Matins, Lauds and Prime.

Figure 2.B: chapel attendance on lesser feasts

| <i>service</i> | <i>celebrant</i> | <i>attendants</i> |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| Matins | | all chaplains plus deputies |
| Lauds | | all chaplains plus deputies |
| Prime | | all chaplains plus deputies |
| Matins of BVM | | choristers |
| Lady Mass | a chaplain (by rota) | deputies? |
| Mass <i>De requie</i> (Terce) | a chaplain (by rota) | deputies? (all chaplains plus deputies) |
| High Mass (Sext) | a fellow | two fellows plus all chaplains, clerks, choristers and scholars (all chaplains plus deputies) |
| (None) | | (all chaplains plus deputies) |
| <i>Missa quarta</i> | a chaplain (by rota) | |
| Chapter Mass | a chaplain (by rota) | |
| Mass of the Annunciation | a fellow (by rota) | |
| Mass <i>ad libitum</i> | a fellow (by rota) | |
| Vespers & Compline of the BVM | | choristers |
| Vespers | | all chaplains plus deputies |
| Compline | | all chaplains plus deputies |
| Mary anthem | <i>informator choristarum</i> | choristers (and scholars on vigils) |

Figure 2.C: chapel attendance on Sundays, principal and major double feasts and other specified solemnities

| <i>service</i> | <i>president/celebrant</i> | <i>attendants</i> |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Matins | provost | full college |
| Lauds | provost | full college |
| Prime | provost | full college |
| Matins of BVM | | choristers |
| Lady Mass | a chaplain | all clerks, choristers and scholars |
| Mass <i>De requie</i> | a chaplain | all clerks, choristers and scholars |
| (Terce) | (provost) | (full college) |
| High Mass | provost | full college |
| (Sext) | (provost) | (full college) |
| (None) | (provost) | (full college) |
| <i>Missa quarta</i> | a chaplain | assistants |
| Chapter Mass | a chaplain | assistants |
| Mass of the Annunciation | a fellow (by rota) | assistants |
| Mass <i>ad libitum</i> | a fellow (by rota) | assistants |
| Vespers & Compline of the BVM | | choristers |
| Vespers | provost | full college |
| Compline | provost | full college |
| Mary anthem | <i>informator choristarum</i> | choristers (and scholars on vigils) |

2.1.3: the daily round

Despite the accumulation of saints' days in the late-medieval calendar, most days were *feria*;⁸⁵ lesser feasts, moreover - most minor doubles, feasts of nine and three lessons - were excepted both in the statutes and in Malim's *Consuetudinarium*.⁸⁶ The daily liturgical routine was relatively light for the majority of choristers (except for those on duty as hebdomodaries). Nevertheless, at several times during the day, all sixteen choristers would have been participating in chapel services while the scholars were in classes: at Matins, Lauds and Prime of the BVM; at Terce, Sext and None of the BVM (if the little hours of the BVM were said); at Vespers and Compline of the BVM; and at the nightly votive antiphon. It was probably in order to spread the liturgical workload that recitation of Matins and Vespers of the day was entrusted to the fellows (whose liturgical duties were not heavy). At Winchester College, the fellows had a dual liturgical and administrative function; it has been suggested that this had proved too onerous, and that lessons learnt at Winchester were applied at Eton, with the provision of ten chaplains and ten clerks.⁸⁷ This ensured that the fellows were left free to administrate, and that the chaplains and clerks between them could share their duties more flexibly. Similarly,

⁸⁵ On added feast days, see R. W. Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 1970).

⁸⁶ H & W, pp.557, 559-60. In this regard (as in most others), the Eton statutes followed the Wykehamist model, in which feast days are similarly rationed (Kirby, *Annals*, pp.502-3). Austen-Leigh, 'Life at Eton', pp.562-70.

⁸⁷ Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', pp.4013-14.

the exception of the scholars from attending the offices of the day on all but major feast days and Sundays

(derived, again, from the Winchester statutes), ensured that they were free to study.

The choristers' obligation to recite the hours of the BVM (but not the hours of the day) lightened what would otherwise have been a very intensive working day, leaving them time enough to attend most of the classes (even if their attendance was interrupted by the hours of the BVM).

Based on the standard timetable of the royal household chapel, the choral *horarium* may have been as follows:⁸⁸

4-5am *pulsatio* for Matins⁸⁹
 5am MATINS (and LAUDS), followed by PRIME
 6am MATINS (LAUDS and PRIME) of the BVM, said by
 the choristers
 ?6.30am Lady Mass⁹⁰
 9am breakfast
 (?9.30am TERCE followed or preceded by TERCE of the BVM,
 said by choristers)⁹¹

⁸⁸ Ullmann, *Liber Regie Capelle*, p.16, in which Matins began at 7am, High Mass at 10am, Vespers at 4pm and Compline immediately after Vespers; H & W, p.557.

⁸⁹ An hour's toll before Matins was apparently the rule: at Fotheringhay, Matins may be at 2am (Christmas Day), 5am (principals and major doubles) or 6am, the *pulsacio* beginning an hour earlier (Thompson, *The Statutes of...Fotheringhay*, p. 296); at Tattershall, the first *pulsacio* began at 6am or thereabouts, the second at half past, the third at 7am, immediately after which Matins began (KCRO, Maidstone, MS U1475 Q21/1, executors' draft statutes, c.1457, *De horis pulsandis ad diuina celebrandi*, f.4); at St George's, Windsor, the tolls were quarter-hourly, four in all (*GB-Lbl*, MS Harley 7049, statutes (copy), *Qua hora intrent ministri chorum*, f.196^v).

⁹⁰ The relative positions of the seven daily Masses within the liturgical *cursus* are not indicated in the statutes; only Lady Mass and High Mass are therefore shown here.

⁹¹ In the statutes, the choristers were directed to say 'Matutinas et alias Horas de Beata Virgine' after (or before) Matins of the day and Vespers of the BVM before Vespers of the day (H & W, p.553). It is possible that 'alias Horas' merely referred to the morning hours, i.e. Lauds and Prime, and that Terce, Sext

| | |
|---------|---|
| ?10am | HIGH MASS |
| 11am | dinner |
| (?noon | SEXT, preceded or followed by SEXT of the BVM, said by choristers) |
| (?1pm | NONE, preceded or followed by NONE of the BVM, said by choristers) |
| ?3pm | VESPERS (and COMPLINE) of the BVM, said by choristers, during <i>pulsacio</i> for Vespers of the Day ⁹² |
| ?4pm | VESPERS, said by fellows in the nave, ⁹³ followed by COMPLINE (or see below) |
| ?4.40pm | MARIAN ANTHEM (or see below) ⁹⁴ |
| 5pm | supper |
| ?6pm | COMPLINE, followed by MARIAN ANTHEM, sung by choristers (and, <i>de facto</i> , by the clerks) ⁹⁵ |

and None and the parallel offices of the BVM were not intended to be said at all.

⁹² Vespers of the BVM were to begin at or after the first *pulsacio* (H & W, p.554).

⁹³ 4 o'clock seems to have been the universally accepted hour of Vespers, the tolling beginning at 3pm; see *Liber Regie Capelle*, p.16; at Tattershall, the Vespers bell was first rung at 3pm, the second at half-past three and the third at 4pm (Maidstone, KCRO, MS U1475 Q21/1, *De hora vesperarum*, f.4).

⁹⁴ The suggested alternative times for Compline and the Marian anthem are estimates; the statutes give no specific times for the recitation of the hours. The exact times may have varied according to the season or the discretion of the provost (as was permitted in the statutes: see below, p.463). At Fotheringhay, later times were laid down for the beginning of the evening devotion: 8 o'clock from 1 May until 1 September, and 7 o'clock during the winter months (Thompson, 'The Statutes of...Fotheringhay', p.295).

⁹⁵ The time of the evening devotion was left open in the statutes, and may have varied between winter and summer months (H & W, p.555): 'singulis diebus ad vesperam tempore congruentiori, secundum quod preposito...magis videbitur conveniens'. 'Ad vesperam' implies that the rite was to follow immediately after Vespers. Most of the antiphons in MS 178 last between ten and fifteen minutes; the devotion overall probably lasted approximately twenty minutes, perhaps twenty-five. If Vespers began at 4pm, this would leave no more than forty minutes for Vespers and Compline. Perhaps Compline was sung after supper, although Vespers and Compline are implicitly treated as one unit elsewhere in the statutes. A later time for the Marian devotion was favoured at other institutions, especially during the summer months: at Fotheringhay, the bell for *Salve* was rung at 8pm in the summer and 7pm in the winter (Thompson, 'The Statutes of...Fotheringhay', p.295), and at Ottery St Mary, the antiphon was sung after curfew bell by the two clerks deputed to sleep in church (J. N. Dalton, *The Collegiate Church of Ottery St Mary being the Ordinacio et Statuta Ecclesie Sancte Marie de Otery Exon. Diocesis A.D.1338, 1339* (Cambridge, 1917), pp.258-9); at Tattershall, three antiphons were sung after Compline (KCRO, MS U1475 Q21/1, *De hora vesperarum*, f.4).

2.2: THE ARCHITECTURAL ENVIRONMENT

The building history of the college chapel is well-documented, and need not be rehearsed in detail here.⁹⁶ Shortage of money after the usurpation in 1461 forced a radical revision of the founder's plans, most notably the abandonment of the vast nave which would have straddled the High Street, providing cover not only for the parishioners but also for the throng of pilgrims expected every Maundy Thursday and for the thirteen poor youths. By the time the choir of the projected minster was completed in the late 1470s, both the almshouse and the Holy Week dole had been abandoned, and with them the practical *rationale* for the large nave, which was replaced with a truncated nave or ante-chapel of the Oxford type, funded by William Waynflete.

The present layout of the college chapel is, excepting the disappearance of the reredos and the presence of a large organ at the west end of the choir, nearer to the founder's intentions than it was at the time MS 178 was compiled.⁹⁷ The stone organ screen straddles the choir arch (which was lowered when the ante-chapel was erected), in the place set aside for the rood screen in the king's 'Avyse' of *circa* 1449;⁹⁸ all the space east of the screen is devoted to the use of the college, the ante-

⁹⁶ See, for instance, R. W. Willis and J. W. Clarke, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, 1 (Cambridge, 1886), pp.401f; see above, pp.44-48.

⁹⁷ See A. H. R. Martindale, 'The Early History of the Choir of Eton College Chapel', *Archaeologia*, 103 (1971), pp.179-198.

⁹⁸ Martindale, 'The Early History', pp.180f.

chapel largely unused, a separate church having been built for the parish. Between *circa* 1480 and the mid nineteenth century, when the chapel was refurbished, the choir screen lay three bays east of the choir arch, affording enough space for both the parish and the college to share within the building as a whole.⁹⁹ Andrew Martindale revealed that the famous wall-paintings were executed in what was the nave of the church, the easternmost extremity on each side adjoining the west side of the wooden, probably parclose, choir screen.¹⁰⁰ The chief problem entailed in the 1480 layout of the chapel was accommodating the whole college within the smaller choir stalls, for which there was approximately half the space there would have been had the chapel been completed. Between the choir screen and the *gradus chori*, Martindale calculated that there would have been space for 110 seats, with three forms, and eighty-five, if only two forms had been built.¹⁰¹ The statutes give no indication of the exact seating plan, at least with regard to the chapel in its truncated form. The provost and vice-provost, respectively, occupied the customary south and north return stalls on the east face of the choir screen;¹⁰² the fellows, in order of their degrees, were divided between the remaining return stalls and the westernmost lateral stalls, the *informator scholarum*, chaplains, usher, clerks and foremost scholars occupied the remaining stalls, in that order;¹⁰³ the remaining scholars, the choristers and other

⁹⁹ Martindale, 'The Early History', p.182.

¹⁰⁰ Martindale, 'The Early History', pp.181, 189-190; A. H. R. Martindale, 'The Wall-paintings in the Chapel of Eton College', in *England and the Low Countries in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. C. Barron and N. Saul (Stroud, 1995), pp.133-152.

¹⁰¹ Martindale, 'The Early History', p.193.

¹⁰² H & W, p.558.

¹⁰³ H & W, pp.558-9.

members of college (the commensals and, possibly, the almsmen) occupied the remaining stalls. Even if the chapel had been completed, a first, second and, possibly, a third form would have been needed to accommodate 130 or more people.¹⁰⁴ Martindale demonstrates that there was probably space for only thirty-five stalls against the screen and the north and south walls.¹⁰⁵ These would have provided seating for the pre-1467 complement of provost, fellows, chaplains, clerks, headmaster and usher, thirty-three in all; after 1467, at the time when the choir stalls were made, there would have been about ten spaces left for the more senior scholars.¹⁰⁶ We know that at least some of the scholars did sit in the stalls, the more senior scholars taking the upper tier of stalls: in his will, Thomas Kendall, one of the chapel clerks, left doles for those attending his obit, tuppence for 'any scoler of the hyghe stalls' and a penny a piece for the 'chyldern and queresters benethe'.¹⁰⁷ If two forms were provided on each side, this would leave fifty-one seats for the remaining scholars and choristers (who, together numbered around seventy-five);¹⁰⁸ possibly, the choristers sat on benches in front of the second form, the sixty-odd scholars

¹⁰⁴ This number is based approximately on the pre-dissolution constitution of provost, ten fellows, headmaster, ten chaplain-conducts, Usher, ten clerks, sixteen choristers, seventy scholars and thirteen almsmen; the number of commensals varied.

¹⁰⁵ Martindale, 'The Early History', p.192; he does not appear to have made any allowances for gangways, however.

¹⁰⁶ After 1467, there were usually seven fellows and approximately the same number each of chaplains and clerks (see below, pp.170f).

¹⁰⁷ ECR 60/297 (lease book register, p.143: will of Thomas Kendall, 18 April 1524 (proved 22 June 1524); see below, Appendix H, pp.542-3.

¹⁰⁸ Martindale ('The Early History', p.192) allows as much space for subsidiary seats as he does for the stalls; it is likely, however, that the lower seats could accommodate more people if they were not subdivided into misericords like the stalls.

squeezed into the first and second forms.¹⁰⁹ If three forms were provided, which would have been feasible given the width of the chapel, there would have been at least seventy-five seats available below the stalls - ample room for scholars, choristers and commensals to sit. By the time the new chapel was finished, there were no almsmen to seat. The dilemma of seating room - if dilemma it was - only applied on feast-days, however; it is clear that the scholars did not attend chapel on ferials, except at the daily Elevation (at which they knelt). On ordinary days, only a small number of stalls were required, as the offices of the day were celebrated only by the duty choristers, clerks and chaplains deputed (probably by rota). Martindale expressed surprise at the qualified right to stalls accorded in the statutes to the chaplains, clerks and choristers;¹¹⁰ given that it was they, and not the scholars, who provided the backbone to the day-to-day liturgy, this is not at all surprising. Nevertheless, Martindale demonstrates that the right to stalls (statutorily at the provost's discretion) was almost certainly put into effect and that, wherever they may have sung the Marian devotions, the chaplains, clerks and choristers occupied their customary places in choir during the canonical liturgy.

The bulk of the day-to-day liturgy was sung by the choir, *alternatim*, divided between north and south sides of the choir.¹¹¹ Thus arranged, the clerks, choristers and those of the chaplains who were able to, may have improvised faburden and

¹⁰⁹ See Martindale, 'The Early History', p.193, n.2; at Lincoln Cathedral, the choristers sat on benches.

¹¹⁰ Martindale, 'The Early History', p.196.

¹¹¹ Not only was this universally customary, but the statutes stipulated that the choristers, when saying hours of the BVM, should divide by sides (H & W, p.553).

descant. But it is extremely unlikely that mensurated polyphony, at least before the advent of partbooks, was sung in stalls. Our knowledge of the performance of mensurated polyphony between the completion of the chapel and the Reformation is entirely dependent on the survival of MS 178. It was probably with antiphonal performance in mind that Dom Anselm Hughes suggested that there were originally two such choirbooks.¹¹² But it is extremely unlikely, if not impossible, that any of the polyphony in MS 178 was sung antiphonally in the stalls: the clerks (and chaplains), who sat in the lateral stalls would not have been able to read it at right angles, some twenty feet away. Even if the singers all sat on one side of choir, with the choirbook facing them, the clerks would still have been twenty feet away, unless they sat on the lower forms with the choristers. This asymmetrical arrangement would still pose severe difficulties in performance, such as keeping time. At Winchester College, asymmetrical seating of the choir is implied by the disposition of books. In the inventory compiled in 1531, the chapel books were listed according to side: 'ex parte domini Custodis' and 'ex parte Vicecustodis' (i.e., south and north respectively).¹¹³

On the south side were:

a great antiphoner for the warden
 an antiphoner for the schoolmaster and senior fellows
 " for the third fellow
 " for the junior fellows
 " for a conduct
 " for the usher and a clerk
 an antiphoner for the scholars

¹¹² As quoted in A. Mellor, *A Record of the Music and Musicians of Eton College* (Eton, 1929), p.4. Hughes drew this conclusion from 'certain internal indications in the MS.', though he does not specify these 'indications'.

¹¹³ Extracts printed in Harrison, *MMB*, pp.434-5.

a gradual for the warden

- " for the senior fellows
- " for the junior fellows
- " for the conduct

and on the north side:

an antiphoner for the vicewarden

- " for the senior fellows
- " for the junior fellows
- " for a conduct
- " for the clerks
- " for the scholars
- " for the ruler of the choir
- " for the organist

an antiphoner newly appointed for the choristers

another old antiphoner for the choristers¹¹⁴

a gradual for the vicewarden

- " for the senior fellows
- " for the junior fellows
- " for a conduct
- " for the clerks

plus three 'Gradalia pro chorustis' (separate heading)

Apart from the fact that no Mass books were provided for the scholars, these lists are significant, as it appears that all the choristers and the majority of the clerks sat on one side of the choir, while the more numerous fellows and scholars were divided more or less equally. As no antiphoner was provided for choristers on the south side, it seems that all sixteen choristers sat on the north side (at least during the hours), while the clerks were divided unequally, two (or three) on the north side, one on the south. The addition of the sixteen choristers to the constitution of Winchester was an

¹¹⁴ This entry is struck out in the MS.

afterthought; but at Eton, they were a part of the scheme *ab initio* and, at least while the choristers recited the hours of the BVM, it was ordained that they should stand *divisi*.¹¹⁵ It would therefore seem likely that the chaplains and clerks divided by side, as at Winchester.

The Marian antiphons, which form the core of the MS 178, were sung elsewhere in chapel.¹¹⁶ The Magnificats and the Passion would have been performed during (festal) Vespers and at High Mass on Palm Sunday respectively; hence, they must have been sung in the choir. The likeliest place would have been *in medio chori*, resting the heavy choirbook on the desk of one of the *rectores chori*. At least in the case of the Passion, the whole college would have been present; as is argued above, the Magnificats were probably reserved for feast days, when full college was present, and possibly for Sundays.¹¹⁷ If there was shortage of space when all the scholars were present, the clerks and choristers may have been displaced from their regular stalls. Even if they were not, it was logistically simple to file down from the stalls and to gather round the choirbook in the middle of the chapel; as the Magnificat was sung at the end of Vespers, there would have been no need to return to the stalls. Similarly, the clerks and choristers would have sung the *voces turbarum* in the middle of choir during the Palm Sunday Passion recitation, the soloists singing from the narrow pulpitum.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ H & W, p.553.

¹¹⁶ See below, pp.116-21.

¹¹⁷ See above, pp.100f.

¹¹⁸ Martindale ('The Early History', p.192) estimates that the gallery would have been between four and six feet wide.

2.3: THE VOTIVE ANTIPHON AND ITS PLACE WITHIN THE COLLEGE'S DEVOTIONAL LIFE

The centrality of the evening devotion to the polyphony of the Eton choirbook is at odds with its modest importance within the college statutes as a whole. The attendance of the scholars was required only during Lent or, at least, on vigils of feast days.¹¹⁹ At other times, only the choristers and their master were specifically enjoined to attend. On feast days outside Lent, it may have become customary for all or some of the scholars to attend the Marian antiphon as well as Vespers and Compline: the cessation of afternoon and evening classes suggested in Malim's Customary would have enabled this.¹²⁰ Quite possibly, individual scholars joined the choristers on *feria*: if the statutes were adhered to *ad litteram*, this would certainly have been the case during the first half of the sixteenth century.¹²¹ The lay clerks, whom the statutes did not require to attend, clearly did so by the end of the fifteenth century, as the repertory contained in MS 178 amply demonstrates, and as Visitation records confirm;¹²² equally, other members of college, although not statutorily obliged to do so, may have participated. Like the Eton statutes, Ralph Cromwell's statutes for Tattershall mirrored the Fotheringhay statutes in requiring attendance

¹¹⁹ H & W, p.555.

¹²⁰ Austen-Leigh, 'Malim's *Consuetudinarium*', pp.65-71.

¹²¹ See below, pp.393-4.

¹²² A. H. Hamilton (ed.), *Visitations of Religious Houses in the Diocese of Lincoln, 1517-1531*, 2 (Lincoln Record Society, 35, Lincoln, 1944), p.135: '...Provideatur quod sint pluries clerici psallentes antiphonam beate Marie singulis diebus post vespervas. Sunt aliquando ibidem .iij. et .iiij. dumtaxat presentes aliis interim ludentibus' (visitation, 23 May 1519).

only, and specifically, from the choristers.¹²³ At the end of the fifteenth century, the choir at Tattershall was singing the same sort of votive antiphons as those sung at Eton.¹²⁴ Neither the initial exclusion of clerks nor their subsequent inclusion were peculiar to Eton; but, whereas at Tattershall the school was auxiliary to the liturgical functioning of the college, at Eton the scholars were by far the most numerous (and ultimately the most important) element. The scholars' exclusion from one of the focal liturgical events of the day underlined the division between chapel and school.

The chapel of Eton was also the parish church of the town. In this respect, it bore a greater resemblance to collegiate churches like Fotheringhay, Tattershall and Arundel (where an ironwork screen divided parish and college halves of the church) than to the collegiate chapels of Oxford (Merton excepted), Cambridge or Winchester College. The statutes do not stipulate where the antiphon should be sung, except that it should be sung before the image of the BVM, but, as is argued below, it was very probably sung in the nave, somewhere west of the choir screen, in line with most contemporary practice. At Fotheringhay, the ceremony began in the choir, with antiphons and suffrages to St John the Baptist and St Edward the Confessor, followed by the singing of a Marian antiphon (according to the time of year: presumably one of the four seasonal post-Compline antiphons) after which a chorister intoned *Ave Maria*;¹²⁵ the fellows withdrew, leaving the choristers alone, who said *Kyrie*,

¹²³ KCRO, MS U1475 Q21/1, f.4, *De hora vesperarum*; at Tattershall, as at Fotheringhay, the senior members of foundation withdrew before the singing of the Marian antiphon.

¹²⁴ Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', p.A059.

¹²⁵ Thompson, 'The Statutes of...Fotheringhay', p.292.

suffrages and preces at the altar step and then more suffrages at the tomb of Edward, Duke of York; then they processed and stood between the two images of the BVM by the first pair of columns west of the chancel arch, and sang *alternatim* the antiphon *Benedicta [es coelorum regina]*, after which a chorister said the verse *Sancta Dei genetrix*; the choristers then sang the antiphon *Michael archangele* at the altar of St Michael and the antiphon *Opem nobis o Thoma* at the altar of Thomas Becket, together with accompanying suffrages.¹²⁶

The statutes of Fotheringhay are unusually detailed in both the content and form of the rite. They stipulate the migration from choir to nave, which was a common feature, derived from the Dominican *Salve* procession.¹²⁷ New College, Oxford, like Eton College, was dedicated to the BVM; the singing of the *Salve* in New College chapel also took place in the nave, at least by 1509.¹²⁸ Fotheringhay College was dedicated to the BVM (and All Saints): there, the evening votive observances began at the altar step, but migrated into the nave. At Tattershall College, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, there was a Lady chapel, and it was there that the Marian antiphon was sung by the choristers, after antiphons to the Trinity (*Liberanos*) and St Sebastian (*Egregie Christi*) were sung by full college in the choir stalls.¹²⁹

¹²⁶ Thompson, 'The Statutes of...Fotheringhay', p.293.

¹²⁷ W. R. Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy* (New York, 1944), pp.161-2.

¹²⁸ NCO, MS 7726 (bursars' accounts, 1509-10), under *Custus capelle*: John Cornysch was paid for materials used, among other things, to amend the board (*tabula*) used during the singing of the antiphon 'in navi ecclesie'.

¹²⁹ KCRO, MS U1475 Q21/1 (draft statutes, Tattershall College, c.1457), f.4, *De hora vesperarum*.

But at St Mary-in-Newark College, Leicester, the Jesus anthem, *Sancte Deus*, was sung in the nave;¹³⁰ at St Paul's Cathedral, both the Jesus and the Mary antiphons were sung in the nave, before the rood, at least by 1532.¹³¹ At Eton, *Salve* was to be sung before the image of the BVM.¹³² By 1518 there were at least four images of the BVM in the chapel: one by the south-west door in the ante-chapel (the parishioners' entrance), another by the opposite (north-west) door, one in the middle of the nave, and one added in 1486-7 on the west face of the pulpitum, north of the choir door (St Nicholas occupying the south side).¹³³ Either the statue in the middle of the nave or the image added by the pulpitum in 1486-7 are likelier than the images at the west or east ends. The votive antiphon began immediately after *Pater noster* had been said before the rood: it is unlikely that the choristers then processed to the extreme end of the chapel. The statue in the middle of the nave was the principal Marian icon: not only was it prominently located, but it was adorned with trinkets, some given by parishioners.¹³⁴ It was probably here that the votive antiphon was sung within sight of the altar of the BVM: William Ketill, for many years a chapel clerk, left money in his will for tapers to be burnt 'before our lady at morow Masse altar when the latin

¹³⁰ PRO, DL 224/3568 (account of the provost, College of St Mary in the Newarke, Leicester, 1532-3), under *Stipendia cappellani triennali*: 'Et solut vi chorestis dicti Collegi pro eandem Antiphonam sancte Deus in nave ecclesie'.

¹³¹ Harrison, *MMB*, p.87.

¹³² H & W, p.555.

¹³³ Lyte, *History*, pp.91-2; ECR 60/14 (register 1), p.136 (will of Elizabeth Gosse, 1518).

¹³⁴ A. K. McHardy, 'Some Late-Medieval Eton College Wills', *JEH*, 28 (1977), p.391.

antyme is singing'.¹³⁵ Whether by the screen or in the middle of the nave, the anthem was sung not in the 'college' part of the chapel, east of the pulpitum, but in the 'parish' half. At Eton, as at Fotheringhay, the doors were shut after the *Salve* and not before;¹³⁶ parishioners could clearly attend if they wanted to, unlike at Ottery St Mary, where the evening antiphon was recited after curfew by the two clerks who slept in the locked church.¹³⁷ Lay attendance had been a feature of the devotion since the Dominicans had originally introduced the *Salve* procession in the thirteenth century.¹³⁸ Thus, although the scholars may not have been bound to attend regularly, it does not necessarily follow that the chapel was empty when the *Salve* was sung; bequests from parishioners to the chapel and to the parish clerk attest to the parishioners' devotion to the chapel, staffed by laymen whom they knew well, which dwarfed any commitment shown by them to the college with which they shared it.¹³⁹ It was perhaps partly with college-parish relations in mind, and also with a view to providing a suitably adorned forum for the performance of her antiphons, that the college fellows commissioned the famous murals of the miracles of the BVM which spanned from the ante-chapel to the rood-screen.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁵ ECR 60/14 (register 1), p.161 (will of William Ketyll, 30 June 1528, proved 29 March 1530): see below, p.544. In 1475, Eton College contracted with Earl Rivers to say a daily 'Wydeville' or Morrow Mass at the altar of the BVM (Lyte, *History*, p.70).

¹³⁶ Curfew was sounded 'at the end of day', after the *Salve* and before the scholars and choristers said their evening prayers (H & W, p.556); A. H. Thompson, 'The Statutes of...Fotheringhay', p.295.

¹³⁷ Dalton, *The Collegiate Church of Ottery St Mary*, p.258.

¹³⁸ Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy*, p.162.

¹³⁹ McHardy, 'Some Late-Medieval Eton College Wills', p.393.

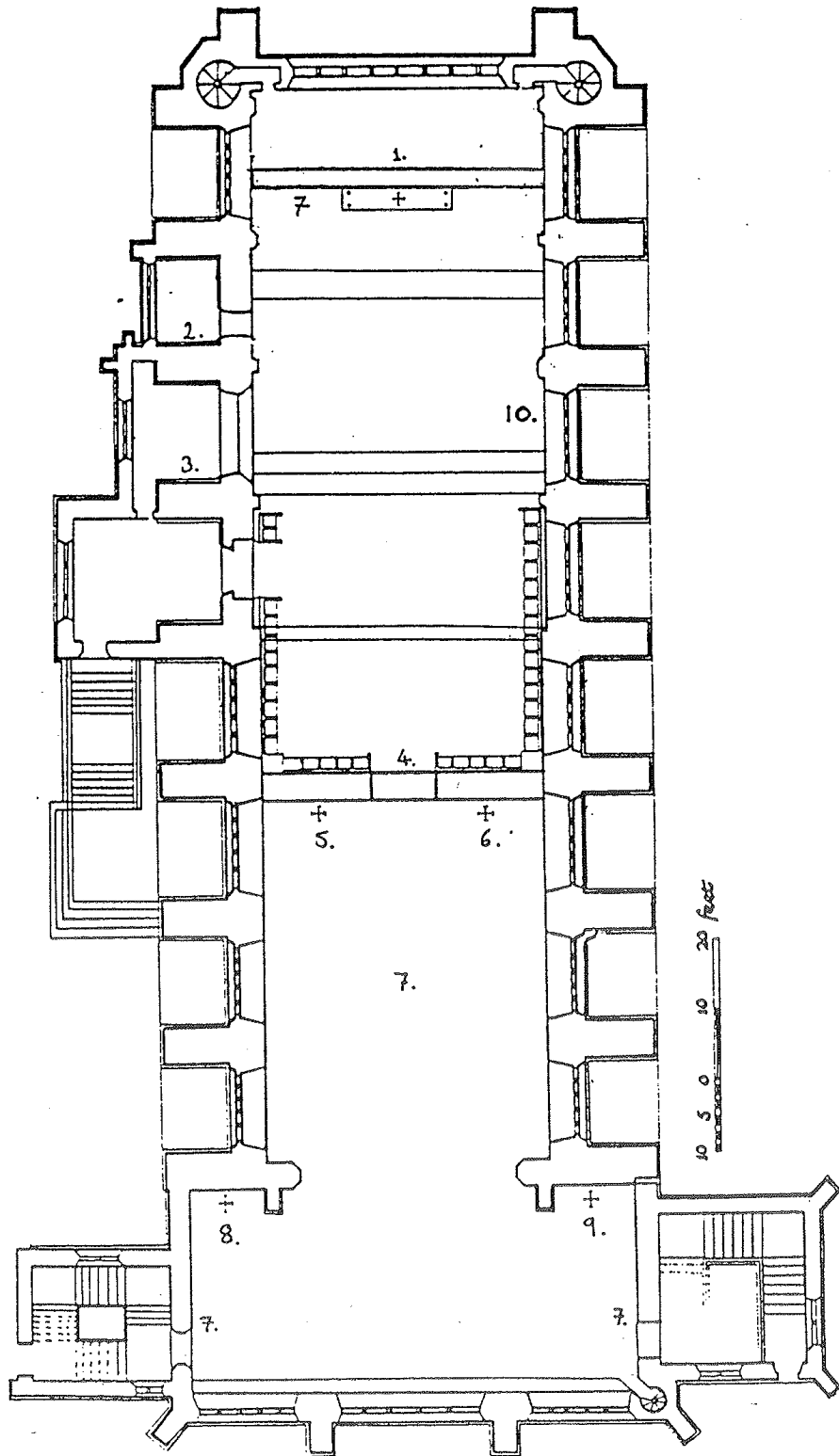
¹⁴⁰ See Martindale, 'The Wall-paintings', pp.133-5.

KEY TO FIGURE 2.2 (see overleaf)¹⁴¹

1. High Altar and reredos
2. Provost Lupton's chantry chapel (added after 1505)
3. Vestry
4. Pulpitum (with rood, organ and lectern above)
5. Altar of the BVM (another altar added by *c.*1500)
6. Altar of St Nicholas (another altar added by *c.*1500)
7. Images of BVM
8. Altar of St Peter?
9. Altar of St Katherine (otherwise called Jourdelay altar)
10. Possible position of smaller organ

¹⁴¹ Based on Martindale, 'The Early History', figure 2, p.185.

Figure 2.D: Eton College Chapel, *circa* 1500



(conjectural plan)

2.4: THE LITURGICAL USES AND POSITIONS OF THE ORGANS

The organ played an important role within the late-medieval liturgy. This is evinced at Eton by the employment of organists and by the periodic repairs to (and purchase of) organs. Within the statutes, the prominence of the organ as an adjunct to the liturgy was implicit in the dispensation made for the organist to marry, a privilege not accorded to other members of the chapel staff.¹⁴² Within the later medieval church as a whole, the organ's role was two-fold: to lend distinction to the more important points of the liturgical day, season and year; and, related to this, to act as a substitute for choral polyphony at services at which polyphonic singers were not in attendance. In assessing the role of choral polyphony within the liturgy as a whole, it is therefore necessary to consider the role of the organ liturgically as much as a musically: when and for what types of devotion the organ was used; why the number of organs proliferated in the early sixteenth century; where these organs were located; what implications the use of the organ had on the recruitment of personnel; how the use of the organ impacted on the performance of choral polyphony (and *vice versa*), and hence the organ's role influenced the repertory of the choir.

Several essays have been written concerning the use of organs at Eton. M. R. James' account in *Etoniana* began in 1505, the year in which the college bursars had

¹⁴² H & W, p.514.

begun to use audit books;¹⁴³ subsequent essays have depended on James's account.¹⁴⁴

While writing his history, Albert Mellor consulted Provost James who, by 1929, had been able to consult the numerous bursary account rolls which span the from 1444 to 1505; Mellor noted the first appearance of payments concerning the organ in 1468, and the first record of a named artisan, Alan Mosen, in 1496-1497.¹⁴⁵ Beyond this, neither Mellor nor Thistlethwaite add much, if anything, to James's factual account; the preoccupations and limitation of James's article – its reliance solely on the account books and its lack of concern with the use and position of the organs in the chapel and its liturgy – have subsequently been carried through into these later texts.

Little consideration has been given to where the organs were or how they were used within the liturgy. Yet it is apparent that, *ab initio*, organ polyphony was integral to the liturgy as much as vocal polyphony. Perhaps the most important musician employed at Eton during the fifteenth century was Henry Abyndon. In the service of Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester, Abyndon took up employment at Eton, by 25 March 1447, very shortly after his master's death (on 23 February).¹⁴⁶ His employment at Eton was primarily as organist, rather than as a singer, as Roger

¹⁴³ M. R. James, 'Organs and Organists in the College Accounts', *Etoniana*, 24 (1919), pp.369-376. The subject was touched upon before James published; for instance in a discursive and laudatory article, 'Eton College' by 'Dotted Crotchet' in *MT*, 49, 790 (1908), pp.765-774, itself drawn largely from Lyte's *History*.

¹⁴⁴ A. Mellor, *A Record of the Music and Musicians of Eton College* (Eton, 1929); N. J. Thistlethwaite, *Organs at Eton* (Eton, 1987).

¹⁴⁵ Mellor, *A Record*, p.64.

¹⁴⁶ Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', p.A040.

Bowers suggests.¹⁴⁷ The statutes allowed for the employment of an organist in addition to the four *clerici generosi*, if circumstances demanded;¹⁴⁸ throughout Henry Abyndon's period of employment there were consistently four (or more) other *clerici generosi*.¹⁴⁹ He is described as *organista* in the accounts for 1451, almost as a title.¹⁵⁰ Abyndon was probably head-hunted specifically to play the organ.

The chapel inventory made in 1465, at the time of Eton College's annexation to St George's, Windsor, included two pricksong books and a volume 'for Organys', whose second folio began, 'laris qui';¹⁵¹ the organ book was still present in the inventory of 1531, where the beginning of the second folio began, 'lapis qui'.¹⁵² Two suggestions have been made as to the liturgical source of these words. Andrew Wathey has hinted at the Mary antiphon, *Ave mundi spes Maria*;¹⁵³ Reinhard Strohm has suggested the *contratenor altus* part of a fragmentary setting of the Advent O-antiphon, *O rex gentium* in the Lucca choirbook:

O rex gentium et desideratus earum, lapisque
angularis, qui facis mirabilia.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁷ Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', p.A040.

¹⁴⁸ Harrison, 'The Eton Choirbook', p.155.

¹⁴⁹ See below, pp.159-62.

¹⁵⁰ ECR 61/AR/A/5 (audit roll, 1450-1), under *Stipendia capellanorum et clericorum*; this roll was discovered in 1978.

¹⁵¹ M. R. James, 'Chapel Inventories', *Etoniana*, 28 (1921), pp.443.

¹⁵² M. R. James, 'Chapel Inventories', p.446.

¹⁵³ A. Wathey, 'Lost books of polyphony in England: a list to 1500', *RMARC*, 21(1988), p.5, §§28-30.

¹⁵⁴ R. Strohm, *The Rise of European Music 1380-1500* (Cambridge, 1993), p.400.

Superficially, Strohm's suggestion is more appealing, as it might account for the confusion between 'lapis qui' ('**lapisque** angularis') and 'laris qui' ('**angularis, qui**').

But there are no grounds for Strohm's assumption that the book contained vocal polyphony. In the 1465 inventory the book 'laris qui' is listed separately from, and under a different heading from, the other polyphony books; in the 1531 inventory, MS 178 and 'laris qui' are again listed separately, 'laris qui' (apparently arbitrarily) paired with a book of invitatories and verses, 'diem temptacionis', which had been listed under a separate heading in 1465. The book containing 'laris qui' was, as the scribe of 1465 wrote, for use at the organ ('for Organys'), and probably contained chants or monodic melodies for improvisation. In fact, both 'laris qui' and 'lapis qui' would match the original liturgical form of the O-antiphon:

O rex gentium et desideratus earum:
lapisque angularis qui facis utraque unum:
 veni salva hominem quem de limo formasti.

Alternatively, the 1531 reading 'lapis qui' may merely have been a scribal misreading of 'laris qui', rather than a confusion between two similar sections of the text; in which case, the Mass sequence for the Annunciation, *Ave mundi spes Maria*, is a likelier candidate:¹⁵⁵

Ave mundi spes Maria, ave mitis, ave pia, ave plena
 gratia:
 Ave virgo **singularis, que** per rubum designaris, non
 passum incendia.....¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ This was proposed by Harrison in *MMB*, p.163, n.2.

¹⁵⁶ *Breviarium*, 2, col.519.

An Advent Magnificat antiphon and a Mass sequence are plausible, the sequence the more so, because it could be used throughout the year within the Lady Mass. While festal sequences were rarely set to polyphony (organ or vocal), Lady Mass and Jesus-Mass sequences were commonly set *alternatim*.¹⁵⁷

No other organ books were noted in the pre-Reformation chapel inventories. There was probably no reason for there to be another: once the organ's liturgical role had been established and the appropriate chants inscribed in one book, there was no need to replace it. The two codices of choral or vocal polyphony listed after the organ book in the 1465 inventory had disappeared by 1531: MS 178 was the only choirbook (or, at least, the only codex of a size and quality meriting mention). This reinforces the impression that 'Iaris qui' was a book of chant (or chant-derived) melodies upon which the organist improvised. By 1531, the mensurated choral polyphony contained in the two books listed in 1465 had become obsolete, and the codices dismantled: chants and/or faburden melodies would have remained the same, and would not have needed replacement unless the book containing it became too worn to use. The retention of the same organ book after the move from the old parish church to the new chapel implies a degree of continuity in the liturgical use of the organ, even assuming that other, more ephemeral, books and rolls were copied out for use at the organ.

The number, size and position of organs were as much determined by liturgical use as the music written for or improvised upon them. Written in 1593, the

¹⁵⁷ Harrison, *MMB*, p.391.

Rites of Durham is an extremely informative source concerning the pre-Reformation organ.¹⁵⁸ By the end of the Middle Ages, there were five organs within the cathedral priory church at Durham: the great organ, placed over the choir screen, which was played only on principal feasts, contained wooden pipes, and was of the highest quality;¹⁵⁹ it was almost certainly on this organ, strategically placed in the middle of the church, that the *Te Deum* was played as the Corpus Christi procession made its way down the nave.¹⁶⁰ There were two other organs in the choir: the 'cryers', lying behind the north choir stalls, immediately east of the crossing, which was only played on the feasts of the four doctors;¹⁶¹ the 'white organs' were situated directly opposite, and were used for lesser feasts and ferial days ('at ordinary service').¹⁶² The remaining two organs were closely associated, if not entirely dependent upon, specific extra-choral liturgies. Two bays west of the crossing, near the Jesus altar, was a loft in which the *informator choristarum* and the choristers sang for Jesus Mass on Fridays; in the loft was a music desk and an organ.¹⁶³ In the Lady (or 'Galilee') chapel was a further pair of organs used when the choristers and their master

¹⁵⁸ J. T. Fowler (ed.), *Rites of Durham, being a description or brief declaration of all the ancient monuments, rites, & customs belonging or being within the monastical church of Durham before the suppression, written 1593* (Surtees Society, 107, Durham, 1903).

¹⁵⁹ *Rites of Durham*, p.16.

¹⁶⁰ *Rites of Durham*, p.108.

¹⁶¹ *Rites of Durham*, p.16; the four feasts fell on 12 March (Gregory), 4 April (Ambrose), 26 May (Augustine) and 30 September (Jerome).

¹⁶² *Rites of Durham*, pp.16/162.

¹⁶³ *Rites of Durham*, p.34.

celebrated Lady Mass.¹⁶⁴ The number and position of these organs implies a liturgical and festal hierarchy, or a scheme of appropriateness, designed (or evolved) to mirror the precision of the Customary.

There were no side-aisles, no Lady chapel and no nave choir-loft at Eton; of the five stations occupied by organs at Durham, only the pulpitem at Eton provided an equivalent position - and even this was devoted primarily to the rood. Yet four organs were listed in the 1531 inventory;¹⁶⁵ this was double the number available at Winchester College.¹⁶⁶ This apparent profligacy suggests that, by 1531, different organs were used on different occasions, perhaps according to a strict liturgical/festal order. Initially, there appear to have been no more than two organs, possibly just one. Prior to the removal of services to the new chapel in the late 1470s, there is no mention of organs in the audit rolls, except a payment of 20d. in 1473/4 to Robert Bury for adjusting and repairing the keys of the organ, and a payment of 40s. made the following year for repairs to the great organ.¹⁶⁷ The latter payment was considerably larger than would have been incurred by routine maintenance, for which 12d. was usually allocated;¹⁶⁸ either in preparation for or, more likely, as a result of

¹⁶⁴ *Rites of Durham*, p.43.

¹⁶⁵ James, 'Chapel Inventories', *Etoniana*, 26 (1920), p.408.

¹⁶⁶ WCM 21871 (inventory, 1527).

¹⁶⁷ ECL, MS 231 (bursars' drafts), f.6, under *Custus necessariorum pro ecclesia* (1473/4); 'Et solut Roberto Buri pro emendacione & reparacione clavum organorum xij^d'; *ibid.*, f.21v (1474/5), 'pro reparacione magnorum organorum xxx^s'.

¹⁶⁸ In 1479-80, 1482-3, 1483-4, 1484-5 and 1497-8, a shilling was paid towards repairs; similar small-scale payments were probably also made in other years.

the move from old church to new chapel, the organ was given an over haul. By 1498-1499, this organ was wearing out, and £5. 10s. was spent on repairs, 3d. for a reading desk, and 8d. on a door for the bottom of the staircase.¹⁶⁹ This organ, the *magna organa*, stood on the choir screen, against either the north or the south wall – the pulpitum also served as a rood screen, and (from 1506-7) also held an altar, an ambo (with double lectern) and (from 1510-11) a chest of songbooks.¹⁷⁰ It was thus placed, like the Durham great organ, strategically in the middle of the chapel. In 1506-7, John Howe, the father of ‘Father’ John Howe, was paid a total of 40s. for buying and installing a new organ;¹⁷¹ the following year, £3. 13s. 4d. was paid for a small organ, for which a bench and an enclosure were made.¹⁷² It could be that both the 1506-7 and the 1507-8 entries refer to one and the same instrument, paid for in two halves. But this is unlikely: split payments were carefully recorded, ‘in part solution’ and ‘in full solution’, as each payment was made. The 1506-7 payment, for the purchase and setting up of an organ, was probably for a small organ; the later payments, for the purchase both of an organ, and also for the equipment needed to use and safeguard it, were for another, slightly larger, instrument. These organs either replaced or supplemented an earlier positive organ; this was not referred to specifically, but the description of the pulpitum organ as the *magna organa* in 1498-9 at least implies the existence of a smaller one.

¹⁶⁹ ECR 61/AR/F/9 (audit roll, 1498-9), under *Custus ecclesie*.

¹⁷⁰ Martindale, ‘The Early History of the Choir’, p.191.

¹⁷¹ ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1506-7, under *Custus ecclesie*), p.40.

Listed in the 1531 inventory were ‘.iiij. lytyl lectorns for orgayns’ and ‘.iiij.formys to the orgayns’:¹⁷³ one of the four organs was not equipped with a desk or stool. This may have been the smallest organ, for which such furniture was unnecessary. By 1549, there were only two organs in college, ‘one litle paire of orgaynes in the Scholem^{rs} Chamber and one other greate in the quyar’.¹⁷⁴ When the small organ was installed in the schoolmaster’s room is not known. Although it could have been one of the organs which had been removed from the chapel by 1549; it may have been taken to the schoolmaster’s room when the choristers (and, possibly, scholars) began to play musical instruments in the 1540s.¹⁷⁵ But it is also possible that it was the small organ which had been displaced from the chapel when the new organs were bought in 1506-1508, and that it was used for teaching purposes. By the end of the fifteenth century, one of the principal roles of masters of choristers was to instruct the choristers at the organ.¹⁷⁶ As early as 1339, Bishop Grandisson’s statutes for Ottery St Mary had enjoined that the choristers and clerks of the second form be instructed both in *cantu organico* and in *organicis instrumentis* by the cantor and the St Mary chaplain.¹⁷⁷ This role was incorporated as a norm into the statutes of

¹⁷² ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1507-8, under *Custus ecclesie*), p.63.

¹⁷³ James, ‘Chapel Inventories’, *Etoniana*, 26 (1920), p.408.

¹⁷⁴ James, ‘Chapel Inventories’, *Etoniana*, 27 (1921), p.432: an inventory made on 20 April 1549.

¹⁷⁵ See below, pp.392-3.

¹⁷⁶ Bowers, ‘Choral Institutions’, p.6081 (appointment indenture of William Horwood as *informator choristarum*, Lincoln Cathedral, 29 March 1477).

¹⁷⁷ Dalton, *The Collegiate Church of Ottery St Mary*, p.145.

cathedrals of new foundation in the sixteenth century.¹⁷⁸ The teaching of organ to either the choristers or the scholars was not specified in the Eton statutes, but it is not unlikely that this was (or became) a duty of the *informator choristarum*. Long before the exodus of organs from churches during the Reformation, there was a need for teaching instruments in the song school, or wherever was convenient. This would account for why there were four organs but only three sets of furniture: for teaching purposes, an ordinary stool and desk would probably have sufficed.¹⁷⁹

In 1531-2, a fifth organ was purchased for £4. 13s. 4d. from John Clymmo and his servant, and was placed beside the old organ ('preter vetera organa'), possibly so that the two organs could be used together.¹⁸⁰ Eton College now possessed as many organs as Durham Cathedral. The great organ almost certainly stood on the screen: the staircase for which a door was constructed in 1498-9 led up to the loft. There was an organ loft against the south wall, third bay from the east in the seventeenth

¹⁷⁸ See, for example, the statutes of Philip and Mary for Durham Cathedral (J. M. Faulkner (ed.), *The Statutes of the Cathedral Church of Durham* (Surtees Society, 143, Durham, 1929), pp.142/3).

¹⁷⁹ Another possibility is that the smallest organ was used in duet performances in tandem with one of the other organs, both players reading from the same book. That this method of performance was used elsewhere is indicated in the notation of an anonymous *Felix namque* setting in *GB-Lbl*, MS Roy. App. 56, in which the *cantus firmus*, which migrates between the top and the middle of the texture (rendering duet performance at the same organ impossible), is written on another page (see D. Stevens (ed.), *Early Tudor Organ Music: II, Music for the Mass*, EECM, 10 (London, 1967), pp.x-xi and 57-61). This is an isolated instance, however, and there is no concrete evidence that duet performance on two organs (or even duet performance on one organ) was the norm.

¹⁸⁰ ECR 62/2 (audit book 2, 1531-2, under *Custus templi*), p.55.

century.¹⁸¹ It is highly unlikely that there was a similar structure in place before 1613, as Richard Hopton, a fellow of the college, was buried on the site of the Jacobean loft in 1496.¹⁸² It is likely that there was an organ positioned near Hopton's tomb in the second bay west on the south side. Another possible position for an organ was opposite, by the entrance to Lupton's chapel, in the second bay on the north side; an organ given by Dns John Webbe to Winchester College, whose chapel also lacked aisles, was put in the same position, complementing the pre-existing pulpitum organ.¹⁸³ These positions would have corresponded with the positions of the organs at Durham. They would have served for those services held in choir (the greater majority), as well as for three of the seven daily Masses - Lady Mass, celebrated after Prime, Mass *Pro rege* (or *Requiem* Mass, after Henry VI's death) and High Mass, all of which were celebrated in choir, at the high altar, *per notam et cum cantu*;¹⁸⁴ on feast days, the clerks, choristers and scholars attended all of these Masses.¹⁸⁵ Four further Masses were celebrated daily at subsidiary altars: *Missa quarta*, dedicated differently on each day of the week, Chapter Mass, Mass of the

¹⁸¹ M. R. James, 'Organs and Organists in the College Accounts', *Etoniana*, 24 (1919), p.371; construction work on the loft and organ took place in 1613-14.

¹⁸² Martindale, 'The Early History', p.184.

¹⁸³ WCM MS 21868 (inventory, 1522), '*Organa*: Item i par organorum in parte boreali chori ex dono domini Johannis Webbe. Item alium par organorum in pulpito'. Webbe was, successively, a clerk (1483-91), chaplain (1492-5), fellow (1495-1515) and vice-warden of Winchester (1525-32) (*BRUO*, p.2004; WCM 22184-90 (bursars' accounts, 1525-32), under *Porciones vicecustodis & aliorum officiariorum*).

¹⁸⁴ H & W, p.563; on Christmas Day, the Assumption of the BVM, and the vigils of Easter and Pentecost, some or all of these Masses were said without chant at one of the side altars.

¹⁸⁵ H & W, p.564.

Annunciation and Mass *pro arbitrio*, whose dedication was chosen by the celebrant.¹⁸⁶ These Masses were more low-key, although responsibility for saying Mass of the Annunciation and Mass *pro arbitrio* rested with the fellows (not the chaplains), who worked on a rota. These Masses were said at four altars in the nave: St Mary and St Nicholas (which stood to the north and south of the choir entrance, under or in front of the rood screen);¹⁸⁷ the altar of St Katherine, also called the 'Jourdelay' altar after an obit which was said there, was situated on the south-east wall of the ante-chapel (where traces of its reredos remain);¹⁸⁸ against the north-east wall stood another altar whose dedication is not known, but was perhaps to St Peter.¹⁸⁹ One of these altars, probably the Lady altar, doubled as the parishioners' high altar; it is possible, but cannot be proven, that there was an organ somewhere in the nave which was used for these Masses, and for other services which took place there, like the evening anthem.

¹⁸⁶ See Appendix B, pp.472-4, §8.

¹⁸⁷ Martindale, 'The Early History', p.190. By 1535, two more altars appear to have been added in front of the screen (ECR 60/14 (register 1), p.41: will of Thomas Smyth (dated 13 January 1535, proved 14 May 1535), who left £6. 13s. 4d. for the four altars before the rood).

¹⁸⁸ Lyte, *History*, p.90.

¹⁸⁹ Lyte, *History*, p.91; Lyte reverses the order of the altars of the BVM and St Peter.

2.5: CONCLUSION

Perhaps the most striking element of the liturgical and devotional apparatus at Eton was the clear division between school and college. This echoes Wykeham's statutes for Winchester, in which the scholars played a minor role in the ferial liturgy. Another echo of Wykeham's statutes was the role of the choristers. At Winchester they had probably been an afterthought, added as objects of charity in emulation of the poor boys of Queen's College, Oxford, whose statutes Wykeham had consulted.¹⁹⁰ Unlike the clerks and choristers of Winchester, the Eton clerks and choristers were not obliged to wait on the scholars at table, and they do not seem to have been regarded as anything but integral to the foundation (choristers had been envisaged as part of the college from the start). Nevertheless, the choristers seem to have straddled uneasily the two halves of college, chapel and school (at least insofar as their duties were outlined in the statutes). The demands of liturgy and schoolroom probably came into conflict at one time or another. Given the demands on their time, the choristers may not have been required to sing or say the smaller hours of Terce, Sext and None; this would have allowed them to attend classes almost without interruption. The scholars had minimal duties in chapel. In the surviving sixteenth-century *curricula* these obligations appear to have been whittled away to attendance on feast days only. Participation within the canonic liturgy was replaced with a parallel series of offices partly derived from the offices of the day, and prayers which punctuated the beginning and end of day, the hours spent in study, and the two

¹⁹⁰ A. F. Leach, *The Schools of Medieval England* (London, 1915), p.205.

principal meals.

In turn, the liturgical round within the chapel took place largely independently of the school. The singing of the anthem to the BVM was but one component of a highly regulated and ordered liturgy. The core of these liturgical arrangements was derived from Wykeham's statutes, but it is significant that the statutes governing the liturgical and devotional apparatus were considerably more detailed than those at Winchester. The size of the chapel, albeit only half-finished, as well as the larger number of chaplains and fellows, also distinguished the chapel at Eton from its constitutional model at Winchester. By 1535, there were seven or more altars positioned in chapel and ante-chapel, up to five organs available, and a very great quantity of vestments, plate and liturgical books.¹⁹¹ But this opulence belies the skeletal nature of the ferial liturgy: the fellows, scholars, chaplains, clerks and choristers only attended chapel as a body on Sundays and feast days, most of the day-to-day liturgy being serviced by a rotating staff of chaplains, clerks and choristers. This may account for the importance of organs within the chapel (and for their proliferation): if the daily liturgy, especially Mass of the day and Lady Mass, was only lightly staffed, the organ may have proved a suitable substitute for vocal polyphony, which would have required more generous staffing. Similarly, it may be plausible to relate the clear differentiation between festal and ferial observance to the repertory contained in MS 178: arguably, elaborate polyphonic Magnificat settings (and even votive antiphons) were sung only on feast days, and not on *feria* which were more lightly staffed.

¹⁹¹ See 1531 inventory in M. R. James, 'Chapel Inventories', *Etoniana*, 26 (1920), p.408, 27 (1921), pp.429-31, 28 (1921), pp.445-7, 31 (1922), pp.495-6, 32 (1923), pp.508-511.

The exact role of polyphony as outlined in the statutes – what part it played in the liturgical calendar, and what liturgical items were to be sung polyphonically – is vague. There are three references to polyphony in the statutes: that which requires the four *clerici generosi* to be proficient polyphonists, the injunction that the sixteen choristers sing the Lady anthem ‘in the best way which they know’, and the oath taken by the provost to hire a competent part-singer who could train the choristers in part-singing.¹⁹² The stipulation that the choristers sing the Lady anthem as well as they can may have referred to part-singing, although the implied absence of the clerks from the evening devotion begs the question of what kind of part-singing current in the 1440s was suitable for boys only; the clause ‘in the best way which they know’ may equally have referred to the quality rather than the manner of singing, legalistic jargon equivalent to words like ‘devotius’ and ‘solemniter’ (which appear at various points in the statutes). There is no indication in the statutes of which parts of the liturgy were to be sung polyphonically, which might be adorned with organ, and which should be sung to chant only. The assumption must therefore be that prevailing factors determined the musical content, and that these factors probably changed over the course of the century following 1440. It is therefore necessary to look beyond the statutory framework and examine how the choir was administered, how it changed to meet the demands of new fashions and financial exigencies, and how this ultimately led to the compilation of MS 178.

¹⁹² ECR 58 (statutes, transl. & ed. N. Blakiston), pp.31, 49-50, 107-8.

CHAPTER THREE

ESTABLISHMENT, SUPPRESSION AND RE-ESTABLISHMENT: 1440-1479

At least in the initial stages of foundation, and probably for some considerable time after, the constitution of the chapel staff at Eton was thoroughly conservative. In historical terms, it marks the end of one type of choral foundation, the small-scale fourteenth-century model, rather than the first of the larger-scale foundations exemplified by its neighbour, St George's, Windsor, after 1478. Like founders of other collegiate institutions, Henry and his advisers were reliant on precedent: Ralph Cromwell, founder of Tattershall College, instructed his secretaries to consult the statutes of colleges at Manchester, Westminster and Fotheringhay, and also to view the statutes of Whittington College regarding the running of the almshouse there.¹ Ralph Cromwell was one of a number of feoffees of Eton and, as Lord Chancellor of England, he would have been at least aware of, if not involved in, the planning of the king's new college.² William Waynflete, instrumental in influencing the final form of

¹ KCRO, U1475 Q/20, consultations between Lord Ralph Cromwell and his agents concerning the governance of Tattershall College, *circa* 1455.

² Selway, 'The Role of Eton', p.212.

Eton College, was one of Ralph Cromwell's executors, and took an active role in shaping Tattershall as well:³ precedent was thus of prime importance in determining the nature of each new foundation, each cross-fertilizing the other. The original motives behind the foundation of Eton College had been to aggrandize the Lancastrian regime and to find a suitable way of allocating appropriated alien priory lands;⁴ although a fully-staffed chapel had been an integral part of the scheme *ab initio*, it would be thoroughly anachronistic to assume that the intention was to establish a choir which was equipped to sing large-scale choral polyphony.

3.1: PRECEDENTS

The final statutes for Eton College were based to a large extent on those of Winchester College.⁵ The multi-faceted roles of the college as chantry, school and almshouse, and as a feeder-college for King's College, Cambridge, owe much not only to the precedent of Winchester College and New College, Oxford, but also to Archbishop Chichele's foundation at Higham Ferrers (to which was attached a grammar school and an almshouse); the scale of the chapel establishment also had its precursors at the Wykehamist foundations, as well as at the Yorkist foundation of

³ Selway, 'The Role of Eton', pp.241-2.

⁴ See above, pp.26-8.

⁵ Wolffe, *Henry VI*, p.139; see above, pp.32-45.

1415 at Fotheringhay.⁶ There was, indeed, little that was original in the conception of Eton College, save its grandiose scale (which increased with each of the numerous revisions of the plans).⁷

The number, disposition and duties of the chapel staff were not especially innovative. The number of choristers, sixteen, was identical to those in both Winchester College and New College, Oxford.⁸ The much larger number of clerks finally envisaged by Henry VI at Eton, ten, was much greater than the three clerks assigned to both New College and Winchester College;⁹ but of these ten only four were required to be singers of polyphony.¹⁰ The complement of chapel staff at Eton thus mirrors almost exactly that stipulated by Wykeham for both of his colleges; indeed, the extra fourth clerk may represent the incorporation into the statutes of the post of *informator choristarum*, a job which did not officially exist when the older foundations were established. It was not only the most lavish and prominent colleges which employed choral complements of this sort of size. St Mary's, Warwick, a foundation of some antiquity reconstituted in the late fourteenth century, had in its choir six choristers and four clerks, of whom one was the *informator choristarum*, as

⁶ Harrison, *MMB*, p.33; Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', pp.4019-20; Harrison, 'The Eton Choirbook', pp.153-4.

⁷ Wolffe, *Henry VI*, pp.142-3, and Lyte, *History*, pp.47f. See above, pp.31f.

⁸ Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', p.4013; ECR 58 (statutes, transl. & ed. N. Blakiston), pp.48-52.

⁹ Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', p.4014.

¹⁰ ECR 58, pp.49-50.

well as six vicars choral.¹¹ Twelve chaplains, eight clerks and thirteen choristers were employed at Fotheringhay, founded in the early fifteenth century,¹² while four clerks seem to have been the norm at other early-fifteenth-century foundations, even where the numbers of choristers, not yet a significant factor in choral polyphony, were lower. St Mary, Manchester, St Mary, Higham Ferrers, and St John the Baptist, Stoke-by-Clare all supported four clerks, seven or eight chaplains and five or six choristers.¹³

Roger Bowers has argued that the expansion in the numbers of singers employed in choral foundations during the early fifteenth century was largely a result of an anti-Lollard reaction, and that, as Lollardy receded during the second quarter of the century, a degree of retrenchment was either necessary or desirable.¹⁴ The royal household chapel of Henry V, the choir of which numbered over fifty by 1422, was the most lavish of all choral establishments in the early fifteenth century.¹⁵ Of these fifty, the choristers numbered sixteen, a number which subsequently declined. Of the thirty-two gentlemen, some would have been political placemen; no music survives from the earlier Lancastrian period which would warrant such a vast staff. The reduced numbers of choristers employed after the 1420s, both in the royal household

¹¹ Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', pp.4017-8.

¹² Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', p.4019.

¹³ Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', pp.4019-20.

¹⁴ Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', pp.4001-9, 5081. Bowers gives the example of Fotheringhay, where the number of choristers actually participating in the *Opus Dei* was effectively reduced to ten by 1442.

¹⁵ Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', p.4031.

chapel and at other foundations, represented a prudent reduction of unnecessary expenditure; the liturgical and musical roles of boy choristers did not yet call for large numbers. The large number of choristers at Eton and at King's may be accounted for, not merely as an extravagance, but as a practical measure in an establishment where a large body of boys could be assimilated into the educational framework of the college and its sister. Both Eton's major precursors (New College, Oxford, and Winchester College) and the larger of the subsequent foundations (Magdalen and Cardinal Colleges, Oxford) employed the same large number of choristers; institutions to which no educational function of any importance was attached - Fotheringhay, Stoke-by-Clare, Higham Ferrers, for example - did not support large numbers of choristers.¹⁶

The music incorporated into the Eton choirbook, characterized by the alternation of full choral textures with solo passages, requires a chorus of some size. However, the treble part is only usually one of five or more parts; the main increase is needed not in the number of boys, but in that of men. The choir at Eton College, conventional in its disposition and greatly influenced by Wykeham's earlier foundations, was not readily suitable for this style of polyphony. Elsewhere - at Tattershall College, Lincolnshire, where the number of clerks was raised from six to ten *c.*1455, and, later, at St George's Chapel, Windsor, where the clerks were increased from four to, in effect, thirteen - choirs were being developed which were more clearly suited to the style of polyphony which was emerging in the third quarter of the fifteenth century.¹⁷ In other respects, the choral foundation at Eton College followed established conventions. The specific provision in the statutes of the post of

¹⁶ Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', p.4011B, table 3.

¹⁷ Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', pp.5080-1, 6036-41.

informator choristarum, a rare detail in which the Eton statutes differ from those of New College or Winchester College, was no more than the official incorporation and recognition of a post which had since come into being.¹⁸ At Winchester College, payment had been made to 'Edmund, a clerk of the chapel' for the training of the boys as early as 1396-7,¹⁹ and at Fotheringhay College, the status and duties of the *informator* had been established almost from foundation, the pay differential set at the subsequently conventional rate of £2 higher than his colleagues'.²⁰ Indeed, Bowers maintains that, from around 1400, specific provision for an instructor became a *sine qua non* of any sizeable choral foundation.²¹

Thus, while both Eton and King's, in their final designs, were of unprecedented size both in the scale of their building works and in the overall number of their personnel, the number of those involved specifically in the singing of polyphony was hardly greater than at the older Wykeham foundations. The provision of polyphony and the maintenance of a large chapel staff were not overriding priorities. The college of the Holy Trinity at Tattershall, founded by Lord Ralph Cromwell almost simultaneously with Eton and King's,²² was provided with fewer choristers than either of Henry VI's foundations - ten - but a greater number of clerks actively

¹⁸ ECR 58, pp.49-50.

¹⁹ Harrison, *MMB*, p.32.

²⁰ Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', p.5088.

²¹ Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', p.4057.

²² Licence was granted 14 July 1439.

involved in the singing of polyphony (ten, rather than the four at Eton).²³ Evidence of the proficiency of the choir established at Tattershall comes late; the copying of polyphonic music was seldom mentioned or itemised individually until the 1490s, when the size of polyphonic manuscripts necessitated institutional rather than individual sponsorship.²⁴ Payments for copying made in the 1490s demonstrate that the choir at Tattershall was able to sing music comparable to that in the Eton choirbook; Robert Lound, a clerk of the college, was paid for copying Masses and antiphons by Hygons, Turges, Burton, Bawdwyn and Davy for the choir at Tattershall, on and off, throughout the 1490s.²⁵ This music was clearly assimilated into the choir's repertory piecemeal and on demand. Apart from the first set of accounts, none of the accounts during the fifteenth century contain any reference to similarly piecemeal copying of polyphony at Eton.²⁶ The late-fifteenth-century choirbook, a large and finely-produced manuscript, is the first existence of the activities of the choir at Eton subsequent to the 1465 inventory, yet no mention is made of its production in the accounts. Apart from a few fragments, few sources of

²³ Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', p.5007.

²⁴ Andrew Wathey, 'The production of books of liturgical polyphony', in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475*, ed. Jeremy Griffiths & Derek Pearsall (Cambridge, 1989), p.149.

²⁵ Wathey, 'Lost books', pp.10-11, §§100-8.

²⁶ The only mention of copying of specifically polyphonic music in the accounts is in the first surviving accounts (see Wathey 'Lost books', p.5, §27). Clearly, payments for copying were not always recorded in the accounts, as an organ book and two books of polyphony were included in the chapel inventory of 1465 (see Wathey, 'Lost books', p.5, §§28-30), to which no reference seems to have been made in the accounts.

the English choral repertory of the 1460s and 1470s survive.²⁷ As the source for many *unica* and as the only major surviving source of florid English polyphony of the late fifteenth century, the Eton choirbook has assumed an importance out of proportion to the importance or size of its eponymous foundation. Established on principles already over half a century old in the 1440s, the choral foundation at Eton at best remained static throughout the fifteenth century. By the time the choirbook was compiled, the choir which was intended to use it was old-fashioned; while Eton College may have been instrumental in the preservation of this repertory, it is unlikely to have been its source.

3.2: THE STATUTORY FRAMEWORK

The chapel staff, as laid down in the final revision of the statutes, was to consist of ten chaplains, ten clerks and sixteen choristers. The ten secular chaplains, ‘removable, graduates, laudable of learning, adequately instructed in singing, suitably and well qualified in their voices to serving and singing daily in the choir there’, each receiving 100s. *per annum*, as well as commons and livery.²⁸ Of the ten clerks, the four gentlemen clerks were to be ‘skilled in reading and chanting and part singing, well qualified in their voices, one of whom is to be able to play the organ’, the

²⁷ R. Bowers and A. Wathey (eds.), ‘New sources of English fifteenth- and sixteenth-century polyphony’, in *EMH*, 4 (Cambridge, 1984), pp.297-346. The sources listed in this article are all either single membranes, folios, paste-downs or small fragments.

²⁸ ECR 58, p.48.

informator choristarum to be paid £6, the others six marks and all to receive commons.²⁹ The fifth clerk was the parish clerk, and the sixth the vestry clerk, both paid five marks; in the later 1440s, it was decided to add to these a further four assistant clerks, whose wages were not specified.³⁰ The positions of the two classes of clerks within the collegiate hierarchy were quite distinct from each other; in addition to receiving lower salaries, the ancillary clerks were accorded a lower rank, on a par with the servants. The four singing-clerks, for instance, ate in hall at 'a table of gentlemen'; the four *clerici inferiori* ate at the servants' table; the parish and vestry clerks dined with the *generosi* at first hall, waiting on the provost, and at second hall dined with the servants.³¹

Whether or not the four singing-clerks were expected to be in orders - and, if so, to what degree - is not made clear in the statutes. Of the four *generosi*, one was to be able to play the organ; if no-one suitable could be found to play the organ, the task could be performed by a married man.³² This implies that the clerks were usually expected to be unmarried. On entry, all clerks and chaplains were to swear not to take up any post as vicar or clerk at any church, chapel or college within a seven-mile radius of Eton, on pain of perjury and restitution of all things received from the college while in its employ.³³ To the same end, no other grammar schools were

²⁹ ECR 58, pp.49-50.

³⁰ See above, pp. 35-44, regarding the changes made to the statutes in the later 1440s.

³¹ ECR 58, p.50; these distinctions take on some importance in the assessment of the nominal rolls, in which the different classes of clerks are listed on separate tables.

³² ECR 58, p.50.

³³ ECR 58, p.52.

allowed to be established within ten miles of Eton.³⁴ The sixteen choristers were to perform a variety of roles in the chapel. To be 'poor, indigent, of good and honest conversation, under twelve years of age, knowing competently how to read and to sing', they were to serve, sing, read and help the priests officiate in chapel services.³⁵ There is no specific indication in the statutes that they were to participate in polyphonic singing, unlike the clerks; the only members of the chapel staff required to be skilled singers of polyphony were the four senior clerks. While the statutes do not specify which services should include polyphony, the implication is that polyphonic music may be performed during certain services which the clerks attended.

The identity of the choristers within the statutes is not wholly distinct from that of the scholars. They were to eat with each other in hall,³⁶ receiving the same weekly commons of 10d. each (together with the clerks and servants).³⁷ For attending the annual celebration of the founder's exequies, both scholars and choristers were to receive 8d. each,³⁸ and choristers, scholars and clerks alike were forbidden from wearing stripey cloth but, instead, were to wear 'long plain gowns of clerical habit'.³⁹ It was clearly intended that some of the scholarships could be taken by older

³⁴ Lyte, *History*, p.19.

³⁵ ECR 58, p.52.

³⁶ ECR 58, p.75.

³⁷ ECR 58, p.70.

³⁸ ECR 58, p.124; the chaplains were allotted 16d. each, and the clerks 12d. each.

³⁹ ECR 58, p.102.

choristers,⁴⁰ and that, at the singing of the evening antiphon, absentee choristers should be replaced by scholars.⁴¹ Thus the choristers were conceived as an intrinsic part of the educational as well as the devotional framework of the college. For some of the choristers at Eton, choristership was to be a stepping-stone to scholarship, a convenient step from 'indigence' towards the career opportunities then on offer to educated men.⁴²

3.3: NOMINATION, RECRUITMENT AND EXPANSION

Pope Eugenius IV's bull for the foundation of Eton, dated 28 January 1441, listed fourteen nominees as foundation members, from Henry Sever, the first provost, to John de Evesham, one of the poor men.⁴³ Of these fourteen, only John Burdon, a bedesman, and William Aston, chaplain, were present in the first surviving set of accounts, of 1444-5.⁴⁴ Neither of the nominated clerks (Gilbert Grese and John

⁴⁰ ECR 58, p.18.

⁴¹ ECR 58, p.107.

⁴² See F. R. H. Du Boulay, *An Age of Ambition: English Society in the Late Middle Ages* (London, 1970). Leach (in *English Schools at the Reformation* (London, 1896), pp.108-9) defines the 'poor and indigent' as 'the poor relations of the upper classes', younger sons of nobility, farmers, and small landholders, rather than the destitute.

⁴³ G. Williams (ed.), *Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton*, 2 (Rolls Series, London, 1872), p.281.

⁴⁴ ECR 61/AR/A/1 (audit roll, 1444-5), under *Porciones pauperum vocal bedmen domini Fundatoris*.

Mondyng) appear to have taken up their positions – or, if they did, they had vacated them by Michaelmas 1444. One of the two nominated scholars, William Stokke (or Stokes), and two of the four nominated choristers, Roger Flecknowe and Henry Cok (or Cokkes), took up their positions: Stokke, of Warmington, Northamptonshire, was admitted king's scholar in 1441 and proceeded to King's College, Cambridge, which he left (as a fellow) to join the king's forces in 1456;⁴⁵ Roger Flecknowe, also of Northamptonshire, was a chorister until around 1443 when he became a king's scholar, and proceeded to King's, which he left (as a fellow and B.A.) before 1456/7;⁴⁶ Cok, who came from London, was a chorister from foundation until 1444, became a king's scholar, proceeded to King's College, Cambridge, and pursued a career in the church.⁴⁷ Apart from these instances, none of the original nominees appear to have taken advantage of the king's patronage.

Little is known of the careers of most of the nominees: it is impossible to ascertain whether their nominations were acts of patronage. When Robert Sherborne, Bishop of Chichester, founded four lay clerkships in Chichester Cathedral in 1526, he nominated clerks from his own household chapel, Henry Somer, Robert Redknappe, John Hamper and John Russell.⁴⁸ Neither Gilbert Grese nor John Mondyng appear to have been clerks of the king's household chapel. If they had been, a move to Eton, prestigious though the new royal foundation was, would have represented at best a

⁴⁵ *BRUC*, p.559; his brother, Thomas, was a scholar between 1445 and 1447.

⁴⁶ *BRUC*, p.234.

⁴⁷ *BRUC*, p.146; he was admitted king's scholar in 1444, aged fifteen. See *below*, p.498.

⁴⁸ GB-Lbl, MS Cotton Charter xii 60, dated 10 September 1526; Henry Somer and John Hamper had both been lay clerks of nearby Arundel College, in 1499-1500 and 1519-20 respectively (ACA, CA/19, CA/25 (comptus rolls, 1499-1500, 1519-20), under *Vadia et Feoda collegii*).

sideways step; Henry Abyndon, one-time clerk in Duke Humfrey's chapel, found work at Eton after his employer's untimely demise, but sought promotion from Eton to the royal household chapel, not *vice versa*.⁴⁹ One of the choristers nominated in 1440/1, John Halywyn *alias* Gray, appeared again (as John Grey) in 1456 as a vicar-choral at Wells Cathedral;⁵⁰ given Thomas Bekynton's close involvement with both Eton and Wells (where he was bishop after 1443), it seems likely that the king's servants and advisers - those most closely involved with the foundation of Eton - made suggestions for nominations. Henry Sever, the first provost, and John Kette, one of the nominated fellows, probably owed their nominations to their personal acquaintance with the king: Sever as king's chaplain, and Kette as sub-almoner and 'continual commensal'.⁵¹ Similarly, John Doket, a king's scholar from 1447, was a nephew of Thomas Bourghier, Bishop of Ely and subsequently Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury.⁵² None of the choristers or clerks appears to have migrated from Winchester College. The 'transfusion' theory in which thirty-five Wykehamists were transplanted *en bloc* to the new college has long been discarded;⁵³ likewise, the choral staff - choristers, clerks and chaplains - were recruited piecemeal. The list of nominees of 1440/1 was probably *pro forma*, most of those nominated not in fact taking up (or not, in the end, being admitted to) their allotted places.

⁴⁹ See below, pp.159-62.

⁵⁰ H. C. M. Lyte and M. C. B. Dawes (eds.), *Register of Thomas Bekynton*, 1 (Somerset Record Society, 49, 1935) p.275, §1015.

⁵¹ Kette was also rector of St Nicholas in the Shambles, London, canon of Windsor and master of the Hospital of St Mary Magdalen in the Spon, Coventry (*CPR*, 9, p.81).

⁵² *BRUC*, p.190.

⁵³ Put forward in Lyte, *History*, pp.14-5; it has been argued recently that a mere six Wykehamists migrated to Eton (Selway, 'The Role of Eton', p.224).

The minute details of the initial recruitment process are lost, as no audit rolls survive for the years 1441-2, 1442-3 or 1443-4; the first surviving accounts are for 1444-5. By then, the chapel staff bore scant resemblance to the list of nominees issued in 1440/1: only William Aston, nominated as chaplain-fellow in 1440/1 was still present.⁵⁴ Clerks' payments in that year were made to Henry Sulby, one of the clerks, of 21s. 8d. (for seventeen weeks and three days, at 66s. 8d. *per annum*), to Henry Denham, of 40s. (for six months, six weeks, at the same rate), to Henry Warde and Henry Cony, and John Spycer, parish clerk, of five marks each (all three for the full year), as well as to John Godestoon, vestry clerk, of 40s. (for the year). A further payment of 15s., *pro instructione et erudicione puerorum in cantu*, was made jointly to Henry Sulby and Henry Warde, the *per capita* division of the payment not indicated in the accounts themselves.⁵⁵ It is not specified for which quarter of the year Sulby was present. John Denham almost certainly arrived in February 1445, as he was still present in 1446-7.⁵⁶ Denham was probably recruited to replace Sulby, who had left (probably) at the end of January 1445. Except for a fortnight in February, five clerks were retained throughout 1444-5, rather than the original number of four. It is possible that this was merely over-recruitment effected to

⁵⁴ ECR 61/AR/A/1 (audit roll, 1444-5) under *Porciones et pensiones prepositi*; Aston remained as chaplain until June 1447.

⁵⁵ ECR 61/AR/A/1, under *Stipendia capellanorum et clericorum*.

⁵⁶ ECR 61/AR/A/2 (audit roll, 1446-7), under *Stipendia clericorum*.

compensate for the flux of personnel already beginning to afflict the college; it is also likely, however, that the original complement of four clerks had already been increased. The basic five-mark stipend of the four singing-clerks is the same as that of the parish clerk - less than the singing-clerk's wage laid down in the final version of the statutes; by 1446, the layered salary-scale (£4. *p.a.* for the singing-clerks, between 26s. 8d. and 66s. 8d. for the rest) was already in place. This was the salary-scale which was embodied in the final statutes.

The various revisions of the statutes, and their effects on the recruitment of new clerks have been extensively covered by Roger Bowers, who argues that the decision to expand the scale of Eton and King's was taken in or around 1445, and began to take effect from Michaelmas 1446.⁵⁷ The purchase of eighty-four gowns and eighty-six hoods in Christmas 1446 implies that, by the end of 1446 at the latest, the enlarged complement had been reached.⁵⁸ The recruitment of new clerks took longer. Whether the the statutory revisions represent retrospective codifications of *de facto* changes and additions, or whether these changes were impelled by prior adaptation of the statutes is not certain. The presence of six clerks in 1444-5, rather than the four stipulated by the earlier statutes then still in force, implies that the statutes were revised to embrace changes already effected. The decision to expand the size of the chapel staff around 1445 was accompanied by an increase in wages; from Michaelmas 1446 at the latest the singing-clerk's salary was raised to £4, the level set

⁵⁷ Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', pp.5006-7, A026-7.

⁵⁸ ECR 61/AR/A/2, *Empciones necessariorum pro scolaribus*, quoted in Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', p.A026.

in the final statutes.⁵⁹ This salary was the standard singing-clerks' salary, and was maintained until the early-1460s, and £6 was paid to the *informator* throughout the same period. In 1444-5, the role seems to have been discharged on an *ad hoc* basis, while recruitment was still in process and working practices being established.⁶⁰ This was also the case in 1446-7 (and probably in 1445-6, too); there are three clerks listed as instructors in the accounts for this year.⁶¹ Again, payment was made in a lump sum, this time one of 25s., to Henry Conyngrave, who was not present in 1444-5, and possibly replaced Henry Cony, who left sometime in 1445-6 (unless, of course, Cony and Conyngrave were one and the same), to John Dardes, who was present only for Michaelmas term in 1446 (bringing the total number of singing-clerks to four, for the first time), and to Arnold Assheby, who arrived at Easter in 1446.⁶² Assheby, who became sole *informator* in 1447, joined Eton College at the same time as Henry Abyndon. Initially, they were both paid at the standard £4 rate, but Abyndon's pay was increased to the much larger sum of ten marks, or £6 13s. 4d. *per annum* in Michaelmas 1447, at which time he was granted 40s. back-payment mandated by the king, himself.⁶³

From 1447 till 1451, there were five singing-clerks at Eton; Henry Warde, Arnold Assheby, John Doyle (who replaced John Denham in Michaelmas 1447),

⁵⁹ Between Michaelmas 1445 and Michaelmas 1446, there is a *lacuna* in the accounts, before which the salary paid to singing-clerks was 66s. 8d., and after which it stood at £4. Two clerks - John Denham and Henry Warde - who are present in both of the extant accounts (and, presumably, in 1445-6, too) received the old salary in 1445 and the new, higher, one in 1446-7. This suggests that the increase was applied to all clerks, rather than being a reflection of the abilities or worth of individuals.

⁶⁰ ECR 61/AR/A/1 (audit roll, 1444-5), under *Stipendia capellanorum et clericorum*.

⁶¹ ECR 61/AR/A/2 (audit roll, 1446-7), under *Stipendia capellanorum et clericorum*.

⁶² ECR 61/AR/A/2, under *Stipendia capellanorum et clericorum*.

⁶³ Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', pp.A028, A040; ECR 61/AR/A/3 (audit roll, 1447-8), under *Stipendia capellanorum et clericorum*.

William Weyte (who replaced Henry Conyngrave in Michaelmas 1448), and Henry Abyndon. Moreover, for three terms in 1447-8, the presence of Richard Mole increased the number of singing-clerks on the pay-roll to six.⁶⁴

Figure 3.A: Clerks at Eton College, 1444-1461 (overleaf)

Gloss

1. Each year runs from Michaelmas to Michaelmas: `1445', for instance, begins at Michaelmas 1444 and ends at Michaelmas 1445.
2. Each of the terms during which a clerk was present are represented by 'O', or part of a term by 'C'. There were four thirteen-week terms in the year.
3. Shaded areas represent gaps in the college account rolls. Where it seems likely that a clerk was present during a `missing' year, this is shown with a broken line.
4. A lower-case 'o' or 'c' indicates that a clerk was in the employ of the college in some other capacity (Adam Roke as one of the four assistant clerks, for instance, or Henry Conyngrave as chaplain).

⁶⁴ ECR 61/AR/A/3 (audit roll, 1447-8), under *Stipendia capellanorum et clericorum*.

Figure 3.A: clerks at Eton College, 1444-1461

| | 1445 | 1446 | 1447 | 1448 | 1449 | 1450 | 1451 | 1452 | 1453 | 1454 | 1455 | 1456 | 1457 | 1458 | 1459 | 1460 | 1461 |
|------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Henry Sulby | OC | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| John Denham | OO | xxx | 0000 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Henry Conyngrave | 0000 | xxx | 0000 | 0000 | 0000 | xxx | 0000 | xxx | 0000 | | | | | | | | |
| Henry Warde | 0000 | xxx | 0000 | 0000 | 0000 | xxx | 0000 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Henry Abyndon | | | OO | 0000 | 0000 | xxx | 0000 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Arnold Assheby | | | OO | 0000 | 0000 | xxx | 0000 | | | | | | | | | | |
| John Dardes | | | O | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| John Doyle | | | | 0000 | 0000 | xxx | 0000 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Richard Mole | | | | 000C | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| William Weyte | | | | | 0000 | xxx | 0000 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Thomas Smert | | | | | | | | 0000 | | | | | | | | | |
| Richard Patrik | | | | | | | | 000 | | | | | | | | | |
| Adam Roke | | | | | oo | xxx | o | | 0000 | xxx | 0000 | xxx | 000C | 0000 | 0000 | 0000 | 0000 |
| John Haiiwell | | | | | | | | | 000 | xxx | 0000 | xxx | 0000 | 0000 | 0000 | 0000 | 0000 |
| Thomas Horton | | | | | | | | | 00 | xxx | 0000 | xxx | 0000 | 0000 | 0000 | 0000 | 0000 |
| John Tamysford | | | | | | | | | | | 0000 | | | | | | |
| Richard Lesse | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0000 | 0000 | 0000 | 0000 |

3.4: THE CHRONOLOGY OF EXPANSION AND STATUTORY REVISION

The original constitution of Eton College - provost, ten chaplain-fellows, four clerks, six choristers, schoolmaster, twenty-five scholars and twenty-five bedesmen - was increased to the final form gradually throughout the later 1440s. Roger Bowers has argued that the chapel staff reached its statutory level in 1453, when the statutory salary-scale was first fully implemented, and that this was hence the time when the statutes were finalized.⁶⁵ There are several problems with this chronology. At the time Dr Bowers was writing, the accounts for 1450-1 were missing. These accounts demonstrate that, by June 1451, the increase in the number of clerks which had taken place during the preceding years had reached almost exactly the levels stipulated in the statutes.⁶⁶ Throughout the first three terms, there were nine (out of a statutory ten) chaplains on the payroll, the four singing clerks, plus Henry Abyndon the organist, and six other clerks including the vestry clerk, the parish clerk and their respective deputies.⁶⁷ Each of the different classes of clerk received their salary allotted in the final statutes. Indeed, the staffing levels in 1450-1 were rather closer than those in 1452-3, as in the later year a rapid turnover of personnel swelled the

⁶⁵ Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', pp.A028-9. See above, pp.35-44, regarding the stages whereby the original statutes were amended into the form embodied in the *Liber Originalis*.

⁶⁶ ECR 61/AR/A/5 (audit roll, 1450-1), under *Stipendia capellanorum et clericorum*.

⁶⁷ If necessary, a fifth clerk could be hired to play the organ (ECR 58, pp.49-50).

ranks of clerks considerably: sixteen clerks served at one time or another.⁶⁸ The 1452-3 account is further complicated by the cross-over of personnel between clerk and servant status: Robert Saxy, who was paid 6s. 8d. for teaching the choristers for a short while, was paid as a servant for the two terms during that year; William Crossan appeared as clerk in 1452-3 and as servant in 1454-5;⁶⁹ Robert Galon, a clerk for three terms, was a servant in Michaelmas Term, 1452. This, combined with the comings and goings of such a large proportion of the staff (most of whom did not stay for the full year) makes 1452-3 a bad year on which to base a firm chronology of the statutes (especially as 1450-1 was so much more stable). In fact, most of the statutes had probably been written by 1445, even if minor adjustments were made subsequently; it is extremely unlikely that they were completely re-written later.⁷⁰ In 1444-5 and 1446-7, there was only one chaplain, William Aston (one of the 1440/1 nominees); as at Winchester College, the fellows originally had a dual function as both liturgists and administrators.⁷¹ In March 1448, after the statutes had been amended, a further five chaplains were recruited, and in June 1449 a further three joined.⁷² These recruitments *en bloc* were almost certainly in response to changes decided by the king and/or his advisers, and which were embodied in the statutes during the late 1440s.

⁶⁸ ECR 61/AR/A/6 (audit roll, 1452-3) under *Stipendia capellanorum et clericorum*.

⁶⁹ ECR 61/AR/A/6 (audit roll, 1452-3) and 61/BD/A/2 (bursars' draft, 1454-5), under *Stipendia ministrorum*.

⁷⁰ See above, pp.35-44..

⁷¹ See Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', pp.4013-4, 5006.

⁷² ECR 61/AR/A/3-4 (audit rolls, 1447-8, 1448-9), under *Stipendia...clericorum*.

3.5: HENRY ABYNDON

While it does not appear that the first lay clerks as a whole were hand-picked from among the king's servants, the migration of Henry Abyndon to Eton in 1447 may have been officially sanctioned; he is the only clerk whose appointment to Eton was a sinecure, and whose advancement was sponsored by the king. The large salary received by Henry Abyndon, higher than the instructor's wage, implies that he was singled out for preferential treatment: as has been argued above, his skills as an organist may well have been the principal factor in his appointment. He continued to benefit from the king's personal interest; Henry VI interceded with Abingdon Abbey, soon after Abyndon's appointment to the royal household chapel in 1451, in order to secure him a corrody there.⁷³ Before his arrival at Eton, Abyndon seems to have been a clerk in the household chapel of Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester, until the duke's untimely death in 1447.⁷⁴ As an apolitical member of Gloucester's household, Abyndon was not vulnerable to the treatment wrought upon other members of the retinue;⁷⁵ indeed, the generous pension of £8 granted to him by Duke Humfrey was ratified by a succession of kings, both Lancastrian and Yorkist.⁷⁶ Clearly, Abyndon was no ordinary member of the chapel staff at Eton, in receipt not only of his £8 royal pension but also of a salary of £6 13s. 4d. paid to him by Eton College, a wage higher

⁷³ Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', p.A041.

⁷⁴ Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', p.A040.

⁷⁵ See Wolffe, *Henry VI*, p.132; R. A. Griffiths, *The Reign of King Henry VI: The exercise of royal authority, 1422-1461* (London, 1981), p.498.

⁷⁶ *BRUC*, pp.1-2.

by one mark than that of the *informator*, the highest-paid of the chapel clerks. When he started at Eton, in March 1447 (shortly after Duke Humfrey's death in February), he was paid at the standard rate of £4; from Michaelmas, his salary was increased to £6. 13s, 4d. *p.a.*, at which level it stayed during the rest of Abyndon's time at Eton.⁷⁷

In the same year, he was also given a 40s. bonus, *ex mandato Domini Regis*. From Michaelmas 1448, he is listed first among the clerks, before the *informator*, even in 1452-3, by which time he had left for the royal household chapel but yet was still receiving the (albeit lower, average clerk's) wage of £4 from Eton College.⁷⁸ Despite his unusually high salary, there is no evidence to suggest that he was actively involved in the training of the choristers at Eton; in all the accounts in which he appears, informatorial payments were made to other members of the chapel staff. In the accounts of 1450-1, he is described as 'organista'.⁷⁹ It is known that at this stage organ music was incorporated into the liturgy at Eton, as a 'boke of organys' was listed in the 1465 chapel inventory together with two books of polyphony.⁸⁰ During the years in which Abyndon appears in the college accounts, payments are recorded to four other singing-clerks, the statutory number.⁸¹

⁷⁷ ECR 61/AR/A/3 (audit roll, 1447-8), under *Stipendia...clericorum*.

⁷⁸ Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', p.A040; ECR 61/AR/A/6, *Stipendia...clericorum*.

⁷⁹ ECR 61/AR/A/5 (audit roll, 1450-1), under *Stipendia capellanorum et clericorum*.

⁸⁰ Wathey, 'Lost books', p.5, §28.

⁸¹ Except in 1447-8, when the presence of Richard Mole for three terms and four weeks took the number of clerks up to five, six including Abyndon.

Further evidence of Abyndon's status comes from several external sources. He was awarded the degree of Bachelor of Music by Cambridge University – the first conferment of this degree – on 22 February, 1464; and in January 1449, he had been given a pair of gloves by Winchester College, as a token of gratitude for his assistance at the enthronement of William Waynflete as bishop of Winchester.⁸² As instructor of the choristers of the royal household chapel, he was paid ten marks *per annum*, and appears to have been primarily responsible for their tuition at the organ, as well as 'othre great vertues';⁸³ as well as the reference to Abyndon as 'organista' in the Eton accounts, this suggests that he was particularly esteemed as an organist.⁸⁴ By the time of his death, Abyndon was able to exercise some degree of patronage, himself. In 1494, as master of the king's chapel singers, he gave 13s. 4d. towards the maintenance of choral services at St Margaret's, Westminster.⁸⁵ His reputation continued to be high posthumously; his memory was lauded by Sir Thomas More early in the sixteenth century.⁸⁶ It seems most likely that Abyndon was effectively supernumerary to the usual complement of singing-clerks at Eton and that, having been a clerk in the household of the last surviving duke of royal blood, he was seconded to the King's pet project at Eton, before making the move to the royal household chapel. Thus Henry (or his advisers) ensured that the new college was

⁸² *BRUC*, pp.1-2.

⁸³ PRO, E 404/75/2/40: letters patent issued 29 August 1472 authorizing back-payment of five years' fees.

⁸⁴ See also above, pp. 126-7.

⁸⁵ G. Rosser, *Medieval Westminster* (Oxford, 1989), p.266.

⁸⁶ L. Bradner and C. A. Lynch (eds.), *The Latin Epigrams of Thomas More* (Chicago, 1953), §§141-143.

host to a musician of proven ability and standing, who could attract a team of skilled singers, but not necessarily play an executive, day-to-day role in, for instance, training the choristers. His work at the enthronement of Bishop Waynflete in 1449 is not specified; the unusual gift of gloves, as well as the fact that he was already in the employ of another institution at the time, implies that he acted in some sort of consultative capacity. Prior to his elevation to Winchester, Waynflete had been provost at Eton; it is likely that he, himself, secured his erstwhile employee's services at the enthronement.

That Abyndon was imported from elsewhere for such a one-off occasion suggests that his standing was appreciably higher, certainly, than that of his contemporaries in Winchester and, probably, than that of his colleagues at Eton. After he left Eton for the royal household chapel in 1451, he continued to receive the £4 clerk's salary from Eton College;⁸⁷ this could only have been sanctioned (or required) by the king or his advisers. Clearly, Abyndon was considered a special case, over and above the regular complement of singers; Abyndon excepted, the statutory complement of clerks was maintained more or less continuously between the middle of 1447 and Michaelmas 1451. The personnel remained constant at this time, too; from Michaelmas 1447, Henry Warde, John Doyle, William Weyte and Arnold Assheby, the *informator*, constituted the complement of regular singing-clerks.

⁸⁷ ECR 61/AR/A/6 (audit roll, 1452-3), under *Stipendia capellanorum et clericorum*.

3.6: CONSOLIDATION

Apart from the employment of Henry Abyndon, the king and his advisers appear to have left the recruitment of chapel staff, like the election of fellows and scholars, in the hands of the college itself; by the mid to late 1440s, Eton and King's Colleges were functioning autonomously, the pattern of elections and migrations from one college to the other firmly established.⁸⁸ To a limited extent, this inter-collegiate migration also applied to the choral staff. Perhaps because of the better salaries then on offer at Eton and perhaps also encouraged by college authorities eager to exploit the overlap of personnel between both institutions, several clerks migrated from one college to the other.

John Denham had arrived as a clerk at Eton by the time the first surviving accounts begin, in Michaelmas 1444. At Eton he stayed until Michaelmas 1447 when, at the beginning of the accounting year, in Michaelmas, he migrated to King's. Thomas Horton (or Orton) and John Haliwell (or Elwell), clerks at King's in 1447 both migrated to Eton in 1453, Haliwell arriving in January and Horton in March.⁸⁹ Their attraction to Eton was probably financial: their salaries at King's (Horton 66s.

⁸⁸ *BRUC* contains a high proportion of Etonians from the mid-late 1440s: the standard career-pattern of king's scholar (Eton), scholar and fellow (King's) and ordination was firmly established by 1450. The only peculiarity at this stage was the right of the provost of Eton (from January 1446) to nominate to King's Hall, a right which was exercised from time to time before King's Hall became autonomous again in February 1462, after Henry's deposition (see Cobban, *The King's Hall*, pp.188-9).

⁸⁹ KCC, Mundum Book 1, ff.98v, 101 (1447-8), 125, 126v, 127 (1448-9) and Mundum Book 2, ff.14v, 16, 17 (1449-50), 52, 53, 54v, 56 (1450-1); ECR 61/AR/A/6 (audit roll, 1452-3), under *Pensiones et porciones*.

8d. and Haliwell 60s.) were slightly less than the £4 on offer at Eton. Haliwell, who had been *informator choristarum* at King's, also served as instructor at Eton, from 1454 until his departure in 1461. Adam Roke, who started as a sub-clerk at Eton, migrated between Eton, King's and St George's, Windsor, as his increasing musical proficiency (and material motivations) permitted.⁹⁰ John Denham, a clerk at Eton from 1444 until Michaelmas 1447, moved straight to King's, where he remained until the autumn of 1449.⁹¹ He does not appear to have moved for financial reasons: his salary as a conduct at King's, £4 *p.a.*, was identical to the rate at Eton. Neither does he appear to have been ordained while at Cambridge. Although there is no record of his having graduated, it is possible that he was attracted to King's for academic reasons. It may be no coincidence that Horton and Haliwell, who were already at King's when Denham arrived, subsequently went in the opposite direction, to Eton: could it have been at Denham's prompting or recommendation that they went?

If these interminglings of personnel are indicative of inter-collegiate cooperation and interchange, such interdependence – at least in terms of chapel staff – did not last: after 1460, few moved from one college to the other (unless, of course, they were choristers of King's going to Eton, or king's scholars proceeding to

⁹⁰ Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', pp.A041-4.

⁹¹ ECR 61/AR/A/1-2 (audit rolls, 1444-5 and 1446-7), under *Stipendia...clericorum*; KCC, Mundum Book 1, ff.98v,101 (1447-8) and 125-128v (1448-9), under *Pensiones et porciones*.

King's).⁹² Similarly, there are few instances of Etonians returning from Cambridge to be chaplains.⁹³ From the repertory contained in MS 178 and listed in inventories at King's, it is clear that, later in the fifteenth century, there was some degree of repertory interchange between the two colleges. At least after 1460, this is unlikely to have been a result of singers migrating from one college to the other.⁹⁴

Already, by the early 1450s, the process of recruitment was entering into its second phase, as a number of the original staff had left and needed replacing. Throughout much of the fifteenth century and, intermittently, during the sixteenth century, this cycle accelerated as the principal attractions of employment at Eton – a good salary and job security – were threatened by institutional instability and limited resources. An entirely different group of singing-clerks are recorded in the accounts for 1452-3; Thomas Smart, who was paid 110s., Richard Patrik, paid 70s., John

⁹² Henry Smith, briefly clerk and *informator choristarum* at Eton College in 1471, may well have been the Henry Smith who was a conduct at King's in 1465-6 - he could have been the Henry Smith of Peterborough who was elected king's scholar by Eton College in 1453, aged fourteen, but probably not admitted (R. A. Austen-Leigh, 'Early Election Rolls', *Etoniana*, 12 (1911), p.182); Hugh Chapman, son of a Piddlehinton villein, was manumitted by Eton College to be a king's scholar in 1467, where he returned as a chaplain in 1475 (until his death in 1480) having studied at King's College between times; John Herte, scholar at Eton c.1488-92, was a scholar at King's from 15 August 1496 until 1499, when he became a lay clerk; he returned to Eton as a chaplain-conduct in 1500; Herte's contemporary, Hugh Woodcock, who was a king's scholar between c.1488 and 1492, became a lay clerk at King's in 1495, after three years as a scholar, (probably) returning to Eton as chaplain in 1501-2; Walter Sawnder(s), a conduct at King's in 1492-3, migrated to Eton after his studies, in 1493, to be a chaplain (until 1500, and succentor, 1498-1500). Apart from these few instances, there was little interchange of adult choral personnel between the two foundations.

⁹³ John Warde (of Horncastle, Lincolnshire), a king's scholar from 1446 (when he was aged fourteen) until 1451, returned to Eton as a chaplain for four months in 1459-60, having been at King's from 1451 until 1456 (*BRUC*, p.616).

⁹⁴ Apart from the election of king's scholars from Eton to King's, the other principal exchange was of choristers from King's taking up scholarships at Eton (see below, pp.382-95). Only a very small number of kinsmen returned to Eton as chaplains or fellows until the mid sixteenth century.

Haliwell and Thomas Horton, who were both paid at the standard rate of £4 *per annum*, and Adam Roke, who was paid in two different installments.⁹⁵ Smart and Patrik had left by Michaelmas 1454, when the next available accounts begin, but Horton and Roke remained until Michaelmas 1461, when Roke moved to St George's, Windsor.⁹⁶ Like Horton, Haliwell was a colleague of Roke's from King's College, Cambridge;⁹⁷ having moved to Eton shortly after Roke's return, in January 1453 (shortly before Horton, who arrived in April), Haliwell left sometime between 1455 and 1457. Roke had been a clerk at Eton before going to King's. He was paid for two terms, at the lowly rate of 20s. *per annum*, in 1449, but, by Michaelmas 1450, his salary had been increased to 40s. *per annum*.⁹⁸ His salary at King's was 53s. 4d. *per annum* during the first two terms in 1451, further increased to £3 thereafter.⁹⁹ On his return to Eton just before Christmas 1452, and until Michaelmas 1461 at the earliest, he was paid 106s. 8d. *per annum*.¹⁰⁰

The loss of the accounts for 1455-7 obscure the changing composition of the choir during these years, and it is impossible to assess precisely the comings and

⁹⁵ ECR 61/AR/A/6 (audit roll, 1452-3), under *Stipendia capellanorum et clericorum*.

⁹⁶ Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', p.A041.

⁹⁷ Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', p.A041.

⁹⁸ ECR 61/AR/A/4-5 (audit rolls, 1448-9, 1450-1), under *Stipendia...clericorum*.

⁹⁹ Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', p.A041.

¹⁰⁰ ECR 61/AR/A/6 (audit roll, 1452-3), 61/AR/B/1-2 (audit rolls, 1457-8 and 1459-60), 61/AR/C/1 (audit roll, 1460-1) and 61/BD/B/1 (bursars' draft, 1458-9), under *Stipendia capellanorum et clericorum*.

goings of the clerks. However, between 1457 and 1461, there is an unbroken series of accounts. Throughout this period, the composition of the clerks remained the same; John Elwell or Haliwell, Thomas Horton and Adam Roke.¹⁰¹ The fourth clerk, Richard Lesse, replaced John Tamysford sometime between 1455 and 1457; Tamysford had been paid £4 10s. in 1454-5, but is not listed as a clerk at Eton in any other accounts.¹⁰² After the departure of Henry Abyndon in 1451, it would appear that some of the funds which had been devoted to paying his salary were not immediately diverted from the choir. During the years of his employment, the wages of his four colleagues, the four regular singing-clerks, were maintained at the statutory levels of £6 for the *informator*, and £4 each for the others. In 1452-3, Abyndon was paid the standard clerk's salary of £4, £2 13s. 4d. less than previously, while Richard Patrik was paid 70s. for three terms (or 93s. 4d. *per annum*) and Roke £4, also for three terms (or 106s. 8d. *per annum*).¹⁰³ The combined surplus salaries of Roke and Patrik amount to £2, much of the £2 13s. 4d. excess paid to Abyndon when he was at Eton. Until 1461, two of the clerks continued to receive salaries greater than were allotted to them by statute. Adam Roke was paid at the rate of 106s. 8d. *per annum* until his departure in 1461/1462, and Richard Lesse was also paid at this rate, only one mark short of that paid to the *informator*, John Haliwell. Lesse's

¹⁰¹ Haliwell and Elwell were almost certainly variant spellings of the same name, rather than surnames of two different people: see John Halywell of Cambridge University, 1399-1403, spelt Haliwele, Hellewell, Helliwell, Hellywell and Helwell (*BRUC*, pp.282-3).

¹⁰² ECR 61/BD/B/1 (bursars' draft, 1454-5), under *Stipendia capellanorum et clericorum*.

¹⁰³ ECR 61/AR/A/6 (audit roll, 1452-3), under *Stipendia capellanorum et clericorum*.

predecessor, John Tamysford, had been paid an extra 10s. *per annum* during the year in which he appears in the accounts.¹⁰⁴ Why it became expedient to over-pay two of the clerks by £1 6s. 8d. each for at least four consecutive years is not specified in the accounts themselves.¹⁰⁵ The description of Henry Abyndon as *organista* in the accounts for 1450-1,¹⁰⁶ as well as the presence of an organ book in the 1465 chapel inventory, suggests that the organ was an important adjunct to the *Opus Dei* in Eton College chapel in the fifteenth century.¹⁰⁷ £1 6s. 8d. would seem an excessive remuneration for playing the organ (unless it occupied an unusually prominent place within the liturgy at Eton); Magdalen College, admittedly a thrifty employer, paid a mere 6s. 8d. *per annum* to its *pulsator organorum* during the 1490s, if any special payment was made at all.¹⁰⁸ It is therefore unlikely that these unusually high salaries included rewards for playing the organ or for training the choristers (for which independent provision was made).

A more plausible explanation for these generous wages would be the desire of a well-endowed foundation to secure and retain the services of the best singers

¹⁰⁴ ECR 61/AR/A/6 (audit roll, 1452-3), under *Stipendia capellanorum et clericorum*.

¹⁰⁵ The combined extra salaries of Roke and Lesse amount to £2 13s. 4d.; this sum corresponds exactly to the supplement paid to Abyndon when he was at Eton.

¹⁰⁶ ECR 61/AR/A/5 (audit roll, 1450-1), under *Stipendia capellanorum et clericorum*.

¹⁰⁷ See above, pp.125f, 159-621.

¹⁰⁸ For instance, Magdalen College, Liber Computi 2, f.18, in which payment of 20d. was made to Richard Davy for one term, at the end of 1491, as organist (i.e. 6s. 8d. *per annum*). This compares with the instructor's supplement of 40s., or £2, *per annum* - the same as at Eton.

available at the time, exceeding the salaries on offer nearby at St George's, Windsor. This policy paid dividends; for two periods during the first twenty years of its existence, from Michaelmas 1448 until Michaelmas 1451 and from Michaelmas 1457 until the summer of 1461, Eton College maintained a constant body of singers. Two, possibly three, of the clerks present in 1461 had been at Eton since 1452-3 at the latest, and may well have remained at Eton but for the upheavals brought about by the deposition of the founder in 1461.

Good pay and continuity of service have been identified by Roger Bowers as the essential ingredients of a successful choral foundation.¹⁰⁹ According to these criteria, there is no reason to assume but that the quality of the choir at Eton during these years was entirely in accordance with the founder's vision. That vision had been early-fifteenth-century in concept; by the time Eton was dissolved in 1465, musical developments were in train which were to render this conception obsolete.

¹⁰⁹ Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', p.6077.

3.7: 1465-79: RE-ESTABLISHMENT AND RETRENCHMENT

The deposition of Henry VI by Edward, Earl of March, in 1461 ushered in a period of uncertainty for Eton College, culminating in its temporary dissolution in the mid 1460s. The involvement of the deposed king in the foundation, as well as the active participation of many of his closest advisers, now proved to be a liability to the college.¹¹⁰ As the 'primer notable work' of his deposed predecessor, Eton aroused the 'vindictive antipathy' of Edward IV;¹¹¹ it was also unacceptable to the new regime, as the motives behind its foundation had been overtly political. Building work was far from complete: this was Edward's pretext in seeking the college's dissolution. This he effected in three steps. Although he had given assurances of protection soon after his accession (in response to a letter sent by the provost and fellows on 27 February 1461), Henry VI's grants were revoked wholesale in the first parliament of the new reign;¹¹² on 13 November 1463 Edward secured a papal bull which annexed Eton with St George's, Windsor;¹¹³ this was put into effect more than a year later, in 1465, when the college's chattels were transferred to Windsor.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ Prominent among those involved in the establishment of Eton was William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, a key protagonist in the Lancastrian regime (Selway, 'The Role of Eton', pp.99f, 117).

¹¹¹ Wolffe, *Henry VI*, p.138; C. Ross, *Edward IV* (London, 1974), p.269.

¹¹² Ross, *Edward IV*, p.269; this had been foreshadowed in the parliament of 1453, when proposals were mooted for the inclusion of Eton and King's in the Act of Resumption (Wolffe, *Henry VI*, p.297).

¹¹³ Lyte, *History*, p.63.

¹¹⁴ The inventory of college goods made in 1465 is printed in M. R. James, 'Chapel Inventories', *Etoniana*, 25 (1920), p.386; 26 (1920), pp.401-3; 28 (1921), pp.442-5.

Following the college's dissolution in 1465 and its re-establishment a year later, the whole process of recruitment had to be undertaken again. By 1463, before the king moved to suppress Eton, the choir had been allowed to run down. In 1461, five chaplains had been present for the whole year and one for two terms; John Elwell (Haliwell), Thomas Horton, Adam Roke and Richard Lesse, the four singing-clerks, remained throughout the whole year; a further six clerks served for the year in whole or part.¹¹⁵ In 1463-4, four chaplains remained, but the number of clerks had been reduced to four of which only one was a singer: Elwell, Horton, Lesse and Roke had left, Roke going to St George's, Windsor, and Lesse (possibly) to the chapel of Cecily, Duchess of York.¹¹⁶ The only singer present in 1464 was one John Wodecock, who probably left before the year was out (he received 73s. 4d. of a probable annual salary of 80s.);¹¹⁷ he may have been the Wudcokk who was a conduct at King's in the early-mid 1450s.¹¹⁸ The other clerks were probably non-singers: Thomas Absalon, the parish clerk (on 40s., having been 66s. 8d. in 1461), Richard Scalon, a lowly sub-clerk (on 26s. 8d as before), and Rogerald Mason (also on 40s.),

¹¹⁵ ECR 61/AR/C/1 (audit roll, 1460-1), under *Stipendia capellanorum et clericorum*.

¹¹⁶ Lesse was a member of the duchess' household chapel in 1470-1, when he gained a Cambridge B.Mus. (*BRUC*, p.364); see below, p.482.

¹¹⁷ ECR 61/BD/C/1 (bursars' draft, 1463-4), under *Stipendia...clericorum*. The fellows' portions had already been reduced to £5 *p.a.* (from £10), the schoolmaster's to £10 (from £16), and the chaplains' to £4 (from £5).

¹¹⁸ KCC, Mundum Book 2, ff.54v, 56 (1451) and 104v. 106, 107, 108 (1451), under *Soluciones pensionum et stipendiorum*. A John Wodcokke was conduct at King's, 1498-1500 (*BRUC*, p.644); given the thirty year gap between these occurrences, there is no good reason to assume they were one and the same.

who had left by 1467.¹¹⁹ There was no specialist choral instructor any more: Robert Saxy, one of the four chaplains, served as *informator* to the choristers who remained behind (as well as succentor), the second time he had acted as stop-gap instructor.¹²⁰ During 1465-6, when the college was suppressed, only Absolon remained, receiving his allowances some time later, in fact after he had left Eton to be vestry clerk at St George's, Windsor;¹²¹ as parish clerk, he had been the only member of the erstwhile college needed.

The annexation of Eton to St George's in 1465 was short-lived, and it is not clear whether the college closed altogether; nevertheless, it has been seen that the choir had ceased to exist, at least in the form constituted in the statutes, before then. During 1467, it was hurriedly re-established. Mr Robert Smyth, the only chaplain at the beginning of the year, was joined in July by Dns William Jones (who stayed until March 1468, when he went to St George's).¹²² Thomas Absolon was joined by Richard Scalon during the first term by Richard Scalon (or, rather, re-joined, as Scalon, a local man, had been present until 1464) and Thomas Alyn, who stayed from the beginning of the year until October 1469. In March 1467 came Richard Bovyate, a sub-clerk who stayed until April 1472. Three clerks, Richard Corby (probably a

¹¹⁹ ECR 61/BD/C/1 (bursars' draft, 1463-4), under *Stipendia...clericorum*.

¹²⁰ ECR 61/BD/C/1 (bursars' draft, 1463-4), under *Remuneraciones officiariorum*; Saxy also stepped in as instructor for a brief period in 1452-3 (see below, p.493).

¹²¹ His livery was not paid until 1483 (ECR 61/AR/D/1 (audit roll, 1482-3), under *Custus forinseci*); he was admitted vestry clerk at St George's on 16 April 1479 (*GB-WRch*, v.B.2 (attendance book), f.67).

¹²² ECR 61/AR/C/2 (audit roll, Michaelmas 1466-Christmas 1467), under *Stipendia...clericorum*. See below, pp.491, 494.

singer), John Smyth and Richard Parker, were present (for two terms and two weeks, two terms ten weeks and one term respectively) during the year, but had left by 1468.

But perhaps the most important recruit was Adam Roke, who was coaxed back from St George's, Windsor, in Michaelmas 1467, staying until Michaelmas the following year.¹²³ It is unclear why he returned from the security of Windsor to Eton. Perhaps he had been reminded about the oath he had taken, under which all his previous earnings at Eton were forfeit after he had taken up employment at a rival local institution.¹²⁴ At Windsor he had been *informator choristarum* (giving him an income of £6 13s. 4d.).¹²⁵ At Eton, his salary of £4 was then the highest available, indicating that he was almost certainly in charge of teaching the five choristers loaned by King Edward and the new choristers recruited by Robert Pete that year (he himself was probably recruited by Pete).¹²⁶

Whatever his reasons for returning to Eton, Roke remained only until September 1468.¹²⁷ Although he may have died, there is no will in the college registers, and his departure at the end of term suggests a premeditated departure. It is not unlikely that

¹²³ ECR 61/AR/C/2-3 (audit rolls, 1466-7, 1468), under *Stipendia...clericorum*.

¹²⁴ ECR 58, p.52; it is unlikely, however, that the college was yet on a sure enough footing to threaten Roke if he had not returned.

¹²⁵ *GB-WRch*, xv.34.50 (treasurer's account, 1462-3), under *Stipendia et vadia*.

¹²⁶ ECR 61/AR/C/2 (audit roll Michaelmas 1466-Christmas 1467), under *Custus choristarum Domini regis* (in which five pairs of shoes were bought, among other expenses), and *Solucio forinseca* (in which Pete was paid 16s. 8d. for finding choristers and an instructor for them).

¹²⁷ ECR 61/AR/C/3 (audit roll, 1/1/1468-1/1/1469), under *Stipendia...clericorum*.

he had an offer of more lucrative employment elsewhere. The college's reduced income affected not only the number of singers who could be recruited, but also their inclination to remain at Eton. In 1466-7, receipts stood at £321 16s. 11d. halfpenny farthing;¹²⁸ by 1483, they had recovered to a moderate £564 19s. 4d., and continued to recover, largely through careful husbandry, to the mid £600s by 1500, only topping the £1,000 mark again in the 1540s.¹²⁹ Similarly, the overall wage-bill had to be minimized: in 1449, £76 11s. 6d. had been allotted to this;¹³⁰ in 1485, a comparatively busy year, £34 2s. 6d. was all that could be spared.¹³¹ During the first three decades of the sixteenth century, chapel staff salaries hovered between £35 and £45.¹³² Whereas under-recruitment was later a matter of choice, during the first two decades after re-establishment austerity by necessity slowed the process of re-stocking the chapel. It was only gradually that the number of chaplains increased. Throughout most of 1466-7, Mr Robert Smyth served unaided (except, presumably by the fellows themselves); in July 1467, he was joined by William Jones, who left for St George's, Windsor, in March 1468. During 1468, Smyth and Jones were joined by William Benette, Thomas Dycson, William Haynes and Thomas Bate.¹³³ Haynes stayed for only three terms, Benette (who arrived in March, until Michaelmas

¹²⁸ ECR 61/AR/C/2 (audit roll, Michaelmas 1466-Christmas 1467), under *Summa receptorum*.

¹²⁹ ECR 61/AR/D/1 (audit roll, 1482-3), under *Summa receptorum*; in 1542-3, receipts amounted to £1,053 4s. 8d. (ECR 62/2 (audit book 2), p.216).

¹³⁰ ECR 61/AR/A/4 (audit roll, 1448-9), under *Stipendia capellanorum et clericorum*.

¹³¹ ECR 61/AR/D/2 (audit roll, 1484-5), under *Stipendia...clericorum*.

¹³² See below, pp.535-8 (Appendix G) and 339f (Chapter Four).

¹³³ ECR 61/AR/C/3 (audit roll, 1468), under *Stipendia capellanorum et clericorum*.

1469; Thomas Dycson, who arrived in June, left for St George's, Windsor, in 1473;¹³⁴ Bate, who had arrived in November 1468, left in June 1470. Jones' and Dycson's departure to Windsor underlined a factor which was to exacerbate the college's problems.

In the 1440s, royal patronage had worked in Eton's favour: after 1460, it worked against it and, from 1478, sponsored an institution which was in direct competition. In raw financial terms, a lay singer in the 1440s could choose between £4 or more (up to £6 for the *informator*) plus board and livery at Eton, and £4 plus assorted obit monies at St George's, with equally good job security at both colleges. During the 1460s, Eton could only offer 40s. or, possibly 53s. 4d. (and £4 for its instructor), plus reduced board and livery, against £4 or more (in fact, £5. 6s. 8d. plus) at St George's.¹³⁵ It is unlikely that any of the employees at Eton needed to be reminded that their founder was a prisoner in the Tower of London: despite the restoration of Eton College in 1465/6, its future could not be guaranteed. In the 1470s, by which time Henry VI had died and the Yorkist regime was secure (except from the claims of an obscure Earl of Richmond in exile in Brittany), the immediate threat of dissolution had passed only for a new threat to emerge. Edward IV's re-

¹³⁴ *GB-WRch*, v.B.2 (attendance book), f.34v: he was installed vicar on 22 January 1474.

¹³⁵ In 1461-2 (*GB-WRch*, xv.34.49 (treasurer's roll, 1461-2) under *Cotidiana*), the four clerks received their £4, plus 26s. 8d. or 53s. 4d. each. A further 20s. and 13s. 4d. was available for the instructor and the organist respectively.

foundation in 1478 of St George's, Windsor, only served to make the neighbouring Garter chapel a more attractive place to work.¹³⁶ The addition of nine more lay clerkships to the four already in existence, which began in the mid 1470s, and a concomitant increase in their salaries (to £10 *p.a.*, from 1477-8) increased both the opportunities for and rewards from employment as a singer at St George's. Walter Lambe, a scholar at Eton shortly after its refoundation, from 1467, migrated to Windsor from Arundel College in January 1479.¹³⁷ Thomas Absolon, the long-serving parish clerk of Eton, moved to St George's, where he was installed as vestry clerk on 16 April 1479;¹³⁸ no doubt the salary on offer, over £6, was a significant factor in attracting him from Eton, where, after the completion of the new chapel, the parish clerk's salary was revised downwards (from 40s. to 26s. 8d.). Given the reversal of fortunes between Eton College and St George's, Windsor, it is surprising that very few clerks migrated from Eton to Windsor. This may have been because of personal ties between the two institutions and a consequent desire to avoid competing for personnel: Roger Lupton, for example, was both provost of Eton and a canon of St George's.¹³⁹ Nevertheless, several chaplains of Eton did migrate to be vicars at St

¹³⁶ For a detailed discussion of the processes behind the new foundation of St George's, see Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', pp.6036-41.

¹³⁷ He was paid from 5 January (*GB-WRch*, xv.34.55 (treasurer's account, 1478-9), under *Cotidiana*), but was not installed until 13 February (*GB-WRch*, v.B.2 (attendance book), f.65); he had been a deacon-clerk at Arundel in 1476-7 (*ACA*, CA/14 (comptus, Arundel College, 1476-7), under *Feoda et vadia hospicii*); see below, p.500.

¹³⁸ *GB-WRch*, v.B.2 (attendance book), f.67; he remained until 1503-4 or later, his son serving as assistant sacrist (*GB-Ob*, MS Berkshire Rolls, 5 (treasurer's account, 1503-4), under *Sacristis*).

¹³⁹ *BRUC*, pp.377-8.

George's as well as Thomas Dycson, Thomas Elys (succentor at Eton, and also stop-gap *informator choristarum*), and William Jones.¹⁴⁰ John Seward probably moved to Windsor when Eton College was dissolved, as he was still at Eton in 1464, but had become a vicar at St George's by 1468; he remained there until 1478.¹⁴¹ Martin Tyme, a chaplain from 1495, became a vicar of St George's in 1498, even though Eton College had presented him to the vicarage of Blakenham in that year; he returned to Eton in 1515.¹⁴² Michael Dewland or Dulard, a clerk at Eton for most of 1469-70, went to St George's after his ordination, as vicar, for eight months in 1474.¹⁴³ Another clerk to find promotion through ordination was William Huntrode, who began as a clerk at Eton in 1493, leaving in 1496; by 1498, he had attracted royal patronage, as he was presented to the vicarage of Tudworth by the king; he was a vicar of St George's by 1503, where he remained until 1519 or later; he was presented by the king to several benefices before his death in 1522, and was buried in Eton College chapel, where his brass remains.¹⁴⁴ Why, when a number of chaplains moved from Eton to Windsor, did so few clerks? Perhaps the canons of St George's, seeking highly-accomplished singers deserving of the high salaries on offer, did not consider what was available at Eton to be worth impressing.

¹⁴⁰ See below, pp.487-95, under Burges, Chylton, Dycson, Edward(?), Elys, Jones, Marten(?), Newton(?), Seward, Tyme, Veale, Welwys, and Wright.

¹⁴¹ There is a *lacuna* in the accounts of St George's, 1463-8; see below, p.493.

¹⁴² See below, p.495

¹⁴³ See below, p.480.

¹⁴⁴ See below, p.481.

3.8: SECURING THE SERVICES OF AN EXPERIENCED CHOIR-TRAINER

By the later fifteenth century the lynch-pin of a choral foundation was a competent *informator choristarum*.¹⁴⁵ Eton College's difficulties during the five years after its re-establishment can be seen in its failure to find a suitable trainer and, furthermore, to retain his services. A full year elapsed after Michaelmas 1466 (when collegiate life resumed) before Adam Roke was enticed back. His departure a year later left the college, again, without a competent instructor. This task was undertaken by Richard Bovyate, who had arrived in March 1467. He is unlikely to have been a seasoned professional: he was only a sub-clerk (on 26s. 8d. *p.a.*, the lowest salary apart from the 20s. 'probationary' salary sometimes paid); he was only paid as *informator choristarum* once, a lowly 10s. in 1469-70;¹⁴⁶ a specialist instructor, Henry Smyth, was appointed over Bovyate's head, in 1470-1, and after Smyth's departure, one of the chaplains (Dns Thomas Elys) and not Bovyate, was appointed stop-gap instructor.¹⁴⁷ Henry Smyth stayed for only eight weeks: either he found Eton a disagreeable place in which to work, or his role had, *ab initio*, been considered advisory. Smyth may plausibly be identified with Henry Smyth, master of the Guild of St Nicholas in 1453.¹⁴⁸ Richard Hopton, fellow of Eton from 1453 until 1477 and from 1487 until his death in 1497, was also a member of the fraternity, listed as a

¹⁴⁵ This case is put persuasively by Bowers in 'Choral Institutions', pp.6066-84.

¹⁴⁶ ECR 61/AR/C/4 (audit roll, 1469-70), under *Remuneraciones officiariorum*.

¹⁴⁷ ECR 61/BD/C/6 (bursars' draft, 1470-1), under *Stipendia....clericorum* and *Remuneraciones officiariorum*.

¹⁴⁸ J. Christie, *Parish Clerks* (London, 1893), p.45.

priest-member in 1479.¹⁴⁹ His membership of the fraternity was probably linked to his move to London to be rector of St Alban's, Wood Street (as he is not listed as a member until a year or two after his departure from Eton). It is not unlikely, however, that membership of the fraternity was a convenient aid to recruitment. After Smyth's departure, the college was without an instructor again; in 1471-2, one John Dunham may have occupied the post for all but two weeks of the year (unless he was a chaplain, and his title 'Dominus' had been accidentally omitted);¹⁵⁰ he was later ordained, being presented by the college to its living of East Wretham in 1480.¹⁵¹ Whether Dunham was the *informator* or a chaplain, he had left by Michaelmas term, 1473, by which time John Boraston had arrived.¹⁵² At last, after six years of making-do, the college had secured the services of a professional trainer who stayed long-term, until his death in 1493.¹⁵³

The college's difficulties in firstly attracting and then retaining the services of competent instructors were mirrored in its attempts to recruit singers. Between 1466

¹⁴⁹ *BRUO*, pp.960-1; Hopton had been headmaster at Eton in 1447, was precentor from 1454 until 1459 (and again in 1469-70 and 1488-9) and was vice-provost from 1471 until his departure in 1477 to be rector of the college parish of St Alban's, Wood Street, London (which he resigned on his re-election to Eton).

¹⁵⁰ ECR 61/BD/C/8 (bursars' draft, 1471-2), under *Stipendia...clericorum*. Both chaplains and the *informator choristarum* were paid £4 *p.a.*; this, together with the usual placing of the *informator* immediately underneath the chaplains in the audit rolls can lead to confusion.

¹⁵¹ ECR 60/14 (register 1), pp.67-68; he was presented on 9 December 1480, by which time he was a B.C.L.; he had died by the time his successor was presented on 26 August 1482.

¹⁵² ECR MS 231 (bursars' drafts, 1473-4), f.3, under *Stipendia capellanorum et clericorum primus terminus*.

¹⁵³ See below, p.478; his will is in Appendix H, pp.539-41 below.

and 1480, there were usually no more than five clerks present at any one time, often only four. Out of these five, one, the parish clerk, was probably not a specialist singer; if the two new salary-levels (40s. and 26s. 8d.) were consistently applied to singers and non-singers respectively, it was not until the mid-late 1480s that singers out-numbered non-singers. In 1469, for instance, the only clerk to receive 40s. was Thomas Absolon, the parish clerk; in 1486, the only clerk *not* to receive 40s. was William Blakborne, the parish clerk.¹⁵⁴ It is only after the move from the old parish church to the new college chapel (in 1479) that the proportion of singers (or, at least, those paid the higher wage) increases decisively upwards. It is also significant that those clerks who remained the longest tended to be those on the lower wage level. Professional singers moved on as soon as the opportunity arose: Adam Roke stayed for a year, (Michaelmas 1467 to Michaelmas 1468); Robert Bury, who arrived between Michaelmas 1472 and Michaelmas 1473, departed after a year.¹⁵⁵ Two clerks sought internal promotion through ordination: John Lyndesey (clerk 1469-72, chaplain 1474-87), Hugh Chapman (scholar, 1467-9, scholar at King's, 1469-71/2, clerk at Eton, 1474-5 and chaplain, 1475-6);¹⁵⁶ some, through length of service, achieved promotion from *valectus* to *generosus* status. Others appear to have been clerks in name but servants in fact. John Mason, of local origin, was a clerk from

¹⁵⁴ ECR 61/AR/F/1 (audit roll, 1485-6) under *Stipendia...clericorum*.

¹⁵⁵ ECL, MS 231, p.6; see below, p.479.

¹⁵⁶ See below, pp.488, 492.

1479 until 1487, when he became a servant;¹⁵⁷ in 1485-6, while still nominally a clerk, he had acted as a college agent, riding to Reading Abbey and to London on college business;¹⁵⁸ he moved in and out of the college's pay-roll until 1500-1 when, for three terms he was a servant and, for the last term, a clerk again;¹⁵⁹ thus he remained until Christmas 1507.¹⁶⁰ John Watyr, probably a king's scholar, became a sub-clerk in June 1471 and continued as such throughout 1471-2;¹⁶¹ in 1473-5, however, he was paid as a servant, after which he disappears from the records.¹⁶² During the fifteen years after the restoration of the college, the clerks as a whole were a heterogeneous body, including a small minority of professional singers, a number of artisans and an unusually high number of old-Etonians (Hugh Chapman, Lewis Palmer, John Watyr and John Veryng): ready availability seems to have been the primary factor in their employment, rather than musicianship.

The process of staffing and financing the choir was long and arduous, only accelerating appreciably after the move into the new chapel. When the college did

¹⁵⁷ ECR 61/AR/C/6 and 61/AR/F/1 (audit rolls, 1479-80 and 1485-6), under *Stipendia...clericorum*; ECR 61/AR/F/2 (audit roll, 1486-7), under *Stipendia ministrorum et serviencium*.

¹⁵⁸ ECR 61/AR/F/1 (audit roll, 1485-6), under *Custus forinseci*.

¹⁵⁹ ECR 61/AR/F/11 (audit roll, 1500-1), under *Stipendia...serviencium* and *Stipendia...clericorum*.

¹⁶⁰ ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1506-7, under *Stipendia...clericorum*), p.38.

¹⁶¹ ECR 61/BD/C/6 and 61/BD/C/8 (bursars' drafts, 1470-1 and 1471-2), under *Stipendia...clericorum*.

¹⁶² ECL, MS 231 (bursars' drafts, 1473-4 and 1474-5), pp.8, 40; this change of status confused the scribe, who initially listed Watyr with the clerks (together with John Trym, another servant).

attract singers of proven ability, the fellows were prepared to pay over the odds;¹⁶³ that it was otherwise a thrifty employer suggests both that most of the clerks were non-specialists (in many or perhaps most cases non-musicians) and that the maintenance of a first-rate choir of lay clerks was for the time being either unaffordable or unnecessary. As well as the move into the new chapel, the recovery in the college's financial position in the 1480s and 1490s was a deciding factor in shaping the choir for which MS 178 was deemed necessary.¹⁶⁴ Between 1461 and 1479, when the style of choral polyphony epitomised in MS 178 was undergoing its most important phase of development, the choir at Eton was least equipped to sing it. By statute old-fashioned and through circumstances enfeebled, Eton was the least likely source for the 'Eton style'.

¹⁶³ John Boraston was paid £4 *p.a.*, a salary which even Robert Wylkynson could not command; William (possibly Walter) Lambe, present for two terms in 1485-6, was paid at the same rate; John Browghing, who subsequently became a vicar-choral at Wells Cathedral, was paid 53s. 4d. in 1488-9.

¹⁶⁴ See Appendix G, pp.535-8.

CHAPTER FOUR

MS 178: A SOURCE STUDY

INTRODUCTION: ISSUES AND OBJECTIVES

MS 178, the Eton choirbook, is perhaps the most significant musical artefact of the early Tudor period; like the Lady chapel of Westminster Abbey, it is a defining monument to the devotional culture of England in the reign of Henry VII. It is a large manuscript containing choral polyphony, most of which was composed during the last two decades of the fifteenth century. It has been in the possession of Eton College since before *circa* 1531, when it was listed in an inventory of chapel books;¹ it was copied around the turn of the sixteenth century for use within the college chapel. The manuscript is incomplete, comprising 126 leaves out of a likely original total of 224; out of some ninety-three pieces, forty-three survive complete, twenty-one are defective or fragmentary, and twenty-nine are missing. Of the incomplete and missing pieces listed in the indices, three concordances (or possible concordances) are present in other extant sources.² MS 178 is an important manuscript for a number of reasons. It is the oldest of three large English choirbooks which survive from the

¹ M. R. James, 'Chapel Inventories', *Etoniana*, 28 (1921), p.447.

² See figure 4.6.A, pp.329-30 below (Fayrfax, Magnificat 'Regale'; Lambe, *O Maria plena gracia*; Nesbett, Magnificat). A setting of *Gaude flore virginali* in *GB-Lbl* Add. 54324, possibly the missing setting attributed to Dunstable in the indices of MS 178 (once in openings *o8-p1*), is discussed in I and M. Bent, 'Dufay, Dunstable, Plummer – A New Source', *JAMS*, 22 (1969), pp.394-424.

early sixteenth century. Although incomplete, it is the only major source of a musical repertory of outstanding interest: most of its contents are *unica*. Given its origins, it is valuable evidence of the musical expression of Marian devotion in late-medieval England in general and within a large-scale ecclesiastical and educational institution in particular.

In its complete state, MS 178 contained sixty-seven votive antiphons addressed to (or extolling the virtues of) the BVM, and twenty-four polyphonic settings of the Magnificat, as well as a four-part setting of the *turba* and *exordium* of the St Matthew Passion (by Richard Davy) and a thirteen-part canon on the Apostles' Creed (*Jesus autem transiens/Credo in Deum*, by Robert Wylkynson).³ Both the Passion and the Creed are at the end of the manuscript, and are liturgically anomalous: the votive antiphons and the Magnificats would both have been sung at or after Vespers, whereas the Passion was sung in place of the Gospel at High Mass on Palm Sunday, and the Creed has no obvious liturgical function. These two items apart, the repertory contained in MS 178 fell into two classes: the Magnificat settings, which may have been reserved for festal Vespers, and the votive antiphons, which were sung at a separate devotion after Vespers or Compline each evening (although these elaborate compositions may also have been sung only feast days and Sundays).

The choirbook was made to a very high standard: illuminated initials, for instance, are of a higher quality than in either of the other two extant choirbooks of the early sixteenth century.⁴ It is also a highly consistent manuscript: standards of production are comparable, if not identical, from one part of the choirbook to another,

the repertory is ordered according to scoring, text and composer. There are also two indices, each listing not only the title, composer and location within the manuscript of each work, but also the number of voice-parts and extreme Treble-Bass range. The very consistency of the manuscript has led historians to make a number of assumptions which need to be tested and, in some instances, discarded. Underlying these arguments are a number of interrelated assumptions concerning the choirbook's provenance and date, the method and sequence of its compilation, its scribal hallmarks, the way in which it may have been financed and the identities and motivations of possible donors or sponsors, its relation to the choir's repertory as a whole, its institutional background, and its lifespan after its completion. Some of these issues will be discussed in the following chapter:⁵ in this chapter, the manuscript's physical attributes will be examined, and its origins, date and provenance will be considered in the light of this evidence.

It has been argued above that the choral staff at Eton, as established in the 1440s, was conservative (and outdated by the time MS 178 was compiled). If the choir was, on paper, not ideally equipped to sing the kind of repertory contained in MS 178, why was it compiled and what function was it intended to serve? Some solutions to these questions are examined in Chapter Five; as a first step, however, the provenance and origins of MS 178 need to be established conclusively. There is

³ Repertory is listed sequentially in the manuscript collation (after p.195).

⁴ The Lambeth and Caius choirbooks (*GB-Llp* 1 and *GB-Cgc* 667).

⁵ See below, chapter 4, pp.339-419.

enough evidence contained within the manuscript itself to show that it did, indeed, originate at Eton; the evidence (that pieces by composers who worked at Eton were included in the earliest layers) rests on a palaeographical reading of the manuscript which must be rehearsed in detail.⁶ The motives behind the manuscript's compilation can only be suggested hypothetically: no archival evidence concerning the choirbook's commission or production survives. Here the prosopographical and institutional issues considered in other chapters can be adduced in addition to the internal evidence within MS 178.

Similarly, the date of the manuscript needs to be examined. If it is possible to narrow down the chronology of MS 178, it may also be possible to identify its sponsors (if sponsors they were) among the clerks, chaplains or, more likely, fellows resident in Eton College at the time. Two competing chronologies exist: one, put forward by Montague Rhodes James and Neil Ripley Ker, of 1500-1510;⁷ the other, favoured by music historians, of 1490-1502.⁸ Through the consideration of various strands of evidence - partly historical/musical, partly paleographical, partly biographical - the bibliographers' date can be shown to be the more likely. The musicologists' *terminus ante quem* was predicated on inaccurate biographical information; some of the repertory inside MS 178 is unlikely to have been written before 1500; biographical evidence considered in other chapters also militates against

⁶ See below, pp.201-86 (section 4.2).

⁷ See Chapter One, above, p.59.

⁸ As proposed by Dom Anselm Hughes and F. Ll. Harrison. See above, Chapter One, p.59.

the earlier dating.⁹ It may still not be possible for the choirbook's chronology to be pin-pointed to within a year, but the available evidence suggests that it was probably compiled between *circa* 1500 and *circa* 1504 or 1505. The implications of this dating also militate against the only sponsor previously suggested;¹⁰ but there were other possible donors at Eton in the early sixteenth century, not least the precentor, Walter Smythe, who, according to his funerary epitaph, cherished music.¹¹

Also underpinning previous work on MS 178 have been assumptions about the construction of the manuscript. Because of its high quality and its apparently careful organization, it has been assumed that the codex was a planned anthology of repertory.¹² The finished manuscript was undoubtedly well organized: indexed twice; assembled in layers according to repertory, liturgical use, text, composer, scoring and range. The most elaborate pieces are at the front of the manuscript, the simpler (or less extravagantly scored) votive antiphons are concentrated towards the back, just before a layer of Magnificat settings; the *Salve regina* settings are all bound together in one section of the choirbook. The quality of penmanship and artwork (illuminated initials being used to identify each voice-part at the beginning of each piece) is very

high; *ab initio*, MS 178 was conceived not as a workaday manuscript but as a fair

⁹ See below, Chapter Five, pp.339-419.

¹⁰ In 1497-8, two iron braces were made to support a book given by Hugh Fraunce, fellow of Eton, to the chapel; Harrison tentatively suggested that this book may have been MS 178. But Fraunce left Eton in January 1498 (*BRUO*, 722-3), and it is unlikely that MS 178 had yet been begun in 1498; see Harrison (ed.), *MB*, x, p.xvi.

¹¹ See below, pp.315-8.

¹² See above, Chapter One, pp.66-80.

copy. But, as will be argued below, MS 178 was not copied in the order in which it was bound. All the available evidence, in terms of the ruling of staves, scribal mannerisms and limning style, show that gathering *g* was the first quire to be copied. This quire is occupied by the first four settings of *Salve regina*, the one antiphon specifically referred to in the founder's statutes. The completed choirbook may have been very different in size and scope from what had been planned initially. It may have assumed anthological traits as copying progressed, but this does not necessarily mean that it had been originally conceived in such terms.

I believe that one scribe was responsible for both music and text throughout. Nonetheless, the visual appearance of his work changes from one part of the manuscript to another: this is central to the consideration of the order in which the manuscript was copied. MS 178 appears to have been the result of four stints, or phases, of copying.¹³ Scribal style changes not only from phase to phase but also within phases, and the development of scribal mannerisms is broadly (although not absolutely) uniform between notation and text. The underlying reason for scribal change was most probably the need or the desire to copy quickly: the clearest evidence for this is the increasing roundedness of the hand, suggesting a desire for economy of effort (and time) on the part of the scribe. The final phase of copying, phase D, was substantial, including large sections of forward-copying, as well as insertions into earlier phases; this copying was carried out after a number of decisions regarding the scope and layout of the manuscript had been taken. The original plan may have been merely to provide a fair copy of the *Salve regina* settings, most or all

of which were already in the choir's repertory; the decision to incorporate what was probably the choir's entire repertory of motets and Magnificats was taken after the *Salve* settings had been copied.

As has been argued above, the choirbook was copied in phases. In each stint quires of vellum were prepared, ruled, texted and limned in blocks, although the manner of execution was subject to small variations: the overall method of pricking and ruling, for example, was standardized very early in the process, but was subject to small variations from quire to quire. The scribe and limner were probably under instruction from the users, and scribal and limning styles were adapted to suit the needs and tastes of the client or clients. MS 178 was pricked and ruled, notated, texted and illuminated in chronologically distinct phases, each phase completed before the next phase was begun: the limner did not illuminate the whole manuscript in one go, for instance. Within each phase, notating and texting were broadly coterminous; the evidence suggests that the notation and the texts (in that order) were copied motet-by-motet (possibly in batches of motets in the later stages).

Because there are no allusions to MS 178 in the surviving archival records at Eton, the scribe's identity cannot be established. On balance, the copyist is likely to have been an experienced, musically literate, liturgical scribe: from the outset, the texts were proficiently executed, while the notation developed from the somewhat cramped, variable form found in gathering g to the more confident, less compressed, style characteristic of most of the later gatherings. The development of scribal style, which falls into four broad phases, suggests that the copyist worked in

¹³ It may be helpful here to refer to the manuscript collation, which combines structural, scribal and

chronologically distinct periods, either as he was available (in which case he may have been a journeyman who worked at Eton between engagements elsewhere) or as repertory was sent to him (in which case he was probably a stationer, probably working in London). The likeliest candidate as sponsor of MS 178, Walter Smythe, was rector of St Alban's, Wood Street, London, from 1498 until 1502:¹⁴ if MS 178 was copied by a London scribe, it could have been during his time as rector that Smythe established the personal contacts which he exploited after his return to Eton as fellow in 1502.

MS 178 needs to be placed within the context not only of the local institution, but of the musical practice of early-Tudor England as a whole. Can any relationships be established between MS 178 and contemporary sources, especially those containing concordances, and more particularly the two Henrician choirbooks, Lambeth 1 and Caius 667? Like Caius and Lambeth, MS 178 was probably compiled through an act of patronage, financed by one of the college fellows. Like Lambeth and Caius, MS 178 was devoted to specific repertorial and liturgical types. Caius consisted of five Magnificat settings and ten Mass cycles; Lambeth, in addition to four Magnificats and seven Mass cycles, contained seven votive antiphons and one ritual antiphon. The most conspicuous difference between MS 178 and the two Henrician choirbooks is the almost total absence of polyphonic Mass ordinaries in MS 178: past scholars have suggested that a companion choirbook to MS 178 contained the choir's Mass music, but this hypothesis is based on the (potentially

repertorial data. This can be found after p. 195.

¹⁴ See below, Appendix C (biographical register), p.502.

false) assumption that the Mass ordinary formed a staple of the choir's repertory at Eton.¹⁵ Like Lambeth, MS 178 contains single liturgical anomalies: Davy's St Matthew Passion and Wylkynson's Creed in MS 178 (openings *ee5-9* and *f. ee9v*); the ritual antiphon, *Vidi aquam egredientem* in Lambeth (ff.44v-45r). But all three manuscripts are primarily dedicated to well-defined classes of repertory. What therefore was the role of these choirbooks? At first sight, all three appear to have been conceived as repositories for the most important polyphonic items, Mass ordinary (except MS 178), Magnificat and votive antiphon (except Caius). As is suggested in contemporary inventories, other classes of liturgical polyphony (responds, ritual and processional antiphons, Lady Masses) may have been copied into less elaborate codices. But the sheer size of MS 178, as well as the musical diversity of its contents (as opposed to their liturgical homogeneity), suggests that it was more than a collection of the choir's most solemn repertory, but represented the repertory in its entirety. Why else should a ritual four-part Passion setting for use at High Mass be incorporated in a manuscript otherwise exclusively dedicated to music for Vespers and the Marian devotion?

Another feature which distinguishes MS 178 from Lambeth, Caius and other early-sixteenth-century codices (including the Peterhouse and Forrest-Heyther partbooks) is the textural variety of its contents, which vary in scoring from four-part to nine-part (thirteen-part, including the anomalous *Credo* by Wylkynson) and have compasses ranging from thirteen notes to twenty-three. In Lambeth and Caius, only five- and six-part scorings appear, and in Peterhouse, the compasses vary only

¹⁵ See, for instance, Strohm, *The Rise of European Music*, p.388.

between nineteen and twenty-four notes;¹⁶ but MS 178 contains repertory written for lower voices, either Tenors and Basses alone or for Altos (*Medius*), Tenors and Basses.¹⁷ By 1560, at the latest, leave of absence was granted at the end of Trinity term, during which the boys could, if they wished, return to their parental homes; in the absence of the boy choristers, polyphony for lower voices may have been required.¹⁸ This may be interpreted as evidence that MS 178 was specifically tailored to local needs.

The place of MS 178 within the historiography of late-medieval English music is central. But for the survival of this one choirbook, our knowledge of Marian devotion and its musical expression would be much the poorer. Is it a representative or an exceptional manuscript? By virtue of its survival, it has become exceptional, but whether or not it was representative of other codices at the time of its compilation is difficult to establish, given the dearth of comparable choirbooks. Certain conclusions can be gleaned from the paleographical evidence. If, as is the contention, it was not compiled as an anthology, repertory was probably accumulated piecemeal rather than in a concerted campaign of acquisition. It represents the repertory of one institution at a particular time; while it contains motets written at other institutions, it need not be regarded as an archetype of late-fifteenth-century English choral repertory.

¹⁶ Fugler, 'The Lambeth and Caius Choirbooks', p.17; N. Sandon, 'The Henrician Partbooks at Peterhouse, Cambridge', *PRMA*, 103 (1977), pp.134-8.

¹⁷ The blocks of motets in gathering *d* and between openings *t4* and *y1*, for example.

¹⁸ This is considered below, pp.319-26.

PALEOGRAPHICAL EXAMINATION

4.1: MS 178: A DESCRIPTION

4.1.1: quiring and foliation

When complete, MS 178 contained 224 vellum folios divided into twenty-eight gatherings.¹⁹ Each gathering consisted of four bifolia, but with two exceptions: the first gathering, *a*, whose eighth folio was probably removed before the choirbook was bound, and the last, *ee*, into which an additional single folio was bound, probably when the gathering was prepared, making it a nine-folio gathering. Each gathering was identified with a signature letter (running from *a* to *ee*), and each folio numbered from one to eight within each gathering (the signature being written at the bottom right hand corner of each recto). There are also two numerical foliations: the earlier, in ink, was made in the mid to late sixteenth century, by which time seventy-eight folios had been lost;²⁰ a further twenty folios were lost by the time the modern pencil foliation was made.

¹⁹ N. R. Ker (in *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 2 (Oxford, 1977), p.774) suggests 225 leaves, on the grounds that the first gathering was an eight-folio gathering at the time MS 178 was completed. As is argued below (see below, pp.199, 209), gathering *a* began as a standard eight-folio quire, but lost its eighth folio before the manuscript was completed.

²⁰ This foliation runs from 1 to 145, rather than 146, due to a scribal error: folio 50 is followed by 50A.

Because four-bifolium gatherings were used almost throughout the manuscript, the physical structure of MS 178 is very simple. This, and the simplicity of the foliation system, means that the structure of MS 178 in its complete state can be reconstructed. Because ninety-eight of the original 224 leaves have been lost, and because these losses particularly affect some parts of the manuscript (especially gatherings *n-p* and *y-dd*, save one bifolium, *bb1/8*), it cannot be shown beyond doubt that all gatherings consisted of four bifolia. Nevertheless the consistency of the surviving gatherings, combined with the evidence to be found in the indices, strongly suggests that all gatherings between *b* and *dd* indeed consisted of four bifolia each.²¹

In Figure 4.1.A, the foliation of MS 178 is tabulated, together with paleographical data which will be considered in subsequent sections:

FIGURE 4.1.A (COLLATION) IS AVAILABLE AS A SEPARATE FILE

²¹ We know from the indices, for instance, that a setting of *Gaude flore virginali* attributed in MS 178 to John Dunstable began on opening *o8*, Mychelton's Magnificat on opening *aa8*, and Davy's four-part Magnificat on opening *dd8*.

Figure 4.1.A: COLLATION OF MS 178

NOTES

1. original signature
2. intermediate, mid-sixteenth-century foliation (see below, pp.459-63)
3. modern foliation
4. contents/name of piece
5. number of voice-parts
6. attribution and compass, as indicated within the MS:
[information not given on extant folio]
(information that can be assumed to have been written on now-lost folio)
7. position in earlier index (on f.*ee9v*) ('0' = not listed)
8. position in later index (on f.*a1r*) ('0' = not listed)
9. pricking variant (see pp.223-32)
10. number of staves ruled on each side, e.g.:
14 = fourteen staves ruled
14+1 = one extra staff added
15 = fifteen staves ruled
14+ = fourteen staves ruled with incomplete staff added
11. indentation method (see pp.265-9)
12. type of illumination used (see pp.262-82), e.g.:
painted = only polychrome painted initials used
cadels = only penwork (strapwork or filigree) initials
mixed = both painted and penwork initials
blue/red = blue letters on red filigree tracery
capitals = one-line red, blue or black capitals
13. scribal phase (see pp.249-60)

This collation differs from Neil Ker's in one small detail. Ker clearly believed that gathering *a* had been an eight-folio gathering when the manuscript was complete, counting folio *a8* (not extant) as a missing folio.²² There are strong practical and paleographical grounds for discounting *a8*, however: the 'loss' of *a8* was deliberate, not accidental, and was effected before MS 178 was complete.²³

Each bifolium measures approximately 590x840mm (folded into folios measuring 590x420mm); the written space on each folio occupies on average 440x330mm, with some exceptions where shortage of space necessitated the ruling of extra staffs. The written space was defined by four margin rulings, two running laterally from top to bottom, between 320mm and 330mm apart, and two from left to right at top and bottom of the written space (the lower of which was not always ruled). In custom-ruled gatherings or folios, the distance from top to bottom varies according to the number of staffs needed (between 425mm and 480mm); in batch-ruled gatherings, the space measures approximately 440mm. There are fourteen free-ruled staffs on each side, except where folios were custom-ruled or where extra staffs were added. Staffs vary in height from 13mm to 22.5mm. To guide the ruling of the staffs, holes were pricked along the outside edge of each folio between 30.5mm and 33.5mm (but mostly 32.5mm) apart: the minute variation suggests that the same instrument, perhaps a pricking wheel, was used throughout the entire production process. Up to

²² Ker, *MML*, 2, 774.

²³ See also below, p.209; during the final phase of the choirbook's compilation, the scribe copied the contents of what was *a8R* onto *b1R*, which had been left blank. At this point he discarded *a8*, which was not re-used elsewhere in the manuscript.

four more holes were made on each folio to guide the margin rulings.

Between gatherings (and, sometimes, within them) there are small variations in execution: holes do not seem to have been pricked for all of the frame-rulings, for example. These variations are useful as corroborative evidence in assessing the sequence of copying, especially in the earliest stages of the manuscript's assembly, and are examined in detail below.²⁴ Nevertheless, this part of the copying process - the preparation of the folios - was one of the most consistent features of the choirbook's construction, and was standardized at an early stage. The use of eight-folio quires, the size of the folios and the size of the written area were decided at the outset. The techniques used to reproduce these tolerances on a large scale were also settled early on, even if the manner in which these techniques were executed was subject to small variations.

²⁴ See below, pp.223-32.

4.1.2: binding

The binding is not original. The choirbook was rebound in the mid sixteenth century in wooden boards covered in brown leather and bears the roll identified by J. B. Oldham as HE.g.2.²⁵ Although no other examples of this roll survive in the college collections, it was used on the Mulliner book, a mid-sixteenth-century collection of keyboard pieces;²⁶ it has not been possible to establish any links between the two manuscripts which would account for what appears otherwise to be a coincidence.²⁷ Oldham identified forty-two instances of the HE.g.2 binding, mostly in mid-sixteenth-century books, although H.R.'s rolls appear to have been used for a brief period after 1600. Oldham did not publish lists of all extant bindings, but it has been possible to locate fifteen other examples of the HE.g.2 roll used both on its own and in conjunction with other rolls:²⁸

²⁵ J. B. Oldham, *English Blind-stamped Bindings* (Cambridge, 1952), pp.33, 50 and plate xlvi, no.759.

²⁶ *GB-Lbl*, Add. 30513; Harrison, 'The Eton College Choirbook', p.227.

²⁷ The mid-sixteenth-century rebinding is discussed in Chapter Six, below, pp.457-8.

²⁸ I would like to record my thanks to Ms Philippa Marks, Curator of Bindings at the British Library, for her assistance in locating most of these examples from among Oldham's sketchy notes and rubbings now held at the British Library.

Figure 4.1.B: books and manuscripts bearing the roll HE.g.2

Birmingham, University Library, R29/4/2 (ex St Mary's, Warwick, C.6.316 and C.6.324): *Augustini Omnia Opera*, i-ii and x (Basle, 1569)

Bristol,, 409: (1514-7)

Chirbury (Shropshire), St Michael's Church: *Rodolphi Gualtheri...in Lucam Commentarii* (Zurich, 1570)

Gloucester, Cathedral Library, Sel.4.15: Diego de Covarruvias y Leyva, *Practicarum quaestionum liber unus* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1571)

Guildford, Royal Grammar School, 72: Théodore de Bèze, *Theodori Bezæ Vezelii Volumen tractationum theologicarum* (Geneva, 1570)

Guildford, Royal Grammar School, 289: *Rodolphi Gualtheri...in Euangelium... secundum Lucam homiliae CCXV* (Zurich, 1570)

GB-Lbl, Add. MS 30513: the Mulliner Book (mid-sixteenth-century)

London, College of Arms, MS Vincent 102: extracts of plea rolls of courts of Common Pleas and King's Bench, Edward I-Edward II, relating to lands, pedigrees, etc. in Northants (after 1600)²⁹

London, Inner Temple Library, CPBD 4: *The Whole workes of W. Tyndall, Iohn frith, and Doct. Barnes* (London, John Daye, 1573)

GB-Llp, **H5142.M: Sarum Missal (STC 16214; Paris, 1534)

GB-Lpro, E 36 266: Black Book of the Receipt of the Exchequer

GB-Oas, FFF.4.1: Valerianus Bolzani, *Hieroglyphica* (Basle, 1556)³⁰

²⁹ L. Campbell, F. Steer, R. Yorke and Sir A. Wagner, *A Catalogue of Manuscripts in the College of Arms Collections*, i (London, 1988), p.329, §102. MS 102 was acquired from Ralph Sheldon in 1684, having been compiled for Augustine Vincent (*circa* 1581-1626).

³⁰ N. R. Ker, *Records of All Souls College Library 1437-1600* (Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1971), p.163; this was given to All Souls in 1566.

Figure 4.1.B: books and manuscripts bearing the roll HE.g.2 (continued)

GB-Ob, 4° A. 10 Art. Seld.: Paschasius Hamellius (ed.), *Divi Alphonsi... astronomicae tabulae* (Paris, 1553)

GB-Omc, Q.14.10: Paulo Giovio, *Pauli Iovii novocomensis...illustrium virorum vitae* (Florence, 1551)

GB-Ome, 49.hh.7: Carmonensis (transl.), *Liber canonis Avicenna* (Basle, 1556)

GB-Otc, I.14.1: (Lyons, 1555)

York, Minster Library, XV.E.13: Johannes Royardus, *Homiliarum f. Iohannis Royardi...in omnes epistolas & euangelia dominicalia per totius anni decursum* (Cologne, 1550)

unknown location: Brentius (Johann Brentz), *Homiliae* (----, 1545)

The choirbook was rebaked in a modern restoration.³¹ Four bifolia, which originally formed a complete gathering of an early-twelfth-century Bible, are bound sideways into the manuscript, two at each end (ff.v-vi, 127-8: ff.i-iv and 129-132 are modern). It is not known whether these bifolia were part of the original binding or whether they were inserted during the mid-sixteenth-century rebinding; they include part of St Paul's first letter to the Corinthians, II. Corinthians and Galatians in their entirety, and part of Ephesians.³² Leaves from the same twelfth-century Bible have not yet been identified in other bindings. There is no physical trace of chain links.

³¹ This and the following information is from Ker, *MMBL*, 2, pp.773-4.

³² See Ker, *MMBL*, 2, p.773 for a slightly fuller description of the Biblical extracts.

4.2: ORDER OF COPYING

The order in which MS 178 was copied is central to our understanding of its origins and purpose, whether or not it originated at Eton, how and why it came to be in its present form, what its role was intended to be when copying started, and how this role may have changed as copying progressed. It can be established, for instance, that MS 178 almost certainly originated at (or for use at) Eton: embedded within all layers of the manuscript, including the earliest layers, are works by the resident *informator choristarum*, Robert Wylkynson, who is not known to have worked at any other institution.³³ The scribe's work fell into four main phases, A-D, whose characteristics will be considered individually and in relation to each other; while the scribe's style was broadly consistent, small changes in his habits form an important clue to the progress of his work. Each stage of manuscript production – pricking and ruling method and scribal conventions – will be examined in turn, as each of these processes was refined and adapted by the scribe at different times. Further evidence – the scheme of illuminations – will then be considered in the light of the proposed copying order, before suggestions are made as to the possible sponsors of MS 178. The likely transmission processes whereby the repertory came to Eton will also be examined; if MS 178 was not compiled as an anthology – as has previously been assumed – it is necessary to consider the means whereby the repertory may have been accumulated.

In his introduction to the *Musica Britannica* edition, Harrison suggests that MS 178 was copied front-to-back, systematically, beginning with the antiphons (in order of scoring: six-part, five-part, then four-part), continuing with the Magnificats and ending with five assorted, additional antiphons.³⁴ This needs to be re-examined. The assumption underlying Harrison's collation was that MS 178 was planned and executed according to a scheme which had been settled before the first gathering had yet been pricked, in which repertory was organized *ab initio* by scoring, liturgical use and (to some extent) by authorship, and copied in the same order in which it was bound. But a front-to-back reading of MS 178 reveals scribal discontinuities from one gathering to the next. This militates against the choirbook having been copied in its present order, from front to back. Nevertheless, while there are dissimilarities of style, there is more continuity of method, and it is most likely that one scribe was responsible for the whole of the manuscript (both text and music). An examination of scribal mannerisms and their development suggests that MS 178 was copied in several phases, the scribe's style changing from phase to phase (and sometimes evolving within phases). Scribal variations are paralleled by variations in the preparation of gatherings and also, at the other end of the copying process, by changes in the scheme of illumination. The various strands of paleographical evidence suggest that the copying order was as follows:

³³ Wylkynson's career at Eton is considered below, pp.377-9.

³⁴ F. Ll. Harrison (ed.), *Musica Britannica*, x (London, 1967), p.xvi. Wylkynson's nine-part *Salve regina* and *Credo/Jesus autem transiens* were added to what was essentially a complete manuscript.

Figure 4.2.A: copying order

| openings | composer | | scribal phase |
|----------|-------------|----------------------------------|---------------|
| g2-3 | Horwood | <i>Salve regina</i> | A |
| g4-5 | Davy | <i>Salve regina</i> | |
| g6-7 | Cornysh | <i>Salve regina</i> | |
| g8-h1 | Browne | <i>Salve regina</i> | |
| h2-3 | Lambe | <i>Salve regina</i> | |
| h4-5 | Sutton | <i>Salve regina</i> | |
| h6-7 | Hacomplaynt | <i>Salve regina</i> | |
| k2 | Hampton | <i>Salve regina (prima pars)</i> | |

- half-way through copying the Hampton, the scribe then turned his attention to the large-scale motets:

| | | | |
|---------------------|--------|----------------------------------|---|
| a2-4 | Browne | <i>O Maria salvatoris mater</i> | B |
| a5-b1 ³⁵ | Kellyk | <i>Gaude flore virginali</i> | |
| b2-5 | Lambe | <i>O Maria plena gracia</i> | |
| b6-8 | Davy | <i>Gaude flore virginali</i> | |
| c1-3 | Browne | <i>Stabat mater dolorosa</i> | |
| c4-5 | Lambe | <i>O Regina celestis glorie</i> | |
| c6-8 | Browne | <i>Stabat virgo mater cristi</i> | |

- the scribe then copied the second half of Hampton's *Salve regina* and gatherings *k*, *l* and *m*; probably continuing through the now-lost gatherings *n*, *o* and *p*, the scribe then copied gathering *q* and *r1-2*:

³⁵ Or *a5-a8* at the time of copying; see below, p.209.

Figure 4.2.A (continued): copying order

| opening | composer | title | scribal phase |
|--------------|----------|------------------------------------|---------------|
| <i>k3</i> | Hampton | <i>Salve regina (secunda pars)</i> | Bi |
| <i>k4-6</i> | Davy | <i>O domine celi terreque</i> | |
| <i>k7-11</i> | Davy | <i>Salve Jhesu mater vera</i> | |
| <i>l2-4</i> | Davy | <i>Stabat mater dolorosa</i> | |
| <i>l5-7</i> | Davy | <i>Virgo templum trinitatis</i> | |
| <i>l8-m2</i> | Davy | <i>In honore summe matris</i> | |
| <i>m3-5</i> | Banaster | <i>O Maria et Elizabeth</i> | |
| <i>m6-7</i> | Horwood | <i>Gaude flore virginali</i> | |
| <i>m8-n1</i> | Horwood | <i>Gaude virgo mater cristi</i> | |
| ↓ | | | |
| <i>q1-3</i> | Cornysh | <i>Stabat mater dolorosa</i> | Bii |
| <i>q4-5</i> | Fawkyner | <i>Gaude virgo salutata</i> | |
| <i>q6-8</i> | Fawkyner | <i>Gaude rosa sine spina</i> | |
| <i>r1-2</i> | Turges | <i>Gaude flore virginali</i> | |

- at this point, the scribe probably started copying the first two gatherings of

Magnificat settings (the first of which, *y*, is lost):

| | | | |
|----------------|---------|------------------|------------|
| <i>(y2-y4)</i> | Browne | Magnificat (a 7) | C?) (lost) |
| <i>(y5-y7)</i> | Davy | Magnificat | C?) (lost) |
| <i>y8-z1</i> | Nesbett | Magnificat | C |
| <i>z2-3</i> | Horwood | Magnificat | |
| <i>z4-6</i> | Kellyk | Magnificat | |
| <i>z7-8</i> | Lambe | Magnificat | |

- before continuing with the Magnificats, the scribe copied three low-scored six-part motets:

| | | | |
|-------------|---------|-----------------------------------|---|
| <i>d1-2</i> | Browne | <i>Stabat iuxta cristi crucem</i> | C |
| <i>d3-5</i> | Browne | <i>O regina mundi clara</i> | |
| <i>d6-8</i> | Sturton | <i>Gaude virgo mater cristi</i> | |

- he then copied gatherings *r2-s1* and *t8-y1*:

| | | | |
|--------------|-----------|-------------------------------|---|
| <i>r3</i> | Lambe | <i>Nesciens mater</i> | D |
| <i>r4</i> | Wylkynson | <i>Salve decus castitatis</i> | |
| <i>r5-6</i> | Huchyn | <i>Ascendit cristus</i> | |
| <i>r7-s1</i> | Browne | <i>O mater venerabilis</i> | |

Figure 4.2.A (continued)

| opening | composer | title | scribal phase |
|--------------|-------------|----------------------------------|---------------|
| <i>t8-v1</i> | Wylkynson | <i>Gaude virgo mater cristi</i> | D |
| <i>v2-3</i> | Browne | <i>Stabat virgo mater cristi</i> | |
| <i>v4-5</i> | Lambe | <i>Stella celi</i> | |
| <i>v6-7</i> | Lambe | <i>Ascendit cristus</i> | |
| <i>v8-x1</i> | Lambe | <i>Gaude flore virginali</i> | |
| <i>x2-3</i> | Turges | <i>Gaude flore virginali</i> | |
| <i>x4</i> | Cornysh | <i>Ave maria mater dei</i> | |
| <i>x5-6</i> | Cornysh | <i>Gaude virgo mater cristi</i> | |
| <i>x7-y1</i> | Holyngborne | <i>Gaude virgo salutata</i> | |

The scribe then completed the layer of Magnificat settings, beginning either at gathering aa (now lost) or at gathering bb, concluding in gathering ee with Richard Davy's *Passio Domini*. Because of the heavy losses sustained in this layer of the manuscript, the reconstruction is largely conjectural:

| | | | |
|-----------------|-----------|--------------------------|------------|
| <i>(aa1-2</i> | Browne | Magnificat (a 5) | D?) (lost) |
| <i>(aa3-4</i> | Fayrfax | Magnificat <i>Regale</i> | D?) (lost) |
| <i>(aa5-6</i> | Brygeman | Magnificat | D?) (lost) |
| <i>(aa7</i> | Wylkynson | Magnificat | D?) (lost) |
| <i>(aa8</i> | Mychelson | Magnificat | D?) (lost) |
| <i>bb1-2</i> | Wylkynson | Magnificat (a 5) | D |
| <i>(bb3-4</i> | Cornysh | Magnificat | D?) (lost) |
| <i>(bb5-7</i> | Browne | Magnificat | D?) (lost) |
| <i>bb8-cc1</i> | Sygar | Magnificat | D |
| <i>(cc2-3</i> | Browne | Magnificat | D?) (lost) |
| <i>(cc4-5</i> | Turges | Magnificat | D?) (lost) |
| <i>(cc6-7</i> | Turges | Magnificat | D?) (lost) |
| <i>(cc8-dd1</i> | Baldwyn | Magnificat | D?) (lost) |
| <i>(dd2-3</i> | Sygar | Magnificat | D?) (lost) |
| <i>(dd4-5</i> | Baldwyn | Magnificat | D?) (lost) |
| <i>(dd6-7</i> | Turges | Magnificat | D?) (lost) |
| <i>dd8-ee1</i> | Davy | Magnificat | D |
| <i>ee2-3</i> | Stratford | Magnificat | D |
| <i>ee5-9</i> | Davy | <i>Passio Domini</i> | D |

Figure 4.2.A (continued)

The bulk of copying now completed, the scribe inserted two six-part motets by Robert Wylkynson into gathering *e*. Like everything copied to date (except the Magnificat settings and Davy's *Passio Domini*) these were included in the earlier index, which must therefore have been compiled after they were copied:

| | | | |
|-------------|-----------|------------------------------|---|
| <i>e1-3</i> | Wylkynson | <i>O virgo prudentissima</i> | D |
| <i>e4-6</i> | Wylkynson | <i>Gaude flore virginali</i> | D |

Probably at the same stage, Brygeman's *Salve regina* was copied. Although it was included in the earlier index, it was listed at the end of the block of *Salve regina* settings (whereas it is at the head of the block in the body of the manuscript); this suggests that the entry was probably added after most of the index had been compiled:

| | | | |
|--------------|----------|---------------------|---|
| <i>f7-g1</i> | Brygeman | <i>Salve regina</i> | D |
|--------------|----------|---------------------|---|

Between the compilation of the earlier index and the writing of the later index, the following motets (which were not listed in the earlier index) were copied into folios left blank for the purpose. At the same stage, the final side of Kellyk's *Gaude flore virginali* (once on opening *a8R*) was re-copied onto *b1R* (hitherto unused):

| | | | |
|---------------|----------|----------------------------------|------------|
| <i>e7-f1</i> | Fawkyner | <i>Salve regina vas mundicie</i> | D |
| <i>f2-3</i> | Cornysh | <i>Gaude flore virginali</i> | D |
| <i>(s2-?)</i> | Cornysh | <i>Ad te purissima virgo</i> | D?) (lost) |
| <i>t5-6</i> | Fayrfax | <i>Ave lumen gracie</i> | D |
| <i>(t7</i> | Lambe | <i>O virgo virginum</i> | D?) (lost) |
| <i>b1R</i> | Kellyk | <i>Gaude flore (part)</i> | D |

Two *addenda* by Robert Wylkynson were copied by different scribes, neither of which can be related to the principal scribe:

| | | | |
|----------------|-----------|--------------------------|---|
| <i>f. ee9v</i> | Wylkynson | <i>Credo/Jesus autem</i> | Y |
|----------------|-----------|--------------------------|---|

- perhaps copied by Wylkynson (whose name was written, as if a signature, on the eighth staff); this was followed sometime after by:

| | | | |
|-------------|-----------|---------------------------|---|
| <i>f3-6</i> | Wylkynson | <i>Salve regina (a 9)</i> | X |
|-------------|-----------|---------------------------|---|

- probably copied after Wylkynson's death in 1515 (the ornamental cadels contain the text 'Robertus Wylkynson cuius anime propicietur deus')

This suggested copying order is quite different from the order in which the gatherings were bound together. Each strand of evidence - pricking and ruling of choirs, scribal attributes, and illuminating style - will be considered in turn. All the evidence combined strongly indicates that gathering *g* was the first gathering to be copied, and that the processes of preparation, copying and limning became systematized only after work on the first few gatherings had been finished. The first stage to become systematized - in order to facilitate rapid copying - was the pricking and ruling of quires. Soon after this, the style of illumination was finalized, painted initials being used for all voice-parts where a mixture of painted and strapwork initials was used earlier in the manuscript's preparation. The style of notation evolved during the copying of the first five gatherings, becoming larger and more angular, thereafter remaining consistent. Characteristics of the textual hand continued to develop within and between each phase of copying: the overall trend was towards a more rounded, less gothic, hand and towards a smaller number of penstrokes.

4.2.1: prima facie evidence for the proposed copying order

4.2.1.1: the indices

MS 178 contains two indices, both made at the time it was compiled: one at the front of the manuscript (on folio a1^r) and one at the back (on folio ee9^v). In the index on folio a1, all the contents of MS 178 are listed, except the nine-part *Salve regina* and thirteen-part *Credo/Jesus autem transiens*, both by Robert Wylkynson. The index at the back of the manuscript is less complete, lacking all the Magnificat settings, Wylkynson's two *addenda* (also lacking in the larger index), Davy's *Passio Domini*, and five votive antiphons. These indices provide the clearest evidence of the order in which MS 178 was copied, and that this order was different from that in which the choirbook was eventually bound. Harrison's suggestion that the shorter index was made at an intermediate stage in the choirbook's compilation is almost certainly correct.³⁶ But the two indices were probably made within a short time of each other: they are in the same hand, which was also responsible for foliating the manuscript and for writing other marginalia within it (that is, the composers' names, voice-parts and compasses); the initial letters are similar in style and execution in both indices; apart from the absence of all the Magnificat settings from the shorter index, the difference between the two indices is small. Both indices were organized according to the same plan, which listed the piece, the number of voice-parts, the composer, the opening on which the piece started and the extreme compass:

³⁶ Harrison, 'The Eton Choirbook', p.163.

Figure 4.2.B: the indices

(spellings and layout as in MS)

The larger index (f.a1r)**First column**

| | | | | | position in earlier index |
|-----|------------------------------|-------------|------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. | <i>Ave lumen gracie</i> | 4 pc | <i>ffayrefax</i> | <i>t.5.14</i> | |
| 2. | <i>Ad te purissima virgo</i> | 5 pc | <i>Cornysch</i> | <i>s.2.22</i> ³⁷ | |
| 3. | Ascendit Cristus | 4 pc | Lambe | v.6.14 | 2 |
| 4. | Ave cuius concepco | 5 pc | ffayrefax | o.3.22 | 5 |
| 5. | Ave Maria mater Dei | 4 pc | Cornysch | x.4.15 | 3 |
| 6. | Ave lux tocius mundi | 5 pc | Browne | p.2.21 | 4 |
| 7. | Ascendit Cristus | 5 pc | Huchynge | r.5.21 | 1 |
| 8. | Gaude flore virginali | 7 pc | Kellyk | a.5.23 | 6 |
| 9. | Gaude flore virginali | 6 pc | Davy | b.6.22 | 7 |
| 10. | Gaude flore virginali | 6 pc | Wylkynson | e.4.22 | 8 |
| 11. | <i>Gaude flore virginali</i> | <i>6 pc</i> | <i>Cornysch</i> | <i>f.2.23</i> | |
| 12. | Gaude flore virginali | 5 pc | Dunstable | o.8.21 | 9 |
| 13. | Gaude flore virginali | 5 pc | Turges | r.1.22 | 10 |
| 14. | Gaude flore virginali | 4 pc | Turges | x.2.14 | 14 |
| 15. | Gaude flore virginali | 5 pc | Lambe | n.5.21 | 12 |
| 16. | Gaude flore virginali | 5 pc | Horwud | m.6.21 | 13 |
| 17. | Gaude flore virginali | 5 pc | Browne | p.5.22 | 11 |
| 18. | Gaude flore virginali | 4 pc | Lambe | v.8.14 | 21 |
| 19. | Gaude virgo mater cristi | 6 pc | Sturton | d.6.15 | 15 |
| 20. | Gaude virgo mater cristi | 5 pc | Horwud | m.8.21 | 16 |
| 21. | Gaude virgo mater cristi | 4 pc | Wylkynson | t.8.14 | 17 |
| 22. | Gaude virgo mater cristi | 4 pc | Cornysch | x.5.14 | 22 |
| 23. | Gaude rosa sine spina | 5 pc | ffawkyner | q.6.22 | 19 |
| 24. | Gaude virgo salutata | 4 pc | Holyngborne | x.7.15 | 20 |
| 25. | Gaude virgo salutata | 5 pc | ffawkyner | q.4.22 | 18 |
| 26. | In honore summe matris | 5 pc | Davye | l.8.22 | 23 |
| 27. | Nesciens mater | 5 pc | Lambe | r.3.22 | 24 |

³⁷ Items listed in italics in the later index are not listed the earlier one.

Figure 4.2.B: the indices (continued)

| | | | | | |
|----------------------|----------------------------------|------|------------------|---------------|----|
| 28. | O Domine celi terreque | 5 pc | Davye | k.4.22 | 33 |
| 29. | O Maria salvatoris mater | 8 pc | Browne | a.1.22 | 25 |
| 30. | O Maria plena gracia | 6 pc | Lambe | b.1.21 | 26 |
| 31. | O Regina celestis | 6 pc | Lambe | c.4.23 | 27 |
| 32. | O Regina celestis | 5 pc | Lambe | n.2.20 | 28 |
| 33. | O Regina mundi clara | 6 pc | Browne | d.3.15 | 29 |
| 34. | O Maria et Elizabeth | 5 pc | Banester | m.3.21 | 30 |
| 35. | O mater venerabilis | 5 pc | Browne | r.7.18 | 31 |
| 36. | O virgo prudentissima | 6 pc | Wylkynson | e.1.22 | 32 |
| 37. | <i>O virgo virginum preclara</i> | 4 pc | <i>Lambe</i> | <i>t.7.14</i> | |
| 38. | Quid cantemus innocentes | 5pc | ffayrefax | o.5.21 | 34 |
| 39. | <i>Salve Regina vas mundicie</i> | 6 pc | <i>ffawkyner</i> | <i>e.7.23</i> | |
| 40. | Salve decus castitatis | 5 pc | Wylkynson | r.4.22 | 50 |
| 41. | Salve Ihesu mater vera | 5 pc | Davye | k.7.22 | 49 |
| 42. | Salve Regina | 7 pc | Sutton | h.4.23 | 35 |
| 43. | Salve Regina | 5 pc | Horwud | g.2.21 | 36 |
| 44. | Salve Regina | 5 pc | Davye | g.4.23 | 37 |
| 45. | Salve Regina | 5 pc | Cornysch | g.6.22 | 38 |
| 46. | Salve Regina | 5 pc | Lambe | h.2.22 | 40 |
| 47. | Salve Regina | 5 pc | Browne | g.8.21 | 39 |
| 48. | Salve Regina | 5 pc | Browne | i.8.15 | 44 |
| Second column | | | | | |
| 49. | Salve Regina | 5 pc | Hacumplaynt | h.6.22 | 46 |
| 50. | Salve Regina | 5 pc | Hygons | i.6.22 | 42 |
| 51. | Salve Regina | 5 pc | Huchyn | h.8.22 | 45 |
| 52. | Salve Regina | 5 pc | Hampton | k.2.22 | 47 |
| 53. | Salve Regina | 5 pc | Wylkynson | i.2.22 | 43 |
| 54. | Salve Regina | 5 pc | ffayrefax | i.4.22 | 41 |
| 55. | Salve Regina | 5 pc | Brygeman | f.7.19 | 48 |
| 56. | Stabat mater dolorosa | 6 pc | Browne | c.1.22 | 51 |
| 57. | Stabat mater dolorosa | 5 pc | ffayrefax | o.1.21 | 52 |
| 58. | Stabat mater dolorosa | 5 pc | Cornysch | q.1.23 | 53 |
| 59. | Stabat mater dolorosa | 5 pc | Cornysch | p.7.18 | 54 |
| 60. | Stabat mater dolorosa | 5 pc | Davye | l.2.21 | 59 |

Figure 4.2.B: the indices (continued)

| | | | | | |
|-----|---|------|-----------|---------|----|
| 61. | Stabat iuxta cristi crucem | 6 pc | Browne | d.1.14 | 55 |
| 62. | Stabat virgo mater cristi | 6 pc | Browne | c.6.23 | 56 |
| 63. | Stabat virgo mater cristi | 4 pc | Browne | v.2.14 | 57 |
| 64. | Stella celi | 4 pc | Lambe | v.4.15 | 58 |
| 65. | Virgo templum trinitatis | 5 pc | Davy | l.5.22 | 61 |
| 66. | Virgo gaude gloriosa | 5 pc | Lambe | n.7.21 | 60 |
| 67. | <i>Et exultavit</i> | 7 pc | Browne | y.2.22 | |
| 68. | <i>Et exultavit</i> | 5 pc | Nesbett | y.8.22 | |
| 69. | <i>Et exultavit</i> | 5 pc | Davye | y.5.22 | |
| 70. | <i>Et exultavit</i> | 5 pc | Kellyk | z.4.22 | |
| 71. | <i>Et exultavit</i> | 5 pc | Horwud | z.2.23 | |
| 72. | <i>Et exultavit</i> | 5 pc | ffayrefax | aa.3.22 | |
| 73. | <i>Et exultavit</i> | 5 pc | Lambe | z.7.21 | |
| 74. | <i>Et exultavit</i> | 5 pc | Cornysch | bb.3.23 | |
| 75. | <i>Et exultavit</i> | 5 pc | Browne | aa.1.22 | |
| 76. | <i>Et exultavit</i> | 5 pc | Browne | bb.5.22 | |
| 77. | <i>Et exultavit</i> | 6 pc | Wylkynson | bb.1.22 | |
| 78. | <i>Et exultavit</i> | 5 pc | Wylkynson | aa.7.22 | |
| 79. | <i>Et exultavit</i> | 5 pc | Mychelson | aa.8.22 | |
| 80. | <i>Et exultavit</i> | 5 pc | Brygeman | aa.5.19 | |
| | <i>Et exultavit</i> | | | | |
| 81. | <i>Et exultavit</i> | 4 pc | Sygar | bb.8.21 | |
| 82. | <i>Et exultavit</i> | 4 pc | Browne | cc.2.22 | |
| 83. | <i>Et exultavit</i> | 4 pc | Turges | cc.4.21 | |
| 84. | <i>Et exultavit</i> | 4 pc | Turges | cc.6.17 | |
| 85. | <i>Et exultavit</i> | 4 pc | Baldwyn | cc.8.22 | |
| 86. | <i>Et exultavit</i> | 4 pc | Baldwyn | dd.4.22 | |
| 87. | <i>Et exultavit</i> | 4 pc | Sygar | dd.2.22 | |
| | <i>Et exultavit</i> | | | | |
| | <i>Et exultavit</i> | | | | |
| 88. | <i>Et exultavit</i> | 4 pc | Turges | dd.6.14 | |
| 89. | <i>Et exultavit</i> | 4 pc | Stratford | ee.2.14 | |
| 90. | <i>Et exultavit</i> | 4 pc | Davye | dd.8.14 | |
| | <i>Et exultavit</i> | | | | |
| 91. | (D)ominica in ramis palmarum Passio domini .4 pc. | | Davye. | ee.4.22 | |

Figure 4.2.B: the indices (continued)**The shorter index (f. ee9v)****First column**

| | | | | | position in manuscript |
|-----|--------------------------|------|------------|--------|---------------------------|
| 1. | Ascendit cristus | 5 pc | Houchyne | r.5.21 | 54 |
| 2. | Ascendit cristus | 4 pc | Lambe | v.6.14 | 62 |
| 3. | Ave maria mater dei | 4 pc | Cornysch | x.4.15 | 65 |
| 4. | Ave lux tocius mundi | 5 pc | Browne | p.2.21 | 45 |
| 5. | Ave cuius concepicio | 5 pc | ffayrefax | o.3.22 | 42 |
| 6. | Gaude flore virginali | 7 pc | kellyk | a.5.23 | 2 |
| 7. | Gaude flore virginali | 6 pc | Davy | b.6.22 | 4 |
| 8. | Gaude flore virginali | 6 pc | Wylkynson | e.4.22 | 12 |
| 9. | Gaude flore virginali | 5 pc | Dunstable | o.8.21 | 44 |
| 10. | Gaude flore virginali | 5 pc | Turges | r.1.22 | 51 |
| 11. | Gaude flore virginali | 5 pc | Browne | p.5.22 | 46 |
| 12. | Gaude flore virginali | 5 pc | Lambe | n.5.21 | 39 |
| 13. | Gaude flore virginali | 5 pc | horwud | m.6.21 | 36 |
| 14. | Gaude flore virginali | 4 pc | Turges | x.2.14 | 64 |
| 15. | Gaude virgo mater cristi | 6 pc | Sturton | d.6.15 | 10 |
| 16. | Gaude virgo mater cristi | 5 pc | horwud | m.8.21 | 37 |
| 17. | Gaude virgo mater cristi | 4 pc | Wylkynson | t.8.14 | 59 |
| 18. | Gaude virgo salutata | 5 pc | ffawkyner | q.4.22 | 49 |
| 19. | Gaude rosa sine spina | 5 pc | ffawkyner | q.6.22 | 50 |
| 20. | Gaude virgo salutata | 4 pc | holyngborn | x.7.15 | 67 |
| 21. | Gaude flore virginali | 4 pc | Lambe | v.8.14 | 63 |
| 22. | Gaude virgo mater cristi | 4 pc | Cornysch | x.5.14 | 66 |

Second column

| | | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------|------|----------|--------|----|
| 23. | In honore summe matris | 5 pc | Davy | l.8.22 | 34 |
| 24. | Nesciens mater | 5 pc | Lambe | r.3.22 | 52 |
| 25. | O Maria salvatoris mater | 8 pc | Browne | a.1.22 | 1 |
| 26. | O Maria plena gracia | 6 pc | Lambe | b.1.21 | 3 |
| 27. | O Regina celestis glorie | 6 pc | Lambe | c.4.23 | 6 |
| 28. | O Regina celestis glorie | 5 pc | Lambe | v.2.20 | 60 |
| 29. | O Regina mundi clara | 6 pc | Browne | d.3.15 | 9 |
| 30. | O Maria et Elizabeth | 5pc | Banester | m.3.21 | 35 |

Figure 4.2.B: the indices (continued)

| | | | | | |
|---------------------|----------------------------|------|-------------|----------------------|----|
| 31. | O mater venerabilis | 5 pc | Browne | r.7.18 | 55 |
| 32. | O virgo prudentissima | 6 pc | Wylkynson | e.1.22 | 11 |
| 33. | O domine celi terreque | 5 pc | Davy | k.4.22 | 30 |
| 34. | Quid cantemus innocentes | 5 pc | ffayrefax | o.5.22 ³⁸ | 43 |
| 35. | Salve regina | 7 pc | Sutton | h.4.23 | 22 |
| 36. | Salve regina | 5 pc | Horwud | g.2.21 | 17 |
| 37. | Salve regina | 5 pc | Davy | g.4.23 | 18 |
| 38. | Salve regina | 5 pc | Cornych | g.6.22 | 19 |
| 39. | Salve regina | 5 pc | Browne | g.8.21 | 20 |
| 40. | Salve regina | 5 pc | Lambe | h.2.22 | 21 |
| 41. | Salve regina | 5 pc | ffayerfax | i.4.22 | 26 |
| 42. | Salve regina | 5 pc | Hygons | i.6.22 | 27 |
| 43. | Salve regina | 5 pc | Wylkynson | i.2.22 | 25 |
| 44. | Salve regina | 5 pc | Browne | i.8.15 | 28 |
| Third column | | | | | |
| 45. | Salve regina | 5 pc | Huchyn | h.8.22 | 24 |
| 46. | Salve regina | 5 pc | Hacumplaynt | h.6.22 | 23 |
| 47. | Salve regina | 5 pc | Hampton | k.2.22 | 29 |
| 48. | Salve regina | 5 pc | Brygeman | f.7.19 | 16 |
| 49. | Salve Ihesu mater vera | 5 pc | Davy | k.7.22 | 31 |
| 50. | Salve decus castitatis | 5 pc | Wylkynson | r.4.22 | 53 |
| 51. | Stabat mater dolorosa | 6 pc | Browne | c.1.22 | 5 |
| 52. | Stabat mater dolorosa | 5 pc | ffayrefax | o.1.21 | 41 |
| 53. | Stabat mater dolorosa | 5 pc | Cornysch | q.1.23 | 48 |
| 54. | Stabat mater dolorosa | 5 pc | Cornysch | p.7.18 | 47 |
| 55. | Stabat iuxta Cristi crucem | 6 pc | Browne | d.1.14 | 8 |
| 56. | Stabat virgo mater Cristi | 6 pc | Browne | c.6.23 | 7 |
| 57. | Stabat virgo mater Cristi | 4 pc | Browne | v.2.14 | 60 |
| 58. | Stella celi | 4 pc | Lambe | v.4.15 | 61 |
| 59. | Stabat mater dolorosa | 5 pc | Davy | l.2.21 | 32 |
| 60. | Virgo gaude gloriosa | 5 pc | Lambe | n.7.21 | 40 |
| 61. | Virgo templum trinitatis | 5 pc | Davy | l.5.22 | 33 |

³⁸ 21 notes in the major index.

Merely by virtue of being indexed, MS 178 is distinguished from other late-medieval English musical codices. They were clearly intended to facilitate use of the manuscript: they enabled the users of the manuscript to look up and locate motets easily (hence the alphabetical organization and the inclusion of opening signatures); they also showed the number of voice-parts and the overall compass of each piece, so that the singers could readily find pieces which would suit the available performing resources. The codices, moreover, yield information about the compilation of MS 178, especially in its later stages.

Perhaps the most important clues are those items which are absent from one or both of the indices. Wylkynson's nine-part *Salve regina* is listed in neither index: this, together with the fact that this piece was copied by a different scribe to the rest of the manuscript, demonstrates that the *Salve regina* was copied later. Similarly, the absence of Wylkynson's *Credo/Jesus autem transiens* suggests that this piece, also copied in a different hand, was an *addendum*, unless its position on the *verso* of the last folio rendered its indexing unnecessary (or because it was liturgically anomalous). But the most significant absences are those pieces which are present in the larger index but not in the shorter.

Five antiphons present in the larger (later) index are not present in the shorter (earlier) index. Although these were copied into what are now different parts of the manuscript, in gatherings which had been left blank in anticipation of additions:

Figure 4.2.C: antiphons listed on folio a1r but not ee9v

| openings | composer | piece | scribal phase |
|--------------|----------|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| <i>e7-f1</i> | Fawkyner | <i>Salve regina vas mundicie</i> | (lost) |
| <i>f2-f3</i> | Cornysh | <i>Gaude flore virginali</i> | D (only <i>f3R</i> survives) |
| <i>s2-</i> | Cornysh | <i>Ad te purissima virgo</i> | (lost) |
| <i>t5-t6</i> | Fayrfax | <i>Ave lumen gracie</i> | D |
| <i>t7</i> | Lambe | <i>O virgo virginum</i> | (lost) |

Because these motets were not included in the earlier index, they were almost certainly among the last items to be copied into MS 178. As will be argued below, the choirbook was copied by one scribe, whose mannerisms developed as copying progressed (and whose work can be divided into four broad phases, A-D). These motets, written at a late stage in the copying process, represent the scribal style at an advanced stage.

The antiphons added between the compilation of the indices were concentrated in two parts of the choirbook: at the end of the section of six-part antiphons (*e7-f3*) and between the five-part and the four-part antiphons (*s2-t7*), where spare capacity had purposely been left for additions to be made.³⁹ Clearly, by the time the first index was made, copying was nearly finished, even though space was left for additions to

³⁹ Opening *t4R* has blank staves.

be made at a later date: at the time, most of gatherings *e, f, s* and *t* were set aside for this. Even when the later index was made, the addition of Magnificat settings was foreseen (unnecessarily): four times, the scribe wrote ‘Et exultavit’ entries which were not subsequently completed. A comparable addition was made around the time the earlier index was written. William Brygeman’s *Salve regina*, added before Horwood’s setting (in openings *f7-g1*), also belongs to scribal phase D. Originally, the scribe had not included this setting in the index on *f. ee9v*; John Hampton’s setting was listed last among the *Salve regina* settings (just as it appeared at the end of the sequence of *Salve* settings in the manuscript). But, after Brygeman’s setting had been copied, it was added in the index at the end of the list, even though it was, in fact, at the head of the block of *Salve* settings. This anomalous placement was carried through into the larger index, which was derived from the shorter one.

Numerically, the most important omissions from the index at the back of MS 178 were the Magnificat settings, together with Davy’s *Passio Domini*. Their exclusion from the earlier index does not mean that they had not been copied at the time the index was made; in fact, most or all had been copied already, as a number of votive antiphons listed in the index belonged to the same (or later) scribal phases.⁴⁰ Perhaps some of the Magnificats in gatherings *bb-ee* (phase D) were still being copied and bound when this index was made, and it was not therefore practical to index them yet. But the reason may have been practical: because the index was written at the back of the manuscript, where the Magnificats were located, their

inclusion in the index was considered unnecessary (and impractical: there was not enough space at the foot of the folio).

4.2.1.2: notation: red and black void imperfection

More *prima facie* evidence of the copying order can be found in the style of notation used. The repertory contained in MS 178 is in black notation, except the nine-part *Salve regina* by Robert Wylkynson, which was copied into openings f4-f6 sometime after the choirbook had been completed, probably in the late 1510s after Wylkynson's death.⁴¹ This *addendum* is the only piece written in black void notation to be copied into MS 178, and does not belong to any of the main copying stints. Another anomalous addition by Wylkynson, the thirteen-part *Credo/Jesus autem transiens*, is a non-liturgical curiosity; it is written in black notation, but is in a unique hand.⁴² It may have been copied by Wylkynson, himself, as his name is written like a signature immediately underneath it.⁴³ Elsewhere, black notation is invariably

⁴⁰ The first layer of Magnificat settings, in gathering z, belong to phase C, for instance.

⁴¹ In the cadel O (of 'ostende') at the head of the *Secundus Bassus* part in opening f6R, are the words 'Robertus Wylkynson cuius anime propicietur deus', suggesting that the cadel at least was written after Wylkynson's death. Wylkynson probably died in 1515 (see below, p.486, Appendix C). See also Ker, *MMBL*, 2, p.773.

⁴² The text is written in a textura distinct from any of the scribal styles outlined above; the note-heads are diamond-shaped; the red capital I (of 'Ihesus') is coarsely executed, in contrast with the finely-crafted initials elsewhere in the manuscript.

⁴³ On staff eight, on which also appears (in the same hand) the following: 'Huius distinctas muse toties sumito partes / Margine quoties parvo nomina scripta vides'; the names of the twelve apostles are written in red above the beginning of each phrase, in the same hand (which was also responsible for 'vt supra' at the end of staff seven).

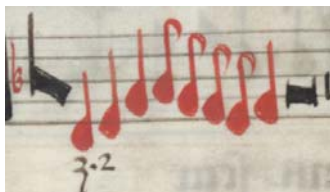
employed. Throughout most of the choirbook, red ink is used to indicate either imperfection of breves and longs or to show minims in *sesquialtera* (i.e. three-fold rather than two-fold division of semibreves by minims); apart from in the Magnificat settings, red text is used where reduced scorings occur.

Red ink was not universally used to indicate imperfection, however. At various points in the choirbook, black void imperfection occurs, and this is concentrated in the later phases, Bii-D. Black void imperfection was never used during phases A-Bi. Incidences of black void imperfection are tabulated overleaf:

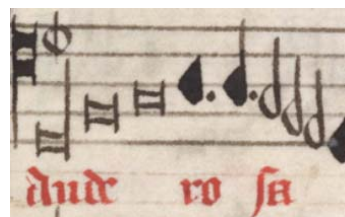
Figure 4.2.D: examples of coloration in MS 178



d3L: red imperfection
(Browne, *O regina*)



c1L: sesquialtera
(Browne, *Stabat mater*)



q6L: white imperfection
(Fawkyner, *Gaude rosa*)

Figure 4.2.E: incidences of black void imperfection

| opening | staff(s) | phase⁴⁴ | composer | work | red⁴⁵ |
|----------------|-----------------|---------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>d3R</i> | 8 | C | Browne | <i>O regina mundi clara</i> | y |
| <i>e1L</i> | 1/5/7/8/9/13 | D | Wylkynson | <i>O virgo prudentissima</i> | n |
| <i>q3R</i> | 1 | Bii | Cornysh | <i>Stabat mater</i> | y |
| <i>q4L</i> | 3/4/15 | Bii | Fawkyner | <i>Gaude virgo salutata</i> | y |
| <i>q4R</i> | 9/11/13/15 | Bii | Fawkyner | <i>Gaude virgo salutata</i> | y |
| <i>q6L</i> | 4/5/7/8/9/10/13 | Bii | Fawkyner | <i>Gaude rosa sine spina</i> | n |
| <i>q6R</i> | 7 | Bii | Fawkyner | <i>Gaude rosa sine spina</i> | y |
| <i>r4L</i> | 7/8/9 | D | Wylkynson | <i>Salve decus castitatis</i> | y |
| <i>v4L</i> | 8 | D | Lambe | <i>Stella celi</i> | y |
| <i>x2L</i> | 4/7 | D | Turges | <i>Gaude flore virginali</i> | y |
| <i>x2R</i> | 8/9 | D | Turges | <i>Gaude flore virginali</i> | y |
| <i>x7L</i> | 3 | D | Holyngborne | <i>Gaude virgo salutata</i> | n |
| <i>x7R</i> | 3/11 | D | Holyngborne | <i>Gaude virgo salutata</i> | n |
| <i>z2L</i> | 6 | C | Horwood | Magnificat | n |
| <i>z3R</i> | 11 | C | Horwood | Magnificat | n |
| <i>z6L</i> | 2 | C | Kellyk | Magnificat | y |
| <i>bb8R</i> | 1/2 | D | Sygar | Magnificat | n |
| <i>cc1L</i> | 13 | D | Sygar | Magnificat | y |
| <i>ee2L</i> | 1/3/11 | D | Stratford | Magnificat | n |
| <i>ee2R</i> | 2/7 | D | Stratford | Magnificat | y |
| <i>ee3R</i> | 5/10/11 | D | Stratford | Magnificat | n |

⁴⁴ See below, pp.249-60, on scribal phases.

⁴⁵ Note: 'n' = only black void imperfection appears (although red may be used to indicate minims in *sesquialtera*); 'y' = red and black void imperfection mixed.

There may be several reasons for the increasing use of white imperfection, but the likeliest is practical. The scribe may have found it easier (and quicker) to copy imperfed notes in the same black ink that he was using when he copied the black notation, rather than leave spaces and add the notes in red later. This may account for the incidence of black void imperfection in the later gatherings which, as will be argued, were ruled and copied increasingly systematically.⁴⁶ Time-saving expedients are a hallmark of later gatherings: the avoidance of red ink for isolated imperfed notes can interpreted in this light.

This was especially time-saving in instances where there was no *sesquialtera* notation (which could only be rendered in red). Wylkynson's *O virgo prudentissima*, for example (e1L), contains no minims in major prolation: here, the scribe saved time by writing imperfed breves in black void notation.⁴⁷ In other instances, a large quantity of imperfed breves occurs in some voice-parts, but only isolated ones in others: here, the scribe used red ink only for those parts where imperfection occurs regularly.⁴⁸ In other cases, the scribe used red ink only for *sesquialtera* minims (for which there was no alternative way of notating), but not for all of the imperfection.⁴⁹

The scribe may merely have been following his exemplars in his use (or

⁴⁶ See below, pp.223-32.

⁴⁷ Such was the case in Holyngborne's *Gaude virgo salutata* (x7L/R), for instance.

⁴⁸ Kellyk's Magnificat (z6L), for example.

⁴⁹ In Stratford's Magnificat (ee2L/R and ee3R).

avoidance) of red ink: the concentration of black void imperfection in the two pieces by Fawkyner is suggestive – but this is unlikely. Black void imperfection is not used to the exclusion of red: in most cases, most of the coloration (imperfection and *sesquialtera* combined) is in red, with only isolated incidences of black void imperfection. The implication is that void imperfection was used selectively by the scribe, depending on the circumstances. This, in turn, suggests that the scribe exercised some discretion and also that he was musically literate (or, at least, that he was under the close supervision of a musician).

Like the omission of items from the earlier index, the use of void imperfection is an important indicator of the likely copying order. Void imperfection was used in repertory, like the Magnificats, which was either absent from the earlier index or was copied in the same phase as the repertory not listed in the earlier index. Conversely, red imperfection was used without exception in layers which can be identified as early on paleographical grounds. Like other changes in scribal habit, the use of void imperfection in later phases can probably be attributed to a desire for efficiency and speed. Using red ink only when necessary or when the quantity of notation justified the expenditure of effort and time involved was just such a way of minimizing the labour-intensiveness of the copying process.

4.2.2: the scribal evidence

There were four stages of manuscript production: the preparation of the page (through pricking and the ruling of staffs on prepared bifolia), notating, texting and the insertion of illuminations. Throughout most of the copying process, the scribe notated and then texted each piece in prepared gatherings. As he reached the end of one gathering, he (or a stationer, but most probably the scribe himself) prepared new folios, which he pricked and ruled before he continued notating. Whether he prepared one or more than one gathering in advance varied, probably depending both on the speed at which the notating was progressing at the time and also on the number of leaves the scribe envisaged would be needed at each stage. Having notated each piece, the scribe inserted the texts: texts and notation are written in the same ink (except occasional variances between red notation and red text). Finally, after a number of gatherings had been copied, they were handed to the limner, who inserted the initials (for which the necessary blank spaces had been left by the scribe).

Each of these stages of production will be examined in turn. This does not imply that all twenty-eight gatherings were pricked and ruled in one go, then notated, texted and illuminated similarly. Indeed, it will be shown that at least the first three stages of manuscript production were completed in blocks. Problems which the scribe encountered during the preparation of the first layers of the manuscript were ironed out in the ensuing gatherings. The fact that the scribe resolved these difficulties during the process of copying clearly demonstrates that MS 178 was

copied in self-contained blocks. Variations in the scribe's methods affected all four stages of copying: changes in ruling and in notating and texting (and, in some cases, illuminating) change in parallel with each other, although not always simultaneously. For this reason, each stage of manuscript production will be examined separately.

4.2.2.1: pricking and ruling

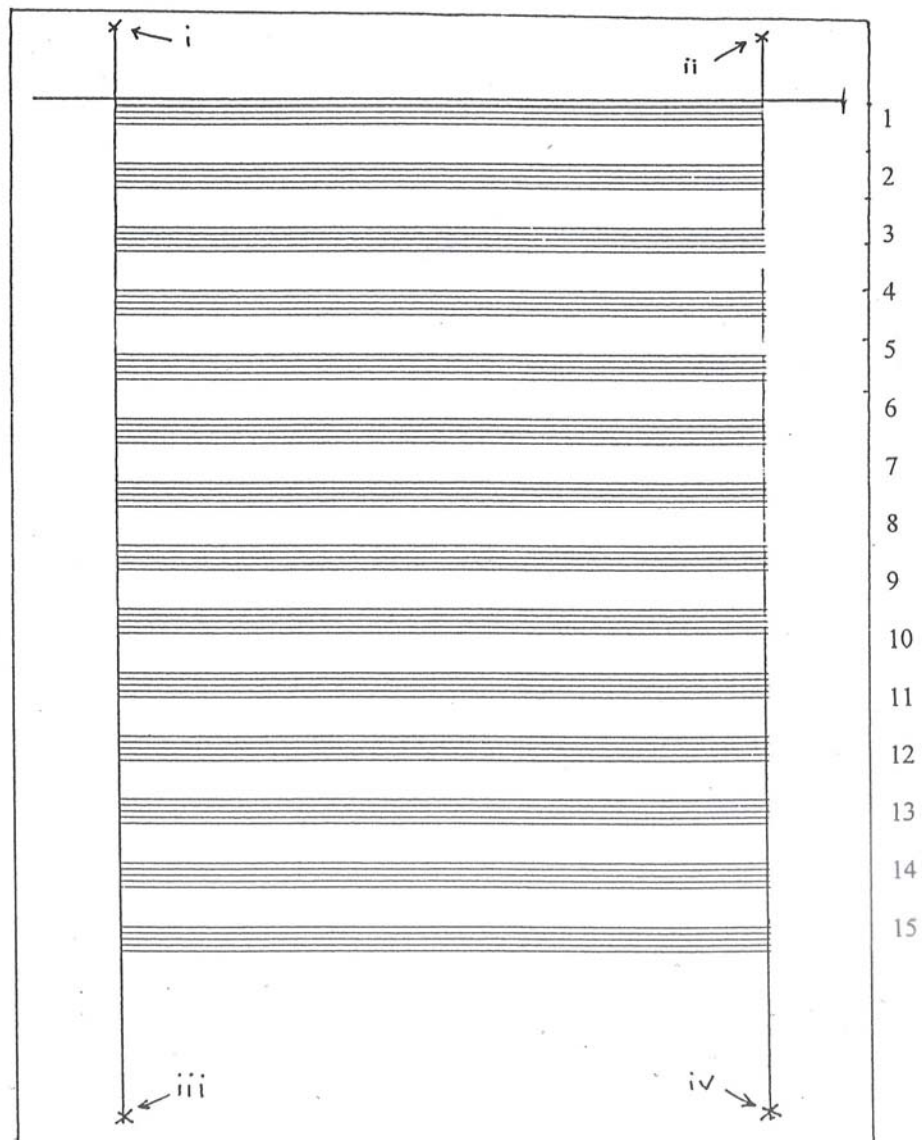
After the preparation of vellum bifolia, the first stage in the production of a large-scale manuscript was the pricking of holes for the ruling of staffs and margins. On first examination, the preparation and ruling of gatherings appears to be one of the most consistent attributes of MS 178. This was the first stage of copying to be regularized, and batch-ruling became the norm early in the copying process (though with exceptions). In batch-ruled gatherings, fourteen staffs of equal size and spacing were ruled on each side of each of the eight folios; this might be done bifolium-by-bifolium or gathering-by-gathering. In custom-ruled gatherings or leaves, staffs were either ruled as and when they were needed, staff-by-staff, or were ruled side-by-side, the copyist estimating how many staffs would be needed. Although an important element in the paleographical examination, evidence of pricking does not always survive incomplete. Either when the choirbook was originally bound or during its mid-sixteenth-century rebinding a large number of folios were trimmed along their outside edges, with the result that pricking holes have been lost, or only remain as slight indentations on the edges of leaves; the loss of these holes is unfortunate, as it was from the holes pricked along the edge of the leaf that the staffs were ruled.

Evidence for this loss of vellum can be found, for instance, on folios *h8r* and *a4v*, where some of the illuminator's penwork, which obtrudes into the margins, has been lost when the leaves were cut. Nevertheless, enough evidence survives to show that most of the gatherings were prepared, pricked and ruled in the same way, with only small variances; most of these gatherings were batch-ruled. The anomalous gatherings were almost certainly among the first gatherings to be used for copying. On grounds of scribal attributes, gathering *g* can be identified as an early phase: the presence of anomalous pricking and ruling in gathering *g* confirms this.

The main functions of the pricking were to establish guides for three marginal frame-rulings, one running left to right between 45mm and 50mm below the top of the folio (as it now stands), the other two running top to bottom, parallel with each other, between 320mm and 330mm apart.⁵⁰ To guide the two vertical lines, holes were pricked at top and bottom of the folio, a maximum of four. The horizontal frame-ruling was generated from the same series of prickings which were used for the ruling of the staffs. Fifteen holes were pricked for this purpose, for the frame-ruling plus fourteen staffs, made between 32mm and 34mm apart:

In Figure 4.2.F overleaf, the positions of these prickings is shown. The lateral prickings, along outer the edge of the folio, are numbered 1-15; the frame-rule prickings, at the upper and lower ends of the vertical frame-rulings, are numbered i (top left), ii (top right), iii (bottom left) and iv (bottom right).

⁵⁰ Little evidence survives of trimming at the top and bottom of folios, although it is likely that some quires or leaves were trimmed thus. Gathering *l*, for instance, may have lost its two uppermost prick-holes due to trimming.

Figure 4.2.F: pricking and ruling

Many of these prickings were lost when the outside edges of folios were trimmed, sometimes traceable only as very slight indentations on the edge of the folio, sometimes lost altogether; there can be little doubt, however, that these holes were pricked in all but gathering *g*.⁵¹ In addition to the horizontal frame-ruling at the head, another was sometimes ruled parallel to it at the foot of the music area, probably only in the first few gatherings to be copied; this is usually ruled between the two vertical rulings, not straying into the margin. It was nearly always incorporated into the fourteenth staff as one of its five lines, detectable only in those instances where it was ruled up to (or towards) the edges of the folio.⁵² It is most clearly visible in custom-ruled openings, where there are fewer than fourteen staves:⁵³ here the line is left exposed where otherwise it would have been incorporated into the lowermost staff. These single lines do not occur in later stages of the manuscript, and they probably became redundant after the adoption of batch-ruling. The upper and lower rulings and the two vertical define a rectangle of around 440mm in height and 325mm in width. Within this general rule, there are minor exceptions. In some gatherings, one or more (sometimes all) of the staff pricking-holes are twofold, with an adjacent hole 3mm to the right its neighbour: throughout gatherings *d* and *f*

⁵¹ Gathering *g*: see below, pp.229-30. Most of the gatherings worst affected lie in those areas of the manuscript where the pricking and ruling was executed most systematically; the position and regularity of the rulings corresponds closely or exactly with those of neighbouring gatherings, wherein standard pricking has survived. There is thus no reason to assume that they were pricked and ruled differently.

⁵² In openings *a7L*, *g2L/R*, *g6L*, *g7L/R*, for instance.

⁵³ In openings *a3R*, *a6R*, *b1L* (see Plate V, below), *g5R*, *g6R*, *k1R* and *k2L/R*.

(gathering *e* has been lost) and *q*, this occurs only at the lowermost pricking;⁵⁴ in gathering *h*, doubling is irregular.⁵⁵ The number and position of holes made for the vertical frame-rulings varies considerably between - but not usually within - gatherings. For the pricker, the brief was consistent throughout virtually the whole of the project: to provide guides for frame-rulings, and a series of holes for the ruling of staffs. The ends remained the same, although the means varied. These variations are significant as corroborative evidence in assessing the sequence in which the manuscript was assembled.

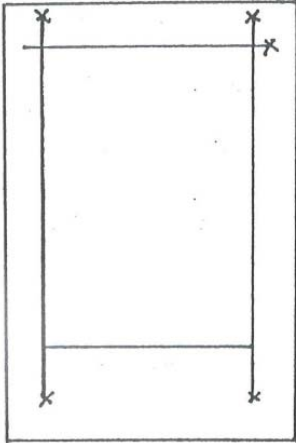
In Figure 4.2.G overleaf, the five principal pricking variants are illustrated. Variant I, which only comprises gathering *g*, is characterised by the omission of the lateral pricking for staffs; in variant II, which includes only gathering *h*, lateral pricking appears, with some or all of the fifteen holes duplicated. Variants III and IV illustrate the increasing reliance on staff pricking (and concomitant under-use of frame-rule pricking); in variant IV the lowermost of the lateral prickings is duplicated. In variant V many or all of the lateral prickings are lacking; given the consistency of ruling and preparation between variant V and the two preceding variants, however, it is most likely that these holes were made (and have subsequently been lost).

⁵⁴ Gathering *e* was detached from the rest of the choirbook before the second foliation was made in the later sixteenth century. See below, pp.459-63.

⁵⁵ Trimming has obscured the pricking of *h4/5* almost completely; in *h2* and *h3*, all fifteen holes are doubled; in *h1*, *h6*, *h7* and *h8*, doubling occurs in between four and nine times, with no visible correspondence between conjunct leaves of bifolia.

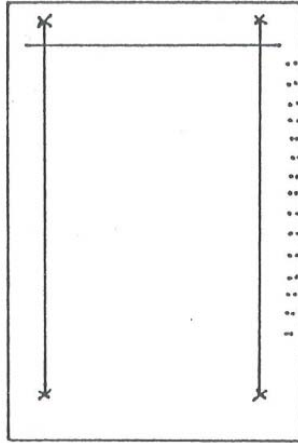
Figure 4.2.G: variations in pricking method

I. gathering *g*



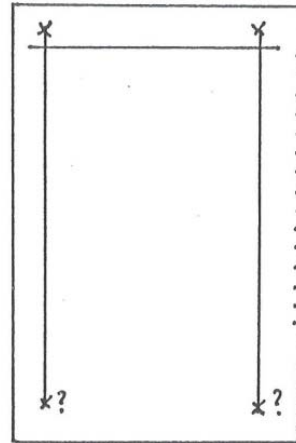
$0 + i/ii^*/iii/iv$

II. gathering *h*



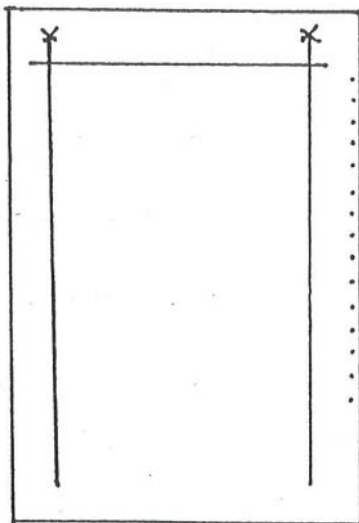
$15/4-15 + i/ii/iii/iv$

III. gatherings *a, b, i, k, l, m*



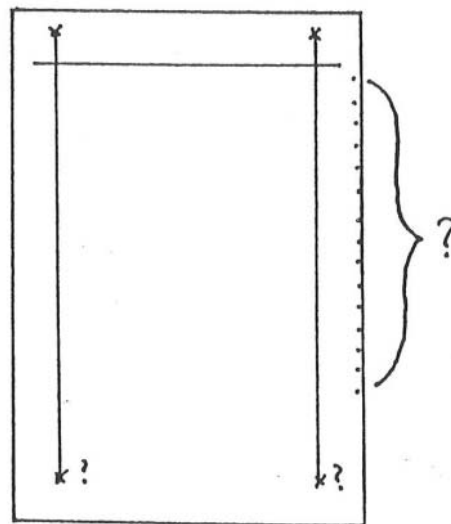
$15 + i/ii/iii/iv$ (*k* and *m*)
 $15 + i/ii/iv$ (*a* and *b*)

IV. gatherings *d, f* and *q*



$15^* + i/ii$ (*d*)
 $15^* + ?$ (*f*)
 $15^* + ii$ (*q*)

V. gatherings *r, t, v, x, z, bb* and *ee*



$15? + i/ii/iii?/iv?$ (*r*)
 $15? + i/iii/iv?$ (*t*)
 $15? + ii$ (*v* and *z*)
 $15? + i/ii$ (*x, bb* and *ee*)

Each quire was pricked after it had been assembled: in gathering *k*, for instance, the positions and the directions of the elongated holes correspond exactly from leaf to leaf, showing that the quire was pricked integrally. The similarity between some gatherings suggests that they were pricked together, or batch-pricked; it is no coincidence that these filiations are mirrored by similarity of scribal hands. But it should be noted that some apparent relationships might have been occasioned by the trimming-off of the edges of leaves where the pricking had been made. For instance, gatherings *r-ee* have lost most of the lateral pricking-holes which guided the ruling of staffs. This does not mean that such holes had never been made; indeed, they almost certainly were, as the layout and method of staff-ruling was entirely consistent with that of those gatherings where lateral pricking has survived.

One gathering is wholly anomalous: gathering *g* was made at the beginning of the copying process. In this gathering, only the four holes, i-iv, were made; the lateral holes, 1-15, were not. This can be demonstrated by the fact that some of the leaves are narrower than others, and would not have needed to be trimmed: on none of the leaves, even the narrower ones, is there any sign that lateral pricking was made.⁵⁶ The results of this method of pricking can clearly be seen. While the frame rules are consistent in length and position, the fourteen staffs on each side are less regularly spaced than in other gatherings. The presence in gathering *g* of a number of exposed foot-rulings suggests that the scribe's only criterion was to provide guides for the frame-ruling. The staffs in gathering *g* were completely free-ruled. They

⁵⁶ This can clearly be seen in Plate VIII below, where a penwork initial, which protrudes into the border, has not been affected by trimming.

were probably also custom-ruled: i.e. they were ruled as and when they were needed, in the same ink as the notation either staff-by-staff, side-by-side or opening-by-opening as circumstances dictated. This method of ruling was labour-intensive and potentially untidy, and was one of the first changes the scribe made to his method.

The problems encountered by the scribe in gathering *g* were resolved when the next gathering, *h*, was prepared. Here, the scribe made fifteen pricking-holes on the outside edge of each leaf, some or all of which have been duplicated (perhaps because the scribe unnecessarily pricked a new set of holes when he ruled the other side). In gathering *h*, the scribe (or stationer) retained the four pricking holes for the frame-rules. Having found a suitable method of preparing the gatherings, the scribe now pricked and ruled several quires in succession, using a similar system: *i*, *k*, *m*, *l*, *a*, *b* and *c*. Here he used fifteen single holes for the staffs, as well as some or all of the four frame-rule prickings. That the seven gatherings were prepared as a batch suggests that they represent a phase of continuous copying. Similarity of scribal style mirrors this.

Gatherings *d*, *f* and *q* were also pricked in one batch. In these quires, the pricking of holes for staffs took precedence over the provision of guides for frame-rules. Of the four holes originally pricked for the frame-rules, only the upper two were used (or have survived) in these gatherings; in gathering *q*, only the hole at the top right-hand corner (recto-wise) is evident, and in gathering *f*, only the hole at the top left-hand corner. These quires are also characterised by the duplication of the lowermost of the fifteen lateral prickings. These affinities suggest that the three

gatherings were pricked together. It will be argued below that gathering *q* was copied after gathering *m* (and, by implication, *n*, *o* and *p*) and that this was followed by gathering *d*. That gathering *f* shares the attributes of *q* and *d* implies that it was prepared at the same time. Most of the gathering was not used until well after the main scribe had stopped work on MS 178. The conclusion, therefore, must be that gathering *f* was prepared speculatively, with the assumption that additions would be made at a later date.

The remaining gatherings, *r-ee*, have suffered badly from the trimming of leaves, with the consequent loss of pricking holes. Apart from in gathering *x*, most or all of the fifteen lateral pricking holes have been lost in each of these remaining quires. But they were ruled in exactly the same way as gatherings *a-c*, *i-m* and *c-f*, and it is extremely unlikely that the staffs were ruled without pricking. Of the four frame-rule prickings, only the two uppermost ones were used regularly; in gatherings *v* and *z*, only the hole in the upper right-hand corner (recto-wise) is present. The loss of the fifteen lateral holes suggests that either the leaves of these gatherings were all rather larger than they are now (having been trimmed), or the holes were consistently pricked nearer the edges. Where holes do survive they are often no more than miniscule indentations on the edge of the leaf. Seven quires were pricked in this way, and probably (but not demonstrably, as they no longer exist) the intervening quires as well. This is the largest group of filiated quires: when they were prepared, the scribe clearly envisaged a prolonged stint of copying. Not surprisingly, the scribal evidence also suggests that these later gatherings were copied at speed.

A number of conclusions can clearly be drawn from this evidence. Initially, the scribe experimented with three different methods of preparing the rulings, and adapted his methods in light of experience gleaned during the copying process. He need not therefore have been very experienced in preparing (and, perhaps, copying) a manuscript of the size and specifications of MS 178. The general trend was away from reliance on pricking merely to guide the frame-rulings and towards pricking intended primarily to guide the ruling of staves. Although the first two gatherings, *g* and *h*, were prepared individually, three batches of quires were prepared in advance, probably at different times. Quires were also prepared prospectively, with the assumption that they may not be used immediately: gathering *f* was not used for ten or more years. As will be shown, the filiations of pricking and ruling method correspond with scribal variances. These correspondences are not always exact: when quires were prepared in batches, some might be used at the time, others later. Just as the constituent quires of MS 178 were prepared in batches, copying progressed in blocks. These blocks were defined by repertory type, liturgical use, and scoring.

4.2.2.2: scribal attributes: notation

After the pricking and ruling of gatherings, the next stage in the production of the choirbook was the copying of musical notation into the blank staves. The manner in which this was done is one of the most consistent facets of MS 178. The shapes and configurations of note-heads, clefs, ligatures, accidentals, directs and rests are comparable and, in some respects, identical from one part of the manuscript to another: MS 178 was almost certainly notated by one scribe. Like the process of pricking and ruling, the copying of notation was standardized at an early stage; but, like the former, the latter evolved during the first gatherings to be copied. The general trend was away from small, round-headed (or square-headed) notes to larger, more triangular note-heads. This evolution took place while the first five gatherings (*g*, *h*, *i*, *a* and *b*) were being copied. Thereafter the hand remains consistent, the work of a scribe who had worked out a successful *modus operandi* which he adhered to until the manuscript was finished.

Unchanging characteristics

An examination of folios *g*1r and *g*1v (*g*2L) reveals two apparently divergent scribal styles, one (probably) from the beginning of the copying process (*g*1v), the other from near the end (*g*1r).⁵⁷ In *g*1v, the staves and notation are diminutive, the

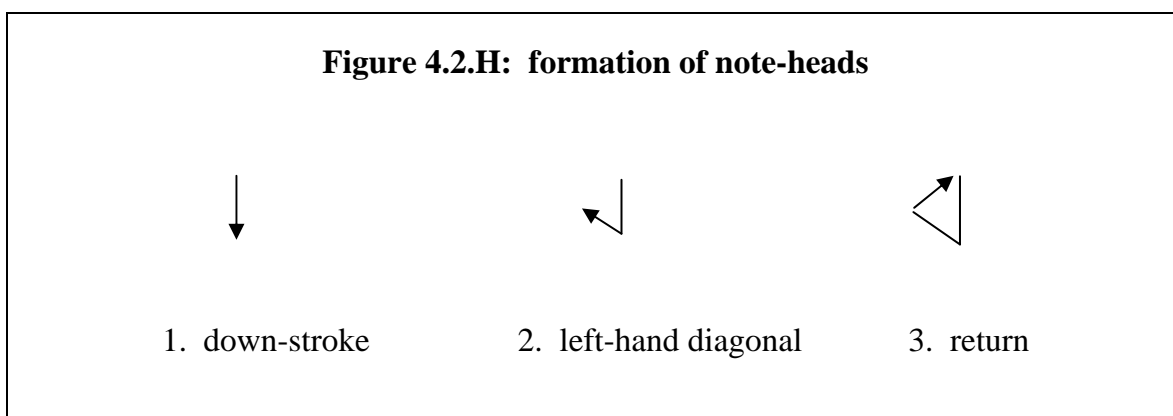
⁵⁷ See Plates VII and VIII, below.

note-heads rounded, letter-shapes compact and hexagonal; in *g1r*, both notation and text are bigger, the staves considerably wider, note-heads pronouncedly triangular. Seen in direct juxtaposition with each other, these two sides appear quite different from each other at first glance. But despite apparent variances between adjacent folios and quires, most scribal traits are common throughout the manuscript; although scribal mannerisms vary from one part of the choirbook to another, these variations are outweighed by the number of common characteristics. Openings *g1R* and *g2L* represent extreme ends of the copying process: the notation *g2L* was almost certainly the first to be copied, that of *g1R* nearly the last. The transition from the style of one to that of the latter was gradual, sometimes imperceptible; when the manuscript is read according to the suggested order of copying, no abrupt changes of scribal style can be detected:⁵⁸ the likelihood is therefore that one scribe was responsible for copying all the music (except for Wylkynson's two *addenda*), but that his style and technique were refined during the course of copying (especially during the earlier stages).

Many scribal techniques are common throughout the whole of the manuscript. Even in the earlier gatherings (*g*, *h*, *i*, *k1-2* and *a*), the basic techniques were consistent with subsequent gatherings, even if the visual appearance of the notation at first sight appears to differ. In all later gatherings (which, in fact, constitute most of the choirbook), several scribal consistencies are evident: the large size of the note-heads, the consistency of size and shape from note to note, the regular, deliberate pen-strokes and the compactness which allows fifty or more notational units per staff with

⁵⁸ See above, pp.201-7.

a minimum of empty space left between notes. Perhaps the most characteristic scribal trait, however, is the triangularity of semibreve, minim, semiminim, *fusa* and *semifusa* note-heads. These were all formed using the same basic three-fold penstroke, the nib being no more than around 1.5mm thick. Whether or not the note had a stem, the head was drawn first, beginning with a vertical down-stroke, followed by a diagonal stroke at an angle of 45° from the top of the down-stroke, returning to a point slightly below where the original down-stroke had begun of the original downstroke, thus:



The three strokes were made in one action, the pen remaining in contact with the vellum; frequently the down-stroke narrows at the base, suggesting a slackening of pen-pressure just before the scribe began to make the second stroke.⁵⁹ Occasionally the scribe literally cut the corner, the two final strokes becoming one rounded one.⁶⁰

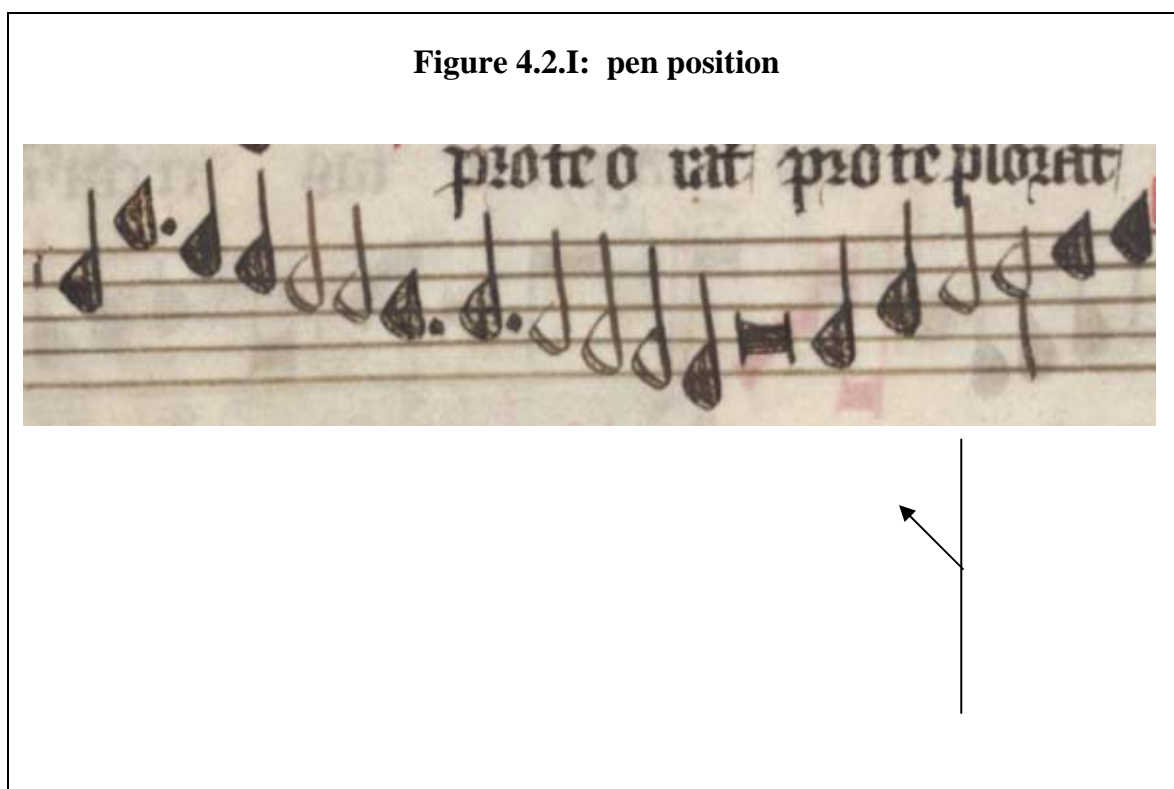
The return stroke is consistently finer than the other two strokes; particularly

⁵⁹ See Plate II (*semiminima*).

⁶⁰ Examples of both styles of note-head can be found in the *semiminima* on opening e1L (folio d8v): see Plate II.

noticeable in semiminims and *fusae*, the return stroke tapers as it reaches the down-stroke, as if the scribe gently lifted pen from page. In semibreves, where there is no stem, the non-tapering stump of the down-stroke is exposed from the body of the filled note; the bluntness of this stem suggests the impact of pen on vellum, and hence this was the likeliest starting-point. This is particularly evident where minims and semiminims have descending stems; here, the original down-stroke is separate from the stem which was clearly added after the note-head had been formed;⁶¹ among descending stems there is a tendency sometimes to curve slightly to the right.

Given the fineness of the return-stroke, the pen was probably held at an angle of approximately 40° to the lateral edges of the page:



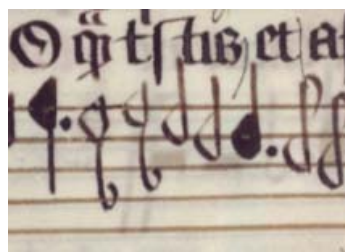
⁶¹ See Plates II, V and XI, where *semiminima* have downward-pointing stems.

This may account for the slight descent of some of the breves to the right, as the scribe drew the pen back towards his hand.⁶² Where the ink was dry, and especially on the hair side of the vellum, it is easy to see how full-black notes were made, as the traction of pen on rough vellum has left tramlines where the ink flowed less smoothly.⁶³ Semibreves and minims were outlined with three pen-strokes, the blank note-head then being filled in; similarly, ligatures and breves were outlined and then filled. *Fusae* were hooked with an independent action, the hook added in one stroke, beginning at the top of the stem, curving upwards to the right and then downwards, almost parallel with the stem, terminating a third of the way down the stem itself:⁶⁴

Figure 4.2.J: forms of *fusae*



a2R (Browne, *O Maria salvatoris mater*)



c1R (Browne, *Stabat mater*)

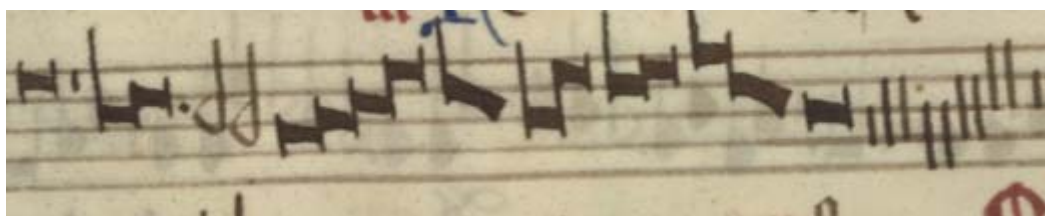
⁶² See Plates IV (for instance, in staves 5 and 8) and IX (staff 11).

⁶³ See Plates VI and VIII-X, where the outlines of semibreves and *minima* can be seen where the ink in-fill has rubbed away.

⁶⁴ See Plate IV, for instance.

Where stems descend, the hook either was begun to the right of the stem, tapering to the point where it meets the stem itself, or was written as a continuation of the descending stem which curved towards the bottom (the stem and the hook being written in one action, without the pen leaving the vellum).⁶⁵ Throughout all phases of the choirbook, the stems of *minima*, *semiminima* and *fusae* are mostly ascending; the scribe usually wrote descending stems when the note-head was in the uppermost space or on the uppermost line of the staff (and not always in these cases).⁶⁶ Longs and ascending ligatures have ascending bars, the adjacent notes sharing bars in ascending ligatures (which are predominantly two-note, breve-breve or short-short):⁶⁷

Figure 4.2.K: breves and ligatures



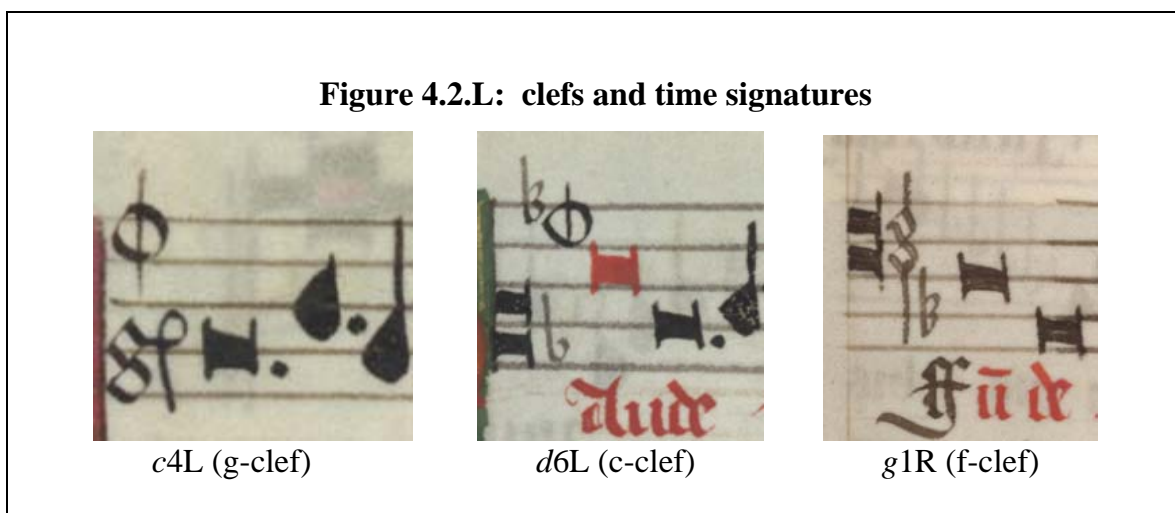
ee2L (Stratford, Magnificat)

⁶⁵ See Plates I (opening *d3R*, staff 4) and IX (opening *k4L*, staff 14).

⁶⁶ See, for instance, Plate II (opening *e1L*, staff six, where the ascending stems of the first, second and fifth notes were erased and replaced with descending stems when the initial was inserted).

⁶⁷ See, for instance, Plates IV (opening *a2R*, staff 3), VI (opening *b1R*, staffs 7 and 9).

Clefs, mensuration signs, rests and fermata are consistent throughout the manuscript (except in the two addenda by Robert Wylkynson). C-clefs were formed from two short oblongs (3-4mm long) firmly drawn from the frame-ruling, ending with a short vertical bar. F-clefs were formed identically, a slightly angled figure of eight added parallel to the bar, a parallel bar descending from the lower bowl (and another extending upwards, most commonly when F3 clef is used); G-clefs are of standard form, consisting of a figure of eight, begun at the head and drawn as an S with its tail extended to meet in a loop at the top of the head; a slightly-looped hook extends rightwards from the head:



Mensuration signs occupy the uppermost space inside the staff (and placed just above the staff when C5-clef is used); when they were crossed, a simple vertical pen-stroke was used. Rests consist of short, firm pen-strokes. The placing of rests is constant from one part of the manuscript to another. Rests are placed on the line nearest to the previous note, even where the voice part is silent for a series of longs;⁶⁸

⁶⁸ See Plate I (opening d3R, staves 1, 4 and 7).

where a number of rests are written between two notes spaced at wide intervals on the staff, the rests are distributed in rising or falling groups between the two notes.⁶⁹

Where a voice-part is silent for a whole section, a series of long rests is written in pairs:

Figure 4.2.M: selected rest placements



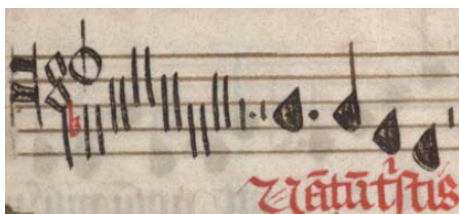
b3L



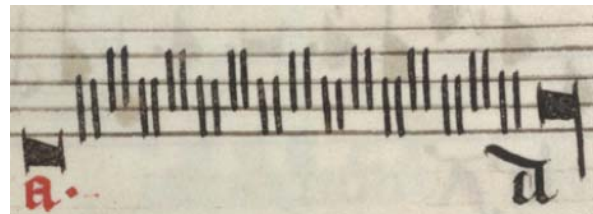
c2R



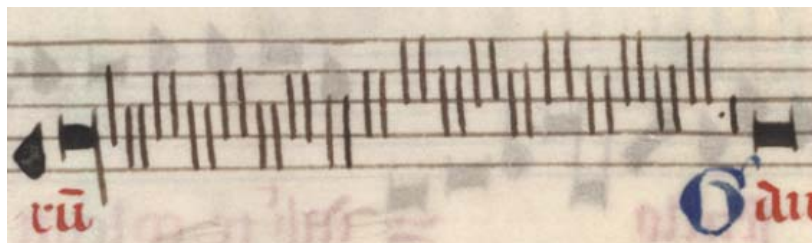
d1R



c6R



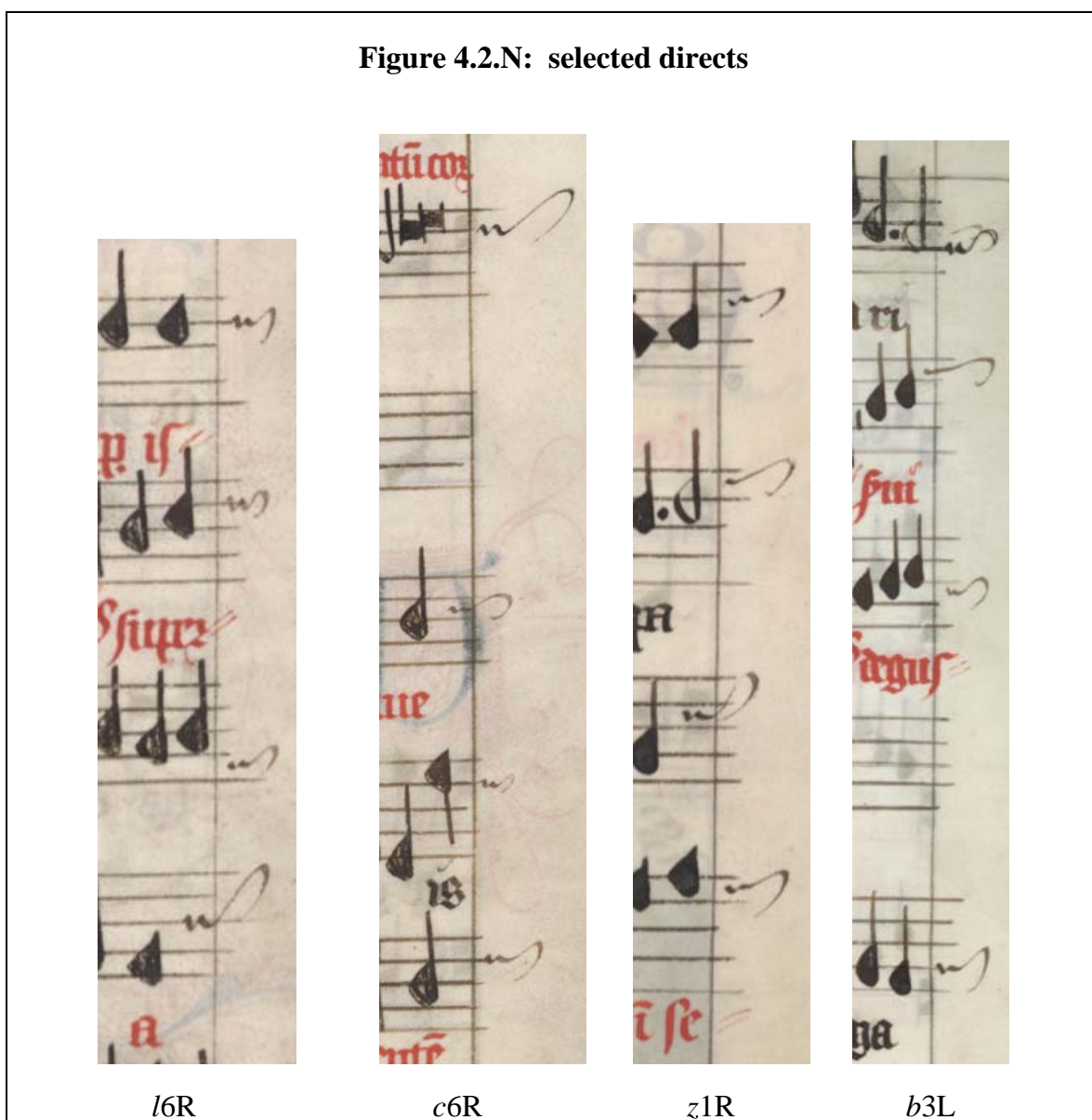
b7R



r1R

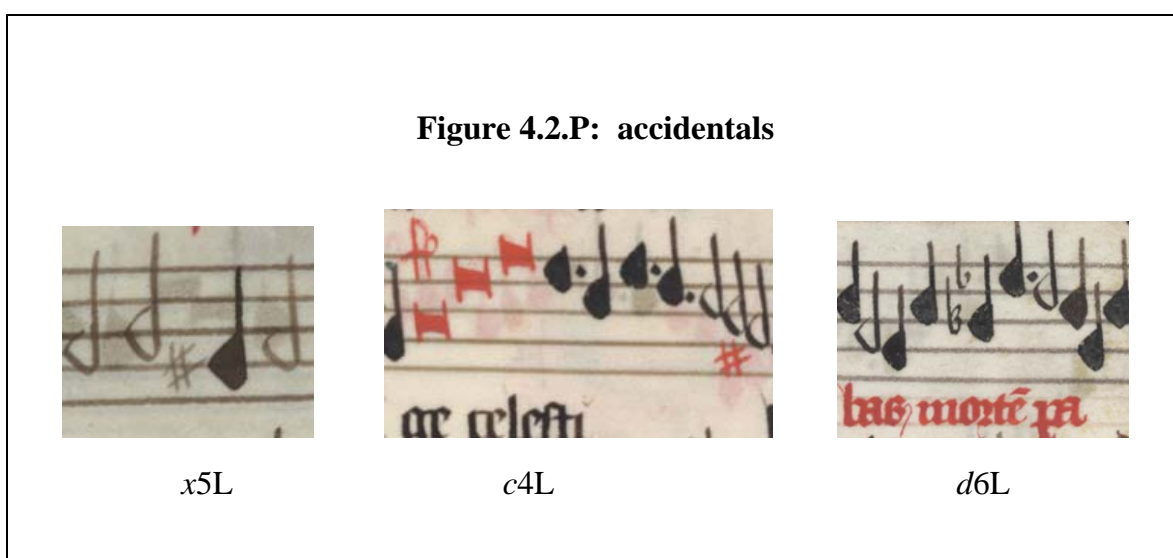
⁶⁹ Two examples of this can be seen in Plate X (opening *m3L*), staff 10 (between the last note (C) of 'operatus est' and the first note (E) of 'Quem pater') and staff 11 (between the last note (F) of 'peperisti' and the first note (C) of 'Cunctis').

Fermata were drawn with the pen at the same angle as it was when notating, always dotted, the dot placed either immediately above or two spaces above the note, depending on whether the note concerned was on a line or in a space. Directs consist of double undulations with a hook, standard in format although not consistent in form, varying from staff to staff in the angle and extent of the hook:⁷⁰



⁷⁰ Several forms of directs can be seen, for example, in Plate IV (opening *a2R*, staves one to eight).

Sometimes only red ink is used for accidentals, at others only black, and in some a mixture of the two. It is not always possible to differentiate accidentals written by the copyist from those added subsequently (that is, while the choirbook was being used); in general, added accidentals are written in black ink with a finer pen.⁷¹ The ♯ form is used for sharps and naturals; naturals are also sometimes indicated in the ff form; flats occur in ♭ form if in a space, and in B form on a line:



Red and black notation were written by the same scribe: scribal style is indistinguishable between the one and the other. The same method of writing note-heads was used in red; red breves, like black, tend to descend slightly towards the right; and the style and size of notes is identical between black and red. *Puncti divisionis* are frequently used where there are multiple minims in *sesquialtera* coloration, as well as 3:2 or 6:4 markings (commonly in black ink).⁷²

⁷¹ See, for instance, Plate XI (opening k4L, staff 15).

⁷² See Plate IX (opening k4L, staves 12 and 14); see also Figure 4.2.D, above, p.218.

Scribal style in the early gatherings and the need for legibility

The scribal style outlined above can be seen at a mature stage in gatherings *k3-8*, *l* and *m*, but applies throughout most of the manuscript.⁷³ The two remaining sides of Brygeman's *Salve regina* (*f6^v* and *g1^r*), which was added late, conform in nearly every respect to the scribal methods outlined above.⁷⁴ The same triangular note-heads, the same shape of breves and ligatures, the same style of clefs, time-signatures and fermata are used here as they were in *k*, *l* and *m*. The only apparent variance is the use of both red and black ink for accidentals in opening *g1R*, only red being used while gatherings *k3-8*, *l* and *m* were copied; this minor difference can probably be attributed to convenience or the result of absent-mindedness, rather than an indicator of a changed scribal method (or new scribe). Whoever copied the Brygeman also copied the bulk of the manuscript, unless it was another scribe so well tutored in the 'house-style' that he was able to replicate exactly the mannerisms of his predecessor. Turn the folio from *g1* to *g2*, however, and one is presented with what looks like the work of a different scribe. While clefs, time-signatures, directs, rests and accidentals are identical in form, semibreve, minim and *fusa* note-heads are smaller, rounder-headed, with shorter stems; semibreves in the tenor part (*g2L*, staffs 8-10) are often diamond-shaped and irregularly spaced.⁷⁵ A by-product of smaller note-heads is greater density of notation: *g2L*, staff 3, for instance, contains some seventy-six

⁷³ The scribal hand(s) of gatherings *b*, *c*, *d*, *f* (in part), *k3-8*, *l*, *m*, and *q* to the end conform to this pattern.

⁷⁴ See Plate VII.

⁷⁵ See Plate VIII.

notational units, including rests; concomitantly, the text is more densely-written, also accounting for the irregular placing of notes, especially during homophonic passages.⁷⁶

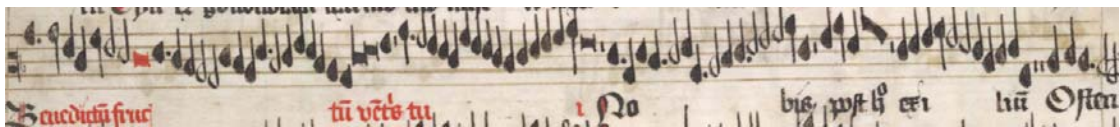
One over-riding reason may be given for this variance: legibility. As well as gathering *g*, gatherings *h*, *i*, *k1-2* and (to a lesser extent) *a* are characterised by small notation. If the *Salve regina* settings were mostly established in the choir's repertory at the time when MS 178 was copied, they would have been well-known; being in five-parts, they would probably have required fewer singers than the more lavishly-scored antiphons now at the front of the manuscript. The transition from small, round-headed notes, to the larger, triangular type occurs gradually during the course of gathering *a*; the first opening of Browne's eight-part *O Maria salvatoris mater* is similar in appearance to much of gathering *g* but, by the end of gathering *a*, at the last opening of Hugh Kellyk's seven-part *Gaude flore virginali*, the notation more closely resembles that of *k3* onwards.⁷⁷ The full extent of this increase in note-size can be clearly seen when music from phase A is compared with that of phase Bi, that is from before and after phase B itself. Compare, for instance, a staff from *i8R* (the *Contratenor* part of Browne's *Salve regina* for lower voices) and a staff, shown to the same scale, from *l7R* (the Bass part of Davy's *Virgo templum trinitatis*). In the earlier example, the staff accommodates eighty-five notes and rests but, in the later example, only forty-eight:

⁷⁶ See below, pp.247-60, for a discussion of text-hands.

⁷⁷ Compare Plate IV (opening *a2R*) with Plate V (opening *b1L*) and Plate IX (opening *k4L*).

Figure 4.2.Q: notation of phases A and Bi compared

(both images reproduced to the same scale)



phase A (opening i8R: Browne, *Salve regina*)



phase Bi (l7R: Davy, *Virgo templum trinitatis*)

More voice-parts demand more singers, more singers need more space, and more space entails greater distance from the manuscript, with a concomitant need for larger notation. The result is that, by the time copying resumed on the *secunda pars* of Hampton's *Salve regina*, at k3, the size of the notes had nearly doubled. A larger format having been adopted out of necessity now became the new standard; this accounts for the dichotomy of scribal styles in the one piece.

This might also account for the increasingly triangular formation of note-heads during gatherings *a* and *b*. In the course of copying a manuscript the size of MS 178, the scribe needed a reliable method of producing a large number of notes quickly and consistently. Three-stroke note-formation was the Eton copyist's solution, requiring

fewer movements than four-stroke, diamond-headed notes, and easily replicated from note to note. This was useful when copying full black notation, which required filling - especially when note-heads were as large as they became by the time gathering *k* was completed. In fact, three-stroke note-heads had been used from the start; it is the greater size of notes which exaggerates their triangularity. Semibreves with stumps where the downstroke began, misplaced and slightly curved descending stems, and mildly inclined breves are as much hallmarks of gatherings *g-i* and *a* as they are of the rest of the choirbook; the difference is one of scale. The square breves attempted by the scribe in opening *g2* were very quickly abandoned as if, having tried two different methods, the scribe concluded that one way was greatly preferable to another.⁷⁸ Though competent, making few mistakes and having a clear idea of what format was required, the scribe of *g2* learnt lessons as work progressed. It is therefore likely that one scribe notated the manuscript almost in its entirety.

⁷⁸ The only other instances where diamond-headed notes were used - Wylkynson's nine-part *Salve regina* and *Credo/Jesus autem transiens* - were both added after the manuscript was finished. Their texts were both written in different hands to that or those of the main body of the manuscript.

4.2.2.3: scribal attributes: texts

General characteristics

Apart from the two pieces clearly identifiable as *addenda* - Wylkynson's nine-part *Salve regina* and *Credo/Jesus autem transiens* - the texts are written in a formal textura style.⁷⁹ While this was suitable for a fair copy, it tends to veil the identity of the copyist, whose mannerisms were much more likely to manifest themselves in his workaday secretarial hand. While a systematic and consistent scribal technique was achieved early during the process of copying the notation, the scribal style of the texts underwent a gradual development away from the gothic of gathering *g* to the more rounded style of later phases. Four scribal phases - A, B-Bii, C and D - can be identified, which were most probably the work of one scribe whose duct varied according to the space available, the shape and size of the pen, and the speed at which he worked. Phases A and D are distinguished from each other by substantive stylistic differences, phase A being a compact, gothic style, phase D more rounded, less labour-intensive. But the intervening phases, especially phase B, are not discrete, and represent points of development from A to D, rather than the work of different scribes. Text and music were written in the same ink.⁸⁰ Unless music and text were

⁷⁹ Ker, *MMBL*, 2, p.774; according to Ker, the script is 'distinguished from textura only by the descenders of *f* and *s* and the kidney-shaped form of final *s*'.

⁸⁰ This can be seen clearly in the colour plates (Plates I-III). Occasionally different mixes of red ink were used for text and music; however, this may have been merely because the supply of red ink, generally more viscous than black, was exhausted more quickly.

copied in tandem by two or more scribes working from the same ink sources, it is likely that one scribe was responsible for both music and text: given the consistency of scribal style in the musical notation, all the phases of texting were the work of one and the same scribe. The text is thus a vital piece of evidence in any assessment of the copying order.

In general, the regular spacing of notational units suggests that music in black ink was copied first and then black text added, after which red notes (for which space was carefully reserved) and, finally, red text. The evidence is not sufficiently clear-cut to demonstrate that either line-by-line or side-by-side or piece-by-piece copying was the adhered to consistently. Given the melismatic nature of the music being copied, it is unlikely that the scribe would have chosen to copy the text first. Only in unusually syllabic settings would this have made sense. Gilbert Banester's *O Maria et Elizabeth* (openings *m3-5*) is the least melismatic of the antiphons in MS 178: in copying this piece, the scribe compressed the text rather than increase the spacing of notes, even though there was plenty of space available, which suggests that the music was copied first.⁸¹ Even in a piece syllabic enough to make text-first copying feasible, the scribe followed habit and copied the music first: the text had to be fitted in where it could be. That the same inks were used for text and music throughout most of the manuscript also suggests that everything in black was copied before everything in red in most instances. Exceptions are abundant enough to show that

⁸¹ In opening *m5*, for example, six whole staves and two half-staffs were left unused; only in *m4* were all fourteen staves used, and fifteenth staves ruled on each side, this irregular spacing no doubt determined by the position of cadence points suitable for the page-turn. See Plate X (opening *m3L*).

working practices varied. On opening *v2*, black text appears to cover red note-stems of the staff below (on *v2L*, staff 12, and *v2R*, staves 5 and 10). On the tenth staff of *q3R*, the stem of a black long appears to have been written over the red text beneath it. This probably arose because the stem was re-written after the red text had been added (to distinguish it from a breve). Nevertheless, these instances are far outnumbered by those in which red ink is superimposed on black - red inks were generally more viscous than black, and their superimposition is unmistakable; although scribal procedure may have varied, the standard procedure was black music/text then red music/text.

Scribal phases

If opening *g2* is taken as the starting point of the manuscript, and gathering *ee* as the end, a distinct development or change in the scribal text-hand is discernible, from the formal, parallel, multi-stroke hand A to the less formal, bowed, economical hand D. At first glance, phases A and D appear to be the work of different scribes. If MS 178 was written in the same order in which it was compiled, there could be no doubt that a number of different scribes were involved: comparison, say, of opening *g1* with *g2*, *k2* with *k3*, *m8* with *q2*, and *x8* with *z2* reveals what appear to be clear scribal changes. As has been argued, MS 178 was not copied in its present order of binding.⁸² Scribal habits did not remain absolutely constant: in two sections,

⁸² See above, pp.201-7.

gatherings *k3-n1* and *q-x*, there is sufficient development of the text-hand to suggest that the whole manuscript may have been the work of one scribe, whose style adapted as the project progressed. Considerations, such as vertical and horizontal space and the sort of writing implement used were instrumental in determining the physical appearance of the scribe's work; even boredom may have impinged, as the scribe become familiar (and then over-familiar) with the processes involved and sought to speed up his work by adopting less labour-intensive methods. Because of the heavy losses of leaves, it is impossible to rule out the involvement of more than one scribe; whole sections of the manuscript have been lost (gatherings *n-p* and nearly all of *aa-dd*), and it is in the long, unbroken sections of the manuscript that gradual changes in scribal habits can most easily be discerned. Illustrated overleaf are examples of letter-forms from each of the four main copying phases.

Figure 4.2.R: selected letter-forms

| | phase A | phase B - Bi - Bii | | | phase C | phase D |
|---|---------|--------------------|--|--|---------|---------|
| a | | | | | | |
| b | | | | | | |
| d | | | | | | |
| g | | | | | | |
| h | | | | | | |
| m | | | | | | |
| o | | | | | | |
| p | | | | | | |
| r | | | | | | |
| s | | | | | | |
| s | | | | | | |
| u | | | | | | |
| v | | | | | | |

Phase A (see Plate VIII)

Phase A includes gatherings *g-i* and *k1-2*. The scribal style, a form of *textura*, is both horizontally and vertically compressed, with multiple pen-strokes giving closed, angular letter-shapes. Ascenders are straight, with fine hair-lines; descenders are slightly angled, stubby when veering right, but tapering to the left. The letters *i*, *m*, *n* and *u* consist of single or multiple, parallel pen-strokes; each pen-stroke was begun with a very short diagonal stroke downwards, ending with a tapering hook to the right. There was a tendency for the pen to be drawn very slightly to the left as the scribe began the hook; this is echoed in his *e*, *l*, *t*, and *v*, where the pen was also repositioned as it moved rightwards from ascender to hook. The first capstans of *m* and *v* are usually accompanied with a looped hair-line. Hair-line forks are frequently applied to the tops of ascenders; on letter *b*, there is one hair-line forking to the left at a slight angle, on *h* and *l* (but not *t*) there may be two, one to left and one to right. There are four varieties of *s* forms, and the two common *r* forms. Descenders on *p* generally taper as they curve leftwards, and descenders on *q* generally curve to the right, although both letters also appear with straight descenders. The letter *h* is characterised by a descender, beginning (rather like the letters *m* and *n*) with an angular loop from the ascender and terminating in a *cedilla*-esque hook, which is hooked and then tapers without curvature. Perhaps the most striking aspect of scribe A is his penchant for using large numbers of small pen-movements, which combine to give his letters - particularly the bowls, specifically the letter *o* - a marked hexagonal appearance. He used consistent pressure, tapering resulting not from the pen leaving

the surface but from the angle at which the nib was used.

Phase B-Bii (see plates IV, V, IX, X, and XI)

Phase B-Bii includes gatherings *a*, *b* (except *b1r*), *c* (as B) and *k3-n1* (as Bi) and *q-r2* (as Bii); it represents a significant phase of scribal development.⁸³ The differences between gathering *a* (at the beginning of this stint) and gathering *q* (at the end) are as great as between B and C, or C and D. The loss of gatherings *n-p* has removed important evidence of scribal development in what was probably one long sequence of copying from *k3* to *r2*. Folios *m8v* and *q1r* initially appear quite dissimilar, primarily because the intervening three gatherings are missing; but throughout gatherings *k-m*, there are enough developments in scribal style to suggest a gradual transition from B through Bi to Bii.

Phases A and B share so many characteristics that they may be considered almost as one and the same phase. The degree of horizontal and vertical compression is broadly the same in both phases; the letters *a*, *e*, *g*, *i*, *l*, *m*, *o*, and *u* are almost identical; and the general appearance of the ducts is similar if not identical; in both, the letters *m*, *n*, and *u* are composed out of short, firm, parallel pen-strokes; descenders taper leftwards but not rightwards; the letter *i* is dotted with a fine hair-line, and hair-lines are used to ornament the tops of ascenders, especially on the letters *b* and *h*. Divergences are small: in B, ascenders tend to be shorter than in A; A uses the *z* form for the letter *r* (with a hooked hair-line), whereas in B, this form of

⁸³ See Figure 4.2.R, above, and compare plates IV and V (openings *a2R* and *b1L*: phase B), plates IX and X (openings *k4L* and *m3L*: phase Bi) and plate XI (opening *q4L*: phase Bii).

r is more rounded; in B, descenders are terminated with curved hooks, unlike the multi-stroke hooks in A; the final component of ordinary lower-case m (as opposed to capital or ornamented) in A sometimes hooks downwards to the left, rather like a diminutive descender, but all three components in B follow exactly the same form (like the undotted letter i written three-fold); in A, the upper and lower ends of letter s (in the \int form) are less acutely hooked than in B; the ascender of letter d in A is shorter than that in B; in A, the bowl of b is more rounded and more diminutive than in B. Despite these differences of detail, however, the overall appearance of the two hands is comparable, in both phases, letters being formed from a number short, straight capstans, lending the script a formal, gothic appearance.

Gatherings *k*3-8, *l* and *m* together form phase Bi.⁸⁴ The scribal style is very similar to that in phase A and B. In Bi hair-lines are used more liberally than in A or B, especially vertical termination, demarcating word-endings. Hooks, especially when used on letters s, d, l and t are less pronounced and angular, perhaps because the scribe was writing with a marginally thicker nib, perhaps to save time. A difference which, at first sight, seems superficial is the direction of the descender on the letter p. Leftward-veering descenders of p are a hallmark of phase A, rightward-veering descenders a hallmark of phases C and D. It is in B that the change occurs.

Functionality may explain both this change and the use of less time-consuming letter-forming techniques, whereby the angular, multi-stroke e, g, o, p, q bowls and the i, l, and t hooks become more rounded, less polygonal. There is no point at which a decisive break occurs, gathering c for instance containing both right- and left-

veering descenders of p, but the result of these developments is a perceptible divergence between the style of opening *k2* (phase A) and *k3* (phase Bi).

Throughout gatherings *k3-8*, *l* and *m*, the scribal hand develops; it probably continued to develop through the now-lost gatherings *n-p*. The thick nib used for the series of antiphons by Davy commencing at *k3* was replaced by a marginally thinner one used to copy Gilbert Banester's *O Maria et Elizabeth*.⁸⁵ The reason for this is immediately apparent in both manuscript and printed versions of this piece: being highly syllabic, the amount of text needing to be written necessitated a more horizontally-compressed hand, using a finer pen. The same pen was used to copy the remaining pieces in this section (ending in the now-incomplete manuscript at *m8*), and it is the change of pen which may account for the changed and changing appearance of the scribal style.⁸⁶ The text appears finer, rather less angular; the descender of p has, by *m8*, acquired a slight hook; the loop of g is more rounded; and the ascenders of i, l and t are often shorter, their hooks diminutive and rounder, less labour-intensive than the carefully-wrought hooks used in phases A and B, necessitating fewer hand movements.

⁸⁴ See plates IX (opening *k4L*) and X (opening *m3L*).

⁸⁵ See Plate X (opening *m3L*: Gilbert Banester, *O Maria et Elizabeth*).

⁸⁶ A comparison of Plate X (opening *m3L*: phase Bii) with III (opening *r7R*: phase D) reveals two seemingly similar scribal styles. The similarity can be attributed particularly to the use of a fine nib in both cases.

Phase C (see Plate I)

Phase C, the third major chronological phase of copying, includes gathering *d* and gathering *z*, the second gathering in the *Magnificat* section (the first gathering, *y*, has perished); after copying out five-part antiphon settings up to opening *r2* (ending with Edmund Turges's *Gaude flore virginali*), the scribe turned his attention to the *Magnificat* settings and the six-part antiphons without treble parts. Phase C shares attributes of both A-Bii and D: both hair-lined and unadorned ascenders; hooked descenders; parallel, but slightly bowed *i*, *m* and *n*; rounded loops; both straight and curved hairlines over *i*; and both curved and straight ascenders on the letter *d*. In gathering *z*, it most closely resembles Bii; given the absence of so many *Magnificat* settings and, most crucially, of gathering *aa*, the transition of hand C into hand D is impossible to trace. In the remains of gathering *bb* and through gathering *ee*, the resemblance to hand D grows stronger. Visible guide-rulings are common in phase C, while hair-lines are applied less frequently than previously, either to cap ascenders or to mark word-endings: speed and efficiency were now important considerations.

Phase D (see Plates II and III)

Phase D was the last main scribal phase, incorporating the last few five-part antiphons (*r3* onwards), most or all of the four-part antiphons, and the pieces in gatherings *aa/bb* to *ee*. Those antiphons not listed in the first index – i.e. those copied last – are all in phase D. The main hallmarks of phase D are roundedness,

economy (fewer pen-strokes and hairlines) and greater expansiveness, being neither as vertically nor as horizontally compressed as hands A or B-Bii; this is probably a result of a lesser need for vertical and, especially, horizontal compression in a phase predominated by four-part antiphons (which generally take up less space than five- or six-part pieces).

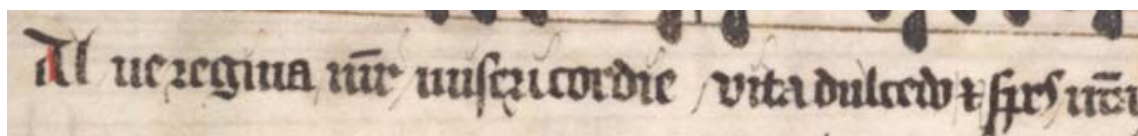
Phase D texts are wiry in appearance. Lower-case p has a short, right-veering, often acutely hooked descender; the components of i, m, n and u are simpler, bowed and more widely spaced; the letter v is formed from two bowed, rather than four straight, strokes (excluding the slight hooking at the top), or is round-bottomed; the loop of g is formed from one circular pen-stroke; t, l and h have no split ascenders; the upper bowl of letter a is sometimes reduced to a diagonal stroke with a hair-line return. In the greater use of circular or curved pen-movement, this scribal style would surely have been quicker to execute than hands A, B or Bi. The loss of a very large number of leaves in this part of the manuscript precludes thorough-going analysis. Nevertheless, it seems that this hand may have originated in the *Magnificat* section, from aa. There are also pieces added in this hand near the front of the manuscript, namely the last side of Kellyk's *Gaude flore virginali* (b1R) and the one surviving side of Cornysh's *Gaude flore virginali* (f3R), as well as the remaining fragments of Brygeman's *Salve regina* (f7L and g1R).

After phase D, the choirbook was complete; only the two *addenda* – Robert Wylkynson's nine-part *Salve regina* and *Credo/Jesus autem transiens* – were yet to be copied into the now-complete manuscript. Although spare capacity was built into

the manuscript, in the form of empty folios in gathering *e*, the task was finished for the moment. Shortly before copying the last few pieces, the scribe had written the large of the two indices at the front of the manuscript, having previously compiled the shorter one at the back, at which time he had also foliated the choirbook. For both foliation and indices, the scribe reverted to his most formal gothic hand.

In Figures 4.2.S and 4.2.T, selected texts have been extracted from each of the scribal phases. In figure 4.2.S, the move from the cramped, gothic style of phase A to the rounded, more wiry styles of later phases, especially phase D. In figure 4.2.T, selected words have been used for closer comparison. In both instances, it can clearly be seen that, while the appearance of the written texts changes from phase to phase, the overall scribal traits remain consistent. Hair-lines have not been illustrated, although the use of hairlines varies minutely between phases. The thickness of the writing implement and the availability of space were probably as important in determining the visual appearance of the script as much as any stylistic or methodological decisions on the part of the scribe, himself: compare the text of opening *d5R* (phase C, written with a thick pen) with that of opening *r7R* (phase D, written with a fine point). Guide-rulings, which were used in some phases but not in others, may also have influenced the scribal mannerisms.

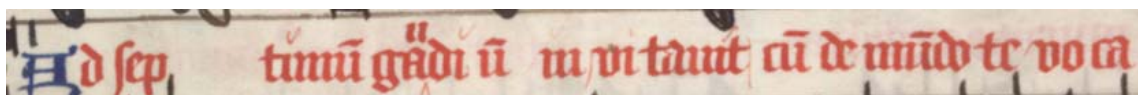
Figure 4.2.S: representative texts from phases A-D



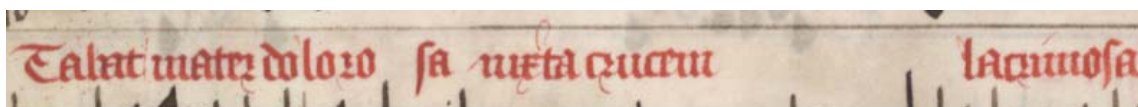
Phase A (opening i2R: Wylkynson, *Salve regina*)



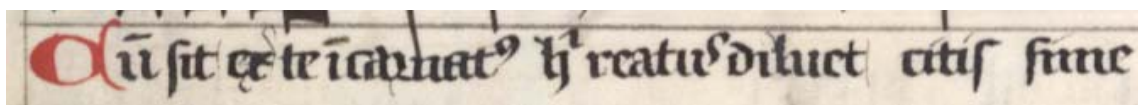
Phase B (opening b8R: Davy, *Gaude flore virginali*)



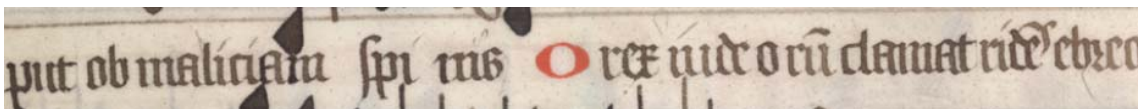
Phase Bi (opening l7R: Davy, *Virgo templum trinitatis*)



Phase Bii (opening q1R: Cornysh, *Stabat mater dolorosa*)



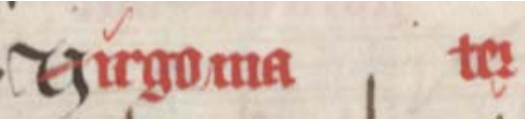
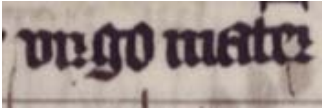
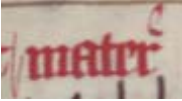
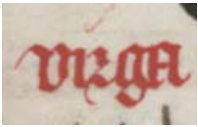

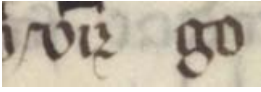
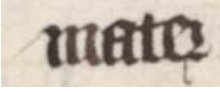

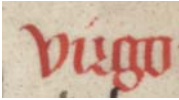
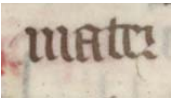
Phase C (opening d5R: Browne, *O regina mundi clara*)



Phase D (opening r7R: Browne, *O mater venerabilis*)

Figure 4.2.T: selected words

Sample text: 'virgo' (or 'virga') and 'mater'

| | | |
|-----------|--|--|
| phase A |  | |
| | opening k2R (John Hampton, <i>Salve regina</i>) | |
| phase B |  |  |
| | b8R (Davy, <i>Gaude flore</i>) | c1R (Browne, <i>Stabat mater</i>) |
| phase Bi |  |  |
| | m3R (Banester, <i>O Maria</i>) | l6R (Davy, <i>Virgo templum</i>) |
| phase Bii |  |  |
| | r1R (Turges, <i>Gaude flore</i>) | q5R (Fawkyner, <i>Gaude virgo</i>) |
| phase C |  | |
| | d6L (Sturton, <i>Gaude virgo</i>) | |
| phase D |  |  |
| | t5L (Fayrfax, <i>Ave lumen gracie</i>) | r7R (Browne, <i>O mater venerabilis</i>) |

PLATES

(see separate file)

- I. opening *d3R*, staffs 1-8 (phase C)
(John Browne, *O regina mundi clara*)
- II. opening *e1L*, staffs 4-6 (phase D)
(Robert Wylkynson, *O virgo prudentissima*)
- III. opening *r7R*, staffs 1-8 (phase D)
(John Browne, *O mater venerabilis*)
- IV. opening *a2R*, staffs 1-8 (phase B)
(John Browne, *O Maria salvatoris mater*)
- V. opening *b1L*, staffs 6-10 (phase B)
(Hugh Kellyk, *Gaude flore virginali*)
- VI. opening *b1R*, staffs 3-10 (phase D)
(Hugh Kellyk, *Gaude flore virginali*)
- VII. opening *g1R*, staffs 1-9 (phase D)
(William Brygeman, *Salve regina*)
- VIII. opening *g2L*, staffs 6-11 (phase A)
(William Horwood, *Salve regina*)
- IX. opening *k4L*, staffs 10-15 (phase Bi)
(Richard Davy, *O Domine caeli terraeque*)
- X. opening *m3L*, staffs 9-14 (phase Bi)
(Gilbert Banester, *O Maria et Elizabeth*)
- XI. opening *q4R*, staffs 10-17 (phase Bii)
(Fawkyner, *Gaude virgo salutata*)
- XII. opening *i6R*, staff 10, showing over-painting of initial 'V'

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------|----------|-------------------------------|----|----|------|------|-----------|--------------------|----|--|
| f | f1r | <i>Gaude flore virginali</i> | | | | (William) | 0 | 11 | | | | | | |
| | f1v | | | | | (Cornysh - 23 notes) | | | | | | | | |
| | f2r | 32r? | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | f2v | 32v? | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | f3r | 33r | 26r | | | | | | IV | 14 | none | none | D | |
| | f3v | 33v | 26v | <i>Salve regina</i> | 9 | (Robert) | 0 | 0 | | 14 | full | added | X | |
| | f4r | 34r | 27r | | | (Wylkynson - 23 notes) (3) | | | IV | 14 | none | added | X | |
| | f4v | 34v | 27v | | | | | | | 14 | none | cadels | X | |
| f5r | 35r | 28r | | | | | | IV | 14 | none | cadels | X | | |
| f5v | 35v | 28v | | | | | | | 14+1 | none | cadels | X | | |
| f6r | 36r | 29r | | | | | | IV | 14 | full | cadels | X | | |
| f6v | 36v | 29v | <i>Salve regina</i> | 5 | Willimus | 48 | 55 | | 14 | full | painted | D | | |
| f7r | 37r | | | | | (Brygeman - 19 notes) | | | | | | | | |
| f7v | 37v | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| f8r | 38r | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| f8v | 38v | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| g | g1r | 39r | 30r | | | | | | I | 13 | 1-10 only | none | D | |
| | g1v | 39v | 30v | <i>Salve regina</i> | 5 | [William] | 36 | 43 | | 13 | selective | mixed | A | |
| | g2r | 40r | 31r | | | Horwud - 21 notes | | | I | 12 | selective | mixed | A | |
| | g2v | 40v | 31v | | | | | | | 14 | none | capitals | A | |
| | g3r | 41r | 32r | | | | | | I | 14 | none | capitals | A | |
| | g3v | 41v | 32v | <i>Salve regina</i> | 5 | Ricardus | 37 | 44 | | 14 | selective | mixed | A | |
| | g4r | 42r | 33r | | | Davy - 21 notes | | | I | 14 | selective | mixed | A | |
| | g4v | 42v | 33v | | | | | | | 14 | none | capitals | A | |
| | g5r | 43r | 34r | | | | | | I | 13+ | none | capitals | A | |
| | g5v | 43v | 34v | <i>Salve regina</i> | 5 | Willelmus | 38 | 45 | | 14 | selective | mixed | A | |
| | g6r | 44r | 35r | | | Cornysh - 22 notes | | | I | 14+ | selective | mixed | A | |
| | g6v | 44v | 35v | | | | | | | 14 | none | capitals | A | |
| | g7r | 45r | 36r | | | | | | I | 14 | none | capitals | A | |
| | g7v | 45v | 36v | <i>Salve regina</i> | 5 | Johannes | 39 | 47 | | 13 | selective | mixed | A | |
| | g8r | 46r | 37r | | | Browne -21 notes | | | I | 13 | selective | mixed | A | |
| | g8v | 46v | 37v | | | | | | | 14 | none | capitals | A | |
| h | h1r | 47r | 38r | | | | | | II | 14 | none | capitals | A | |
| | h1v | 47v | 38v | <i>Salve regina</i> | 5 | Walterus | 40 | 46 | | 14 | none | shaded cadels | A | |
| | h2r | 48r | 39r | | | Lambe - 22 notes | | | II | 14 | none | shaded cadels | A | |
| | h2v | 48v | 39v | | | | | | | 14 | none | capitals | A | |
| | h3r | 49r | 40r | | | | | | II | 14 | none | capitals | A | |
| | h3v | 49v | 40v | <i>Salve regina</i> | 7 | Johannes | 35 | 42 | | 14+1 | none | mixed | A | |
| | h4r | 50r | 41r | | | Sutton - 23 notes | | | II | 14+1 | none | mixed | A | |
| | h4v | 50v | 41v | | | | | | | 14 | none | capitals | A | |
| | h5r | 50Ar | 42r | | | | | | II | 14 | none | capitals | A | |
| | h5v | 50Av | 42v | <i>Salve regina</i> | 5 | [Robert] | 46 | 49 | | 14 | none | mixed | A | |
| | h6r | 51r | 43r | | | Hacomplaynt - 22 notes | | | II | 14 | none | mixed | A | |
| | h6v | 51v | 43v | | | | | | | 14 | none | capitals | A | |
| | h7r | 52r | 44r | | | | | | II | 14 | none | capitals | A | |
| | h7v | 52v | 44v | <i>Salve regina</i> | 5 | Nicholaus | 45 | 51 | | 14 | none | mixed | A | |
| | h8r | 53r | 45r | | | Howchyn - 22 notes | | | II | 14 | none | mixed | A | |
| | h8v | 53v | 45v | | | | | | | 14 | none | capitals | A | |
| i | i1r | 54r | 46r | | | | | | III | 14 | none | capitals | A | |
| | i1v | 54v | 46v | <i>Salve regina</i> | 5 | | 43 | 53 | | 14 | none | painted | A | |
| | i2r | 55r | 47r | | | Robertus Wylkynson - 22 notes | | | III | 14 | none | painted | A | |
| | i2v | 55v | 47v | | | | | | | 14 | none | capitals | A | |
| | i3r | 56r | 48r | | | | | | III | 14 | none | capitals | A | |
| | i3v | 56v | 48v | <i>Salve regina</i> | 5 | Robertus | 41 | 54 | | 14 | none | mixed | A | |
| | i4r | 57r | 49r | | | Feyrfax - 22 notes | | | III | 14 | none | mixed | A | |
| | i4v | 57v | 49v | | | | | | | 14 | none | capitals | A | |
| | i5r | 58r | 50r | | | | | | III | 14 | none | capitals | A | |
| | i5v | 58v | 50v | <i>Salve regina</i> | 5 | Ricardus | 42 | 50 | | 14 | none | painted | A | |
| | i6r | 59r | 51r | | | Hygons - 22 notes | | | III | 14+ | none | painted | A | |
| | i6v | 59v | 51v | | | | | | | 14 | none | capitals | A | |
| | i7r | 60r | 52r | | | | | | III | 14 | none | capitals | A | |
| | i7v | 60v | 52v | <i>Salve regina</i> | 5 | Johannes | 44 | 48 | | 14 | none | painted | A | |
| | i8r | 61r | 53r | | | Browne - 15 notes | | | III | 14 | none | painted | A | |
| | i8v | 61v | 53v | | | | | | | 14 | none | capitals | A | |
| k | k1r | 62r | 54r | | | | | | III | 13+ | none | capitals | A | |
| | k1v | 62v | 54v | <i>Salve regina</i> | 5 | Johannes | 47 | 52 | | 12+ | selective | mixed | A | |
| | k2r | 63r | 55r | | | Hampton - 22 notes | | | III | 11+ | selective | painted | A | |
| | k2v | 63v | 55v | | | | | | | 14+1 | none | blue/red | Bi | |
| | k3r | 64r | 56r | | | | | | III | 14+1 | none | blue/red | Bi | |
| | k3v | 64v | 56v | <i>O domine celi terreque</i> | 5 | [Richard] | 33 | 28 | | 15 | none | painted (arms) (4) | Bi | |
| | k4r | 65r | 57r | | | Davy - 22 notes | | | III | 15 | none | painted (arms) | Bi | |
| | k4v | 65v | 57v | | | | | | | 14 | full | blue/red | Bi | |
| | k5r | 66r | 58r | | | | | | III | 14 | full | blue/red | Bi | |
| | k5v | 66v | 58v | | | | | | | 14 | none | blue/red | Bi | |
| | k6r | 67r | 59r | | | | | | III | 14 | none | blue/red | Bi | |
| | k6v | 67v | 59v | <i>Salve ihesu mater vera</i> | 5 | [Richard] | 49 | 41 | | 14+1 | full | painted | Bi | |
| | k7r | 68r | 60r | | | Davy - 22 notes | | | III | 14+1 | full | painted | Bi | |
| | k7v | 68v | 60v | | | | | | | 14 | none | blue/red | Bi | |
| | k8r | 69r | 61r | | | | | | III | 14 | none | blue/red | Bi | |
| | k8v | 69v | 61v | | | | | | | 14 | full | blue/red | Bi | |

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 5 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | |
|-----|-----|-----|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------|----------|-----|------|------|----------|---------------------|----------|----|
| l | l1r | 70r | 62r | | | | | | | 14 | full | blue/red | Bi | |
| | l1v | 70v | 62v | <i>Stabat mater dolorosa</i> | | [Richard] | 59 | 60 | | 14 | full | blue/red painted | Bi | |
| | l2r | 71r | 63r | | | Davy - 21 notes | | | III | 14 | full | painted | Bi | |
| | l2v | 71v | 63v | | | | | | | 14 | none | blue/red | Bi | |
| | l3r | 72r | 64r | | | | | | III | 14 | none | blue/red | Bi | |
| | l3v | 72v | 64v | | | | | | | 14 | full | blue/red | Bi | |
| | l4r | 73r | 65r | | | | | | III | 14 | full | blue/red | Bi | |
| | l4v | 73v | 65v | <i>Virgo templum trinitatis</i> | 5 | [Richard] | 61 | 65 | | 14+1 | full | painted | Bi | |
| | l5r | 74r | 66r | | | Davy - 22 notes | | | III | 14+1 | full | painted | Bi | |
| | l5v | 74v | 66v | | | | | | | 14 | full | blue/red | Bi | |
| | l6r | 75r | 67r | | | | | | III | 14 | full | blue/red | Bi | |
| | l6v | 75v | 67v | | | | | | | 14+1 | full | blue/red | Bi | |
| | l7r | 76r | 68r | | | | | | III | 14+1 | full | blue/red | Bi | |
| | l7v | 76v | 68v | <i>In honore summe matris</i> | 5 | [Richard] | 23 | 26 | | 14 | full | painted | Bi | |
| | l8r | 77r | 69r | | | Davy - 22 notes | | | III | 14 | full | painted | Bi | |
| | l8v | 77v | 69v | | | | | | | 14 | full | blue/red | Bi | |
| | m | m1r | 78r | 70r | | | | | | III | 14 | full | blue/red | Bi |
| | | m1v | 78v | 70v | | | | | | | 14 | full | blue/red | Bi |
| m2r | | 79r | 71r | | | | | | III | 14 | full | blue/red | Bi | |
| m2v | | 79v | 71v | <i>O maria et elizabeth</i> | 5 | Gilbertus | 30 | 34 | | 14 | full | painted | Bi | |
| m3r | | 80r | 72r | | | Banester - 21 notes | | | III | 14 | full | painted | Bi | |
| m3v | | 80v | 72v | | | | | | | 14+1 | full | blue/red | Bi | |
| m4r | | 81r | 73r | | | | | | III | 14+1 | full | blue/red | Bi | |
| m4v | | 81v | 73v | | | | | | | 14 | full | blue/red | Bi | |
| m5r | | 82r | 74r | | | | | | III | 14 | full | blue/red | Bi | |
| m5v | | 82v | 74v | <i>Gaude flore virginali</i> | 5 | [William] | 13 | 16 | | 14+1 | full | painted | Bi | |
| m6r | | 83r | 75r | | | Horwud - 21 notes | | | III | 14+1 | full | painted | Bi | |
| m6v | | 83v | 75v | | | | | | | 14+1 | full | blue/red | Bi | |
| m7r | 84r | 76r | | | | | | III | 14+1 | full | blue/red | Bi | | |
| m7v | 84v | 76v | <i>Gaude virgo mater cristi</i> | 5 | [William] | 16 | 20 | | 14 | full | painted | Bi | | |
| m8r | 85r | 77r | | | Horwud - 21 notes | | | III | 14 | full | painted | Bi | | |
| m8v | 85v | 77v | | | | | | | 14 | full | blue/red | Bi | | |
| n | n1r | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | n1v | | | <i>O regina celestis glorie</i> | 5 | (Walter) | 28 | 32 | | | | | | |
| | n2r | | | | | (Lambe - 20 notes) | | | | | | | | |
| | n2v | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | n3r | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | n3v | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | n4r | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | n4v | | | | <i>Gaude flore virginali</i> | 5 | (Walter) | 12 | 15 | | | | | |
| n5r | | | | | | (Lambe - 21 notes) | | | | | | | | |
| n5v | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| n6r | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| n6v | | | | <i>Virgo gaude gloriosa</i> | 5 | (Walter) | 60 | 66 | | | | | | |
| n7r | | | | | | (Lambe - 21 notes) | | | | | | | | |
| n7v | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| n8r | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| n8v | | | | <i>Stabat mater dolorosa</i> | 5 | (Robert) | 52 | 57 | | | | | | |
| o | o1r | | | | | (Fayrfax - 21 notes) | | | | | | | | |
| | o1v | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | o2r | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | o2v | | | | <i>Ave cuius concepcio</i> | 5 | (Robert) | 5 | 4 | | | | | |
| | o3r | | | | | (Fayrfax - 22 notes) | | | | | | | | |
| | o3v | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | o4r | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | o4v | | | | <i>Quid cantemus innocentes</i> | 5 | (Robert) | 34 | 38 | | | | | |
| o5r | | | | | | (Fayrfax - 21 notes) | | | | | | | | |
| o5v | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| o6r | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| o6v | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| o7r | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| o7v | | | | <i>Gaude flore virginali</i> | 5 | (John) | 9 | 12 | | | | | | |
| o8r | | | | | | (Dunstable - 21 notes) | | | | | | | | |
| o8v | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| p | p1r | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | p1v | | | | <i>Ave lux tocius mundi</i> | 5 | (John) | 4 | 6 | | | | | |
| | p2r | | | | | (Browne - 21 notes) | | | | | | | | |
| | p2v | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | p3r | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | p3v | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | p4r | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | p4v | | | | <i>Gaude flore virginali</i> | 5 | (John) | 11 | 17 | | | | | |
| p5r | | | | | | (Browne - 22 notes) | | | | | | | | |
| p5v | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| p6r | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| p6v | | | | <i>Stabat mater dolorosa</i> | 5 | (William) | 54 | 59 | | | | | | |
| p7r | | | | | | (Cornysh - 18 notes) | | | | | | | | |
| p7v | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| p8r | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| p8v | | | | <i>Stabat mater dolorosa</i> | 5 | (William) | 53 | 58 | | | | | | |

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 5 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | | |
|------|------|-------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|------------------------|----|----|----|-----|----------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|-----|
| q | q 1r | 88r | 78r | | Cornysch - 23 notes | | | | | IV | 15 | top left | painted | Bii | |
| | q 1v | 88v | 78v | | | | | | | | 15 | top left | capitals | Bii | |
| | q 2r | 89r | 79r | | | | | | IV | 15 | top left | capitals | Bii | | |
| | q 2v | 89v | 79v | | | | | | | | 14 | top left | none | Bii | |
| | q 3r | 90r | 80r | | | | | | IV | 14 | top left | one red capital | Bii | | |
| | q 3v | 90v | 80v | <i>Gaude virgo salutata</i> | 5 | [?Richard] | 18 | 25 | | | 15 | top left | painted | Bii | |
| | q 4r | 91r | 81r | | | Fawkyner - 22 notes | | | | | IV | 17 | top left | painted | Bii |
| | q 4v | 91v | 81v | | | | | | | | 16 | top left | capitals | Bii | |
| | q 5r | 92r | 82r | | | | | | IV | 16 | top left | capitals | Bii | | |
| | q 5v | 92v | 82v | <i>Gaude rosa sine spina</i> | 5 | [?Richard] | 19 | 23 | | | 15 | top left | painted | Bii | |
| | q 6r | 93r | 83r | | | Fawkyner - 22 notes | | | | | IV | 14+1 | top left | painted | Bii |
| | q 6v | 93v | 83v | | | | | | | | 14 | top left | capitals | Bii | |
| | q 7r | 94r | 84r | | | | | | IV | 14 | top left | capitals | Bii | | |
| | q 7v | 94v | 84v | | | | | | | | 14 | top left | painted | Bii | |
| | q 8r | 95r | 85r | | | | | | IV | 14 | top left | painted | Bii | | |
| q 8v | 95v | 85v | <i>Gaude flore virginali</i> | 5 | Edmundus | 10 | 13 | | | 14 | top left | painted | Bii | | |
| r | r 1r | 96r | 86r | | Turges - 22 notes | | | | | V | 14 | top left | painted | Bii | |
| r | r 1v | 96v | 86v | | | | | | | | 14 | top left | capitals | Bii | |
| | r 2r | 97r | 87r | | | | | | V | 14 | top left | capitals | Bii | | |
| | r 2v | 97v | 87v | <i>Nesciens mater</i> | 5 | [Walter] | 24 | 27 | | | 14 | top left | painted | D | |
| | r 3r | 98r | 88r | | | Lambe - 22 notes | | | | | V | 14 | top left | painted | D |
| | r 3v | 98v | 88v | <i>Salve decus castitatis</i> | 5 | [Robert] | 50 | 40 | | | 14+1 | top left | painted | D | |
| | r 4r | | | | | (Wylkynson - 22 notes) | | | | | | | | | |
| | r 4v | | | <i>Ascendit cristus</i> | 5 | (Nicholas) | 1 | 7 | | | | | | | |
| | r 5r | | | | | (Huchyn - 21 notes) | | | | | | | | | |
| | r 5v | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | r 6r | 99r | 89r | | | | | | V | 14 | top left | one blue/red | D | | |
| | r 6v | 99v | 89v | <i>O mater venerabilis</i> | 5 | [John] | 31 | 35 | | | 14+1 | top left | painted | D | |
| | r 7r | 100r | 90r | | | Browne - 18 [notes] | | | | | V | 14+1 | top left | painted (5) | D |
| | r 7v | 100v | 90v | | | | | | | | 14+1 | top left | none | D | |
| | r 8r | 101r | 91r | | | | | | V | 14+ | top left | none | D | | |
| | r 8v | 101v | 91v | | | | | | | | 14 | top left | none | D | |
| s | s 1r | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | s 1v | | | <i>Ad te purissima virgo</i> | 5 | (William) | 0 | 2 | | | | | | | |
| | s 2r | | | | | (Cornysch - 22 notes) | | | | | | | | | |
| | s 2v | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | s 3r | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | s 3v | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | s 4r | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | s 4v | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | s 5r | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | s 5v | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | s 6r | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | s 6v | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | s 7r | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | s 7v | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | s 8r | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| s 8v | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| t | t 1r | 102r? | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | t 1v | 102v? | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | t 2r | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | t 2v | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | t 3r | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | t 3v | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | t 4r | 103r | 92r | | | | | | V | 14 | top left | | D | | |
| | t 4v | 103v | 92v | <i>Ave lumen gracie</i> | 4 | Robertus | 0 | 1 | | | 14 | top left | painted | D | |
| | t 5r | 104r | 93r | | | Fayrefax - 14 notes | | | | | V | 14 | top left | painted | D |
| | t 5v | 104v | 93v | | | | | | | | 14+1 | top left | none | D | |
| | t 6r | 105r | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | t 6v | 105v | | <i>O virgo virginum preclara</i> | 4 | (Walter) | 0 | 37 | | | | | | | |
| | t 7r | 106r | | | | (Lambe - 14 notes) | | | | | | | | | |
| | t 7v | 106v | | <i>Gaude virgo mater cristi</i> | 4 | (Robert) | 17 | 21 | | | | | | | |
| | t 8r | 107r | 94r | | | Wylkynson - 14 notes | | | | | V | 14 | top left | painted | D |
| t 8v | 107v | 94v | | | | | | | | 14 | top left | none | D | | |
| v | v 1r | 108r | 95r | | | | | | V | 14 | top left | none | D | | |
| | v 1v | 108v | 95v | <i>Stabat virgo mater cristi</i> | 4 | [John] | 57 | 63 | | | 15 | top left | painted | D | |
| | v 2r | 109r | 96r | | | Browne - 14 notes | | | | | V | 15 | top left | painted | D |
| | v 2v | 109v | 96v | | | | | | | | 14 | top left | one red capital | D | |
| | v 3r | 110r | 97r | | | | | | V | 14 | top left | none | D | | |
| | v 3v | 110v | 97v | <i>Stella celi</i> | 4 | [Walter] | 58 | 64 | | | 14 | top left | painted | D | |
| | v 4r | 111r | 98r | | | Lambe - 15 notes | | | | | V | 14 | top left | painted | D |
| | v 4v | 111v | 98v | | | | | | | | 14 | top left | none | D | |
| | v 5r | 112r | 99r | | | | | | V | 14 | top left | none | D | | |
| | v 5v | 112v | 99v | <i>Ascendit cristus</i> | 4 | [Walter] | 2 | 3 | | | 14 | top left | painted | D | |
| | v 6r | 113r | 100r | | | Lambe - 14 notes | | | | | V | 14 | top left | painted | D |
| | v 6v | 113v | 100v | | | | | | | | 14 | top left | one red capital | D | |
| | v 7r | 114r | 101r | | | | | | V | 14 | top left | none | D | | |
| | v 7v | 114v | 101v | <i>Gaude flore virginali</i> | 4 | Walterus | 21 | 18 | | | 14 | top left | painted | D | |
| | v 8r | 115r | 102r | | | Lambe - 13 [notes] | | | | | V | 14 | top left | painted | D |
| v 8v | 115v | 102v | | | | | | | | 14 | top left | blue capitals | D | | |

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 5 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 |
|-------|-------|------|------------|---------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------------|----|----|------|----------|----------|---------------|----|
| x | x 1r | 116r | 103r | | | | | | | 14+1 | top left | blue capitals | D |
| | x 1v | 116v | 103v | <i>Gaude flore virginali</i> | 4 | [Edmund] | 14 | 14 | | 14+1 | top left | painted | D |
| | x 2r | 117r | 104r | | | Turges - 14 notes | | | V | 14+1 | top left | painted | D |
| | x 2v | 117v | 104v | | | | | | | 14+1 | top left | blue capitals | D |
| | x 3r | 118r | 105r | | | | | | V | 14+1 | top left | blue capitals | D |
| | x 3v | 118v | 105v | <i>Ave maria mater dei</i> | 4 | [William] | 3 | 5 | | 14 | top left | painted | D |
| | x 4r | 119r | 106r | | | Cornysch - 15 [notes] | | | V | 14 | top left | painted | D |
| | x 4v | 119v | 106v | <i>Gaude virgo mater cristi</i> | 4 | [William] | 22 | 22 | | 14 | top left | painted | D |
| | x 5r | 120r | 107r | | | Cornysch - 14 [notes] | | | V | 14 | top left | painted | D |
| | x 5v | 120v | 107v | | | | | | | 14 | top left | blue capitals | D |
| | x 6r | 121r | 108r | | | | | | V | 14 | top left | blue capitals | D |
| | x 6v | 121v | 108v | <i>Gaude virgo salutata</i> | 4 | [?Robert] | 20 | 24 | | 14 | top left | painted | D |
| | x 7r | 122r | 109r | | | Holyngborne - 15 notes | | | V | 14 | top left | painted | D |
| | x 7v | 122v | 109v | | | | | | | 14 | top left | blue capitals | D |
| | x 8r | 123r | 110r | | | | | | V | 14 | top left | blue capitals | D |
| | x 8v | 123v | 110v | | | | | | | 14 | top left | blue capitals | D |
| y | y 1r | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | y 1v | | | Magnificat | 7 | (John) | 0 | 67 | | | | | |
| | y 2r | | | | | (Browne - 22 notes) | | | | | | | |
| | y 2v | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | y 3r | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | y 3v | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | y 4r | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | y 4v | | | Magnificat | 5 | (Richard) | 0 | 69 | | | | | |
| y 5r | | | | | (Davy - 22 notes) | | | | | | | | |
| y 5v | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| y 6r | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| y 6v | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| y 7r | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| y 7v | | | Magnificat | 5 | (John?) | 0 | 68 | | | | | | |
| y 8r | | | | | (Nesbett - 22 notes) | | | | | | | | |
| y 8v | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| z | z 1r | 124r | 111r | | | | | | V | 15 | full | blue capitals | C |
| | z 1v | 124v | 111v | Magnificat | 5 | [William] | 0 | 71 | | 14 | full | painted | C |
| | z 2r | 125r | 112r | | | Horewud - 23 notes | | | V | 14 | full | painted | C |
| | z 2v | 125v | 112v | | | | | | | 14 | full | capitals | C |
| | z 3r | 126r | 113r | | | | | | V | 14 | full | capitals | C |
| | z 3v | 126v | 113v | Magnificat | 5 | Hugo | 0 | 70 | | 14 | full | painted | C |
| | z 4r | 127r | 114r | | | Kellyk - 22 notes | | | V | 14 | full | painted | C |
| | z 4v | 128r | 114v | | | | | | | 14 | full | capitals | C |
| | z 5r | 128v | 115r | | | | | | V | 14 | full | capitals | C |
| | z 5v | 129r | 115v | Magnificat | 5 | Walterus | 0 | 73 | | 14 | full | capitals | C |
| | z 6r | 129v | 116r | | | Lambe - 21 notes | | | V | 14 | full | capitals | C |
| | z 6v | 130r | 116v | | | | | | | 14 | full | painted | C |
| z 7r | 130v | 117r | | | | | | V | 14 | full | painted | C | |
| z 7v | 131r | 117v | | | | | | | 14 | full | capitals | C | |
| z 8r | 131v | 118r | | | | | | V | 14 | full | capitals | C | |
| z 8v | 132r | 118v | Magnificat | 5 | Johannes | 0 | 75 | | 14 | full | painted | C | |
| aa | aa 1r | | | | | (Browne - 22 notes) | | | | | | | |
| | aa 1v | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | aa 2r | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | aa 2v | | | Magnificat | 5 | (Robert) | 0 | 72 | | | | | |
| | aa 3r | | | | | (Fayrfax - 22 notes; Regale) | | | | | | | |
| | aa 3v | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | aa 4r | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | aa 4v | | | Magnificat | 5 | (William) | 0 | 80 | | | | | |
| aa 5r | | | | | (Brygeman - 19 notes) | | | | | | | | |
| aa 5v | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| aa 6r | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| aa 6v | | | Magnificat | 5 | (Robert) | 0 | 78 | | | | | | |
| aa 7r | | | | | (Wylkynson - 22 notes) | | | | | | | | |
| aa 7v | | | Magnificat | 5 | (Robert?) | 0 | 79 | | | | | | |
| aa 8r | | | | | (Mychelson - 22 notes) | | | | | | | | |
| aa 8v | | | Magnificat | 6 | (Robert) | 0 | 77 | | | | | | |
| bb | bb 1r | 134r | 119r | | | Wylkynson - 22 notes | | | V | 14 | top left | painted | D |
| | bb 1v | 134v | 119v | | | | | | | 14+1 | top left | blue capitals | D |
| | bb 2r | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | bb 2v | | | Magnificat | 5 | (William) | 0 | 74 | | | | | |
| | bb 3r | | | | | (Cornysch - 23 notes) | | | | | | | |
| | bb 3v | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | bb 4r | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | bb 4v | | | Magnificat | 5 | (John) | 0 | 76 | | | | | |
| | bb 5r | | | | | (Browne - 22 notes) | | | | | | | |
| | bb 5v | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | bb 6r | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | bb 6v | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| bb 7r | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| bb 7v | | | Magnificat | 4 | (John?) | 0 | 81 | | | | | | |
| bb 8r | 135r | 120r | | | Sygar - 21 [notes] | | | V | 14+1 | top left | painted | D | |
| bb 8v | 135v | 120v | | | | | | | 14 | top left | painted | D | |

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 5 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | |
|-------|-------|------|---------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------|---|----|----|----------|----------|---------------|----------|---|
| cc | cc 1r | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | cc 1v | | | Magnificat | 4 | (John) | 0 | 82 | | | | | | |
| | cc 2r | | | | | (Browne - 22 notes) | | | | | | | | |
| | cc 2v | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | cc 3r | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | cc 3v | | | Magnificat | 4 | (Edmund) | 0 | 83 | | | | | | |
| | cc 4r | | | | | (Turges - 21 notes) | | | | | | | | |
| | cc 4v | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | cc 5r | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | cc 5v | | | Magnificat | 4 | (Edmund) | 0 | 84 | | | | | | |
| | cc 6r | | | | | (Turges - 17 notes) | | | | | | | | |
| | cc 6v | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | cc 7r | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | cc 7v | | | Magnificat | 4 | (John?) | 0 | 85 | | | | | | |
| | cc 8r | | | | | (Baldwyn - 22 notes) | | | | | | | | |
| | cc 8v | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| dd | dd 1r | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | dd 1v | | | Magnificat | 4 | (John?) | 0 | 86 | | | | | | |
| | dd 2r | | | | | (Sygar - 22 notes) | | | | | | | | |
| | dd 2v | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | dd 3r | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | dd 3v | | | Magnificat | 4 | (John?) | 0 | 87 | | | | | | |
| | dd 4r | | | | | (Baldwyn - 22 notes) | | | | | | | | |
| | dd 4v | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | dd 5r | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | dd 5v | | | Magnificat | 4 | (Edmund) | 0 | 88 | | | | | | |
| | dd 6r | | | | | (Turges - 14 notes) | | | | | | | | |
| | dd 6v | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | dd 7r | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | dd 7v | | | Magnificat | 4 | (Richard) | 0 | 90 | | | | | | |
| | dd 8r | | | | | (Davy - 14 notes) | | | | | | | | |
| | dd 8v | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ee | ee 1r | 138r | 121r | | | | | | V | 14 | top left | blue capitals | D | |
| | ee 1v | 138v | 121v | Magnificat | 4 | [William] | 0 | 89 | | 14+1 | top left | painted | D | |
| | ee 2r | 139r | 122r | | | [Stratford] - 14 notes (7) | | | V | 14 | top left | painted | D | |
| | ee 2v | 139v | 122v | | | | | | | 14 | top left | blue capitals | D | |
| | ee 3r | 140r | 123r | | | | | | V | 14 | top left | blue capitals | D | |
| | ee 3v | 140v | 123v | blank: ruled staves only | | | | | | 14 | top left | | | |
| | ee 4r | | | blank? | | | | | | | | | | |
| | ee 4v | | | (D)ominica in Ramispalm- | | (Richard) | 0 | 91 | | | | | | |
| | ee 5r | | | arum - Passio domini (8) | | (Davy - 22 notes) | | | | | | | | |
| | ee 5v | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | ee 6r | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | ee 6v | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | ee 7r | 143r | 124r | | | | | | V | 14 | top left | one-line | D | |
| | ee 7v | 143v | 124v | | | | | | | | 14 | top left | one-line | D |
| | ee 8r | 144r | 125r | | | | | | V | 14 | top left | one-line | D | |
| | ee 8v | 144v | 125v | | | | | | | | 14 | top left | one-line | D |
| ee 9r | 145r | 126r | | | | | | V | 14 | top left | one-line | D | | |
| ee 9v | 145v | 126v | <i>Ihesus autem/Credo</i> | 13 | [Wylkynson] - .xiiij. Partes (9) | 0 | 0 | | | 14 (9) | top left | crude red I | Y | |

Earlier index (omitting Magnificat settings and some antiphons),
written over erased staves 11-14

NOTES

- See p.206; both indices give *b 1* as first opening of Lambe's *O Maria plena gracia* in place of *b 2*.
- "Edmundus" written in later (mid-sixteenth-century) hand: probably spurious.
- No attribution at head of opening f4 but, at foot of f4R:

| | | |
|---|---|--|
| "Antiphona hec cristi laudem sonat atque marie Et decus angelicis concinit ordinibus | Qui sunt Angeli erunt Archangeli. Et ordo sequetur Virtutum: que potestatum: tunc principat alter. | Post dominaqueones adde tronos cherubynque Et Seraphyn junges que loca summa tenent." |
|---|---|--|

In initials of opening f5: "Robertus Wylkynson" (Medius); "Ave maria gracia plena" (Inferior Contratenor)
In initials of opening f6: "disti mori" (Triplex); "Robertus Wylkynson cuius anime propicietur deus" (Secundus Bassus)
- Coats of arms in initials (see pp. 281-283):
k4L, staff 1 (Triplex): England; k4L, staff 5 (Tenor): St Edward the Confessor; k4L, staff 11 (Contratenor), William Waynflete
k4R, staff 4 (Medius): Provost Henry Bost (d. 1504); k4R, staff 9 (Bassus): ?Eton College (defaced)
- Coat of arms, r7R, staff 3 (Contratenor Primus): ?John Browne (see pp. 281-283, 504-511 and Plate III):
Sable, a chevron argent between three lilies slipped proper; on a chief gules, three owls of the second
- Now missing, f.102 (by the mid-sixteenth-century foliation) was most likely the front half of bifolium t1/t8, the latter folio of which survives.
- At foot of ee3L: "dompnus wyllimus stratford monachus stratfordie"
- Although front index gives ee4 (ff. ee3v-ee4r) as first opening, ee4L has ruled staves only, without notation; unless Davy's Passion began on the now-lost ee4R (which would be exceptional), ee5 (ff. ee4v-ee5r) would seem likelier as the first opening for this setting.
- On staff 8:
"Huius distinctas muse toties sumito partes
Margine quoties parvo nomina scripta vides
Robertus Wylkynson"

PLATE I: opening *d3R*, staves 1-8

A manuscript page featuring eight staves of musical notation. The notation is written in black ink on a light-colored background. The lyrics are written in a Gothic script below the notes. A prominent red initial 'A' is visible on the second staff. A decorative red square with a gold emblem is located on the third staff. The lyrics include: *profectu*, *scant flo*, *Res*, *Regna mundi cla*, *si Infean*, *ta saluato*, *ri*, *suspiria*, *lata malis*, *exprodi*.

profectu

A pteve

scant flo

Res

A Regna mundi cla

si Infean

ta saluato

ri

suspiria

lata malis **exprodi**

PLATE II: opening e1L (folio d8v), staves 4-6



PLATE III: opening r7R, staves 1-8

Manuscript page showing musical notation on eight staves. The text is in Gothic script, with some words in red ink (rubrics). The text is as follows:

1. *ia aggredi* *tu* *ne* *tu tu iue* *ta*

2. *M* *ate* *e* *uerabilis* *tota* *cu* *s* *anabilis*

3. *cu* *iuda* *a* *rossim* *natu* *pd*

4. *ai* *sti* *ludic*

5. *put* *ob* *malicia* *spi* *ris* *O* *rex* *iude* *o* *cu* *clamat* *ride* *ebreo*

6. *ta* *ut* *moriat* *pti* *tu* *ne*

PLATE VII: opening g1R, staves 1-9

This image shows a page of handwritten musical notation on aged paper, consisting of nine staves. The notation is in black ink, with Latin lyrics written in red ink below the notes. The lyrics include: "ff unde p[re]ce tuo na to cu[m] se o vitue in", "Dil", "to", "a Sal", "as", "maia Sal", "Dil", "uc", "ff u d p[re]ce tuo na to cu[m] se o vitue in", and "ff u d p[re]ce tuo na to cu[m] se o vitue in". The music features various note values, rests, and dynamic markings. There are some faint red markings and a large watermark in the background.

PLATE VIII: opening g2L (folio g1v), staves 6-11

eterna porta glori
um.

pa
tra
tri
tu
m
et
fi
li
u
m
un
i
ge
ni
tu
m
et
sp
ri
tu
m
s
an
c
tu
m
et
co
n
su
m
m
u
m
et
to
cu
m
sp
a
ti
u
m
et
in
ter
mi
n
u
m
et
in
con
su
m
m
u
m
et
in
con
su
m
m
u
m

Ita dulcedo et spes nra saluac ad te clamam' exules filij. Et ad te suspira in? exanctes et fletes i hac

lacuaru val

post hoc teri li u Ostru

Et Ihu. Benedictu fructu nre tu i no bis

re Mater miseri cordi

Omnia die

PLATE IX: opening k4L (folio k3v), staves 10-15

trine dñi cob
m̄ i vna maieſta
Dñe celi terręq; creator totũshiani genũs q; r
tos ut tuita
dñi noſ huc tuos fruulo vna cõgrega
tos i laudẽ tu i nomis fac tũ duo
te i unitate digur vqueram
sc arctũs sic i scũ spiritũ eũdẽ cũ p̄c doquit
deũ vqũe vniũ in p̄sõũ re tu lit
Iuditate unitas

PLATE X: opening m3L (folio m2v), staves 9-14

Et iherosolimita haec et dominus gratie marie obsequis salutando presertis.

Maria et iherosolimita. **O**stendit cognate omnium matris unam se hunc et quibus deus unum com-

un protus e ducam uirtute spirita hunc opera tus est. **Q**uoniam pater ab eterno genuit filium

et tempore matris et uero prope. **Q**uoniam factus est pater filius. **I**o hanc uenit

ambrosius uirtute de re. **I**o pater. **S**ed maria superplena de cuius plenitudine deus mundum creauit et homines sal-

uauit et angelus uentilatus et quoniam pater iherosolimita haec et dominus gratie marie presertis. **O**stendit

celestis regis omnis. **Q**uoniam obsequis deus te salutando inuinitatis unum presertis. **S**ue primum.

PLATE XII: opening *i6R*, staff 10



4.2.3: illuminations:

corroborative evidence of the copying order

Especially during the earlier stages, the kind of illuminations used and the way in which the copyist prepared for their inclusion give a number of important clues as to the order in which the manuscript was copied. Harrison describes three types of illuminated initial: painted, penwork cadels (these two used exclusively for the first opening in each piece), filled lombard (blue, white or yellow on red background) or one-line black, red or blue initials (used for subsequent openings).⁸⁷ He also notes that filled lombards ‘may be replaced’ by the plainer initials on the second and subsequent openings after *g1*.⁸⁸ Harrison’s description is skeletal, and it is clear from it that he attached little importance to a major component in the manuscript’s assemblage.

Neil Ker identified five types: the single gilded initial *r* in Walter Lambe’s *Salve regina* setting on opening *h2L*; colour and gold paint on coloured fields patterned with gold paint; blue with red ornament; red and blue one-line initials; and penwork cadels which, he observed, were used on openings in which painted initials appeared.⁸⁹ Ker noted that brown backgrounds of painted initials are sometimes picked out with brown patterning, but only as far as folio fifty-four (opening *i1*); he

⁸⁷ Harrison, ‘The Eton Choirbook: its background and contents’, pp.163-4.

⁸⁸ Harrison, ‘The Eton Choirbook: its background and contents’, p.164.

⁸⁹ Ker, *MMBL*, 2, p.774. Ker also noted the pasted-on initials in Robert Wylkynson’s nine-part *Salve regina*, added after the choirbook was completed.

also observed that painted initials were only used in the first opening of each piece, and blue-red initials in subsequent openings (except in openings *a2* and *a5*, in which they are mixed with cadels and painted initials).⁹⁰ Examples of these styles can be found in Plates I-XII.⁹¹

Although necessarily selective, Ker's description is a good starting-point: he identified several features which are important in assessing the significance of the illuminations within the chronology of the manuscript. As Ker makes clear, there was more than one scheme of illumination, and the different styles were combined in different ways at different points in the manuscript. As with the pricking, ruling, notation and repertory layering, the scheme of illuminations evolved as the copying of MS 178 progressed. During the first phases of copying, the quality and type of illuminations vary from gathering to gathering; indeed, it took some time for the 'standard' scheme to emerge. But, as with the pricking of the vellum and the ruling of staves, and as with the copying of music and texts, consistency in the style of illuminations was achieved after the first few gatherings had been copied.

Like pricking, ruling, notating and texting, the process of illuminating the manuscript was subject to refinements and changes of mind, following broadly-definable phases. These become apparent when seen in tabular form:

⁹⁰ Ker, *MMBL*, 2, p.774.

⁹¹ Painted initials, with and without patterning: Plates I-III, V2I, IX, X, XI and X2; blue-red: Plates IV, V and VI; single-colour, one-line capitals: Plates III, V2 and X; elaborate penwork cadels: Plates IV and VIII. The anomalous gold-leafed initial in opening *h2L* is not illustrated.

Figure 4.2.V: distribution of illuminating styles

| gathering | FIRST OPENINGS ONLY | | SECOND AND THIRD OPENINGS | |
|--------------|---------------------|----------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| | cadels | painteds | blue-red | one-line capitals ⁹² |
| <i>g</i> | x | x | | x |
| <i>h</i> | x | x | | x |
| <i>i</i> | x | x | | |
| <i>k1-2</i> | x | x | x | |
| <i>a</i> | x | x | x | |
| <i>b</i> | x | x | x | |
| <i>c</i> | | x | x | |
| <i>k3-8</i> | | | | |
| <i>l</i> | | x | x | |
| <i>m</i> | | x | x | |
| <i>q</i> | | x | | x |
| <i>r1-2</i> | | x | | x |
| <i>z</i> | | x | | x |
| <i>d</i> | | x | x | |
| <i>r3-8</i> | | x | | x |
| <i>s1</i> | | x | | x |
| <i>v</i> | | x | | x |
| <i>x</i> | | x | | x |
| <i>bb-ee</i> | | x | | x |
| <i>e7-8</i> | | x | | x |
| <i>f1-3</i> | | x | | x |
| <i>t5-6</i> | | x | | x |
| <i>b1R</i> | | x | x ⁹³ | |
| <i>ee9v</i> | | | | x |
| <i>f3-6</i> | x | | | |

⁹² Including only those which are used at the heads of second and third openings (i.e. instead of blue-red initials). Capitals within the main body of text are discounted.

⁹³ Opening *b1R* probably replaced *a8R*, and was given blue-red capitals in order to match *a8L* (now *b1L*), the left-hand side of the last opening of Kellyk's *Gaude flore virginali*, which had been copied during phase B, hence its apparently anomalous illumination scheme.

In certain parts of the manuscript, certain types of illumination were used. During the earlier stages of the choirbook's production, there seems to have been a degree of indecision regarding the scheme of illuminating: whether to have penwork cadels or painted initials or both; how to prepare the vellum in order for the initials to be painted or inked in; and how the second and third openings of each piece should be ornamented. In the earliest gatherings, these changes of mind actually resulted in the erasing of some penwork initials and their replacement (or over-painting) with painted ones. Similarly, a variety of different ruling methods were tried out in order to overcome the problem of leaving space for the insertion of illuminations. As well as the quality of the scribal hands, perhaps more so, the illuminations distinguish MS 178 as a high-grade manuscript. Yet even this, the last stage of the manuscript's production, was subject to revisions; this makes the illuminations a valuable tool in the paleographical layering of the manuscript.

4.2.3.1: limning within the copying process

Limning was the final stage in the production of MS 178, but in most gatherings allowance was made for it when the rulings were made. In order to leave space for illuminations, an area of 25mm between the left-hand margin and the beginning of the staves was left unruled.⁹⁴ Ruling and illuminating occur at

⁹⁴ These gaps were left on both left-hand and right-hand sides, even though they were normally redundant on the right-hand sides (which begin with continuations of either Tenor or Contratenor parts). Indentation types are tabulated in the manuscript collation, after p.195.

chronologically distant stages of book-production; that specific areas of vellum should be left unruled is clear evidence of pre-planning on the part of whoever was in overall charge, however much some production techniques changed. Like the other parts of the copying process, the leaving of unruled spaces, or indentations, was subject to experimentation, refinement and revision as the project progressed. This preparatory stage is therefore is a key to understanding the manuscript's compilation.

Because space was prepared for illuminations during ruling, rather than after the copying of the music, a problem arose: it was not yet known where space would be needed for initials. In some pieces, like John Browne's lavishly-scored (eight-part) *O Maria salvatoris mater* (opening *a2*), voice-parts begin in the middle of the staff, rather than at the left-hand margin; in most pieces, voice parts begin at the left-hand margin, but it was not known on which staves each voice-part would be written; in batch-ruled gatherings, it was not known at the time of ruling where the first opening of each piece would occur, as some pieces occupy three openings, most two, and a few only one; in the first openings of all pieces, the only staff where an initial was certain to be needed was the first staff on the left-hand page. In the few custom-ruled gatherings (ruled as the music was copied), indentations were only left in the spaces where initials would later be inked or painted in. But most gatherings were not custom-ruled, and a number of expedients were adopted:

- i. full indentation: 25mm was left unruled at the left-hand margin at the beginning of each staff on each side throughout the gathering (or

throughout a part of a gathering); unruled spaces were ruled to the margins when notation was copied;⁹⁵

- ii. top-left indentation: 25 mm was left unruled only in the first staff at the top of each side;⁹⁶
- iii. selective indentation: only in custom-ruled gatherings or openings;
- iv. no indentation: all fourteen staves were ruled from margin to margin;
- v. mixed indentation:
 - a. applicable to custom-ruled gatherings, or to gatherings in which the eight folios were not ruled simultaneously (gathering *k*, for instance)
 - b. in an anomalous gathering, *d*, indentations were made only in the first staff on the left-hand side of each opening, on the assumption that this was the only place where an initial would be needed.

The alternation between each of these solutions at different points in the manuscript coincides broadly with the scribal phases identified above.⁹⁷ While the earlier gatherings - *g*, *h*, *i*, *k1-2*, *a*, *b* and *c* - were being copied, a variety of methods was used: mixed (*g*, *k1-2* and *a*), none at all (*h* and *i*), and full (gathering *b*). In subsequent gatherings, either full indentation was used, or space was only left in the uppermost staves (apart from *k*, which was ruled opening-by-opening, and *d*):

⁹⁵ See, for example, Plates VI (opening *b1R*, where the indentations in unused staves have not been ruled to the margin), III (opening *g1R*), and X (opening *m3L*).

⁹⁶ See Plate III (opening *r7R*), in which an indented first staff can clearly be seen to have been subsequently ruled in.

⁹⁷ See above, pp.249-60.

Figure 4.2.W: indentation methods and scribal phases

| Phase | quire | indentation |
|-------|-------------|--|
| A | <i>g</i> | mixed: selective in the first openings of <i>Salve regina</i> settings by Horwood (<i>g2</i>), Davy (<i>g4</i>), Cornysh (<i>g6</i>) and Browne (<i>g8</i>); no indentation in the second openings (<i>g3</i> , <i>g5</i> and <i>g7</i>) |
| | <i>h</i> | none |
| | <i>i</i> | none |
| | <i>k1-2</i> | mixed: selective in opening <i>k2</i> (ff. <i>k1v-2r</i> : the first opening of John Hampton's <i>Salve regina</i>); no indentation on f. <i>k1r</i> (opening <i>k2L</i>) |
| B | <i>a</i> | mixed |
| | <i>b</i> | full |
| | <i>c</i> | full |
| Bi | <i>k3-8</i> | mixed (full in openings <i>k5</i> and <i>k7</i> , no indentation in <i>k3</i> , <i>k4</i> , <i>k6</i> , <i>k8</i>) |
| | <i>l</i> | full |
| | <i>m</i> | full |
| Bii | <i>q</i> | top left (except opening <i>q5</i> , where there is no indentation) |
| | <i>r</i> | top left (phase Bii ceased after <i>r2</i> , but the gathering was batch-ruled) |
| C | <i>d</i> | top left (on verso only: recto ruled margin-to margin) |
| | <i>z</i> | full |
| D | <i>t</i> | top left |
| | <i>v</i> | top left |
| | <i>x</i> | top left |
| | <i>bb</i> | top left |
| | <i>ee</i> | top left |
| | <i>f</i> | mixed (probably ruled folio-by-folio) |

The correspondence between indentation method and the scribal phases A-D is not exact: scribal phases ceased mid-way through gatherings which had been batch-ruled. But batch-ruling probably accounts for apparent anomalies (like gathering *z*, which contains the first surviving layer of Magnificat settings). If a number of gatherings was batch-ruled according to one method, it does not necessarily follow that they were used all by the copyist in one stint. It is possible that gathering *z* was part of a batch (together with *b*, *c*, *l* and *m*), and was set aside for the copying of Magnificat settings before copying had begun on gathering *q*, for instance. It would seem likely that the scribe had a stock of ready-ruled gatherings available, especially during long stints of continuous copying. One such stint (B-Bii) contains gatherings *b*, *c*, *l* and *m*, which were all ruled to the same method (full indentation); another (D) contains gatherings *t*, *v*, *x*, *bb* and *ee*, which were all ruled to a different method (top left indentation).

But the most significant gatherings are those in phase A. In gathering *g*, the scribe probably ruled staves at the same time as he copied the music: spaces are left for initials only in the first openings, and only on the appropriate staves. This was a labour-intensive method, as it precluded batch-pricking and batch-ruling. The ensuing gatherings, *h* and *i*, were early attempts at batch-ruling and no attempt was made to leave unruled spaces; the limner either erased the staves or simply painted over them. In opening *k2*, the scribe only ruled the first three sides (i.e. openings *k1R* and *k2*) in the knowledge that he would not require the whole gathering yet (he later returned to it, ruling it up opening-by-opening). The scribe (or stationer) used mixed indentation method in gathering *a*, in which lavishly-scored motets by Browne (*O*

Maria salvatoris mater) and Kellyk (*Gaude flore virginali*) were copied; because of the large numbers of voice-parts involved, the placement of initials was unpredictable. Mixed indentation was also used in the remainder of gathering *k*, which was ruled opening-by-opening. But the rest of the gatherings in phases B and Bi (*b, c, l* and *m*) were batch-ruled according to the same method (full margination). Like other parts of the manufacturing process, the method of preparing space for the limner took time to achieve an easily-replicated system, in which the demand for batch-ruling was reconciled with the limner's need for unruled vellum.

4.2.3.2: illuminated initials and their relationship with the scribal phases

As much as other parts of the production process, the insertion of painted and penwork initials was consistent in overall plan but varied in its application. Some objectives were established at the outset: painted or elaborate penwork initials were only used in the first openings of pieces;⁹⁸ less elaborate capitals were used in subsequent openings; where one-line capitals were written, they were in a different colour to the text which followed; in general, painted initials measure approximately 25mmx25mm. The pictorial scheme is broadly consistent, with a preference for foliate patterns, basilisks and, less often, flowers and animals and, exceptionally,

⁹⁸ There is one exception: opening *d4L*, the second opening of Browne's *O regina mundi clara*, in which a painted initial was inserted at the head of the Triplex part only. There seems no explanation for this other than that the scribe had erroneously left space for an illumination which was subsequently inserted into the empty space.

human figures or faces;⁹⁹ the predominant pictorial scheme, however is naturalistic foliage. The predominant colour scheme is two-fold, with the letter-shape in one colour on a field of a different colour; the field is usually patterned in gold or white filigree (which also runs along the four edges of the painted box). The method and style of execution are consistent enough to suggest that one artist could have been responsible for all the painted illuminations; the strapwork cadels are similarly homogeneous in style.

Nevertheless, the four principal types of illumination were used in different combinations during different phases, and these alternations correspond with the scribal phases, suggesting that illuminations were inserted *en bloc* after the completion of each of the copying stints. The artist was already an experienced limner when he began work on MS 178; all the illuminations, regardless of their place within the copying scheme, are the work of assured artisan. But, while the workmanship was consistently high, the demands placed on the limner changed; whoever was in overall charge of the manuscript's production did not have a minute blueprint at the outset. Changes of mind necessitated the replacement of a number of penwork cadels (which had been used in the earliest gatherings, *g*, *h* and *i*) with painted initials. As with the adoption of larger notational *sigla* in gathering *b*, the changes of plan may have been a result of collaboration or consultation between producers and users of the manuscript.

⁹⁹ A human face, for example, can be seen in the penwork initial at the head of the Tenor part of Browne's *O Maria salvatoris mater* (opening *a2L*, staff 5); a representation of St George slaying the dragon can be seen in the painted initial of the Contratenor part of Browne's *O mater venerabilis* (opening *r7L*, staff 13).

Phase A

The earliest openings – *g*, *h*, *i*, *k*1-2, *a* and *b* – are all distinguished by the use of penwork cadels. These occur in no other part of the manuscript, except in opening /8L;¹⁰⁰ in other gatherings only painted initials were used, rather than a mixture of the two types. While in gathering *g* the Triplex part was always illuminated with foliate or stylised painted initials, the other four parts received alternating pen or paint initials; paint-pen-paint-pen-paint alternation occurs in openings *g*2 and *g*8, and paint-paint-pen-paint-pen in openings *g*4 and *g*6.¹⁰¹

When gathering *h* was illuminated, a different approach was tried. In strict terms, there are three sorts of illuminations in this quire: painted boxes, usually only used for the Triplex; black ink strapwork as used in *g*; and ink filigree or strapwork with coloured ink or paint tinting. Starting on opening *h*4 is John Sutton's seven-part *Salve regina*, in which the Quatruplex part is illuminated with a painted box (a naturalistic gold-brown R on blue background with white tracery); the other six parts have tinted ink filigree and strapwork initials, that of the Triplex (*h*4R, staff 2) containing the arms of Eton College. The presence of the college arms is significant: Sutton was a fellow of Eton in the late 1470s, and the arms serve to identify the piece

¹⁰⁰ This is the capital 'I' of the Contratenor part of Richard Davy's *In honore summe matris*. There may have been a number of reasons for this anomaly: the scribe may have forgotten to leave a space for the initial when he wrote the music; *In honore* takes up three openings, and perhaps shortage of space was a factor; perhaps the shape of the letter lent itself better to the elongated penwork configuration which was inserted into the margin (rather than a square box).

¹⁰¹ See Figure 4.2.X, pp.276-7 below.

as of local, Etonian, interest.¹⁰² There is a clear distinction between the Quatruplex, the top part, and the six others, whose illuminations (though well-executed, coloured and some historiated) are of a different style. Walter Lambe's *Salve regina*, which begins on *h2*, is illuminated similarly, although the gold-leaf and coloured illumination at the incipit of the Triplex part is generated from an ink template and is unique in the use of gold-leaf. Although the Bassus part in opening *h6R* (Hacomplaynt, *Salve regina*), and the Tenor and Bassus parts in opening *h8* (*h8L* and *h8R* respectively: Huchyn, *Salve regina*) are headed by painted-box style of illuminations, the original intention was probably to reserve painted initials for the top part (usually Triplex) throughout the gathering. Indeed, a green painted box has been rather crudely applied around the strapwork *S* in the Contratenor part of Hacomplaynt's *Salve regina* (*h6L*, staff 12);¹⁰³ what was originally a strapwork *V* in the bass part of Huchyn's *Salve regina* (*h8R*, staff 10), has been largely erased, with a painted *U* superimposed; and the painted *U* in the Tenor part of the same piece (*h8L*, staff 8) closely shadows an underlying ink pattern.¹⁰⁴ It is thus likely that, towards the end of gathering *h*, it was decided to move away from the one-paint-plus-four-pen matrix adopted at the beginning of the quire, even though most or all of the initials had been drawn already.

This is also the case in the next gathering, *i*, in which most penwork initials

¹⁰² Harrison, *MMB*, p.463.

¹⁰³ This may have been intended to disguise an ink-blotch around the original initial.

¹⁰⁴ The letter *U* itself continues at head and tail outside the confines of its blue box; this is rare in box-painted illuminations elsewhere in the choirbook.

have been either over-painted or erased completely. As in gathering h, the only voice-part to receive painted illuminations throughout was the Triplex part, but the over-painting of extant penwork initials, begun towards the end of *h* and continued through to *k*, has resulted in the loss of all but two penwork initials, both in opening *i8*.¹⁰⁵ Back-lit or under ultra-violet light, traces of erased or semi-erased penwork initials show quite clearly. In one or two instances, the illuminator has taken pains to eradicate penwork flourishes protruding beyond the superimposed painted box, while leaving the original ink untouched where he had painted over it; this is the case in the Bassus part of Hygons' *Salve regina* on *i6R* (staff 10), in which the original *V* is visible underneath the painted *U*, but only when back-lit.¹⁰⁶ On opening *k2L* (staff 6, the Tenor part of John Hampton's *Salve regina*), a disembodied strapwork tail protrudes from an over-painted box. In one or two cases, faint paint is applied to underlying penwork designs, detectable primarily because of the anomalous distension of the letter itself out of the surrounding paint box.¹⁰⁷ The incompatibility of rectangular paint boxes with the space occupied by free-form strapwork initials may account for the survival of the penwork initials on openings *i8* (left, staff 10 and right, staff 9) and *k2L* (staff 10); in all three cases, especially on *i8L*, the penwork

¹⁰⁵ See below, Figure 4.2.X, pp.276-7; see also Plate XII.

¹⁰⁶ See Plate XII, above.

¹⁰⁷ This is the case in opening *i6L* (staff 11, *Contratenor*) and, probably, on opening *i4R* (staff 7, *Bassus*). It may also be the case in opening *i8R* (staff 4, *Medius*), in which a thick paint box an acute-angled bottom left-hand corner, probably concealing the characteristically angular tail of a strapwork *S*; because of the thickness of the paint it is impossible to detect physical evidence of an underlying penwork initial. Similarly, the upper hook of a strapwork *S* visibly protrudes from the top of the over-painted box. Here, as elsewhere, the existence of an underlying penwork original is belied by the large size of the superimposed painted box, which extends left of the staff; initials which, *ab origine*, were painted are seldom larger than 25x25mm, or

illuminations cover a large surface area, sometimes being extended leftwards to become decorative borders.¹⁰⁸ This, and the tendency of penwork illuminations to impinge on neighbouring staves, precluded the erasure of these initials, as it would have necessitated the distress of too much of the vellum, and risked damage to surrounding notation.

This accounts for the inconsistent appearance of the illuminating scheme in this phase of the manuscript. The decision to abandon penwork illumination was taken after gatherings *g*, *h*, *i*, much of *k*, *a* and *b* had been completed, and may reflect the burgeoning scale of the project. After the copying of the large six- and seven-part antiphons, what may originally have started out as a fair copy of the current collection of *Salve regina* settings was upgraded into an all-encompassing collection of the choir's current and newly-acquired repertory of polyphony. Thus pre-ruled batches of gatherings were incorporated, ready for the piecemeal or wholesale insertion of new pieces as they arrived, necessitating a consistent and easily-replicated system of notating, texting and illuminating.

The over-painting of penwork initials is tabulated overleaf.

one square inch, and are strictly confined to the staff area.

¹⁰⁸ This echoes the decorative use of the red tracery of blue/red initials in gatherings *a*, *b*, *k*, *l* and *m*.

**Figure 4.2.X: painted and penwork initials
in gatherings g, h, i and k**

gathering g

g2L - staff 1 = paint
8 = pen
11 = paint

g2R - 3 = pen
9 = paint (following
ink design?)

g4L - 1 = paint
7 = paint
12 = pen

g4R - 3 = paint
9 = pen

g6L - 1 = paint
6 = paint
12 = pen

g6R - 5 = paint
10 = pen

g8L - 1 = paint
5 = pen
9 = paint

g8R - 2 = pen
7 = paint

gathering *h*¹⁰⁹

h2L - 1 = paint/ink/gilt
5 = pen
12 = pen

h2R - 5 = pen
11 = pen (tinted)

h4L - 1 = paint
6 = pen ┘
9 = pen tinted
13 = pen ┘

h4R - 2 = pen ┘
7 = pen tinted
11 = pen ┘

h6L - 1 = paint
8 = pen
12 = ink outline/painted box

h6R - 3 = pen
10 = paint

h8L - 1 = paint
8 = paint (following ink design)
12 = pen _

h8R - 4 = pen
10 = paint on erased pen

¹⁰⁹ Gathering *h* contains historiated and tinted penwork, unlike the abstract monochrome strapwork of gatherings *i* and *k*.

Figure 4.2.X (continued)**gathering i**

i2L - 1 = paint
7 = paint on erased pen

i2R - 2 = paint on erased pen
8 = paint (over pen?)¹¹⁰

i4L - 1 = paint
4 = paint on ink outline
11 = paint on erased pen

i4R - 4 = paint on erased pen
7 = paint¹¹¹

i6L - 1 = paint
7 = paint on erased ink
11 = paint in ink design?

i6R - 4 = paint¹¹²
10 = paint U on ink V

i8L - 1 = paint
6 = paint over pen
10 = filigree pen

i8R - 4 = paint (over pen?)¹¹³
9 = pen

gathering k

k2L - 1 = paint
6 = paint over pen
10 = pen

k2R - 2 = paint on erased pen
6 = paint over pen

k4 - painted arms, no pre-existent penwork (Davy, *O domine caeli terraeque creator*)

k7L - 4 = paint over pen
11 = paint over pen

k7R - 5 = paint
9 = paint

¹¹⁰ No traces of over-painted inkwork show under UV light, but slight coarseness of parchment suggests careful scratching out prior to painting. The paint itself is thick and dark, perhaps intended to obliterate underlying penwork traces.

¹¹¹ Possibly on ink outline.

¹¹² On ink design?

¹¹³ Although there is no physical evidence of erasure, and underlying ink cannot be detected under the thick paint, the bottom left-hand corner of the painted box is distended, as if to cover up the end of an ink capital.

Later phases

The illuminating scheme devised in gatherings *g*, *h* and *i* was carried through into gatherings *a* and *b*: in these gatherings, containing richly-scored motets by Browne, Kellyk and Lambe, shaded, blue-red and elaborate black capitals predominate. As was originally the case in gatherings *h* and *i*, painted initials are usually reserved for the Triplex (or Quatruplex) part. As with the development of the scribal style, there can be little doubt that gatherings *a* and *b* represent a continuation of gatherings *g*, *h*, *i* and *k*1-2. There is one important difference, however: the second and third openings are limned not with single-colour one-line capitals, but with finely-executed painted blue capitals on red filigree work.¹¹⁴ This type of initial was used at least until the end of gathering *m* (phase Bi), whereafter the limner reverted to using one-line capitals. In phases Bii, C and D, painted initials were always used for first openings and coloured one-line capitals for subsequent openings.

The pattern of limning is an important piece of evidence, which corroborates the identification of scribal phases within the sequence of copying, especially in the earlier phases, A-Bii. The illuminations can also give some clue as to the development of the project as a whole, not least in their relation to the repertory they adorned. For instance, the numerous painted arms on opening *k*4 (at the beginning of Richard Davy's *O Domine caeli terraeque creator*) mark a decisive break with the illuminating schemes of the three preceding gatherings (i.e. gatherings *g*, *h* and *i*). Apart from the adoption of an all-paint scheme, the most noticeable difference

between gatherings *g-i* and *k* is the appearance of blue/red initials for second and third openings, which begins on *k3* and continues until the end of *m*;¹¹⁵ the use of blue-red initials marks gatherings *k3-m* (phase Bi) as a continuation from gatherings *a-c* (phase B). Opening *k3*, the *secunda pars* of Hampton's *Salve regina*, is the first opening in gathering *k* to have such illuminations, and coincides with a change of manuscript hand, which is more akin to the hand of gatherings *a-b* than *g-k2*. Half-way through copying the Hampton, the scribe switched his attention to John Browne's *O Maria salvatoris mater*, Hugh Kellyk's seven-part *Gaude flore virginali* and other large-scale antiphons, for whatever reason, and decided to copy these to complement the *Salve regina* settings. These motets were the choir's most lavish, the Kellyk occupying some four openings; it was probably at this time, with the inclusion of miscellaneous motets as well as *Salve regina* settings, that the idea of a large-scale choirbook took root. Aware of this (or made aware of it), and also of the need for clear visual sigla for such a large number of voice-parts, the illuminator used appropriately ornate and striking initials, blue on red tracery backgrounds and borders. This style, common in the fifteenth century and used in the Old Hall manuscript (*GB-Lbl*, Add. MS 57950), enabled the artist to develop an integrated illuminating scheme not only for first openings, but also in subsequent ones, while the characteristic red and blue colour scheme clearly distinguishes second and third openings from the variegated colour-schemes of first openings. That gathering *k* (opening *k3* onwards) is a continuation from gatherings *a-c* is demonstrated by the

¹¹⁴ See Plates IV and V (opening *b1L* and *b1R*) for monochrome illustrations of this type.

¹¹⁵ Gatherings *n*, *o* and *p* are lost. Plain red, blue and black capitals are used from gathering *q* onwards.

change of notational hand between *k2* and *k3*; the large, more triangular hand of *k3* is the result of developments in gatherings *a-c*. In gathering *a*, the smaller, rounded hand is akin to that of *g-i*; through *a*, *b* and *c*, this gradually develops into the larger, more angular hand typical of the later parts of the manuscript, from *k3* onwards. Similarly, the initials used in the two first openings of gathering *a* correspond in style with the penwork illuminations of *g-i*, except that there is a greater variety of styles and colours. Black strapwork and filigree initials are used six times;¹¹⁶ large lombards, red tracery background, with blue-white strapwork letters occur five times, and twice with white (unshaded) letters on red tracery backgrounds.

While the use of polychrome strapwork and tracery was an innovation, the principle of using penwork initials for all except the top part was a continuation from gatherings *g-k2*; the use of blues and reds was another way of highlighting the special status of the lavish Browne and Kellyk motets. Unfortunately, the middle two bifolia of gathering *b* are missing; the incipit of Walter Lambe's incomplete six-part *O Maria plena gracia* has an amalgam of painted and penwork initials – painted for Quatruplex (*b2L*, staff 1), Triplex and Bassus (*b2R*, staffs 1 and 11), black strapwork for Medius (*b2L*, staff 11) and Tenor (*b2R*, staff 7), and yellow penwork on red tracery for Contratenor (*b2L*, staff 5). Thereafter, all initials are painted (excluding the anomalous paste-down illuminations used for Wylkynson's nine-part *Salve regina* on opening *f4*); blue-red initials continue through gathering *c* and until the left-hand side of opening *d2*. The absence of blue-red initials in gathering *d* is an indicator of its having been copied during a later phase.

¹¹⁶ In openings *a2L*, staffs 7 and 14; *a2R*, staff 8; *a5L*, staffs 4 and 13; *a5R*, staff 7.

4.2.3.3: pictorial subject-matter and its interpretation

Apart from the coats of arms emblazoned in opening *k4*, *a1*, *h4* and *r7*, the predominant subject-matter is naturalistic: foliage, branches, flowers, basilisks, human faces and forms, and also abstract patterning. There are a few instances in which illuminations appear to refer to particular subjects. These are mainly puns on composers' names which the limner may have chosen of his own accord: by the time he did his work, the composers' names had almost certainly been written at the heads of folios. But the limner may also have been acting under instruction. The limner probably abandoned cadels and blue-red initials under instruction from whoever paid for the manuscript. It is not unlikely that suggestions or demands for certain sorts of pictorial references were similarly made.

The likeliest instances of requested subject matter are the numerous coats of arms which were included at the head of Richard Davy's *O Domine caeli terraeque creator*.¹¹⁷ In this opening are five sets of arms: England (*k4L*, staff one); St Edward the Confessor (*k4L*, staff five); William Waynflete or, possibly, Magdalen College, Oxford (*k4L*, staff eleven); Provost Henry Bost (died 1504: *k4R*, staff four; and, probably, Eton College, itself (*k4R*, staff nine: although badly defaced, the colour scheme is concordant with the arms of Eton College). These arms were of local significance, belonging either to benefactors, provosts or important college feasts.

¹¹⁷ In opening *k4*: see Plate IX, in which the arms of William Waynflete are shown (opening *k4L*, staff eleven).

They are most unlikely to have been inserted by on the limner's own initiative: even if he knew whose arms they were, he is unlikely to have understood their local significance, unless he was local himself. He almost certainly took instructions from someone within Eton College, and whoever issued these instructions was probably responsible for the oversight (and perhaps the financing) of MS 178.

Also significant are three examples of punning on composers' names. The most straightforward is the paschal lamb which appears in the gilded initial R of the Triplex part of Walter Lambe's *Salve regina* in opening *h2L*. The words 'Ecce agnus dei', which are spoken by a nimbed human figure standing beside the lamb, serve to illuminate what was in the first place an unsophisticated word-play. Similar word-play can be found on opening *d3R* (staff 3), the beginning of John Browne's *O regina mundi clara*.¹¹⁸ Here, in the initial O of the second Medius part, is painted an owl on a crimson field; this probably represents the tawny owl, 'brown' or 'brownie', and gives a clue as to the ownership of the anonymous coat of arms in opening *r7R* (which also contain owls, and adorn another piece by Browne, *O mater venerabilis*).¹¹⁹ The third instance is also a play on a composer's name. In *e1L*, staff 5, in the Contratenor part of Wylkynson's *O virgo prudentissima*, a finely-executed grey sea shell is superimposed on a yellow sunburst in a green field.¹²⁰ It is likely to

¹¹⁸ See Plate I.

¹¹⁹ See Plates I (opening *d3R*) and III (opening *r7R*); see also appendix D, pp. 504-511, for a discussion of Browne's career and his possible ownership of the arms in *r7R*.

¹²⁰ See Plate II (opening *e1L*).

have been a play – ‘whelk-in-sun’ – on Robert Wylkynson’s name. There do not appear to be any other attempts to import into the illuminations any locally-relevant subject matter, and there do not appear to be any pictorial references to subject-matter within the antiphon texts.

4.2.4: conclusion

It has been argued that MS 178 was written in a radically different order from that in which its constituent gatherings came to be bound. The evidence underpinning this hypothesis is various: physical traces (the preparation of the leaves and gatherings), scribal traits, visual and aesthetic considerations (the role, for instance, of the limning process), the style of notation used, the function and compilation of the indices, and some speculation as to the relationship between those who made the manuscript and those who were to use it.

Apart from the inference that the manuscript was copied and bound in different orders, perhaps the most significant observation that can be made is the extent to which the final shape of the choirbook was the result of evolving production techniques and changing aesthetic and functional priorities. The manuscript, at first sight, appears to be highly organized, as if those responsible for its commission and execution worked to a detailed plan which had been refined before work started; but, in fact, the overall scope of the manuscript may well not have been decided until

copying was well under way. Any suggestion, therefore, that MS 178 was conceived as an anthology needs to be treated with circumspection.¹²¹ If MS 178 was the product of a number of copying stints (assuming these correspond with the four main scribal phases identified above), the process of copying could have been spread over a number of months. It could be argued that each layer was copied by a scribe, who worked in batches from exemplars brought from Eton; alternatively the scribe was a journeyman who went several times (perhaps four) to Eton to copy the music. In either case, the variations of style between each of the four main phases suggests that the choirbook was copied at discrete intervals, rather than in one single stint.

An important (and as yet unanswered) question is why copying began at gathering *g*. There are several plausible explanations. The first piece to be copied was Horwood's *Salve regina*. This may have been an established part of the choir's repertory for a number of years: Horwood had died in 1484, fifteen or more years before MS 178 was begun.¹²² It is quite possible that all of the *Salve regina* settings copied in gatherings *g*, *h* and *i* (including Browne's fifteen-note setting in openings *i8* and *k1*) were copied from exemplars already owned and used by the choir at Eton. Perhaps John Hampton's *Salve regina*, which was placed anomalously (in openings *k2-k3*, after Browne's) only came into the choir's possession after the rest of the *Salve regina* settings had been copied; perhaps it had been erroneously omitted (or had been temporarily mislaid). If the *Salve* settings were already established in the choir's repertory, the original intention may have been merely to make a fair copy of these

¹²¹ This question is considered below, pp.319-27.

¹²² Harrison, *MMB*, p.459.

settings alone.

Even if the intention had been, in fact, to make a fair copy of the choir's entire repertory of anthems and Magnificats, there were other reasons why starting with the *Salve* settings made sense. Because the statutes required *Salve regina* to be sung during Lent, it was a practical expedient for all the settings of this text to be copied and bound in one block, where they would be readily accessible. Other texts, like *Gaude flore virginali* (which was, apart from *Salve regina*, the most frequently used Marian text), may not have been identified with any particular season in the way that *Salve regina* was at Eton. This is clearly reflected in the division of settings of *Gaude flore virginali* throughout the manuscript, according to scoring. This applies to texts related to or derived from *Gaude flore* and the sequence, *Stabat mater*. If this was the reason for copying having begun with Horwood's *Salve regina*, it may be possible to speculate regarding the circumstances in which MS 178 was begun. Perhaps the *Salve* settings were copied in the weeks preceding Ash Wednesday, so that they would be ready in time for Lent. The days were still short, and the light poor: when the choir began to use the new copies, they found the notation too small to read comfortably in the flickering candle-light (the Lady anthem taking place in the evenings). Quite possibly, this was the reason for the increasing size of the notation in gatherings *a*, *b*, and *c*: the scribe had been instructed to make the music more legible when he began to copy the second layer of repertory. As spring and summer approached, and the days grew longer, the light was better and there was more time in the working day, enabling the scribe to copy at greater speed. This may have been the time that phases Bi-D were copied: these phases bear the hallmarks of batch-

production. According to this (admittedly speculative) chronology, the choirbook could have been begun in January or February and, perhaps, completed before the onset of the following winter. If so, MS 178 could be dated to 1503 or 1504 when William Brygeman worked at Eton.¹²³ This is no more than speculation: the time it took to copy a codex such as MS 178 depended almost entirely on the efficiency of the scribe, and it is not known who the scribe was (or even whether or not he was a professional liturgical scribe, a specialist music scribe, or a competent amateur). But the evidence considered above impacts on any consideration of when the choirbook was copied, why it was commissioned, and who commissioned it.

¹²³ His *Salve regina* was copied into an ostensibly complete choirbook. See above, pp.201-7, 256-8.

AUTHORSHIP, OWNERSHIP AND CHRONOLOGY

4.3: THE DATE OF MS 178

Frank Harrison's dating of the manuscript, of c.1490-1502, needs to be examined.¹²⁴ For the earlier date, he suggested that the assembling of MS, 'fully commensurate with the wishes of the founder and the splendour of the chapel, may have been taken in hand some five or ten years' after the completion of the chapel, with the addition of wall-paintings in 1486.¹²⁵ Although Harrison does not say so explicitly, the implication is that the compilation of the choirbook would not have been begun before the chapel was complete, and that it was inspired by the splendour of the newly-completed chapel. But at Eton's sister foundation, the choir had not waited for the completion of the chapel to build a large repertory on a scale comparable or greater to that found in MS 178: during the 1490s and 1500s, when building work had all but ceased on the half-complete chapel, the choir of King's was undertaking an intensive phase of repertory accumulation.¹²⁶ Likewise, Harrison's *terminus ante quem* relies on the presence of Henry Bost's arms in the illuminated initial of the Medius part of Davy's *O Domine caeli terraeque creator*, in opening *k4*;

¹²⁴ Harrison (ed.), *MB*, x, p.xvi.

¹²⁵ Harrison (ed.), *MB*, x, p.xvi.

¹²⁶ *HKW*, 2, p.274; see also below, pp.307-8.

Bost, according to Harrison, died on 7 February 1502 which, *ipso facto*, ‘may be accepted as the latest date for the writing of the main part of the manuscript’.¹²⁷ In fact, Bost died in February 1504.¹²⁸ Moreover, the presence of Bost’s arms may not necessarily have been contingent on the fact that he was still alive. Also painted into opening *k4* were the arms of Edward the Confessor and William Waynflete, neither of whom could have been alive when MS 178 was made.¹²⁹ Like the arms of Waynflete, Bost’s arms could arguably have served as a commemoration of a past provost and benefactor; Bost was the founder of a chantry at Eton, later emulated (on a slightly grander scale) by his successor as provost, Roger Lupton.¹³⁰

It has been argued above that the first layer of the Eton choirbook comprised the *Salve regina* settings.¹³¹ It is therefore here that the date of initiation has to be found. The current collective biographical dating of the composers of *Salve regina* settings is as follows:

¹²⁷ Harrison, ‘The Eton Choirbook’, p.164.

¹²⁸ ECR 60/14 (register 1), pp.129-130: Bost’s will was dated 25 November 1503 and proved on 20 February 1503 (new style 1504).

¹²⁹ Although the arms of Magdalen College, Oxford, were identical to Waynflete’s, and though their appearance at the head of a piece by a Magdalen composer (Davy) may be significant, it is likely that, in the context of Eton College, the arms were painted in commemoration of a past headmaster, provost and benefactor.

¹³⁰ ECR 60/297 (lease book register), ff.146v-148r: a copy of the indenture, dated 10 July, 22 Henry V2 (1506); Lupton’s indenture appears on ff.168-171, dated 1517.

¹³¹ See above, pp.201ff.

Figure 4.3.A: composers of *Salve regina* settings in MS 178¹³²

| composer | dates | place of employment |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| William Horwood | 1476-d.1484 | Lincoln Cathedral |
| Richard Davy ¹³³ | 1490-92-? 1494-1507? 1512-1530 | Magdalen College Exeter Fotheringhay College? |
| William Cornysh (elder) | 1479-91 | Westminster Abbey ¹³⁴ |
| OR William Cornysh (younger) | 1493-d.1523 | royal household chapel |
| John Browne ¹³⁵ | 1490 1493 | chapel of John de Vere? New College? |
| Walter Lambe | b. c.1452 1467 1476-1504 | (Salisbury?) Eton College (scholar) Windsor/Arundel Colleges ¹³⁶ |
| John Sutton | 1476-7 1477-9 | Magdalen College (fellow) ¹³⁷ Eton College (fellow) |

¹³² Biographical information is identical to Harrison (ed.), *MB*, xii, pp.xiii-xiv, except where otherwise specified.

¹³³ N. Orme, 'The Early Musicians of Exeter Cathedral', *ML*, 59 (1978), p.408; a Richard Davy/Dewy was clerk at Fotheringhay College in 1512-13 (NtsRO, MS Westmorland Apethorpe, 5.V.4/1, under *Stipendia clericorum*), in 1528-9 (as *custos horologii*; NtsRO, MS Westmorland Apethorpe, 5.V.4/2, under *Stipendia clericorum*), and still on 27 August 1530 (*Visitations in the Diocese of Lincoln, 1517-1531*, ed. A. Hamilton Thompson (Lincoln Record Society, 235, 1944), p.147).

¹³⁴ Harrison, *MMB*, p.456.

¹³⁵ See below, Appendix D, pp. 504-511.

¹³⁶ R. Bowers & A. Wathey, 'New Sources of English Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-century Polyphony', *EMH*, 4 (1984), p.303.

¹³⁷ *BRUO*, p.1822.

**Figure 4.3.A: composers of *Salve regina* settings in MS 178
(continued)**

| composer | dates | place of employment |
|--------------------|----------------------|---|
| Robert Hacomplaynt | 1472-d.1528 | Eton and King's Colleges |
| Nicholas Huchyn | 1476-7 1485-1500 | Arundel College (chorister) Arundel College (clerk) ¹³⁸ |
| Robert Wylkynson | 1496-1500 1500-15 | Eton College (parish clerk) Eton College (<i>informator</i>) |
| Robert Fayrfax | 1497-d.1521 | royal household chapel |
| Richard Hygons | 1459-1508 | Wells Cathedral |
| John Hampton | 1484-1522 | Worcester Cathedral |

It is immediately apparent that the *Salve regina* settings, although they include compositions by some of the oldest composers, are not chronologically distinct from the rest of the repertory. While it is possible that all of these settings were written before 1500, it is unlikely that all were written long before this date; indeed, only Horwood's and, probably, Sutton's settings had to have been composed before 1500. Moreover, older and newer settings are intermingled, and it is impossible to discern chronological layers within this section: in each of gatherings *g*, *h* and *i*, there is both earlier and later repertory. Thus, after Horwood, the oldest, follow Davy and Cornysh, the latter perhaps one of the youngest. The presence of Wylkynson's five-

¹³⁸ Bowers & Wathey, 'New Sources', p.303.

part *Salve regina* also indicates a date of about or after 1500; it is argued elsewhere that he was a young man when appointed to the parish clerkship in 1496, probably spending his working life solely at Eton, until his death after 1515.¹³⁹ It is very unlikely that this *Salve* was written before his appointment as parish clerk in 1496; it is perhaps more likely that it was composed after his appointment as *informator* in 1500, or shortly before. Insofar as the biographical information would appear to indicate, 1496 is therefore the very earliest date by which the *Salve regina* settings were composed; 1500 or thereafter is more likely.

A date of after 1500 is also strongly implied in the inclusion of John Browne's *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem*. This motet is in gathering *d*, which was written after gatherings *k-m* (and the now-lost *n, o* and *p?*), and either simultaneously with or after the first Magnificat settings - at least half-way into the project. As Hugh Benham has argued, the *cantus firmus* is taken from Edmund Turges's carol, 'From stormy windes', which was probably written when Arthur, Prince of Wales, set out for Ludlow in 1501.¹⁴⁰ The Browne, a setting of a text describing the sorrows of the Virgin beholding her son dying on the cross, was very likely written soon after Arthur's death in 1502, the *pieta* by analogy being Queen Elizabeth.¹⁴¹ How soon *Stabat iuxta Cristi crucem* was transmitted to Eton is impossible to establish; the topicality of the *cantus firmus*, intelligible only to those who knew Turges's model,

¹³⁹ See below, pp.377-9 and Appendix C, p.486.

¹⁴⁰ H.Benham, 'Prince Arthur (1486-1502), a carol and a *cantus firmus*', *EM*, 15 (1987), pp.463-7.

¹⁴¹ Benham, 'Prince Arthur', p.465.

may plausibly have hastened its absorption into the repertory at Eton.¹⁴² Equally, its presence in MS 178 may have been contingent on musical or practical considerations: it is one of three six-part motets without Trebles grouped together at what was (at the time of its copying) the end of the section of six-part motets in gatherings *a-d*;¹⁴³ it could also have been brought to Eton either as one of a batch of Browne motets or as part of a lay clerk's collection of polyphony. On 30 January 1505, the provost and fellows wrote to the king, detailing the prayers that were to be said on his behalf in college.¹⁴⁴ No explicit reason is given for this letter, whether it was sent on the initiative of the college or whether it had been prompted by a nervous king after the death of his first son in 1502 and of his wife the following year; and there is no evidence that these suffrages impinged in any way on the choice or performance of the nightly votive antiphon. Nevertheless, if the topicality of Browne's *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem* was understood, its assimilation into the repertory at Eton can be dated quite confidently to the early 1500s.

Any dating of the manuscript has to take into account the time taken for a composition to be disseminated. The compositions of Davy, Cornysh and Fayrfax were the most widely disseminated of the Eton repertory. Davy's *O domine caeli*

¹⁴² Conversely, Banester's *O Maria et Elizabeth* was copied into MS 178, even though the likely occasion of its composition – the churching of Elizabeth of York after the birth of Prince Arthur – had happened at least fifteen years earlier.

¹⁴³ Numbers 8, 9 and 10 in the MS: Browne's *Stabat iuxta hCristi* and *O regina mundi clara* and Sturton's *Gaude virgo mater Christi*.

¹⁴⁴ ECR 60/14 (register 1), pp.95-97.

terraeque must have been written between 1490 and 1492;¹⁴⁵ by 1498-9, between six and nine years later, it had been transmitted to Tattershall College.¹⁴⁶ At King's College, Cambridge, compositions by Fayrfax were copied in 1503-4, 1508-9 and 1515-16, and works by Cornysh in 1508-9.¹⁴⁷ Although Fayrfax's compositions may have been among the unspecified pieces copied during the previous five or ten years, it is significant that a number of his most substantial works were copied only after 1503-4, amongst them, his Mass *Regali ex progenie*, Mass *Tecum principium* and Magnificat *O bone Jesu*. During the early sixteenth century, the choir at King's was assiduously collecting polyphony; not only were officers dispatched to Fotheringhay to get music (as well as to impress choristers), but, on at least one occasion, in 1508-9, Henry Prentyce of the royal household chapel was commissioned to provide a Mass by Fayrfax.¹⁴⁸ In the same year, William Farthing, a servant of the late mother of the king, was given 2s. 'in regard' for unspecified services;¹⁴⁹ he had been a clerk of her chapel, and this gift, like the similar gift to Prentyce, could have been for copying.¹⁵⁰ The date of Fayrfax's first appearance in the records of King's

¹⁴⁵ That is, if the inscription 'composuit...uno die collegio magdalene Oxoniis' is correct.

¹⁴⁶ Wathey, 'Lost books', p.11, §§105-107.

¹⁴⁷ See above, pp.307-8.

¹⁴⁸ See above, p.308.

¹⁴⁹ KCC, Mundum Book 10 (1508-9, under *Feoda et regarda*), f.29.

¹⁵⁰ M. K. Jones and M. G. Underwood, *The King's Mother: Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby* (Cambridge, 1992), p.273. He is very probably identifiable as Thomas Farthing the composer, a singer in Margaret Beaufort's chapel (*ibid.*, p.273), and chorister (1477-83) and lay clerk and copyist (1493-9) at King's, who was a gentleman of the royal household chapel (1511-20) (Harrison, *MMB*, p.457).

coincides with his inception to the Cambridge Mus.D. in 1504.¹⁵¹ If residence was still a requirement, as it had been when Henry Abyndon was given leave to incept in 1464, this might account for the appearance of his music in the records of King's around that date, notwithstanding the likelihood that his reputation was already sufficient to ensure the dissemination of his compositions.¹⁵² Given the close institutional links between Eton and King's, the latter is a likely intermediary source for some of the Eton repertory. The annual migration of choristers of King's to Eton (often accompanied by a lay clerk) and scholars of Eton to Cambridge during the Autumn elections would have been ideal opportunities for trading repertory. It is no coincidence that Robert Wylkynson's *Salve decus castitatis* was listed in the 1529 inventory at King's, whereas his works do not seem to have been widely disseminated elsewhere.¹⁵³ Similarly, works by Hacomplaynt and Sygar, composers of local rather than national interest, found their way direct from King's to Eton.¹⁵⁴ John Sygar was a conduct at King's in 1499 and 1500 and again between 1508 and 1515;¹⁵⁵ given his involvement in copying music while he was at King's, he was almost certainly the Sygar who wrote the two four-voice Magnificat settings in MS 178. It was very probably during his first two years at King's that the Magnificats

¹⁵¹ NG, 6, p.443; he had graduated Mus.D. in 1501.

¹⁵² J. A. Caldwell, 'Music in the Faculty of Arts', *The History of the University of Oxford*, 3, *The Collegiate University*, ed. J. McConica (Oxford, 1986), p.206.

¹⁵³ Harrison, *MMB*, p.433.

¹⁵⁴ Hacomplaynt was an old Etonian fellow and provost of King's, and Sygar a chaplain-conduct (Harrison, *MMB*, pp. 458, 463).

¹⁵⁵ Harrison, *MMB*, p.463; Sygar left King's at the end of Michaelmas Term, 1500 (KCC, Mundum Book 9 (1500-1501, under *Pensiones*), f.6).

were composed, subsequently being transmitted to Eton.¹⁵⁶ The Magnificats, in openings *bb8-cc1* and *dd2-3*, were copied into MS 178 at a late stage; given what is known about Sygar's career, they are unlikely to have arrived at Eton before 1500 or, more probably, later.

Another indicator of a *terminus post quem* of 1500 or later is Wylkynson's now-incomplete setting of Angelo Poliziano's hymn, *O virgo prudentissima*. This six-part motet, copied into openings *e1-e3* (of which only *e1L* survives), belongs to phase D, the last main scribal phase. It is a rare example of an English votive antiphon based on a recently written foreign text. The hymn was written in 1493, but was not published until 1498, in Poliziano's *Omnia Opera*.¹⁵⁷ Although the hymn could have been transmitted to England (and hence to Eton) in manuscript before its publication, print was the likelier means of transmission. No copy of *Omnia Opera* now survives in the library at Eton College. Of the printed books which came into the college's possession before the Reformation twelve remain *in situ*:

¹⁵⁶ A Sygar, *carnifex*, supplied King's with meat in January 1501 (KCC, Mundum Book 9 (1500-1, under *Expense necessarie*), f.30); if he was a relation of John Sygar's, it is possible that John was native to Cambridge, and may thus have been resident there prior to and between his appointments at King's. Nevertheless, in the absence of concrete evidence to the contrary, it has to be concluded that Sygar's Magnificats were written while he was a conduct at King's.

¹⁵⁷ Harrison (ed.), *MB*, iii, p.172. *Omnia Opera* was published in Venice in 1498.

Figure 4.3.B: early printed books in the college library¹⁵⁸

| | author ¹⁵⁹ | title | publication | donor |
|-----|------------------------------|--|--------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. | J. Reuchlin | <i>Rudimenta Hebraea</i> | Pforzheim, 1506 | Horman ¹⁶⁰ |
| 2. | Origenes | <i>Contra Celsum</i> | Rome, 1481 | Lupton |
| 3. | Quintilianus | <i>Institutiones</i> | Venice, 1494 | Horman |
| 4. | T. Aquinas | <i>Super metaphysicae Aristotelis</i> | Venice, 1493 | Lupton |
| 5. | Johannes Cassianus | <i>De institutis</i> | Basle, 1485 | unknown |
| 6. | Simon de Cassia | <i>Expositio super totum corpus Evangeliorum</i> | Strasbourg, c.1485 | Horman |
| 7. | Antonius de Ghislandis | <i>Opus super evangelis totius anni</i> | Lyon, 1508 | Lupton |
| 8. | Reynerius de Pisis | <i>Pantheologia</i> | Nuremburg, 1477 | Lupton |
| 9. | Ludolphus de Saxonia | <i>Vita Christi</i> | Cologne, 1487 | Lupton |
| 10. | Silius Italicus | <i>Punica</i> | Venice, 1483 | Horman |
| 11. | Gabriel de Zerbis | <i>Liber anathomiae corporis humani</i> | Venice, 1502 | Horman |
| 12. | M. A. Sabellicus | <i>Rerum Venetarum</i> | Venice, 1487 | Horman |

¹⁵⁸ From N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: a list of surviving books* (2nd edn., London, 1964), p.80.

¹⁵⁹ The shelfmarks are: 1, Am.4.2; 2, By.1.3; 3, By.1.9; 4, By.2.1; 5, By.2.5; 6, Ee.1.6; 7, Ef.4.6; 8, Eh.1.1 & Eh.1.2 (2 vols.); 9, En.1; 10, Fc.5.12; 11, Ga.3.11; 12, Ge.1.5.

¹⁶⁰ Horman's book collecting is discussed in N. R. Ker, 'The Virgin and Child Binder, LVL, and William Horman', in *Books, Collectors and Libraries: Studies in the Medieval Heritage*, ed. A. G. Watson (London, 1982), pp.101-10.

These surviving books probably represent a fraction of the pre-Reformation collection. Nevertheless, they yield significant (and suggestive) information on two points: donorship and origin. William Horman (headmaster and fellow of Eton) and Roger Lupton (provost of Eton, elected 1504) were both considerable benefactors to the college library, particularly Horman.¹⁶¹ The implications of their bibliographical interests and financial benefactions are considered later; but their bequests (and gifts) of books nevertheless impinge on the likely date of MS 178.

The largest single source of publication was Venice; moreover, four of the five books published in Venice were given by William Horman.¹⁶² The fact that Poliziano's *Omnia Opera* was published in Venice, as well, may be coincidental; but, equally, it may not be. As a donor of books to the college, Horman eclipsed his contemporaries; although it cannot be proven that a printed copy of *Omnia opera* was Wylkynson's source for *O virgo prudentissima*, and while there is no evidence to suggest that the book Wylkynson saw belonged to Horman (or to any other college fellow), this scenario is arguably more plausible than any alternative. According to this admittedly circumstantial evidence, the earliest date for Wylkynson's *O virgo prudentissima* is 1502, when Horman was appointed fellow of Eton.¹⁶³ Horman had been headmaster of Eton from 1486 until 1495, having been a scholar of Winchester College (1468-1475) and scholar and fellow of New College, Oxford (1475-1486).

¹⁶¹ See *BRUO*, p.964, and *BRUC*, pp.377-8.

¹⁶² Emden (in *BRUO*, p.964) suggests 1535 as the likeliest date for their donation.

¹⁶³ Biographical information in this paragraph is taken from *BRUO*, pp.963-4.

After he left Eton in 1495, he returned to Winchester College, as headmaster, while holding the living of East Wretham, an Eton College parish. After his return to Eton in 1502, he retained his fellowship until his death in 1535, serving as vice-provost from 1525. If Wylkynson took the Poliziano's text from a copy of *Omnia opera* belonging to Horman, he is most unlikely to have done so before 1502 at the earliest. Similarly, if Roger Lupton, and not William Horman, was the owner of the (presumed) copy of *Omnia opera*, the date of Wylkynson's setting was even later, as Lupton was not elected provost until 1504. 1498 is therefore the very earliest plausible date for Wylkynson's setting, even if the copy from which he took the text was imported immediately after publication. Given the likeliest sources of transmission, a date of 1502 or later can be put forward.

By the time *O virgo prudentissima* was copied into MS 178, work on the choirbook was at an advanced stage. Evidence that copying was still in progress in 1503/4 can be found elsewhere within the manuscript itself. For three terms in 1503-1504, William Brygeman was a lay clerk at Eton.¹⁶⁴ He was the composer of a *Salve regina* (openings *f7-8, g1*: phase D) and a Magnificat (*aa5-6*, now lost) contained in MS 178. By the time of his death in *c.*1524, he was parish clerk at All Saints' Church, Bristol, having possibly been a conduct at King's between 1513 and 1515.¹⁶⁵ In an inventory (dated 1524) of music bequeathed by him to All Saints', is listed a large quantity of polyphony;¹⁶⁶ although the composers of 'the passion for palme

¹⁶⁴ ECR 61/AR/F/13 (audit roll, 1503-4), under *Stipendia capellanorum et clericorum*.

¹⁶⁵ Harrison, *MMB*, p.455; Harrison, 'The Repertory', p.143.

¹⁶⁶ Harrison, 'The Repertory', p.145.

sonday', *Ascendit cristus*, and *Nesciens mater*, among the pieces listed in the inventory, are not specified, the presence of settings of these in MS 178 by Davy, Huchyn and Lambe is highly suggestive. There are numerous correspondences between the Bristol inventory and the known repertory of the choir of King's.¹⁶⁷ The shared repertory was either well-known or frequently set to music; but it is likely that Brygeman garnered his repertory from the various institutions in which he served, and it is not impossible that the Passion, the *Ascendit cristus* and the *Nesciens mater* listed in 1529 were settings by Davy, Huchyn and Lambe, which he had copied from MS 178 during his time at Eton. As part of this two-way trade, his own Magnificat and *Salve regina* were copied into MS 178. The Magnificat is now lost, and the *Salve regina* is fragmentary. It has been argued above that the scribal style of what remains of gatherings aa-ee is related to that of Brygeman's *Salve regina*.¹⁶⁸ It therefore follows that if Brygeman's *Salve regina* and Magnificat were added while he was at Eton, 1504 or 1505 is the latest *terminus ante quem* (which fortuitously coincides with the death of Henry Bost), and that most of the choirbook had been copied shortly before. It may or may not be a coincidence that the book of suffrages for the king, which the fellows had promised to recite, was written and limned in 1504-5.¹⁶⁹ Perhaps the limner also worked on MS 178 at one of the fellows' behest.

¹⁶⁷ Harrison, 'The Repertory', p.145; Harrison, *MMB*, pp.432-3 (1529 inventory of polyphony at King's); see also above, pp.307-8; pieces common to both institutions were Fayrfax's Magnificat *O bone Jesu* and Mass *Regali ex progenie* as well as unattributed *Ascendit cristus*, *Salve festa dies*, *En rex venit*, *Dicant nunc* (verse of the Easter antiphon, *Christus resurgens*) and *In pace*.

¹⁶⁸ See above, pp.201-7, 256-8.

¹⁶⁹ ECR 61/AR/F/14 (audit roll, 1504-5), under *Custus Forinseci*: 'Et pro scriptura et lymnyng libri suffragiorum pro rege xij^s viij^d'.

4.4: THE FINANCING OF MS 178

MS 178 was owned by (or, at least, very closely affiliated to) Eton College before its completion: the arms of the college and its benefactors were emblazoned in the manuscript in the later stages of its compilation. Motets by Robert Wylkynson were copied into the choirbook from the start, as well as pieces by men associated with the college. Given this localized repertory, which pervades the manuscript in its entirety, it is extremely unlikely that MS 178 was bought, off-the-shelf, in a scriptorium and subsequently customized. There is no evidence that the choirbook was paid for at common expense. Although it is possible that payments were recorded in now-lost sacrist's accounts, it is highly unlikely that such payments were not recorded in the exhaustively detailed *Custus ecclesie* sections of the annual audit rolls. An almost complete series of audits survives for the period 1490-1515, only two years' accounts having perished;¹⁷⁰ unless the purchase of the parchment and its preparation, the copying of all the various layers, the illumination and the binding all took place in the space of one of the two missing years, it is extremely unlikely that the choirbook was financed from collegiate funds. Two other scenarios remain: either its production was sponsored by a fellow or other benefactor, or it was copied by one or more of the chapel clerks or chaplains as a gift in kind – or a combination of the two.

4.4.1: other sources and institutions

It is possible that MS 178 was the work of one of the clerks or chaplains on the staff of Eton College at the time. But the quality of the penmanship is of such a high standard that this would seem unlikely, unless one of the chapel staff had also been a skilled scribe, and no evidence survives to suggest that this was the case. Edward Botiller, a monk of Westminster Abbey, obtained leave to transfer to another house in April 1489.¹⁷¹ Recommending his transfer, the Abbot of Westminster, John Estley, commended his accomplishments which included skill as, amongst other things, a singer ‘of both pricksong and plainsong’ and also as ‘a fair writer, a flourisher and a maker of capital letters’. Clearly, a cleric could be a skilled musician or scribe. The very mention of Botiller’s skills, however, suggests that they were rare, or at least that they were rare in this combination, and that he was a potentially useful member of his adoptive house. Unless a polymath like Botiller was on the payroll of Eton College in the 1500s, it is most unlikely that MS 178 could have been produced without the employment of skilled artisans: the quality of penmanship and illuminations is too high. The employment of outsiders required the provision of the necessary funds to pay their wages and expenses.

Few choirbooks survive which are comparable with MS 178, both in terms of size and quality, and records of payments for the copying of music manuscripts rarely

¹⁷⁰ 1502-3 and 1508-9.

¹⁷¹ WAM, Register Book 1, f.35v; I would like to thank Miss Barbara Harvey for this and the following information on Botiller.

give any indication of the quality, size or layout of now-defunct codices. But the provenance of other surviving choirbooks and the archival evidence available from other late-medieval institutions can yield important clues to the origins of MS 178. From these external sources it is possible to identify the likeliest sources of funding, the costs involved in producing a large choirbook, and the sorts of skills which were available in-house and those which could only be provided by outsiders. A large institution like Eton College was heavily reliant on the wider economy, in the provision of candles for the chapel, the purchase of livestock (and butchered meat) from markets at some distance from Eton, the tailoring of liveries, and the fabrication of metalwork. Liturgical books were bought from outside suppliers.¹⁷² For the production of a high quality manuscript like MS 178, whoever commissioned it was likely to have sought the necessary artisanal skills outside the college. Nevertheless, the funding for such a project, especially if it entailed the employment of outsiders, needed to be found from within the college or from among its members.

4.4.1.1: gifts and bequests

Of the two other, slightly later, choirbooks made in England in the early sixteenth century, the Caius College, MS 667 has the most certain provenance. The inscription, 'Ex dono et opere Edwardi Higgonis huius ecclesie canonici', which appears on p.189 of the Caius choirbook leaves no doubt that this was a gift, although to which church is in dispute. One of the most notable fifteenth-century continental

¹⁷² Most notably during the restoration of Catholicism under Mary Tudor; see below, Chapter Six, pp.452-6.

choirbooks, the Lucca choirbook, was given by Giovanni Arnolfini to Lucca Cathedral, probably in the 1470s.¹⁷³ Bespoke presentation choirbooks were regarded as auspicious, one-off gifts by the wealthier benefactors; singers, who had built up large collections of rolls and workaday polyphony books but could not afford to commission purpose-made choirbooks, might bequeath or give their collections. Until late in the fifteenth century, the donation of pricksong books, either as purchases by benefactors or as bequests by the musicians who had copied them, was by far the most common way in which music came into institutional hands.¹⁷⁴ Indeed, the provision of polyphony was regarded as the responsibility of singers, rather than their employers; it was primarily the larger books which were bought at common expense until well into the fifteenth century.¹⁷⁵

In the 1480s and 1490s, evidence of institutional procurement begins to accumulate. Those payments of which record survives suggest that institutions began to assume greater responsibility for the procurement and copying of the more mundane polyphonic material; large payments are rare, and the size of most payments suggests that polyphony was copied piecemeal. Where large payments were made, it would appear that these were made for pre-existent sources or collections. Winchester College paid the exceptional amount of £3 to the subprior of Mottisfont ('Motson') for a diverse collection of 'cantilenas' and movements of the Ordinary

¹⁷³ R. Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (Oxford, 1985), p.122.

¹⁷⁴ A. Wathey, 'The Production of Books of Liturgical Polyphony', *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475*, ed. J. Griffiths and D. Pearsall (Cambridge, 1989), pp.149-150. Of twenty-four books known to have been owned by household chapels and churches before 1400, thirteen were given or bequeathed by members of those foundations (*ibid.*, p.148).

¹⁷⁵ Wathey, 'The Production', p.149.

and

Proper of the Lady Mass in four, five and six parts in 1533-4.¹⁷⁶ In November 1533, 7s. was paid for service books, which had been bequeathed to the college by Archbishop Warham, to be fetched from London, and a further 35s. 4d. to the warden for negotiating their acquisition; this was a bulky legacy of six antiphoners and eight graduals, weighing six hundred weight and twenty-four pounds.¹⁷⁷ Such large acquisitions were occasional, dependent on the decease (or dissolution) of the original owners.¹⁷⁸ It is less likely that the production of large, presentation-quality, professionally-produced choirbooks was instigated collectively (and at common expense) than that they were one-off gifts or bequests.

¹⁷⁶ WCM, 22192 (bursars' accounts, 1533-4), under *Custus capelle*: 'Et in solutis subpriori de Motson pro duobus libris de uelam continentibus cantilenas de quinque partibus et aliquas de sex partibus....et pro uno alio de papyro continenti cantilenas texti cantus de quatuor partibus videlicet pro singulis feriis singulas missas Kyrielezons alleluyas et sequentias de sancta maria...iij li'.

¹⁷⁷ WCM 22192, (bursars' accounts, 1533-4), under *Custus capelle* and *Custus necessarii cum donis*.

¹⁷⁸ Mottisfont Priory, lying ten miles west of Winchester, an Augustinian house of Prior and eleven canons, was officially dissolved under papal bulls of 1494 and 1500 on the grounds of insufficiency of income at the behest of Henry VII (who wanted to annex its properties to St George's, Windsor); but it continued to operate until it was finally dissolved in 1536 (D. Knowles and R. N. Hancock, *Medieval Religious Houses* (London, 1953), p.146 and D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, 3, *The Tudor Age* (Cambridge, 1959), p.157).

4.4.1.2: piecemeal acquisition

During the last two decades of the fifteenth century, it was the smaller sources which are recorded most often as having been made at institutional expense. At Winchester College, small payments were recorded annually from 1497 until 1501, and periodically thereafter, for paper and copying.¹⁷⁹ For copying two Masses in 1521-2, Thomas Fowle received 2s.;¹⁸⁰ if one Mass cost a shilling, the quantities of music involved in each disbursement would have been small. In 1541-2, eight pence was paid for four quaterns of paper on which twenty pence worth of polyphony was copied.¹⁸¹ Elsewhere it is impossible to find correspondences at Winchester between the purchase of paper or parchment and payments for copying. Most payments were for paper, rather than copying; this suggests that the copying, itself, was done in-house, probably by the choirmaster or one of his colleagues, as an unpaid part of their regular duties. During the 1540s, the supply of polyphony was contracted out to the

¹⁷⁹ A. Wathey, 'Lost Books', p.12, §§129-132. After 1501, payments become intermittent: in 1507-8, Edmund Pynbryge was paid 3s. 4d. for notating 'diverse songs' (WCM, 22168 (bursars' accounts, 1507-8), under *Custus capelle*); in 1521-2, 2s. was paid to Thomas Fowle for notating two Masses (WCM, 22180 (bursars' accounts, 1521-2), under *Custus capelle*); in 1522-3, 3s. 4d. worth of paper was bought for the copying of pricksong, its carriage costing 1d. (WCM, 22181 (bursars' accounts, 1522-3), under *Custus capelle*); and in 1530-1, a book of polyphony was bought for 2s. 6d. (WCM, 22189 (bursars' accounts, 1530-1), under *Custus capelle*).

¹⁸⁰ WCM, 22180 (bursars' accounts, 1521-2), under *Custus capelle*.

¹⁸¹ WCM, 22199 (bursars' accounts 1541-2), under *Custus capelle*. Although the two payments are not explicitly linked together, they were placed conjunctly in the manuscript, the payment for the paper first. It would therefore seem highly likely that the paper was bought for the pricksong.

composer, Thomas Knyght, master of the choristers at Salisbury Cathedral.¹⁸²

Similarly, at King's College, Cambridge, where intermittent payments are recorded for the copying of polyphony, a college servant had been sent to Fotheringhay to procure music ('quodam cantu').¹⁸³

At Winchester, there are two phases in which relatively small payments appear annually, between 1497 and 1501 and between 1540 and 1545: either payments were not recorded at other times or, more plausibly, there were periods of systematic piecemeal acquisition (perhaps determined by the obsolescence of each layer of repertory). At Tattershall College, a well-documented flurry of copying activity took place in the late 1490s;¹⁸⁴ whether or not the density of these payments were typical is impossible to determine, as the accounts survive in such a fragmentary state. As at Winchester College, though in far greater detail, the payments listed in the Tattershall receivers' accounts are evidence of piecemeal acquisition of repertory, varying from secular partsongs to Magnificats, votive antiphons and miscellaneous liturgical items, in four, five and six parts. The listings for 1496-7 and 1498-9 were made in the accounts of the precentor and choir provost – men who had been closely involved in the accumulation of the repertory – which accounts for their exhaustiveness.¹⁸⁵ That

¹⁸² In 1540-1, he was paid 6s. for writing responds (WCM, 22198 (bursars' accounts, 1540-1), under *Custus capelle*); in 1542-3, he received 7s. 6d. for more responds (WCM, 22200 (bursars' accounts, 1542-3), under *Custus capelle*); the following year, Robert Reynolds (fellow of Winchester College: see *BRUO1540*, p.478) paid him 5s. for composing unspecified polyphony (WCM, 22201 (bursars' accounts, 1543-4), under *Custus capelle*); similar payments continued until 1548-9. Knyght was *informator choristarum* at Salisbury Cathedral, 1529-1543 (or after) (*NG*, 10, pp.128-9); he may or may not have been related to the John or William Knyght who was a clerk at Winchester College from 1531 until 1533.

¹⁸³ KCC, Mundum Book 10 (1507-8, under *Custus equitantium*), f.22.

¹⁸⁴ See A. Wathey, 'Lost Books', pp.10-11, §§100-108.

¹⁸⁵ Wathey, 'Lost Books', p.10, §104 and p.11, §§105-107.

Richard Davy's *O domine caeli terraeque*, which takes up three openings in the Eton choirbook, cost five pence to copy is instructive: although there is no indication of how high the quality of copying was at Tattershall, it gives some clues as to how much might have been spent on the copying of MS 178.¹⁸⁶

Payments made for copying at Magdalen College, Oxford, and King's College, Cambridge, during the 1480s and 1490s conform to this pattern of institutional acquisition through concerted piecemeal accumulation, rather than one-off purchasing.¹⁸⁷ At King's, copying and binding payments continued on a large scale into the next century:

1499-1500:¹⁸⁸ Item xx^o die augusti solut Dno Johanni Sygar pro notatione duarum missarum ij^s; et pro diversis antiphonis et missis notandis vj^s viij^d

1500-1501:¹⁸⁹ Item eodem die [12 February] solut Myryell de Bury pro ij dos' pergameni pro missis et antiphonas de sancta maria vi^s viij^d; item ultimis Septembris solut dno Thome Stephins pro notatione vj missarum de iii^j^{or} partibus vj^s viij^d; item ix^o die junii sol' Johanni Parkar pro cantilenis videlicet pro xxiii^j^{or} ad iii^j^d le carol viij^s; et pro xij balettis ad ii^j^d le balet ii^s; et pro viij balettis ad ij^d le balet xv^j^d

1502-1503:¹⁹⁰ In primus xvij die Octobris Waltero Hatley pro ligacione unius librum fracti cantus et pro coopertura eundem v^s; item Dno Jakson et Newman pro notatione vj missarum in xij quaternis xj^s iii^j^d; item Waltero Hatley pro ligacione eorundem quaternorum et emendacione organorum

¹⁸⁶ According to a crude calculation, a choirbook the size of MS 178 would cost around 19s. to produce at Tattershall rates. Given the practical, piecemeal nature of repertory accumulation at Tattershall, it would seem likely that the copying was of a commensurately workaday quality. This calculation cannot take into account the added costs of professional texting, binding and illuminating.

¹⁸⁷ See Wathey, 'Lost Books', p.4, §§19-24 and p.9, §§83-92.

¹⁸⁸ KCC, Mundum Book 9 (1499-1500, under *Custus ecclesie* and *Custus equitantium*), f.21 and f.37.

¹⁸⁹ KCC, Mundum Book 9 (1500-1, under *Custus ecclesie* and *Expense necessarie*), ff.21, 22v, 31v.

¹⁹⁰ KCC, Mundum Book 9 (1502-3, under *Custus ecclesie* and *Expense necessarie*), ff.22, 22v, 28.

erga festum Natalis Domini ij^s vj^d; item Dno Jakson ix die marcii pro notacione x antiphonarum none quinque parcium et unius sex parcium vj^s iiij^d

1503-1504:¹⁹¹ Item Dno Jaxson pro annotatione duarum missarum unius vocat' Regali ex progenie et alterius lux eterna viij^s; item Dno Jaxson pro annotatione misse pro utraque parte chori ij^s vj^d

1507-1508:¹⁹² Item xiiij die Aprilis pro expensis Bourman equitan' ad Fodringay pro quodam cantu ex mandato m' prepositi ix^d

1508-1509:¹⁹³ Item xvij^o die decembris Dno Sigar notacione duarum missarum in librum Collegii quarum una vocatur per signum crucis ij^s cum notacione vij sequentiarum ex compositione Faierfax et Cornysshe et iij sequentiarum pro adventu ij^s ij^d; item in regardis Prentise et Dns Nicholo Thomas pro misse Fayrfax et aliis cantulis v^s

1510-1511:¹⁹⁴ Item Dno Sigar pro annotatione antiphonarum et missarum ut prius billa iiij^s

1515-1516:¹⁹⁵ Item M. Ray pro di' quatern' papiri ad notandas duas cantelenas pro Watkyn[s] erga natalem domini iiij^d ob; item Joanni Culton pro duabus missis iiij^{or} partium et pro notacione misse Tecum principium v partium iiij^s; item Dalby pro notacione Magnificat O bone Jesu iiij^d; item Roberto Watt[kyns] pro notacione partis triplicis de Magnificat M. Stephyns ij^d

Between 1500 and 1516, a total of at least £3 19s. 8½d. was spent on providing new music for the choir at King's; thirty-eight sacred pieces are specified, comprising sixteen Masses, two Magnificats, ten antiphons and ten sequences, as well as thirty-three secular pieces. When to this number are added the unspecified

¹⁹¹ KCC, Mundum Book 9 (1503-4, under *Custus ecclesie*), ff.23^v, 24.

¹⁹² KCC, Mundum Book 10 (1507-8, under *Custus equitantium*), f.22.

¹⁹³ KCC, Mundum Book 10 (1508-9, under *Custus ecclesie* and *Feoda et regarda*), ff.20, 29. It would appear that Sygar wrote the two masses in a pre-existent book.

¹⁹⁴ KCC, Mundum Book 10 (1510-11, under *Custus ecclesie*), f.22.

¹⁹⁵ KCC, Mundum Book 10 (1515-16, under *Expense necessarie*), ff.27, 27^v, 28^v.

numbers of Masses, antiphons and miscellaneous pieces mentioned in the accounts, as well as the manuscripts already in collegiate ownership and those rolls and codices owned by the individual singers, the total repertory of the choir must have eclipsed the contents of MS 178 in its entirety. But perhaps more significant is the fact that all of those involved in the copying of polyphony, except the stationer John Lenton (who is unlikely to have participated in the copying itself) and Henry Prentyce (who gave but did not necessarily copy) were choir-members, either as clerks or as chaplains. By accumulating repertory piece-by-piece or in small parcels, the cost was spread and the need for specialist skills (such as large-scale binding and illuminating) was minimized. Andrew Wathey argues that, earlier in the Middle Ages, it was mainly the larger manuscripts which were acquired at institutional expense.¹⁹⁶ Around 1500, the situation had reversed: probably because of the increasing size of choirbooks, and the concomitantly increasing expense incurred in their assemblage, manuscripts like MS 178 or the Lambeth and Caius choirbooks were less attractive purchases than smaller sources, whose costs could be spread over a number of years.

An inventory of polyphony books belonging to Magdalen College, Oxford, probably made in 1524, contains nine large items bought since 1518, containing Masses, antiphons in seven, six, five and four parts, as well as Magnificats, psalms and sequences for the Lady Mass.¹⁹⁷ Much of this new repertory could have been copied in 1518 by Dns John Burgess, a chaplain, when he was paid £4 `pro ly

¹⁹⁶ Wathey, 'The production', p.149.

¹⁹⁷ Wathey, 'The production', p.150.

prychyng'.¹⁹⁸ In 1531, Burgess was paid 40s. for re-writing or tidying up the pricksong books.¹⁹⁹ Andrew Wathey maintains that this phase of copying suggests 'a more calculated plan of acquisition' than was characteristic of earlier periods.²⁰⁰ At King's, Tattershall and Winchester Colleges, there was certainly a systematic approach to the collection and renewal of repertory at institutional expense; at Magdalen, the copying of repertory was subject to fits and starts, however, years of dearth alternating with unprecedentedly large bouts of expenditure, as old books became either delapidated or obsolete.²⁰¹ In 1533, the churchwardens of St Margaret's, Westminster, paid 20s. for a pricksong book, to replace or complement the 'grete book in parchement priksonge' listed in their 1511 inventory.²⁰² Like the payments at Magdalen, this was a one-off investment, one of six large choirbooks in existence in Henrician Westminster, though the only one whose purchase is documented.²⁰³

¹⁹⁸ Bloxam, *Register*, 2, p.265. Compare the £4 paid to Burgess with the £3 19s. 8½d. paid by King's over the course of seventeen years.

¹⁹⁹ Bloxam, *Register*, 2, p.268.

²⁰⁰ Wathey, 'The production', p.150.

²⁰¹ That Burgess was paid as much as 40s. 'pro rescriptione le prycksong bokys' (i.e. half of what they originally cost, assuming that the books he was re-copying were those copied in 1517-18) after thirteen years' use suggests that they had become illegible in that time, during which no payments are recorded for copying polyphony.

²⁰² D. Skinner, "'At the mynde of Nycholas Ludford": New light on Ludford from the churchwardens' accounts of St Margaret's, Westminster', *EM*, 22 (1994), p.397.

²⁰³ Skinner, "'At the mynde'", p.397.

4.4.2: possible donors of MS 178

Evidence available from other collegiate foundations suggests that responsibility for copying polyphony rested with the singers who intended to use it. But this applies primarily to copying on a small scale, involving the gradual accumulation of individual pieces and the copying of quires and rolls. Where large payments were made, as at Magdalen College, it cannot be shown that these were for expensively produced codices like MS 178. The absence of payments for limning, for instance, suggest that the books were probably of a workaday quality. Given the high quality of MS 178, which suggests that it was made by skilled artisans rather than well-intended lay clerks or chaplains, and given that there is no archival evidence of its having been produced at institutional expense, the likelihood is that it was given to the college, having been made at private cost. If so, it is among the contemporary fellows of Eton College that a potential donor might be found.

4.4.2.1: William Horman

Harrison suggested Hugh Fraunce as a possible donor: in 1497-8, two iron braces weighing twenty-five pounds were bought to support a book given by Fraunce.²⁰⁴ This is problematic on two scores: it is unlikely that work had even started on MS 178, let alone proceeded to the binders, warranting expenditure on metalwork

²⁰⁴ ECR 61/AR/F/6 (audit roll, 1497-8), under *Custus ecclesie*; Harrison (ed.), *MB*, x, p.xvi.

fittings;²⁰⁵ and, although Fraunce was a fellow of Eton for six years in all, he was not a notable benefactor of Eton, leaving the college before his death, and bequeathing books to Queen's College, Oxford, and to members of Syon and Sheen monasteries, but not to Eton.²⁰⁶ There is no biographical evidence that he had musical interests; in this respect, he was not untypical of other fellows of Eton. One candidate as donor or promoter of the choirbook was William Horman, whose *Vulgaria* contains numerous references to music.²⁰⁷ Horman's return to Eton as fellow in 1502 arguably coincided with the copying of MS 178.²⁰⁸ Horman was not only a Humanist polymath, but also a considerable benefactor, giving both in cash and in kind. To Eton College, he gave twenty-two books, before his death, including anatomical and medical tracts, as well as the more standard books of Aquinas, Bernard of Clairvaux and Augustine;²⁰⁹ to New College, Oxford, his *alma mater*, he gave £6 13s. 4d. and, on his death, he bequeathed a chalice and silverware, a Manual, £20 and 'totum apparatus altaris' to Eton, and left his book-binding equipment to John Horsman, a scholar at Winchester College.²¹⁰ One of the books he gave to Eton College was a volume of essays by St Jerome, whose final three leaves contain examples of musical notation (with

²⁰⁵ See above, pp.287-99.

²⁰⁶ *BRUO*, pp.722-3.

²⁰⁷ Woodley, *John Tucke*, pp.7-8, n.24.

²⁰⁸ *BRUO*, p.963.

²⁰⁹ *BRUO*, p.964; a table of printed books belonging to Horman which are extant in Eton College Library can be found in Figure 4.3.B, p.296 above.

²¹⁰ *BRUO*, p.964.

inversion and retrograde), underlaid and glossed with quotations from Boethius.²¹¹

The attention given to music and to the materials and utensils of book-production in Horman's *Vulgaria* mark him as a plausible candidate as sponsor or prompter of MS 178. The making of indices was also a particular trait of Horman, who sometimes gave his scholars index-making assignments:²¹² the presence of two exhaustively and unusually detailed indices in MS 178 are also suggestive of Horman's possible involvement.²¹³ Nevertheless, in the absence of forensic or archival evidence, any suggestion of Horman's role must remain tentative.

4.4.2.2: Provosts Bost and Lupton

The provost was the only member of college who had the means to exercise patronage, especially if he held other benefices in plurality. *Ex officio*, provosts attended major court events like coronations, college business was conducted primarily in the provost's name, and the provost maintained a quasi-autonomous household which, though subsidised, was administered independently. Neither Henry Bost, who died early in 1504, nor his successor, Roger Lupton, have left any evidence of musical interest or aptitude, unlike Robert Hacomplaynt, who had been provost at

²¹¹ ECL, MS 80, ff.134v-135v; the glosses contain such Boethian commonplaces as 'Diapason uero ex octo cordis formatur', as well as examples of 'diatessaron, sesquialtera, sesquioctava, sesquitercia and modulacio'.

²¹² I am indebted to Mr Paul Quarrie for this information.

²¹³ In 1526-7, registers (or indices) were made for the new codices made for the boys in chapel (ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1526-7, under *Custus templi*), p.418). By this time Horman was vice-provost, and so may not have been instrumental in this.

King's College, Cambridge.²¹⁴ It is unlikely, however, that an expensive undertaking, like the manufacture of a large, lavishly-produced choirbook, would have been initiated at collegiate expense without the provost's consent or knowledge; when quite small extraordinary expenditure was made, like a supplementary 3s. 4d. paid to Hugh, a lay clerk, in 1524-5 (after two terms' employment), it was 'ad mandatum prepositi'.²¹⁵ It was also within the provost's household that visitors were entertained. Of the scores of household accounts made, only one fragmentary account book survives, from the early 1480s, however.²¹⁶ During the course of a few weeks, over fifty people ate or were entertained in the provost's lodgings, including his own servants (who were salaried at common expense). Among these guests were Thomas Absolon (sometime clerk at Eton, now vestry clerk at St George's, Windsor), Mrs John Veryng (whose husband had been a king's scholar and then a lay clerk in the early 1470s), and Earl Rivers's chaplain. On one day, John Boraston, the *informator choristarum*, was entertained with an outsider in vestments.²¹⁷ Who this visitor was, and why he was wearing vestments, cannot be ascertained. He may have been a lay clerk from Windsor or elsewhere, coming to bolster the choir one evening, or deputizing for one of the resident lay clerks. Perhaps he had brought musical scores for copying, and was fed for his services. This tantalizing fragment is a glimpse of another potential means of the choirbook's commission. Although

²¹⁴ BRUC, p.278.

²¹⁵ ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1524-5, under *Stipendia...clericorum*), p.378.

²¹⁶ ECR COLL/HB/1 (Provost Bost's Household Book).

²¹⁷ ECR COLL/HB/1, f.11 (undated Monday), 'I extraneus in pareta cum Baraston'.

artisans and craftsmen were usually fed at common expense when in Eton doing work for the college (these payments being recorded in the yearly accounts), it is possible that the copyists and illuminators who worked on MS 178 came to Eton and lodged with the provost's household, their presence effectively invisible to the college bursars. No record of any sort survives in the college account, though; glaziers, blacksmiths and other artisans were all recompensed for their labours, for their servants' wages, for their materials and their living expenses (through the provision of commons), and these were itemized in detail in the annual audits. Even if those involved in making MS 178 were employed ostensibly by the provost's household, it would be highly unlikely that the large quantities of parchment, ink and wages involved would escape collegiate records entirely.

4.4.2.3: Walter Smythe

Horman's interest in music is recorded by virtue of his authorship of the *Vulgaria*. In being a published author, Horman was an exception; apart from those few fellows of Eton and King's whose compositions survive as evidence of their musical activity or who are known to have owned books of polyphony, there is very little information concerning the musical activities of college fellows. John Sutton, whose seven-part *Salve regina* was included in MS 178, is a notable exception. By the time the choirbook was compiled, however, he had long since ceased to be a

fellow.²¹⁸ Walter Smythe, fellow of Eton, c.1492-8 and from 1501 until his death in 1524, is unique among the pre-Reformation fellows of Eton in his documented ownership of pricksong books. As a sponsor or motivator for MS 178, he is the most likely candidate.

His biography is confused before his arrival at Eton. According to Emden, he was a chaplain at Magdalen College after his ordination to the priesthood in 1483 and sacrist (1483-4, in which year he became Master of Arts).²¹⁹ It is questionable, however, that he was the same *Magister* Smythe who was precentor of Magdalen, not least because he was a fellow of Eton by Michaelmas 1492.²²⁰ Nor were the chaplain of 1483-4 and the precentor-succentor of the early 1490s necessarily one and the same: there is no Smythe included in complete listings in 1486-7 or 1487-8, neither was *Magister* Smythe's first name specified in the accounts.²²¹ Unless Emden conflated two different Smythes (in which case, Walter Smythe may have been the chaplain present during the early-mid 1480s, but not the precentor in the early-mid 1490s), the Eton Smythe and the Magdalen Smythe were possibly different men.²²²

Walter Smythe remained a fellow of Eton until January 1498, when he was admitted

²¹⁸ Sutton was a fellow of Eton, 1477-9 (*BRUO*, p.1822).

²¹⁹ *BRUO*, p.1720.

²²⁰ ECR 61/AR/F/4 (audit roll, 1492-3), under *Porciones* and *Remuneraciones officiariorum*.

²²¹ *GB-Omc*, Liber Computi 1 (1486-7, under *Stipendia conducticiorum clericorum et serviencium capelle*; 1487-8, draft account), f.115 and f.155v; in a draft account for Hilary Term 1493 or 1494 (*GB-OMC*, Liber Computi 2 (under *Stipendia capellanorum*), f.16, an abbreviated version of *Magister* Smyth's forename is given: Stu' or Oliu'; this is unlikely to have been Oliver Smyth, who was a lay clerk in 1496-7 (*GB-OMC*, Liber Computi 2 (under *Stipendia capellanorum*), f.77v).

²²² Emden himself seems to have been uncertain, as he made a separate (duplicate) entry for the chaplain/sacrist of 1483-4 (*BRUO*, p.1714).

rector of St Alban's, Wood Street, London (presented by Eton College); he resigned that living in 1502, after his re-election as fellow of Eton on 8 August the previous year.²²³ During both of his stints at Eton, he served as precentor: continuously from Michaelmas 1492 until Michaelmas 1498, from Easter until Michaelmas 1502, in 1504-5, 1506-8, and, continuously from 1509 until he succeeded to the vice-provostship sometime after Easter 1515.²²⁴ He was vice-provost until his death in 1525; under the terms of his will (dated 14 February 1524 [new style 1525]), his first material bequest of 'all my song bokes with a Chyst to kepe them yn' was made to Eton College Chapel, 'the Chawnter [precentor] to have oversight of them'.²²⁵

Smythe's long-term retention of the precentorship was highly unusual. Under normal circumstances, the precentorship and the two bursarships rotated between the fellows, yet Smythe was precentor, in all, for fourteen of the sixteen full years he served as fellow before he became vice-provost; between 1520 and 1535, in contrast, nine different fellows acted as precentor.²²⁶ Whether or not he had been precentor at Magdalen before his arrival at Eton, Smythe's evident suitability (and implied liking)

²²³ ECR 61/AR/F/11 (audit roll, 1500-1), under *Porciones*; Smythe returned for the last four weeks of the academic year; Robert Smyth (probably a relation, as both Robert and Walter came from Salfleetby, Lincolnshire) was presented to St Alban's, Wood Street on 7 September 1502, after Walter Smythe's resignation of the living (ECR 60/14 (register 1), p.91; *BRUO*, p.1719).

²²⁴ *BRUO*, p.1720; ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1514-5, under *Remuneraciones officiariorum*), p.95. John Smyth, the *informator scolarum*, is listed as precentor in 1506-7 (ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1506-7, under *Remuneraciones officiariorum*), p.39). This was almost certainly a confusion of names by the bursars: the headmaster seldom if ever held any other college offices.

²²⁵ ECR 60/14 (register 1), p.144. The date of probate, 22 June 1524, was probably a scribal error, as Smythe was paid for terms 1-2, 1524-5, William Horman having taken over as vice-provost at the end of January, 1525 (ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1524-5, under *Porciones* and *Remuneraciones*), pp.377-8). See Appendix H, pp.541-2, below (Smythe's will).

²²⁶ See Appendix F, pp.532-4 below.

for the post of precentor is highly suggestive, especially as he could have earned more as a bursar (40s. as opposed to 26s. 8d.). Given the precentor's responsibility for ordering the liturgy and its music, it is significant that Smythe held that post around the time that MS 178 was being compiled, his tenure corresponding with Robert Wylkynson's service as *informator choristarum*. The epitaph on Smythe's tomb paid tribute not only to his vegetarianism and charity, but also to his musicianship:

Perpetuus socius vitam transegit honestam
 Etonae; modicus cui faba victus erat
 Inter virtutes, quibus enituit, relevavit
 Pauperium miserum, musica percoluit.²²⁷

Could Smythe have been the sponsor and/or original owner of MS 178? It is quite possible that the choirbook was one of the song books Smythe bequeathed to the chapel in 1525, subsequently listed in the chapel inventory of *circa* 1531;²²⁸ this inventory is the earliest documentary evidence that MS 178 was in institutional ownership, some five or six years after Smythe's death and the administration of his estate.

²²⁷ As quoted in W. Sterry, 'Notes on the early Eton fellows', *Etoniana*, 59 (1935), p.143: 'This perpetual fellow led an honest life at Eton; a moderate man, whose food was beans; among the virtues in which he shone, he relieved the misery of the poor, and he cultivated music'.

²²⁸ Harrison, 'The Eton Choirbook', p.162.

4.5: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CANTUS FIRMUS:
was MS 178 designed as an anthological and liturgical cycle?

If MS 178 was a planned anthology, an important piece of evidence is the attitude the compiler(s) took to the liturgical significance of the manuscript's contents, in terms of the seasonal and festal use of the texts and *cantus firmi*. Was MS 178 envisaged as compendium of antiphons arranged in an annual cycle? Harrison clearly believed so:

It is clear that the collection was intended to provide a complete yearly cycle of antiphons to the Blessed Virgin, with special attention to her important feasts.²²⁹

Four of the five Marian feasts are represented in *cantus firmi*: the Conception in Browne's four-part *Stabat virgo*;²³⁰ the Annunciation in Huchyn's *Salve regina* and, probably, Wylkynson's *O virgo prudentissima*;²³¹ the Assumption was represented in John Browne's second *Salve regina* and in Wylkynson's nine-part *Salve regina* (which was added some time after the completion of MS 178);²³² the Nativity of the Virgin Mary was represented by the chants *Regali ex progenie* and *Ne timeas*;²³³ the

²²⁹ F. Ll. Harrison, 'An English "Caput"', *ML*, 33 (1952), p.207.

²³⁰ Number 60 in the complete MS; the *cantus firmus* is based on the Lauds antiphon, *Regali ex progenie*.

²³¹ Numbers 24 and 11; the *cantus firmus*, *Ne timeas Maria*, was an antiphon at Lauds on the feast of the Annunciation.

²³² Numbers 28 and 15; *Venit dilectus meus*, the *cantus firmus* of the Browne, was an antiphon to the psalms at Matins *Assumpta est Maria* an antiphon at Lauds, Prime and Compline.

²³³ *Ne timeas* was sung at Vespers during the octave of the Nativity of the BVM.

Visitation is represented in the text of Banaster's *O Maria et Elizabeth*. But Harrison's belief that the choirbook was construed as a yearly cycle rests on the assumption that it was purpose-designed. But the *cantus firmi* used in the repertory of MS 178 do not necessarily reflect the liturgical year, certain feasts being heavily represented, others being notable by their absence: neither in fact nor in intention does MS 178 appear to have represented a comprehensive annual cycle.

Perhaps the most pertinent issue is whether *cantus firmus* was of any consequence in the choice of repertory, and whether the singing of a votive antiphon was dependent on the festal or seasonal appropriateness of its *cantus firmus*. If *cantus firmus* usage was a significant factor, it does not appear to have been adhered to consistently, some feasts being rather better represented than others. Corpus Christi, the Marian feasts, Trinity, All Saints and, curiously, St Martin are well-represented: Christmas, Easter and Whitsun, the principal feasts, are not. The sample of *cantus firmi* is not complete: fourteen of the sixty-seven votive antiphons are lost. Nevertheless, enough examples survive to give a representative sample. The most complete section of the manuscript is that which contains the *Salve regina* settings. The singing of *Salve regina* was ordained to be sung specifically during Lent; other texts were sung on feast days during Lent, and the singing of the *Salve regina* was not prohibited at other times. It would not have been necessary to include *Salve regina* settings with *cantus firmi* taken from the small number of Lenten feasts. In fact, the only Lenten feast represented was the Annunciation (25 March).²³⁴ The

²³⁴ In antiphon numbers 24 (Nicholas Huchyn, *Salve regina*) and 11 (Wylkynson, *O virgo prudentissima*), the *cantus firmus* was *Ne timeas Maria*, which served not just for the Annunciation but also for the Nativity of the BVM and as a Magnificat antiphon at Vespers of the BVM. The *cantus firmus*

cantus firmus of one *Salve regina* was proper to the *Mandatum* on Maundy Thursday (which, strictly speaking, was outside of Lent).²³⁵ It is perhaps because festal *cantus firmi* were not needed for *Salve regina* settings during Lent that half of the original fourteen settings had no *cantus firmus* (or none that has yet been identified). But five of the eight known *cantus firmi* used in the *Salve regina* settings belong to feasts or seasons outside Lent, namely the Trinity and the Assumption.²³⁶ It would thus appear that either the festal or seasonal propriety of the *cantus firmus* did not determine when the antiphon round which it was composed was performed, or that *Salve regina* settings were sung throughout the year, or both.

Unless Christmas, Easter and Whitsun were all represented in *cantus firmi* of the fourteen antiphons now lost (which would seem unlikely), the total absence of these principal feasts casts further doubt on the suggestion that MS 178 was compiled *ab initio* as a complete yearly cycle. The Ascension, too, has no representative *cantus firmus*, although the two settings of the text, *Ascendit Christus*, may have been intended specifically to serve for Ascensiontide.²³⁷ It may not be coincidental that one of these two settings is for four parts, for Tenors and Basses only: at least by the time that Malim wrote his *Consuetudinarium* in 1560, the scholars (and perhaps also

of John Hampton's *Salve regina* (number 29), *Gaudeamus omnes gentes*, the Introit to Mass on the Annunciation, was widely used on other feasts.

²³⁵ Hygons's *Salve regina* (number 27): the 'caput' from *Venit ad Petrum*.

²³⁶ Numbers 20 (Browne), 21 (Lambe), 22 (Sutton), 27 (Hygons) and 15 (Wylkynson's nine-part *Salve*, added after the completion of the manuscript).

²³⁷ Numbers 54 (Huchyn) and 62 (Lambe).

the choristers) had leave of absence between Ascension Day and Corpus Christi.²³⁸ Those scholars who chose to return home would have been absent on Whit Sunday, which falls between May 10 and June 13. This might explain the lack of a Whitsuntide *cantus firmus*, but it does not necessarily follow that what applied in 1560 also applied in the 1500s, especially as the statutes required the attendance of all members of foundation at the principal feasts.²³⁹ Moreover, the feast of the Trinity would also have fallen during the vacation in most years, and this feast is represented in two of the full-choir antiphons.²⁴⁰ The uneven spread of *cantus firmi*, coupled with the absence of any identifiable *cantus firmus* in half of the surviving antiphons (whole or incomplete), bespeak indifference towards providing an annual cycle of festally-proper *cantus firmi*.

Two secular songs by Edmund Turges have been identified by Hugh Benham as a *cantus firmus* and a possible *cantus prius factus* for antiphons in the Eton choirbook: *From stormy windes* (John Browne's *Stabat iuxta cristi crucem*) and, probably, *Alas, it is I* (in *Stabat mater dolorosa*, also by John Browne).²⁴¹ The implications of these discoveries on the possible dating of the manuscript have already been examined.²⁴² To these recently-identified *cantus firmi* can be added two more: the Vespers hymn

²³⁸ R. Austen-Leigh (ed.), 'Life at Eton in 1560', *Etoniana*, 36 (1923), p.566.

²³⁹ H & W, article xix (*Quod socii et scholares se non absentent...*), p.536.

²⁴⁰ Numbers 22 (John Sutton, *Salve regina*, whose *cantus firmus* is *Libera nos, salva nos*) and 4 (Richard Davy, *Gaude flore virginali*, whose *cantus firmus* is the Vespers hymn, *O lux beata Trinitas*).

²⁴¹ *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem* and *Stabat mater*, both by John Browne; H. Benham, 'Prince Arthur (1486-1502): a carol and a *cantus firmus*', *EM*, 15 (1987), pp.463-7.

²⁴² See above, pp.287-99.

on Trinity Sunday and from Corpus Christi until Advent, *O lux beata Trinitas*, and the Mass introit, *Gaudeamus omnes gentes*. *O lux beata Trinitas* was used by Davy in *Gaude flore virginali* (number 4, of which much of the *secunda pars* survives;²⁴³ as well as *O lux beata Trinitas* Davys also used *Virgo flagellatur*, a respond at Matins on the feast of St Catherine; the modal difference between the two chants may account for the fact that the *Contratenor* part cadences on F, rather than the G proper to *O lux beata Trinitas*. In another instance of double *cantus firmus*, John Browne used ‘cadii custos’, the verse to the respond at Matins on the feast of Thomas Becket, *Jacet granum*, as well as the psalm antiphon at Matins of the same feast, *Exultat vir optimus*.²⁴⁴ As Hugh Benham has shown, these and other cases, added to Walter Lambe’s *O regina caelestis gloriae*, suggest that double *cantus firmi* enjoyed a minor vogue in the early sixteenth century. Unlike in the Lambe, where the two Epiphany chants, *Hodie in Jordane* and *Magi videntes stellam* were identified by the scribe of MS 178, the other double *cantus firmi* are not identified in the manuscript.²⁴⁵ But composers clearly took care to twin chants of the same feast or, in the case of Davy’s *Gaude flore virginali*, of compatible seasonal or festal use; here, a respond for the feast of St Catherine (25 November) is paired with a hymn for the season preceding Advent. At least at the time of composition, the festal and seasonal propriety of the *cantus firmus* was of considerable importance.

²⁴³ Harrison (ed.), *MB*, xii, pp.136-40.

²⁴⁴ H. Benham, *Latin Church Music in England c.1460-1575* (London, 1977), p.92.

²⁴⁵ In the case of the Davy, this may be because the first leaves, where such an identification would have been made, have been lost.

The other newly-identified *cantus firmus* is *Gaudeamus omnes gentes*, used by John Hampton in his *Salve regina*. This is problematical only in the sense that the chant served as Introit to Mass on a number of feast-days, among which were All Saints (1 November), Thomas Becket (29 December), St Agatha (5 February), the Annunciation (25 March), the Translation of St Edmund (9 June) and Anne, mother of Mary (2 July). We cannot therefore be certain that the *Salve regina* was chosen with any one of these feasts in mind. It is unique among the antiphons in MS 178 in that it is based on a chant extracted from the Mass.

Tabulated overleaf are all those *cantus firmi* which have been identified, together with the relevant antiphons and their composers; they are listed according to their position within the liturgical year (beginning at Advent). A number of *cantus firmi* (marked with asterisks) were sung on more than one feast or season (see, for instance, *Ne timeas Maria*, the *cantus firmus* of Nicholas Huchyn's *Salve regina*), and have been listed at each of their proper feasts or seasons. Those *cantus firmi* whose identifications are uncertain are suffixed with a question mark. Each antiphon is numbered according to its position within the complete manuscript. The following abbreviations apply: An., antiphon; Rd., respond; It., introit; M., Matins; L., Lauds; P., Prime; V., Vespers; C., Compline; Mem., memorial; 8ve, octave.

1. Liturgical cantus firmi

| Composer | Motet | <i>Cantus firmus</i> | Liturgical use; feast/season/date |
|----------|-----------------------------------|---|---|
| Huchyn | <i>Salve regina</i> | * <i>Ne timeas Maria</i> | Mag. An, V. of BVM during Advent |
| Sturton | <i>Gaude virgo mater christi</i> | <i>Alma redemptoris mater</i> | BVM An, Advent-Purification of BVM (-2 February) |
| Browne | <i>Stabat virgo mater christi</i> | * <i>Regali ex progenie</i> | An, L., Conception of BVM (8 December) |
| Browne | <i>Stabat virgo mater christi</i> | <i>Exultat vir optimus</i> | An, M., Thomas Becket (29 December) |
| Lambe | <i>Nesciens mater</i> | * <i>Nesciens mater</i> | An, Mem. at M. & V., 8ve of Christmas (-1 January) |
| Lambe | <i>O regina caelestis gloriae</i> | <i>Hodie in Jordane</i> <i>Magi videntes stellam</i> | Rd, M., Epiphany (6 January) Mag. An, V., Epiphany (6 January) |
| Lambe | <i>Nesciens mater</i> | * <i>Nesciens mater</i> | Mag. An, V. of BVM, 8ve of Epiphany-Purification of BVM (<i>i.e.</i> , 7 January-2 February) |
| Huchyn | <i>Salve regina</i> | * <i>Ne timeas Maria</i> | An, L., Annunciation of BVM (25 March) |
| Browne | <i>O regina mundi clara</i> | * <i>Pange lingua</i> | Hymn, M., Holy Week |
| Browne | <i>Salve regina</i> | <i>Maria ergo unxit</i> | An, <i>Mandatum</i> , Maundy Thursday |

| | | | |
|-----------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| Hygons | <i>Salve regina</i> | <i>Venit ad Petrum (caput)</i> | An, <i>Mandatum</i> , Maundy Thursday |
| Sutton | <i>Salve regina</i> | * <i>Libera nos, salva nos</i> | An, M., Trinity Sunday |
| Davy | <i>Gaude flore virginali</i> | * <i>O lux beata Trinitas</i> | Hymn, V., Trinity Sunday |
| Sutton | <i>Salve regina</i> | * <i>Libera nos, salva nos</i> | An, Trinity Mem., Trinity-Advent |
| Lambe | <i>Salve regina</i> | <i>Salve regina</i> | BVM An, Trinity-Advent |
| Davy | <i>O domine, caeli terraeque</i> | <i>Iratus rex Saul (?)</i> | (Mag. An, Trinity-Advent) |
| Lambe | <i>O maria plena gracia</i> | <i>O sacrum convivium</i> | Mag. An, V., Corpus Christi |
| Browne | <i>O regina mundi clara</i> | * <i>Pange lingua</i> | Hymn, M., Corpus Christi |
| Davy | <i>Gaude flore virginali</i> | * <i>O lux beata Trinitas</i> | Hymn, V., after Corpus Christi, until Advent |
| Davy | <i>In honore summe matris</i> | * <i>Iusti in perpetuum</i> | Rd, M., Feast of Relics (first Sunday after 7 July, or 15 September) |
| Wylkynson | <i>Salve regina</i> | <i>Assumpta est Maria</i> | An, L., P. & C., Assumption of BVM (15 August) |
| Browne | <i>Salve regina</i> | <i>Venit dilectus meus</i> | An, M., Assumption of BVM (15 August) |
| Browne | <i>Stabat virgo mater christi</i> | * <i>Regali ex progenie</i> | An, L., Nativity of BVM (8 September) |

| | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------|------------------------------------|------------------------------|---|
| 24 | Huchyn | <i>Salve regina</i> | <i>*Ne timeas Maria</i> | An, V., 8ve of Nativity of BVM (-15 September) |
| 16 | Brygeman | <i>Salve regina</i> | <i>Omnes electi</i> | An, V., All Saints (1 November) |
| 29 | Hampton | <i>Salve regina</i> | <i>Gaudeamus omnes</i> | It, Mass, All Saints (1 November) ¹ |
| 34 | Davy | <i>In honore summe matris</i> | <i>*Iusti in perpetuum</i> | Rd, C., All Saints (1 November) |
| 33 | Davy | <i>Virgo templum trinitatis</i> | <i>O virum ineffabilem</i> | An, L., St Martin (11 November) |
| 49 | Fawkynner | <i>Gaude virgo salutata</i> | <i>Martinus Abrahae sinu</i> | An, L., St Martin (11 November) |
| 30 | Davy | <i>O domine caeli terraeque</i> | <i>Beatus Martinus (?)</i> | An, M., 8ve of St Martin (-18 November) |
| 34 | Davy | <i>In honore summe matris</i> | <i>*Iusti in perpetuum</i> | Rd, V., Common of Confessors |
| 2. Non-liturgical cantus firmi | | | | |
| 5 | Browne | <i>Stabat mater dolorosa</i> | <i>Alas, it is I (?)</i> | secular song, Edmund Turges (<i>GB-Lbm</i> , Add. 5465, ff.17 ^v -19) |
| 8 | Browne | <i>Stabat iuxta christi crucem</i> | <i>From stormy winds</i> | secular song, Edmund Turges (<i>GB-Lbm</i> , Add. 5465, ff.104 ^v -108) |

¹ Mass introit on a number of feasts throughout the year, including Thomas Becket (29 December), St Agatha (5 February), Annunciation of the BVM (25 March), Translation of St Edmund (9 June), and of Anne, mother of Mary (2 July).

4.6: CONCLUSION: MS 178 AND ITS CONCORDANCES

The Eton choirbook occupies a central place in the historiography of late-medieval English choral polyphony. It is the first of three large choirbooks surviving from the early Tudor period: the others are the Lambeth choirbook (Lambeth Palace, MS 1) and the Caius choirbook (Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, MS 667). There are two concordances in these two sources: Lambeth's *O Maria plena gracia* (MS 178, openings b2-b5; Lambeth, ff.52v-56r), Fayrfax's Magnificat *Regale* (now missing from MS 178, but on ff.66v-69r of Lambeth and, incomplete, on pp.118-121 of Caius). Although most of the choirbook's contents are *unica*, some concordances survive, as well as references in archival documents to pieces contained in MS 178. These concordant sources and documentary references form the wider context in which MS 178 can be considered both as source and artefact.

Although, in terms of size and layout, Caius 667 and Lambeth 1 are the early-sixteenth-century sources which compare most closely with MS 178, they were compiled a generation after it, and there is little repertorial overlap between the Eton choirbook and the two later choirbooks. Both of the Henrician choirbooks, moreover, contain settings of the Mass Ordinary, an element conspicuously lacking in MS 178. Apart from the Carver choirbook (Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS Adv. 5.1.15) and the fragments of what was once a choirbook of a comparable size to MS 178, most concordances occur in smaller-scale partbooks and single leaves. These

concordances are listed overleaf:²⁴⁶

Figure 4.6.A: concordances of MS 178

| composer | piece | source; folio(s) | voice-part(s) |
|-----------------|--------------------------|--|--|
| Fayrfax | <i>Magnificat Regale</i> | <i>GB-Cgc</i> 667; 118-121 <i>GB-Cp</i> 471-4; 89/80v/98v/78bv <i>GB-Cjc</i> 234; 31v-2 <i>GB-Cu</i> Dd.xiii.27; 34r-v <i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. 34191; 45 <i>GB-Llp</i> 1; 66v-9 <i>GB-Ob</i> Lat. liturg. a. 9; 5-6 | all Tr-M-Ct-B B B B all all (fragmentary) |
| Cornysh | <i>Salve regina</i> | <i>GB-En</i> Adv. 5.1.15; 136v-141 <i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. 34191; 17 <i>GB-Lbl</i> Harl. 1709; 51v-53 <i>GB-Onc</i> pr. bk. Ω.14.5 (pastedown) | all B M Tr-Ct |
| Davy | <i>O domine caeli</i> | <i>GB-Cjc</i> 234; 6v-8 <i>GB-Cu</i> Dd.xiii.27; 5-6v <i>GB-Lbl</i> Harl. 1709; 22-24v | B T M |
| Davy | <i>Virgo templum</i> | <i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. 34191; 20-22v <i>GB-Lbl</i> Harl. 1709; 35-7 | B Tr |
| Davy | <i>Stabat mater</i> | <i>GB-Cjc</i> 234; 8v-10 <i>GB-Cu</i> Dd.xiii.27; 7v-8v | B T |
| Davy | <i>Salve Jesu mater</i> | <i>GB-Lbl</i> Harl. 1709; 31-3 | Tr |
| Lambe | <i>O Maria plena</i> | <i>GB-Llp</i> 1; 52v-56 <i>GB-Oas</i> 330; 18r-v <i>GB-Onc</i> pr. bk. C.1.2 ²⁴⁷ <i>GB-CRr</i> CX/1 17 | all T-Ct-2B Tr |

²⁴⁶ See G. Curtis and A. Wathey, 'Fifteenth-Century English Liturgical Music: a List of the Surviving Repertory', *RMARC*, 27 (1994), pp.1-69.

²⁴⁷ [note: this and the next entry not included in the 1997 thesis]

Figure 4.6.A: concordances of MS 178 (continued)

| | | | |
|----------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------|
| Lambe | Magnificat | <i>GB-En</i> . Adv. 5.1.15; 127v-132 | all |
| Banester | <i>O Maria et Elizabeth</i> | <i>GB-CRr</i> CX/1; 17v | Tr |
| Browne | <i>Stabat mater</i> | <i>GB-Cu</i> Buxton 96 | B |
| Nesbett | Magnificat | <i>GB-En</i> Adv. 5.1.15; 119v-123 | all |
| Turges | <i>Gaude flore</i> | <i>GB-Onc</i> 368/1; 38 | Tr1/M |

The small number of concordances precludes any consideration of stemmatic relationships between MS 178 and other early-sixteenth century music manuscripts. The surviving concordances, however, can be compared with the repertorial make-up of MS 178. In some respects, MS 178 is representative. Compositions by Walter Lambe (thirteen pieces) and Richard Davy (ten pieces) are among the most numerous in MS 178: concordances are numerous in manuscripts with diverse provenances including (in the case of Lambe) the Scottish Carver choirbook; Robert Fayrfax's *Magnificat Regale* was widely disseminated. The Eton choirbook contains local repertory (works by Robert Wylkynson, William Brygeman and John Sutton), repertory from from its sister college in Cambridge (Robert Hacomplaynt and, possibly, John Sygar), pieces from nearby (Walter Lambe and Robert Mychelson worked at St George's, Windsor), as well as from further afield (Oxford and London especially). In this mixture of local and general repertory, MS 178 is not unusual:

Lambeth 1 and Caius 667 both contain a high proportion of works by 'in-house' composers; the provenance (Magdalen College, Oxford) of the repertory in the Henrician partbooks at Peterhouse, Cambridge, has been established largely because of the preponderance of Magdalen composers.²⁴⁸

A significant exception, however, is John Browne. There are fifteen compositions by Browne in MS 178, and yet one fragmentary concordance. Browne is generally regarded as the foremost English composer of the late fifteenth century.²⁴⁹ Yet his compositions are conspicuously absent from all contemporary sources, neither do his compositions appear in lists and inventories. The only exception is a single leaf now in Cambridge University Library (MS Buxton 96) containing the Bass part of his *Stabat mater*.²⁵⁰ A Browne was composer of three secular songs in the Fayrfax book.²⁵¹ This may be John Browne, although the forename is not specified in Add. 5465; a William Browne, a gentleman of the royal household chapel, may also have been the composer (perhaps not least because of the courtly origins which have recently been claimed for the Fayrfax book).²⁵² But

²⁴⁸ See N. Sandon, 'The Henrician Partbooks at Peterhouse, Cambridge', *PRMA*, 103 (1977), pp.106-140.

²⁴⁹ Harrison (ed.), *MB*, x, pp.xvi-xvii; see below, Appendix D, pp.504-11, for a discussion of John Browne and his career.

²⁵⁰ A description can be found by Roger Bowers in *Cambridge Music Manuscripts 900-1700*, ed. I. Fenlon (Cambridge, 1982), pp.114-17.

²⁵¹ *GB-Lbl* Add. 5465: 'Jhesu mercy how may this be' (ff.53v-54); 'Wofffully araid' (ff.73v-4); 'Margaret meke' (ff.89^v-90). See J. Stevens (ed.), *Early Tudor Songs and Carols*, *MB*, xxxvi (1975), pp.80-5, 104-9, 121-3.

²⁵² Harrison, *MMB*, p.419; R. Bowers, 'Early Tudor Courtly Song: An Evaluation of the Fayrfax Book (BL, Additional MS 5465', in *The Reign of Henry VII: Proceedings of the 1993 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. B. Thompson (Stamford, 1995), pp.188-212. Bowers ascribes courtly origins to Add. 5465 on the grounds

Buxton 96 remains the only proven concordance. It may have been used at the college of St Mary, Mettingham, a modest secular chantry college in Suffolk.²⁵³ If this provenance is correct, it poses as many questions as it answers. It is at least anomalous that a composer whose works dominate MS 178 should be represented in no other source but a fragment from an East Anglian chantry college with no demonstrable musical pedigree. That Browne's works are so largely confined to MS 178 (and yet so dominant within that manuscript) may be strong circumstantial evidence that he was a 'local' composer identifiable with the John Browne of Coventry who was elected scholar at Eton in 1467 (at the same time as Walter Lambe). But if Browne was of only local interest, why should a composition of his have been transmitted to Mettingham but not to other, likelier, destinations? It is quite possible (if not highly likely) that the poor survival rate of music manuscripts has distorted the evidence.

A key problem encountered in any attempt to contextualize a manuscript like MS 178 is the relatively poor survival rate of pre-Reformation music manuscripts.²⁵⁴ The

of the song texts alone; he also attributes the songs in Add. 5465 to John Browne who if he was a chaplain in the household of the thirteenth earl of Oxford (as Bowers argues, *ibid.*, p.190), would probably have come into contact with musicians from court.

²⁵³ Bowers (in *Cambridge Music Manuscripts*, p.115) suggests this provenance on the strength of a sixteenth-century ascription associating the manuscript with Banyards Hall in Bunwell (which, until 1542, was an estate of Mettingham College). This would seem to be corroborated by the use of another fragment of polyphony as a wrapper for the college's account book for 1514 (*GB-Lbl*, Add. 33989, ff.128-142). A search through the accounts of the college, which survive remarkably complete in the British Library (MSS Add. 27404, Add. 33986-33990 and Add. 40069-40071) has not revealed any evidence of musical activity, save the 12d. annually paid for the maintenance of the organ.

²⁵⁴ Wathey, 'Lost Books', for instance, lists 174 items mentioned in inventories and accounts before 1500 but now lost. A list of lost sources compiled between 1500 and 1550 would include many more than this.

choirbooks, partbooks and *rotuli* which survived the Reformation were the exception, not the rule. This affects not only the number of manuscripts available for comparison, but also the representativeness of the sample: while MS 178 may be typical of surviving choirbooks or choirbook fragments in some respects, and untypical in others, we have no means of knowing how it related to now-lost sources. Even where defunct repertories were listed in inventories (such as those at King's College, Cambridge, or All Saints', Bristol), there is no indication of the construction, layout or appearance of the codices which contained these repertories. The historiographical importance of complete or near-complete sources, such as Lambeth 1 and Caius 667 or the Carver choirbook, is matched by that of numerous fragments and odd leaves which are discovered in bindings, used as wrappers, stuffed behind wall panels and pasted onto walls.²⁵⁵

The Eton choirbook is a sumptuous manuscript, written and illuminated to high standards: it was intended to beautify the liturgy visually as much as its contents were intended to enhance the sung liturgy. The production of large choirbooks was prompted not only by practical considerations. MS 178 and similar choirbooks were big for practical reasons: they needed to be read by fifteen or twenty people simultaneously. It has been argued that the need for legibility affected the copying

²⁵⁵ See, for instance, A. Wathey, 'Newly Discovered Fifteenth-century Polyphony at Oxford', *ML*, 64 (1983), pp.58-66.

process in the case of MS 178.²⁵⁶ But aesthetic considerations may also have impinged on the size of manuscripts. A small number of leaves and rolls survive containing single voice-parts from the early sixteenth century:

Figure 4.6.B: single voice-parts preserved in early-sixteenth-century fragments

| composer | piece | source | voice |
|------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------|
| Browne ²⁵⁷ | <i>Stabat mater dolorosa</i> | <i>GB-Cu</i> Buxton 96 | B |
| anon. | '..sepe precinebant..' | <i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. 33989, ff.128/142 | B |
| Cotterell | <i>O rex gloriose</i> | <i>GB-Ob</i> Ashmole 1527, f.1r | B |
| Cornysh | <i>Suscipe rosarium</i> | <i>GB-Ob</i> Ashmole 1527, f.1v | B |
| Ludford ²⁵⁸ | <i>Gaude flore virginali</i> | Aca A340 | B |

These fragments had never been parts of choirbooks or partbooks, but had been copied out by individual singers in order to learn their voice-parts in private.²⁵⁹ At All Saints' church, Bristol, William Brygeman bequeathed his books and rolls of

²⁵⁶ See above, pp.243-6.

²⁵⁷ See description by R. Bowers in *Cambridge Music Manuscripts 900-1700*, ed. I. Fenlon (Cambridge, 1982), pp.114-7.

²⁵⁸ See R. Bowers & A. Wathey, 'New Sources of English Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Polyphony', *EMH*, 4 (1984), pp.298-304.

²⁵⁹ Suggested by Bowers and Wathey in 'New Sources', p.301.

polyphony ‘...under the Con디션 that no Childern shuld be tawte apone the seid books scrowis & Rools’.²⁶⁰ The implication is that the processes of assimilation and performance were or could be conducted from different manuscripts. It has been remarked how scribal errors remained uncorrected in manuscripts which were used and marked ‘*corrigitur*’, even in MS 178.²⁶¹ This further suggests that the finely-produced choirbook - the book that was actually used during services and devotions in chapel - was not necessarily intended to provide an authoritative musical text as much as to serve as a visually imposing *aide-mémoire*. The growth in the size of choirs during the fifteenth century was almost certainly related to the increasing size of music manuscripts, but the link may not necessarily be causal.

This is also suggested in a leaf of a mid-fifteenth-century choirbook now in the Public Record Office.²⁶² This contains five three-part untroped Kyrie settings (two of which may be attributed to Dunstable and Power) in score notation. The manuscript, from which this single leaf was extracted, must have been highly sumptuous: the limning scheme, unlike that in MS 178, includes borders filled with ‘*demi-vinet*’ illumination.²⁶³ The leaf also seems unnecessarily large, given the small-scale,

²⁶⁰ Harrison, ‘The Repertory’, p.145.

²⁶¹ Bowers, in *Cambridge Music Manuscripts*, p.117); Fugler, ‘The Lambeth and Caius Choirbooks’, p.20.

²⁶² *GB-Lpro*, E163/22/1/3. See Curtis & Wathey, ‘Fifteenth-century English Liturgical Music’, p.16.

²⁶³ On late-medieval limning terms, see K. L. Scott, ‘Limning and book-producing terms and signs *in situ* in late-medieval English manuscripts: a first listing’, in *New Science out of Old Books: Studies in Manuscripts and Early Printed Books in Honour of A. I. Doyle*, ed. R. Beadle & A. J. Piper (Aldershot, 1995), pp.142-88. The term ‘*demi-vinet*’ was applied between c.1415 and c.1460 to the painting of sprigs and sprays in the top and bottom border, with filled left-hand border (*ibid.*, p.149).

unpretentious repertory it contains; it is larger in size than leaves from MS 178 (680x460mm, as opposed to 595x425mm), and yet would probably be used by no more than six singers. The size of note-heads is smaller than in MS 178, although the staves are comparable in height (17-21mm): the need for legibility alone did not necessitate such a large format. The implication is that the large format was an aesthetic *desideratum* rather than a musical or practical necessity. The size of MS 178 was justified (if not necessitated) by the size of the performing ensemble which used it; nevertheless, aesthetic factors may have been equally important in determining both its size and its appearance.

MS 178 shares many attributes with contemporary codices and fragments of liturgical polyphony. No contemporary music manuscript appears to have been written in the same hand, although the style of notation is comparable with, for instance, All Souls' College MS 330 (which is one of two concordances of Lambe's *O Maria plena gracia*). No other music manuscripts have the same system of pricking and ruling.²⁶⁴ Three other sources contain red texting, one of the hallmarks of MS 178.²⁶⁵ Other manuscripts share similar schemes of limning: *GB-Lbl* Add. 34191, for instance, contains blue initials on red tracery of a type close to that in MS 178. Perhaps the closest relative of MS 178 is the Fayrfax book (*GB-Lbl* Add. 5465).

²⁶⁴ It should be noted, however, that *GB-Lbl* MS Egerton 3307, like MS 178, was batch-ruled.

²⁶⁵ *GB-Cu* MS Nn.vi.46 (containing the as-yet anonymous Mass *O quam suavis*), *GB-Lbl* Add. 34191 (which contains two concordances), and *GB-Lbl*. Add. 30520 (containing, *inter alia*, Ashwell's Mass *Sancte Cuthberte*).

Although this is a book of secular songs and, hence, contains no concordances, there are repertorial links between the two manuscripts: at least one (perhaps two) of the songs in Add. 5465 provided a *cantus firmus* for music subsequently copied into MS 178;²⁶⁶ both manuscripts were made to similar standards, the Fayrfax manuscript having blue-red initials for the first opening of each piece and plain blue or red capitals for some of the subsequent openings; although the staves in Add. 5465 were custom-ruled, the frame-rulings, like those in MS 178, were derived from prickings made at the four corners of each leaf; the notation in both manuscripts is full black with full red coloration; although the texts in Add. 5465 are written in a cursive hand, the scribal style of the notation is similar (but not identical) to the first layer of MS 178; both manuscripts were copied in the very early sixteenth century (the dating of MS 178 to some extent being predicated on that of Add. 5465).

Close affinities can also be found with non-polyphonic liturgical manuscripts. *GB-Lbl* MS Cotton Nero E.VIII, a fifteenth-century Sarum Gradual, is illuminated according to an almost identical scheme to MS 178: painted initials are reserved only for introits of major feasts; blue-red initials serve for lesser feasts and sequences; black strapwork was used for the initials of offertories, communions and alleluias, and single-line red and blue capitals occur elsewhere. This hierarchy could almost have been the inspiration for the scheme at Eton, whose stylistic antecedents may have been liturgical books rather than other polyphonic codices. The manner in which MS 178 was compiled - most notably in the regular formation of its gatherings,

²⁶⁶ John Browne's *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem* and *Stabat mater dolorosa*: see above, pp.319-28.

but also in terms of its general presentation - was comparable with the production of fine liturgical books. That it was given two separate indices, one at each end of the manuscript, suggests that, however much the scope of the manuscript might have developed as copying progressed, it was regarded in its final form as an important component of the liturgy of the chapel as a whole. Both indices include important performance indications: scoring, number of voice-parts, and overall compass. The care taken, not only in the assembly of the manuscript, but also in the inclusion of such information in its indices, also suggests that the choirbook was intended to serve the particular needs of the chapel choir in as fully and as coherently as possible. MS 178 represented a considerable investment of time and resources. If nothing else, it demonstrates that, by 1500, choral polyphony was no longer regarded as a dispensable ornament at an institution such as Eton College, but as an integral part of the liturgy itself.

CHAPTER FIVE**THE INSTITUTIONAL BACKGROUND, 1479-1530:****the context in which MS 178 was assembled and used****5.1 FINANCIAL RECOVERY**

On its fortieth anniversary, the future of Eton College was secure, even if its wealth was still much reduced.¹ Restoration of the Lancastrian affinity to power in 1485 did not bring about an instant transformation in the fortunes of the college. Henry Tudor, more eager to accrue than to disburse revenues, seems to have been content to leave Eton College very much as he found it on his accession. During the next fifty years, income grew steadily, until it reached its pre-1461 levels in the 1540s and 1550s, breaking through the £1,000 mark in 1543.² This growth of income was brought about by the careful husbandry of resources rather than by grand acts of patronage, royal or otherwise. The greatest increases in income took place during the mid sixteenth century; after Elizabeth succeeded Mary Tudor in 1559, the college revenues stood at £1,615 17s. 7½d.³ Year-on-year, revenues were liable to fluctuate:

¹ From an income of £321 16s. 11 3/4d. in 1467, there had been intermittent growth up to 1494, in which year the college received £621 16s. 3¼d. total revenues. At no point during the decade preceding the 1461 *coup d'état* had the college received less than £1,100 *per annum*. See Appendix H, pp.535-8 below.

² ECR 62 /2 (audit book 2, 1542-3), p.216; the total college receipts in this year amounted to £1,053 4s. 8d.

³ ECR 62/3 (audit book 3, 1558-9), p.470.

between 1498 and 1501, for instance, revenues rose for four consecutive years, from £554 7s. 8½d. to £658 11¾d., only to fall back to £515 8s. 3¼d. by 1504.⁴

Nevertheless, by 1560 Eton College was again a wealthy institution, its annual income amounting to nearly £1,750.⁵ This sum, and most others in the 1550s, outstripped the receipts enjoyed during the period of royal patronage in the 1440s and 1450s; at the peak of the college's early prosperity, in 1449, the income had stood at £1,311 11s. ¼d.⁶ Even allowing for the effects of mid-sixteenth-century inflation,⁷ the great increase in income enjoyed in the sixteenth century enabled the bursars to meet and, should it be expedient, exceed all their statutory spending obligations.

Between the restoration of the college by Edward IV and the accession of Henry VII, the disposition of resources and personnel were established, as the reduced circumstances permitted. The essential elements of personnel deployment and financial allocation, as they appear in the year 1485-6, remained constant until well into the sixteenth century.⁸ The income of £642 9s. 10¼d., a good year, was rather higher than the £538 12s. 6½d. received in 1484-5,⁹ but was not much higher than the average annual income for the twenty-five years to 1510; the expenditure on commons, of £211 9s. ½d. in 1485-6, was not an unusual amount, though expenditure

⁴ ECR 61/AR/F/8-13 (audit rolls, 1497-1501); see Appendix g, p.536-7 below.

⁵ ECR 62/3 (audit book 3, 1559-60), p.470.

⁶ ECR 61/AR/A/4 (audit roll, 1448-9), under *Summa receptorum*.

⁷ See John A. F. Thomson, *The Transformation of Medieval England 1370-1529* (Harlow, 1983), p.379 (table A.1): price inflation (coupled with wage deflation), far from being a mid-Tudor phenomenon, had been intensifying since the early sixteenth century.

⁸ ECR 61/AR/F/1, (audit roll, 1485-6), under *Porciones magistri prepositi..., Stipendia...clericorum, and Stipendia...servientium*.

increased slightly, during the 1500s, to £259 16s. 8d. in 1509-10.¹⁰ The total wage-bill of the provost and fellows, of £80 17s. 4d. was comparable to the *porciones* paid during the reign of Henry VII.¹¹ The annual provost's portion of £30 and fellow's portion of 100s. (or £5) remained the same until the late 1540s; the size of the fellowship - provost, seven fellows, and *informator scholarum* - was similar to the standard, save the absence of an eighth fellowship, which came in the following year.¹² The combined number of scholars, choristers and serving-boys taking commons, between sixty-one and seventy-one, was still considerably lower than the ninety present in 1457-8.¹³ While the number of junior members was liable to fluctuation, there was a steady increase in numbers so that in 1521-2 there were between seventy-two and seventy-five listed taking commons,¹⁴ in 1531-2 between seventy-four and eighty-two,¹⁵ and in 1552-3 between seventy-six and eighty-five.¹⁶ Thus numbers were allowed to rise gradually, as circumstances permitted. Expenditure on commons, easily the largest item of expenditure, rose much more than these relatively small overall rises in numbers receiving would necessitate. In the 1500s, commons accounted for, on average, about £250; during the 1550s,

⁹ ECR 61/AR/D/2 (audit roll, 1484-5), under *Summa receptorum*.

¹⁰ ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1509-10), p.82.

¹¹ ECR 61/AR/F/1 (audit roll, 1485-6), under *Porciones magistri prepositi et sociorum*.

¹² ECR 61/AR/A/2 (audit roll, 1486-7), under *Porciones...sociorum*.

¹³ ECR 61/AR/B/1 (audit roll, 1457-8).

¹⁴ ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1521-2) pp.292-9.

¹⁵ ECR 62/2 (audit book 2, 1531-2) pp.49-52.

¹⁶ ECR 62/3 (audit book 3, 1552-3), pp.115-22.

expenditure on this item alone amounted to between £426 4s. 2½d.,¹⁷ and £525 9s. 19½d. in 1559-60.¹⁸ In 1509-10, 129 people took commons, costing £241 2s. 2d.;¹⁹ in 1536-7, there were 155 recipients, costing over £325.²⁰ While there is no evidence of a great increase in numbers between 1536 and the 1550s, before 1560, expenditure on commons had become twice as much as it had been in the first two decades of the sixteenth century. A larger proportion of clerks are listed as having received commons at the higher table during the 1550s; whereas the usual number of clerks eating in during the 1500s was between four and five, throughout the 1550s all the clerks, not just the *clerici generosi*, were listed on the *secunda mensa*. This and other nuances of nomenclature do not account for the much greater expenditure; clearly, it was decided to use the greater disposable income on improving the quantity (and, perhaps, quality) of the food, rather than take on extra staff. In other areas, as well, there are clear signs that a better standard of living was given a high priority mid-century. The annual fellow's portion, since the late-1460s reduced to £5, was raised to £10 sometime between 1445 and Michaelmas 1550, by which time the provost's pay, formerly £30, had also been restored to its pre-1461 level of £75.²¹ During the early Tudor period, therefore, the growth in income afforded the bursars increasingly

¹⁷ ECR 62/3 (audit book 3, 1558-9), p.439.

¹⁸ ECR 62/3 (audit book 3, 1559-60), p.477.

¹⁹ ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1509-10), p.82; ECR 61/NR/6, front (nominal roll, Hilary Term, 1510).

²⁰ ECR 61/NR/8 (nominal roll, 1536-7), front (MT, 1536); ECR 62/37 (bursars' book, 1536-7), f.125.

²¹ The newly-restored pay-scales applied from Michaelmas Term 1547 at the latest (ECR 62/38 (bursar's book 2, 1547-8, under *Stipendia...sociorum*), f.75. The provost's collegiate salary was, in fact, £50; this was supplemented with £25 derived from the his *ex officio* role as rector of Eton.

wider discretion in the allocation of resources; by implication, expenditure on the *Opus Dei* was able to increase commensurately.

5.2 THE PROSOPOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

For the first twenty-five years after the restoration of Eton College, the composition of the choir had been subject to considerable fluctuation, few clerks remaining on the chapel payroll for more than a few months.²² There had been one or two exceptions, notably the *informator choristarum* from 1473 to 1493, John Boraston and the erstwhile chorister and scholar, Lewis Palmer.²³ Palmer, from Wells, a chorister in 1470, became a scholar in the same year (on 25 March 1470, he was 12 years old).²⁴ He rejoined the chapel staff in Trinity Term, 1476, remaining until Easter 1501 (by which time, he would be about 43 years old).²⁵ Other choristers are known to have continued their adolescent education at Eton. Amongst Palmer's contemporaries, William Michael of St Dunstan-in-the-East, a chorister from 1467-70, was admitted scholar, aged 12 in 1470, going to King's for a year, 1475-6;²⁶

²² See above, pp.169-76.

²³ See below, p.483.

²⁴ Harrison, *MMB*, p.461; *Register*, p.256.

²⁵ ECR 61/NR/1 (nominal roll, 31 March-30 September 1470); ECR 61/AR/C/5 to 61/AR/F/11 (audit rolls, 1476-1501).

²⁶ *BRUC*, p.405.

William Trende (or Trynde) of St Lawrence parish (London), was admitted a king's scholar in 1472 (having been 13 in 1470), leaving for King's in 1476 (where he became a fellow, 1480-3, and a University questioner, 1481/2-);²⁷ a third chorister listed in the nominal roll for 1470, John Portar of Canterbury, was a scholar from c.1472 to 1477 (having been a chorister in 1469-70, when he was 11), spending five years at King's - 1477-81, as a scholar and 1481-2 as a conduct.²⁸ It is likely that Palmer spent the early 1470s in education at Eton, taking up a clerkship soon after the expiry of his scholarship; indeed, he would seem to have spent most of his life there. Thus, while his education may not have progressed as far as some of his contemporaries', he would have received some musical training from Richard Bovyate as chorister, followed by a sound secondary level of education. Like most singers, Palmer is not known to have proceeded to university. Indeed, among those choristers of King's and Eton who are known to have studied at Cambridge, there is scant evidence that, having been choristers, they were predisposed towards careers as professional singers after graduating. Palmer's background - choristership followed by some degree of supplementary education - would appear to be fairly typical for a clerk.²⁹ Like many other scholars and choristers at Eton, he had travelled from some distance away; among those scholars listed in 1470, many came from the local catchment area of London and its suburbs (thirteen are identifiable), Hull, Swineshead (Lincolnshire), Grantham, Canterbury, Strathfieldsaye (a college manor),

²⁷ *BRUC*, p.594.

²⁸ *BRUC*, p.458.

²⁹ See, *inter alia*, J. Stevens, *Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court* (Cambridge, 1979), pp.303-5.

Kersey (Suffolk), Upton (Hampshire), Yoxall (Staffordshire) and, in small numbers, Eton itself.³⁰ Because of the survival of the election roll for 30 July 1470, we know his provenance, his date of birth, and, because he was only fifth on the list of scholars, that he was almost certainly admitted as a scholar;³¹ in this respect, he is almost unique among clerks, whose appointments were not recorded in the college register. In many other respects, though, Palmer seems to have been a fairly typical example of a singing clerk at Eton at the end of the fifteenth century. The first of a handful of long-serving clerks present during the reign of Henry VII (and Henry VIII), Palmer stayed for over six years, perhaps intermittently as instructor; although he is not styled *informator* in the accounts his pay was fixed at 40s. rather than the £4 his predecessor had received.³² Between the departure of John Boraston in 1493 and his own in 1501, Palmer was the senior clerk, listed first in the accounts, and it was probably as senior clerk that he discharged the duties of instructor. At two times, however, there were clerks who were, by title or implication, paid as specialised instructors. One of them, William Tussey spent a short time at Eton, arriving early in 1497 and leaving at Easter the following year. For the five terms he was present at Eton, Tussey was paid the much higher rate of 66s. 8d., double the 33s. 4d. received

³⁰ ECR 61/NR/1 (nominal roll, 1470).

³¹ R. A. Austen-Leigh, 'Early Election Rolls', *Etoniana*, 12 (1911), p.182.

³² According to Harrison, he was appointed in 1492 (*MMB*, p.460). John Boraston, who had been *informator* previously, remained at Eton for 17½ weeks during the year 1492-3, receiving 26s. (which corresponds with the £4 instructor's salary he had been paid). It is thus more likely that Palmer took over the duties, if not the perquisites, of *informator choristarum* in or around February 1493, and then only as a stop-gap measure.

by most of his colleagues.³³ Like Henry Smith in 1470-1 and Adam Roke in 1467-8, Tussey was handsomely remunerated from the moment he arrived.³⁴ Almost certainly an outsider - his name does not appear elsewhere in any of the accounts for the 1490s, and there seem to be no records of a local family - Tussey was probably an experienced musician, perhaps head-hunted for his skills either as an organist (like Henry Abyndon) or as a choir-trainer (like Adam Roke); his wage of £3. 6s. 8d. matches that awarded to Robert Wylkynson in 1507, after some seven years as *informator choristarum*.³⁵ William Tussey is nowhere directly referred to as *informator*. He is listed first among the clerks in 1497-8, though; this, together with his high salary, strongly implies that he was instructor.³⁶ After only five terms, Tussey left Eton for Arundel, where he was clerk and *informator choristarum* in 1499-1500 (and probably beyond).³⁷ That a highly-paid clerk like Tussey should be recruited in the mid- to late-1490s is significant, given the weight of paleographic evidence concerning MS 178;³⁸ it also reflects on the standing of Lewis Palmer, a home-produced musician.

Palmer's background as a chorister implies an essentially musical role as a

³³ ECR 61/AR/F/7-8 (audit rolls, 1496-8), *Stipendia capellanorum et clericorum*.

³⁴ See above, pp.177-81.

³⁵ ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1506-7, under *Stipendia...clericorum*), p.38.

³⁶ In general, the *informator choristarum* was listed first, and then the other clerks in order of seniority (i.e. length of service).

³⁷ Aca, CA/19, compotus roll, Arundel College, 1499-1500 (under *Feoda hospicii*); the next full compotus roll is that for 1519-20.

³⁸ See above, pp.287-300.

clerk. In the case of other clerks, there is insufficient biographical information to indicate the nature of their employment. Palmer's pay of 40s. seems to have been the standard wage of a *clericus generosus* for twenty years after 1500, between four and six clerks being paid at this rate each year until the early-1520s. If Palmer was typical of this tier of clerks - and there is no concrete evidence to prove or disprove this - it is likely that there were, on average, five singing clerks at any one time. During the 1490s, the more usual salary for a gentleman clerk was 33s. 4d.; in 1495-6, a fairly representative year, the following payments were made:

Lewis Palmer - 40s.
 William Ketyll - 33s. 4d.
 William Huntrodes - for terms 1-2 - 16s. 8d.³⁹
 William Yong - 33s. 4d.
 Thomas Kendall - 33s. 4d.
 Richard Cuthbert, parish clerk - 26s. 8d.⁴⁰

Since the move into the new chapel in the late 1470s, the basic pay of the parish clerk had been set at 26s. 8d., and it remained at this level, certainly until the late-1520s, and probably later. Apart from the more highly-paid *informatores choristarum* and, apart from salaries supplemented at the provost's discretion, the other clerks were awarded the same 33s. 4d. basic salary. It is not clear why this became the standard pay during the 1490s. In the 1480s, 40s. seems to have been the norm; in 1486, for example, four clerks were paid at this higher rate (indeed, one of them, John Mason, had been described in the accounts for 1482-3, as an inferior clerk, on the same rate of pay).⁴¹ Huntrodes, Kendall and Ketyll all first appear in the accounts of 1492-3

³⁹ Elsewhere spelt Huntrode/Huntraye; see below, p.481.

⁴⁰ ECR 61/AR/F/6 (audit roll, 1495-6), under *Stipendia capellanorum et clericorum*.

⁴¹ ECR 61/AR/F/1 and 61/AR/D/1 (audit rolls, 1485-6, 1482-3), *Stipendia... clericorum*.

(there having been a *lacuna* between Michaelmas 1489 and Michaelmas 1492); Yong was present for ten weeks at the end of Trinity Term, 1489, paid 5s. 2d. (or 26s. 8d. *per annum*).⁴² That Palmer, who had been a clerk since 1476, should be paid 40s,⁴³ while his newer contemporaries – one of whom had started out on only 26s. 8d. *per annum* – received the lesser rate of 33s. 4d. suggests that receipt of the usual rate of 40s. was contingent on length of service and/or experience; that is, some form of performance-related pay. Yong, Ketyll and Kendall were appointed at much the same time - between 1489 and 1492 - and their salaries would be expected to rise simultaneously. When their wages were increased in 1500, the rise was applied wholesale, making a new standard salary of 40s. for all clerks;⁴⁴ between 1500 and 1524, payments of the old rate of 33s. 4d. were discontinued.

Given the high turnover of clerks which had been characteristic between 1466 and the 1480s (Lewis Palmer and John Boraston excepted), the 1490s and early sixteenth century were remarkable for the much greater continuity and duration of service of most of the clerks. William Yong, William Ketyll and Thomas Kendall, having arrived almost simultaneously, all stayed in the employ of Eton College until

⁴² ECR 61/AR/F/3 (audit roll, 1488-9), *Stipendia...clericorum*.

⁴³ Palmer himself had begun on only 20s. *per annum*.

⁴⁴ John Mason, who became a clerk in Trinity Term, 1501, was paid 10s. for that term (or 40s. *per annum*), even though he was new (ECR 61/AR/F/11 (audit roll, 1500-1), under *Stipendia...clericorum*). He could have been the same John Mason who had been a clerk between 1483 and 1486, and also an erstwhile college servant of the same name, in which case, he would not have been a novice. He was probably not the John Mason of Magdalen College and the household chapel of Thomas Wolsey (see R. Bowers, 'The cultivation and promotion of music in the household and orbit of Thomas Wolsey', in *Cardinal Wolsey: Church, state and art*, ed. S. J. Gunn & P. G. Lindley (Cambridge, 1991), pp.187-8); see below, pp.352-3, 482.

well into the new century, Yong the first to go (between 1517 and 1519), Kendall the next (at Easter in 1525) and Ketyll the last (between 1526 and 1528). Clerkships lasting between 28 and 35 years (Ketyll's possibly as long as 40 years),⁴⁵ were exceptional, and there continued to be a number of short-term appointments; but those staying short-term ceased to be in the majority, so that, by the mid-1500s, half of the clerks or more had worked alongside each other for five years or more.⁴⁶ In this sense, it is possible to talk of the clerks as a team, with a particularly long-serving and experienced nucleus: an important advance on the situation, pre-1490.⁴⁷

Of the three long-serving clerks, the career of Thomas Kendall gives the clearest indication of direct involvement in chapel music. His salary was the first to be raised to 40s., in 1496,⁴⁸ being once more augmented, by 13s. 4d., in 1498.⁴⁹ After an absence, between February and Christmas 1500 (of which the circumstances are not recorded), he resumed his clerkship at the standard rate of 40s. From Michaelmas

⁴⁵ In 1488-9, a John Ketull was parish clerk for the full year, paid 26s. 8d. (ECR 61/AR/F/3, under *Stipendia...clericorum*); this could be William Ketyll. Confusion of forenames was quite common: Thomas Kendall was sometimes called William, and Thomas Absolon, John.

⁴⁶ These being William Ketyll, Robert Wylkynson, Thomas Kendall and William Yong. See Appendix E, pp.512-30 below, for annual lists of clerks and chaplains.

⁴⁷ Roger Bowers (in 'Choral Institutions', pp.6075-80) has demonstrated the importance of continuity of service and adequacy of financial provision to the nurturing of choral polyphony: this is particularly germane at Eton, where a period of continuity at the turn of the sixteenth century coincided with the compilation of MS 178.

⁴⁸ ECR 61/AR/F/7 (audit roll, 1496-7), under *Stipendia...clericorum*.

⁴⁹ ECR 61/AR/F/9 (audit roll, 1498-9), *Stipendia...clericorum*. Kendall's bonus was made 'ad mandatum Magistri Prepositi'.

1505 he had acted as organist and clock-keeper (earning 6s. 8d. for each),⁵⁰ and from January 1507, he was sacrist, earning another 13s. 4d., giving a total annual salary of 66s. 8d., at which level Kendall's salary was fixed until shortly before his demise.⁵¹ It is likely that he had been performing at least some of the duties of sacrist, organist and/or clock-keeper before his headline salary was up-dated to reflect it. The same formula was adhered to, until Kendall's departure in 1525, when his duties (and pay) of sacrist and clock-keeper were taken on by John Serchefeld, the long-serving parish clerk. Kendall's contemporary, William Ketyll, was the most long-serving of any of the clerks at Eton; arriving in 1492, he remained a clerk until 1526, or later, paid 40s. *per annum* from 1500-1 onwards.⁵² Unlike Kendall, he did not earn extra cash by working in the chapel. A number of payments unrelated to the chapel, made over a number of years, suggest that some of his activities took him well beyond the confines of the *Opus Dei*. Soon after he arrived, in 1495-6, he was paid 3s. 9d. for the grazing of three horses for fifteen weeks.⁵³ A similar payment, for grazing three horses for eight weeks, was made in 1499-1500,⁵⁴ and others in 1500-1, 1501-2, 1505-6 (a number of payments, totalling 14s. 10½d.), 1506-7 (14s. 9d. *in toto*) and

⁵⁰ ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1505-6, under *Custus ecclesie*), p.17.

⁵¹ He was paid until Easter 1525 (ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1524-5, under *Stipendia...clericorum*), p.378); old age probably necessitated his yielding the posts he had accumulated in the 1500s: his tasks as sacrist and clock-keeper were taken over by John Serchefeld, the parish clerk, at Michaelmas 1523, and he ceased being organist at Christmas 1523, although no full-time organist succeeded him until 1539-40 (ECR 62/1 (audit book, 1523-4, under *Stipendia...clericorum*), p.355.).

⁵² He may have arrived slightly earlier (the accounts for the previous three years are lost); see below, p.482; a transcription of his will is on p.444.

⁵³ ECR 61/AR/F/6 (audit roll, 1495-6), under *Custus stabuli*.

⁵⁴ ECR 61/AR/F/10 (audit roll, 1499-1500), under *Custus stabuli*.

1507-8, (17s. 2½d.).⁵⁵ Thereafter, such payments discontinue, though there are occasional payments for similar sorts of services; in 1516-17, for example, Ketyll was paid 20d. for grass for the garden.⁵⁶ More significantly, perhaps, Ketyll acted for some years at the turn of the sixteenth century as an agent of the college, in its leasing and renting of lands. In 1496-7, 1497-8, 1500-1, 1501-2, 1504-5 and 1505-6, for instance, he is named as the rent collector for Eton and Windsor, a job performed at other times by a college servant, such as Richard Fitzwater, the *clericus compoti* and erstwhile purser, in 1507-8.⁵⁷ Until the late-1510s, Ketyll acted as the agent for transactions between the college and Mr George Rotherham,⁵⁸ whereby Rotherham was paid for quit-renting lands which had belonged to Thomas Jourdelay, a college benefactor.⁵⁹ From time to time, William Ketyll acted over other local land transactions; similar payments (of 3s. 5½d.) to Mr Rotherham were made by the hand of Ketyll for lands once belonging to Richard Hopton, formerly fellow of Eton.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ ECR 61/AR/F/11-12 (audit rolls, 1500-2), under *Custus stabuli*, 62/1 (audit book 1, 1505-6, 1506-7, 1507-1508, under *Custus stabuli*), pp.22, 45, 68. It is not entirely clear whether the horses were grazing on Ketyll's own land or whether he merely acted as an agent. The entry for 1501-2 is the most specific; 'Wyllimo Ketyll pro pastura v equorum in le Warde iiiij^{or} septimanae iuxta iij^d per septimanam, v^s'. He, John Mason and others sold land to Eton College in 1504 (see p.482, below).

⁵⁶ ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1516-7, under *Custus ortorum*), pp.225: 'Wyllimo Ketyll pro feno empto in parte, xx^s'.

⁵⁷ ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1507-8), p.51.

⁵⁸ The amount of money paid through William Ketyll varied from 5s. 6d. to 10s 6d. Mr Rotherham's forename is not specified in the accounts; he is probably the same as George Rotherham, whose landed property in Eton was valued at £10 in the 1522 Musters (A. C. Chibnall (ed.), *The Certificate of Musters for Buckinghamshire in 1522* (Buckinghamshire Record Society, 17, 1973), p.224).

⁵⁹ The obit of Thomas Jourdelay and of Alice, his wife, was held annually on 28 September. It was unusual in involving the presence of choristers, as well as clerks.

⁶⁰ For instance, in 1504-5 (ECR 61/AR/F/14, under *Solucio forinseca*), when Ketyll was involved in transactions over both the Jourdelay and the Hopton properties.

Again, in 1515, Ketyll dealt with Mr Rotherham, this time over the purchase by the college of ‘a certain pasture called *le warde*’; this land, purchased for £6. 13s. 4d., was where Ketyll had pastured horses in 1501-2.⁶¹ Like Kendall, Ketyll was able to supplement his clerk’s stipend by attending to college business, from time to time; the nature of Ketyll’s activities gives the impression not of a highly specialised musician, but of an adaptable all-rounder.⁶² Ketyll was not unique in his activities outside the chapel.

Rather a shadowy figure, whose identity is not easy to ascertain, John Mason performed duties as both servant and clerk during the early sixteenth century and, probably, before. Mason spent seven years as a clerk (on the usual rate of 40s. *per annum*), between 1501 and 1506; he is unlikely, however, to have anything to do with the John Mason who was a clerk and then chaplain at Magdalen College, Oxford in 1508 and 1509.⁶³ A John Mason also appears first as a clerk in 1479-80, paid 20s. only;⁶⁴ he was again an inferior clerk for two terms in 1483,⁶⁵ and perennially until

⁶¹ ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1514-15, under *Solucio forinseca*), pp.202-3.

⁶² But being a liaison officer in college business does not necessarily infer non-participation in collegiate musical life. Scion of a gentry family, Robert Perrot started his career at Magdalen College, Oxford, as an attendant of John Stokesley, fellow, in *circa* 1506 (Bloxam, *Register*, ii, pp.182-6). As well as being a clerk at Magdalen (c.1510-35), he undertook responsibility for various college transactions (like buying trees, horses and other commodities - rather like William Ketyll), as well as becoming, in 1534, receiver general of the Archdeaconry of Buckingham, and an owner of monastic properties (*BRUO1540*, p.442). That he was involved in the cultivation of polyphony in Magdalen Chapel is clearly indicated by his position as organist and *informator* between c.1510 and 1535 and, moreover, by his B.Mus in 1516. Equivalent evidence does not exist in the case of William Ketyll.

⁶³ Harrison, *MMB*, p.460; Bloxam, *Register*, 2, p.3.

⁶⁴ ECR 61/AR/C/6 (audit roll, 1479-80), under *Stipendia...clericorum*.

⁶⁵ ECR 61/AR/D/1 (audit roll, 1482-3), *Stipendia...clericorum*. Here he is referred to specifically as ‘inferior’ clerk. He could have arrived sometime before Michaelmas 1479; the accounts for 1476-7, 1477-8 and 1478-9 are lost. Similarly, accounts for 1480-1 and 1481-2 have vanished; Mason probably remained a clerk during the early 1480s.

Michaelmas 1486,⁶⁶ paid at the higher wage of 40s. *per annum*, despite the title ‘inferior’. During Easter and Trinity Terms 1487, though, he appears to have switched roles, being paid 10s. as a servant of the provost.⁶⁷ In this employment, and on this smaller salary, Mason remained until the mid-1490s; between 1497 and 1499, he did not receive a college retainer, although there are references to him in the accounts.⁶⁸ Although he was not paid a college retainer after 1506, either as servant or as clerk, Mason continued to perform various services for the college from time to time, and is likely to have remained a resident of Eton town. In 1513-14, for example, he was paid 29s. 11d. for purchasing forty-two cartloads of timber;⁶⁹ in the following year he, together with William Ketyll and some others, was paid 34s. 9d. for buying hay throughout the year;⁷⁰ in 1522-3, he acted as collector of rents for Eton;⁷¹ and in the same year, he was one of a number of townsmen paid for purchasing coals (*focali*) for the college.⁷² These payments ceased in the late-1520s.

⁶⁶ ECR 61/AR/D/2 and 61/AR/F/1 (audit rolls, 1484-6), *Stipendia...clericorum*.

⁶⁷ ECR 61/AR/F/2 (audit roll, 1486-7), under *Stipendia ministrorum et serviencium*.

⁶⁸ ECR 61/AR/F/9-10 (audit rolls, 1498-1500), under *Custus forinseci*, in which Mason was paid for riding ‘in negociis collegii’ at diverse times.

⁶⁹ ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1513-4, under *Reparaciones*), p.181.

⁷⁰ ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1514-5, under *Custus ortorum*), p.199.

⁷¹ ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1522-3), p.321. This was one of a number of years in which he performed this service.

⁷² ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1522-3, under *Custus forinseci*), pp.335-7.

John Mason the clerk and John Mason the servant were almost certainly the same;⁷³ in 1485-6, when he was on the clerks' payroll, he was also paid for riding to various places on college business;⁷⁴ again, in 1502 and beyond, he continued to perform some of the tasks which he had been performing as servant to the provost, even though he had reverted to being - in name - a clerk.⁷⁵ Like William Ketyll, John Mason had his own house in Eton, and he may well have belonged to established local family.⁷⁶ He was married, like William Yong, Thomas Kendall and Lewis Palmer, and was probably related to William Mason, who was porter in the late

⁷³ ECR 61/AR/F/11 (audit roll, 1500-1): prior to becoming a clerk again, in Trinity Term (*Stipendia... clericorum*), he had been paid for the three preceding terms of the year as a servant (*Stipendia... serviencium*).

⁷⁴ ECR 61/AR/F/1 (audit roll, 1485-6), under *Custus forinseci*. For example, in addition to running various errands in London (including holding court in the Hospital of St James), he was paid 14d. for riding to Reading Abbey for a pension.

⁷⁵ Examples of these services are numerous. By way of example are the following: in 1500-1 (ECR 61/AR/F/11, under *Solucio forinseca*), he was paid 2s. 6d. as constable of Eton; in 1501-2 (ECR 61/AR/F/12, under *Custus forinseci*), he was paid 3s. 4d. for buying a horse for William Wedehoke (fellow) in Norfolk, was given 8d. expenses (split with William Ketyll and William Cowper, fellow), when riding to Maidenhead and 21d. expenses when riding to Reading; and in 1503-4 (ECR 61/AR/F/13, *Custus ortorum*), he was paid 7s. 7d. for 53 cartloads of sand. These are a select few of a large number of such payments.

⁷⁶ There are a number of references to Mason's house, which seems to have been used as a billet for accountants when they came to review the college finances: in 1498-9, for instance, Henry Dowse was paid 26s. 8d. for reading over the accounts (*pro determinacione comptarum*), and was given 2s. 4d. for expenses incurred while he and his servant stayed in Mason's house (ECR 61/AR/F/9, *Custus forinseci*). There are references to repairs to Mason's house in 1519-20 and 1520-1 (ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, under *Custus edificacionum et reparacionum*), pp.254-6, 284-7), suggesting its continued use by the college as a guest-house and refuge for sick scholars.

1480s.⁷⁷ Like her husband, Agnes Mason did various jobs for the college which mostly involved cleaning vestments in chapel, and providing wine for the Mass.⁷⁸

Inclusion of Mason's valuation – of £4 – in the 1524 subsidy roll, illustrates his status as a townsman rather than a collegian;⁷⁹ most members of college - fellows, scholars, choristers, chaplains and resident gentleman clerks - were included under the umbrella heading of 'the Provoste off Eton colledge with the companye of the same' and were not enrolled individually. William Yong, William Ketyll, Thomas Kendall and (to an extent) John Mason formed the core of the chapel choir of Eton College during most of the reign of Henry VII, and for the first ten or more years of Henry VIII's. Insofar as they constituted a team, their teamwork in chapel was supplemented with a number of additional undertakings, many of them of a distinctly secular nature; in one case work as a clerk (or, at least payment as such) alternated with operations in an entirely different *milieu*. The late-fifteenth-century lay clerk

⁷⁷ ECR 61/AR/F/2-3 (audit rolls, 1486-7, 1488-9), under *Stipendia...serviencium*.

⁷⁸ In 1500-1 (ECR 61/AR/F/11, under *Custus ecclesie*), she was paid 27s. 10d. for buying communion wine, while Mrs Palmer was paid 4s. for laundering (a task later undertaken by Mrs Kendall as well as Mrs Mason). Mrs Halfacre, wife of Edward Halfacre, the carter, also helped out in the maintenance of the chapel (and the hall).

⁷⁹ A.C. Chibnall and A. Vere Woodman (eds.), *Subsidy Roll for the County of Buckingham, Anno 1524* (Buckinghamshire Record Society, 1950), p.18. Mason had also appeared in the 1522 Muster (*Certificate of Musters*, p.226). Also listed in the subsidy roll is a certain William Younge, probably the clerk William Yong, who had ceased to be a clerk in 1517 (*Subsidy Roll*, p.18); Yong is not listed in the 1522 muster, but a Thomas Kemball (who is not in the 1524 Subsidy Roll) may well have been Thomas Kendall, the clerk (*Muster*, p.225). Otherwise clerks are absent from these lists, as the majority (living *intra mures*) were included in the college's exemption.

has been described as a mobile, professional careerist;⁸⁰ in the case of Eton College, a significant number of its clerks at the time were neither mobile nor, it seems, especially careerist.

5.2.1 Robert Wylkynson

Wylkynson was the most significant musician working at Eton in the early sixteenth century. He was appointed parish clerk in 1496, perhaps having been a scholar at Eton.⁸¹ He probably spent the entirety of his working life at Eton, probably dying at the time when his salary ceased to be paid, in 1515; his name has not been found in the extant archives of other institutions, and the very narrow dissemination of his compositions suggests that he himself was not widely travelled. A composer of a large number of pieces in MS 178, and active in Eton when the choirbook was copied and for some time after, he may have had a hand in its compilation. As *informator choristarum* at the time the choirbook was compiled, it would be most surprising if he had not been involved.⁸²

⁸⁰ For the professionalization of the fifteenth-century singer, see Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', chapter 6 and, more specifically, Appendix A9, pp.A039-044.

⁸¹ See p. 486 below. In the defective nominal roll for 1494 (ECR 61/NR/4) a Wylkynson *maior* is listed fourth among the scholars; he had not been listed in 1492-3 (ECR 61/NR/3) nor was he listed after Michaelmas Term 1494 (ECR 61/NR5). This was probably Richard Wilkinson, who was admitted to King's on 6 June 1495 (*BRUC*, p.639). The designation *maior*, however, suggests the presence of a Wylkynson *minor*, perhaps Robert, whose name may have been listed at the missing end of the 1494 nominal roll. A preference was expressed in the statutes for the parish clerk to have been a scholar at Eton (H & W, p.514: 'quem assumi volumus de scholaribus nostrae scholae...qui velit suscipere hujusmodi clerici officium').

⁸² See above, pp.287-300, regarding the date of MS 178.

He began at Eton on the lowest rung of the clerical ladder, as parish clerk, at the beginning of Michaelmas Term, 1496.⁸³ William Tussey, who joined a term later, in 1497, started immediately on 66s. 8d. *per annum* and was almost certainly *informator*;⁸⁴ Wylkynson received no more than the standard 26s. 8d. salary which parish clerks had been paid since the move to the new chapel, and the demolition of the old parish church. Such financial contradistinction between Wylkynson and Tussey implies a commensurate difference of ability and experience, and it is likely that Wylkynson was not old - perhaps in his twenties - when he was appointed. His assumption of less mundane duties came in 1499. Still parish clerk in Michaelmas Term, 1498, he was promoted to a regular clerkship in Hilary Term, when his pay went up to 33s. 4d. *per annum*; his colleague, William Yong had to step aside, giving up his previous salary - 33s. 4d. *per annum* - for the pay and title of parish clerk.⁸⁵ There are no other instances where one clerk so clearly displaced another; it is likely that Wylkynson's musical abilities had developed rapidly to warrant preferential treatment of this kind. In the following year, Wylkynson's pay was increased again, when he was given 37s. 6d. for the first three terms in 1500.⁸⁶ It is likely that this wage increase involved new duties. During these terms Wylkynson received the unusual sum of 50s. *per annum*;⁸⁷ it is likely that the 53s. 4d. salary which he was

⁸³ ECR 61/AR/F/7 (audit roll, 1496-7), under *Stipendia...clericorum*.

⁸⁴ See above, pp.345-6.

⁸⁵ ECR 61/AR/F/9 (audit roll, 1498-9), under *Stipendia...clericorum*. Yong's reduction in status was temporary; a new parish clerk was appointed at the beginning of Michaelmas Term 1499, when Yong's previous salary was restored.

⁸⁶ ECR 61/AR/F/10 (audit roll, 1499-1500), under *Stipendia...clericorum*.

⁸⁷ Standard pay-rates were 26s. 8d., 33s. 4d., 40s., 53s. 4d. and 66s. 8d. (the very low rate of 20s. and the

subsequently paid was applied from half-way through Hilary Term 1500, and it is likely that he started to act as *informator* from that time. Further increment came in Hilary Term, 1507, when his wages went up to the highest rate of 66s. 8d. *per annum*, at which rate they stayed until his death or departure in the middle of Trinity Term, 1515.⁸⁸ Robert Wylkynson's career at Eton is unusually clearly decipherable in the accounts; the final pay-rise brought his salary to the level awarded to William Tussey, currently the maximum instructor's salary (which was, nevertheless, lower than the £4 paid to John Boraston from 1475 to 1493). Each rise in salary, from the lowest (26s. 8d.) to the highest then available to a clerk at Eton (66s. 8d.) marks a stage in Wylkynson's development as a singer and choir-trainer, and was given for new duties undertaken, as and when he became competent to perform them; assuming some correlation between practical skills and compositional skills, this would suggest that Wylkynson is highly unlikely to have been composing long before 1500, perhaps slightly later, and that therefore the choirbook itself was not begun until 1500 at the earliest.⁸⁹ There is only one recorded instance of Wylkynson earning money in secular activities; in 1502, when he was *informator*, he was also constable of Eton for six months.⁹⁰ This would not have involved particularly onerous duties, meriting a wage of 3s. 2d., and would probably not have necessitated any absence from the chapel or the song-school.

higher rate of £4 were discontinued in the 1490s).

⁸⁸ ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1506-7, 1514-5, under *Stipendia...clericorum*), pp.38, 194.

⁸⁹ See above, pp.287-300.

⁹⁰ ECR 61/AR/F/12 (audit roll, 1501-2), under *Solucio forinseca*.

5.2.2 William Brygeman and Henry Rysby

In addition to Robert Wylkynson, there were two other composer-clerks employed at Eton during the early sixteenth century. William Brygeman, whose five-part Magnificat and *Salve regina* were incorporated into the choir's repertory, was a clerk at Eton for three terms (probably Michaelmas, Hilary and Easter Terms) in 1503-4,⁹¹ before going to All Saints', Bristol, as parish clerk (and, probably, *informator choristarum*).⁹² Between 1513 and 1515, a Brigeman was a conduct at King's;⁹³ this is likely to have been the same man, given the close connections between Eton and King's. It is likely that Brygeman's pieces were copied into MS 178 at or around the time he spent in Eton, rather than being transmitted from King's at the later date, even though Brygeman's sojourn at Eton was brief.⁹⁴ Soon after Brygeman, Henry Rysby served as a clerk at Eton between Easter 1507 and Michaelmas 1508, or later (the accounts for 1508-9 are missing).⁹⁵ Although only one piece by Rysby has survived, the secular 'Whoso that wyll hym selff applye', his posthumous reputation was sufficient to warrant his inclusion in Morley's index of

⁹¹ ECR 61/AR/F/13 (audit roll, 1503-4), under *Stipendia...clericorum*; the accounts for 1502-3 are lost.

⁹² Harrison, *MMB*, p.455; Harrison (ed.), *MB*, xii, p.xiv.

⁹³ Harrison, *MMB*, p.455

⁹⁴ Both his *Salve regina* and Magnificat were copied into MS 178 in its later stages (phase D), as if most of the manuscript had already been copied when he arrived at Eton. See above, pp.205-6.

⁹⁵ ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1506-8, under *Stipendia...clericorum*), pp.38, 61.

composers in *Plaine and Easie Introduction*.⁹⁶ Although there is not yet any evidence to connect Eton with the Henry VIII MS (*GB-Lbl*, Add. 31922), the source of ‘Whoso that wyll hymselff applye’, it is possible that Rysby’s song was sung (if not necessarily written) at Eton; just as the singing of votive antiphons was encouraged in chapel, various diversions – including part-songs (or ‘cantilenis’) – were encouraged after supper on important feast days under the terms of the statutes.⁹⁷ The text (at least in the form preserved in Add. 31922) may not have been particularly apposite in a collegiate environment, given its probable origins as a tournament song, but its preoccupation with youth was undoubtedly appropriate.⁹⁸ Like Brygeman, Rysby did not stay long at Eton, and little else is known about his background or subsequent career.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Harrison, ‘The Eton Choirbook’, p.157.

⁹⁷ H & W, p.534.

⁹⁸ Stevens, *Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court*, p.392: ‘Whoso that wyll hymselff applye / To passe the tyme of youth joly, / Auaunce hym to the companye / Of lusty bloddys and chevalry’.

⁹⁹ It is possible - though no evidence exists to connect them - that Henry was a relative of Richard Rysby of St Laurence’s parish in Reading (born c.1490), who was a scholar of Winchester and New College, Oxford (of which he was a fellow from 1508 to 1513); an Observant friar, he became embroiled with Elizabeth Barton, the Holy Maid of Kent, and was executed in 1534 (*BRUO1540*, p.497). Apart from the proximity of Reading and Eton College, there is nothing to demonstrate a relationship between the two.

5.2.3 Other short-term clerks: the overall composition of the choir

Like Rysby and Brygeman, there was a number of other short-term clerks whose identities remain obscure. William Buknell, a clerk at Eton between January 1506 and mid-summer 1507, was of local provenance.¹⁰⁰ That he was a singer is suggested, vaguely, by his pay of 40s., and strongly, by his having been a chorister at St George's, Windsor from 1496 to 1499, or later.¹⁰¹ He may well have been related to the John Buknell of Eton, who, in the early 1460s, had been involved in legal proceedings in Windsor.¹⁰² Like William Ketyll, Buknell acted as rent collector for Eton town, for one recorded year, 1506-7;¹⁰³ but acting as a college agent does not necessarily imply non-participation in musical activities. Of similar background to Buknell was Robert Belyall, who was clerk during Trinity Term, 1507, and throughout 1507-8.¹⁰⁴ There had been three Belyalls active at St George's, Windsor, during the later fifteenth century.¹⁰⁵ A Robert Belyold is listed as chorister in 1498-

¹⁰⁰ ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1505-7, under *Stipendia...clericorum*), pp.14, 38.

¹⁰¹ *GB-WRch*, xv.34.70-1 (treasurers' rolls, 1496-7, 1498-9), under *Cotidiana*. The treasurers' rolls for 1505-1541 have disappeared. It is likely that singers continued to migrate between Eton and St George's (mostly as choristers from St George's going to Eton as scholars) as they had done previously.

¹⁰² LIS, 2, *Exchequer K. R. Ecclesiastical Documents* (HMSO, London, 1965), p.275 (Bundle 27, §344, 1460-5). John Buknell sued Thomas Dryffeld of New Windsor over a debt for malt, at New Windsor.

¹⁰³ ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1506-7), p.29.

¹⁰⁴ ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1506-8, under *Stipendia...clericorum*), pp.38, 61. He may also have stayed into 1508-9, the accounts for which are lost.

¹⁰⁵ There survive a number of spelling variants: Belyold, Beliold, Bilhold, Billiold, Billyold, Bylliold and Byllyolde, sometimes used simultaneously.

1499, contemporaneously with William Buknell,¹⁰⁶ a Richard Beliold was a chorister from 1493-4 until 1496-7,¹⁰⁷ and a 'Bylliold' in 1492-1493.¹⁰⁸ Although it is possible that Robert and Richard were one and the same boy (some choristers did stay for up to seven years),¹⁰⁹ it is equally or more likely that they were brothers, and that Robert remained for two or three years after 1499, until five years before he became a clerk at Eton. That they were probably brothers is also implied by the presence of a Thomas Billiold, a likely father, who was a clerk at St George's from before Michaelmas 1489 (the accounts for 1485-9 are defective) until Michaelmas 1504, or later.¹¹⁰ Less demonstrably of musical orientation was George Hale who, after a clerkship lasting from Easter Term, 1511 until Michaelmas, 1512, served the college as usher from December, 1512 until Easter, 1514.¹¹¹ Of the careers and provenance of most of the short-term clerks employed at Eton between 1490 and 1520, though, little evidence exists. Used collectively, the scant information which is available does, for a few years in the mid-1500s, give some idea of what proportion of the clerks may have been singers:

¹⁰⁶ *GB-WRch*, xv.34.71 (treasurer's roll, 1498-9), under *Cotidiana*.

¹⁰⁷ *GB-WRch*, xv.34.64 and XV.34.70 (treasurers' rolls, 1493-4, 1496-7) and *GB-Ob*, MS Berkshire Rolls, 4 (treasurer's roll, 1495-6), under *Choristis*.

¹⁰⁸ *GB-WRch*, xv.34.66 (treasurer's roll, 1492-3), under *Choristis*.

¹⁰⁹ For instance, John Dod and John Bull, who both started in 1484-5 and left in 1490-1 (*GB-WRch*, xv.34.61-3 (treasurers' rolls, 1484-5, 1489-91), under *Choristis*).

¹¹⁰ *GB-WRch*, xv.34.62-71 (treasurers' rolls, 1484-1499) and *GB-Ob*, MS Berkshire Rolls, 5 (treasurer's roll, 1503-4), under *Clericis*.

¹¹¹ ECR 62/3 (audit book 1, 1510-2, under *Stipendia...clericorum*, and 1512-4, under *Porciones...sociorum*), pp.83, 127, 151, 173; the usher was conventionally a short-term appointee, usually a Bachelor of Arts.

William Ketyll - general college agent;¹¹² possibly (but not primarily) a singer
 John Mason - married; servant and *factotum*: probably not a singer
 William Yong - married; no external activities: probably a singer
 Robert Wylkynson - *informator* and composer: a singer
 Thomas Kendall - married; sacrist and organist: a singer
 William Buknell - ex-chorister: a singer
 Henry Rysby - composer: a singer
 Robert Belyall - ex-chorister: a singer
 John Serchefeld - parish clerk: arguably not a singer

Mason, Buknell, Rysby and Belyall did not serve for the full year.¹¹³ However, out of nine clerks employed throughout the year, five were liable to have been involved in singing polyphony, based on the evidence of their training or their current roles within Eton College. Mason and Ketyll may have sung, though there is no evidence to demonstrate this absolutely; their salaries, identical to those of the known singers, imply a parity of status and probably of role. Their inclusion on the *generosus* table in 1509-10, together with Wylkynson and the usher (Robert Colyar), also implies senior status; John Serchefeld, the parish clerk, is listed on the servants' table, together with Richard Sutton and Arnold, two new clerks.¹¹⁴

¹¹² Ketyll, like Kendall, Mason and Yong, could have been married; among the choristers listed in the 1509-10 nominal roll (ECR 61/NR/6) is a certain 'Ketyll', perhaps a son of William.

¹¹³ ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1506-7, under *Stipendia...clericorum*), p.38. Mason left at Christmas and Buknell in June; Rysby arrived at Easter and Belyall in June.

¹¹⁴ Possibly Richard Arnold, a chorister of Eton in 1470 (ECR 61/NR/1). No trace of Arnold exists at Eton for the intervening years. The evidence of the nominal rolls does not always correspond with the different classes of payment; Sutton, who sat (or was listed) on the servants' table, was paid 40s., the same as those on the senior table, while Arnold and Serchefeld were paid the lesser salary of 26s. 8d., but sat at the same place. Neither salaries nor the evidence of the nominal rolls are sufficiently consistent as to be reliable on their own.

5.3 RECRUITMENT AND PROVISION AFTER 1510

For the rest of Henry VIII's reign, the size and composition of the choir remained constant. Present in the nominal roll for 1509-10 are between eight and ten choristers,¹¹⁵ for 1527-8 there are nine,¹¹⁶ in 1536-7, eight,¹¹⁷ and, in 1539-40, between eight and nine.¹¹⁸ Throughout the first four decades of the sixteenth century, there were seven or eight clerks on the pay-roll at any one time, this number tending to fluctuate with the arrival and departure of personnel. The mid-1520s witnessed a degree of change-over engendered by the departure of several long-standing members of the chapel establishment: William Ketyll, Thomas Kendall and William Yong (who had left by 1520). Consequently, the ranks of the clerks paid during the year 1524-5 were swollen as the departure of the old guard coincided with the arrival of replacements. While the total wage-bill for that year was only slightly higher than the current mean, at £51 15s. 1d. (inclusive of chaplains' stipends),¹¹⁹ the unusually large number of thirteen clerks, in total, was listed. Of these thirteen, three were paid by the term, and not for the full year: Thomas Kendall, who left after Easter, 'Maurice', who was present for only 29 weeks, and 'Hugh', who was paid for Easter

¹¹⁵ ECR 61/NR/6 (nominal roll 6, MT 1509 and HT 1510).

¹¹⁶ ECR 61/NR/7 (nominal roll 7, MT 1527 and HT 1528).

¹¹⁷ ECR 61/NR/8 (nominal roll 8, MT 1536 and HT 1537), under *Chorustae*.

¹¹⁸ ECR 61/NR/9A-B (nominal rolls 9A/B, 1539-40 complete).

¹¹⁹ ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1524-5, under *Stipendia...clericorum*), p.378. See Appendix G, pp.537-8 below.

and Trinity terms only (and is not listed in the following year's accounts).¹²⁰ Of the thirteen payments made, eight were at the rate of 40s. or more *per annum*, of which two were for half-years, the other five basic salaries were for 26s. 8d. or less. By paying a large proportion of clerks at the lower rate, the college ensured that the wage-bill was curbed, while replacements, short- or long-term, were found for those clerks, like Thomas Kendall, who were leaving after some years' service. Of these five, two were given further discretionary payments: John Bekynsall, possibly the same as the Bekynsall who was appointed as clerk at Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1512,¹²¹ was paid 20s. in addition to his salary of 26s. 8d., and Hugh was similarly given a supplementary payment of 3s. 4d. over and above his salary of 10s. for the last two terms, giving a total annual salary of 26s. 8d.¹²² John Serchefeld, the parish clerk, also paid 26s. 8d. *per annum*, received an additional 13s. 4d. sacrist's pay plus a further 6s. 8d. for keeping the clock; he received these additional payments until his departure in 1533. These payments were standard, and non-discretionary, having been allocated previously to Thomas Kendall, who, as a singing clerk, had also been paid 6s. 8d. for playing the organ; they are therefore of less significance than the two discretionary payments to John Bekynsall and to Hugh. The 20s. supplement to Bekynsall's low salary of 26s. 8d. took his total salary to 46s. 8d.; the following year,

¹²⁰ See below, p.523.

¹²¹ Bloxam, *Register*, 2 (Oxford, 1857), p.3. Another clerk present at Eton in 1524-5, John Clerk (who was listed only in 1524-5), may also have been at Magdalen; a John Clerke appears as a clerk at Magdalen in 1513 (Bloxam, *Register*, 2, p.4), having previously been a chorister there.

¹²² ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1524-5, under *Stipendia...clericorum*), p.378.

he was paid at the rate of 40s. *per annum*. It is likely that the supplement was made to bring his full wage in line with other singers'; the increment – like other extraordinary payments, likely to have been sanctioned by the provost – was in reward of services rendered beyond the remit of the job for which Bekynsall was paid. Faced with the problem of replacing clerks, and ensuring a smooth succession of personnel, the precentor and fellows were prepared to release extra funds. The need for continuity at a time of considerable flux is shown in the following year, in which fourteen clerks were retained at one time or another. Of these, eight served for two terms or less; six of the clerks present in 1524-5 left between Michaelmas 1525 and Easter 1526, and three of the clerks present in Michaelmas 1526 had arrived since the Easter preceding. As a result, of all the clerks participating in the *Opus Dei* in 1525, only William Wagge and John Serchefeld were still on the pay-roll by Michaelmas, 1527.

5.4 EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES, PROMOTION AND SKILLS

Since the college was re-established in 1466, the composition and financing of the choir had been determined less by the founder's statutes than by the prevailing circumstances. Given the steady improvement in the college's revenues during the sixteenth century, and given the demands made by contemporary music on the size of the performing ensemble, a greater number of musically able clerks would appear to have been employed, rather than the four highly-paid specialists envisaged in the

statutes. After the departure of John Boraston in 1494, no clerk - not even Robert Wylkynson - was paid the statutory wage of £4, even though there were probably enough funds to do so. The policy seems, rather, to have been to spread the available funds more evenly amongst the clerks; the clear distinction between gentlemen clerks and inferior clerks made in the statutes becomes increasingly blurred as the size of payments is contingent on seniority as well as or rather than ability.¹²³ That length of service became an important consideration in the allocation of salaries is shown in the career of John Norman at Eton. One of a few clerks whose musical attainments have been proven in the preservation of their compositions in contemporary manuscripts (that is, if this John Norman was the same as the composer),¹²⁴ Norman joined the staff at Eton in Michaelmas 1534, in which year he was paid 26s. 8d.¹²⁵ The next Michaelmas his salary was increased to 33s. 4d.,¹²⁶ at which level it remained until 1545.¹²⁷ Although he was paid less than some of his colleagues, Norman was no fledgling; the presence of his Mass in the Forrest-Heyther partbooks, which were

¹²³ Perhaps more by way of illustration than as hard evidence in itself, may be cited the nominal rolls for 1539-40 (ECR 61/NR/9A-B), in which there was no attempt to distinguish between the two different classes of clerks: all are listed after the chaplains. In the previous two nominal rolls (ECR/NR/7 (1527-8) and ECR 61/NR/8, for 1536-7), the listing of clerks becomes increasingly haphazard. In 1527-8, only three clerks are listed with the chaplains; all the others, including the *informator choristarum*, are listed among the servants. In 1536-7, as in 1539-40, all the clerks are listed on the higher table, including the parish clerk, Thomas Edmund. Either accounting procedures were slackening or all the clerks were treated as *generosi*, and hence were probably singers.

¹²⁴ His Mass *Resurrexit Dominus* is preserved in the Forrest Heyther partbooks (*GB-Ob*, MSS Arch. F e.19-24). Also preserved is a motet *Euge dicta sanctis oraculis* in *GB-Cp* 471-4 (*circa* 1540). A three-part motet *Miserere mihi, Domine* is preserved in the much earlier Ritson Manuscript (*GB-Lbl*, Add. 5665).

¹²⁵ ECR 62/2 (audit book 2, 1534-5, under *Stipendia...clericorum*), p.120.

¹²⁶ ECR 62/2 (audit book 2, 1535-6, under *Stipendia...clericorum*), p.144.

¹²⁷ The audit books for 1545-7 are missing.

compiled in the late 1520s, together with those by John Taverner, Robert Fayrfax and other respected contemporaries, as well as the quality of the Mass itself, demonstrate that he was a competent musician well before his arrival at Eton. He was probably the same John Norman who was a clerk at St Thomas' chapel, London Bridge (1528-34), having joined the Fraternity of St Nicholas in 1521.¹²⁸ It is possible, though perhaps less likely, that he was the same John Norman who had been organist and *informator choristarum* at St David's Cathedral between 1509 and 1522.¹²⁹

Compositional skills were of less importance to employers than singing ability, and it does not necessarily follow that Norman's attainments as a composer were matched by a peerless vocal technique;¹³⁰ nevertheless, the rather lowly wage paid to one of such experience belies the assumption that musical considerations were paramount in the assessment of salary. The careers of William Ketyll and Thomas Kendall demonstrate the importance of more practical aptitudes, and of duration of service. Similarly, while there were some clerks who received 40s. *per annum* from the outset (like, for instance, Nicholas Bartlet, who was present from Michaelmas 1524 until Easter 1526, but was paid 40s. throughout),¹³¹ a number of others had to

¹²⁸ Hugh Baillie, 'Some Biographical Notes on English church musicians, chiefly working in London (1485-1569)', *RMARC*, 2 (1962), p.47.

¹²⁹ Harrison, *MMB*, p.460.

¹³⁰ Bowers, 'Obligation, Agency, and *Laissez-faire*', pp.10-13. Bowers argues that composition of polyphony was an ephemeral adjunct to singing duties, more an added bonus than a basic requirement: 'his [i.e. the composer's] offering was on a level comparable with that of the parish ladies who arrange flowers on Christmas Eve' (*ibid.*, p.13).

¹³¹ He also received 6s. 8d. for training the choristers in his last two terms (ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1525-6, under *Stipendia...clericorum*), p.398).

wait until the funds were made available. Among these was Robert Okland,¹³² who was paid 5s. for part of Trinity Term 1532 (the same as Thomas Edmund, who was later parish clerk),¹³³ and, for the first three terms in 1532-3, was paid 20s. (or 26s. 8d. *per annum*).¹³⁴ In Trinity Term 1533, just under a year after his arrival, his salary was increased to 40s. *per annum*, at which level it remained until January 1534, when he left, probably for the church of St Mary-at-Hill, London, as organist there.¹³⁵ He was probably the same Robert Okeland/Hockland who was a member of the late-Henrician royal household chapel, who sang at the funeral of Henry VIII and the coronation of Edward VI,¹³⁶ and probably the same Oclande who is listed among the scholars in 1527-8.¹³⁷ Likewise, George Rayner began in Hilary Term 1522, on 26s. 8d. *per annum*,¹³⁸ rising to 33s. 4d. two years later and, again, to 40s. in 1524-5.¹³⁹ Robert Noresse (or Norys), who acted as *informator* between *circa* 1519 and Easter 1522 (when he was paid 6s. 8d. annually, on top of his 40s. salary) nevertheless

¹³² Otherwise Oklande, Ocland or Ocklan.

¹³³ ECR 62/2 (audit book 2, 1531-2, under *Stipendia...clericorum*), p.53.

¹³⁴ ECR 62/2 (audit book 2, 1532-3, under *Stipendia...clericorum*), p.76.

¹³⁵ ECR 62/2 (audit book 2, 1533-4, under *Stipendia...clericorum*), p.100; Baillie, *RMARC*, 2, p.48.

¹³⁶ Baillie, *RMARC*, 2, p.48, in which are attributed to him two compositions: a *Kyrie* in *GB-Lbl* Add. MSS 17801-5 and a psalm-setting, 'Praise the Lord, O our Souls' in Day's *Certaine Notes* (1560).

¹³⁷ ECR 61/NR/7 (nominal roll 7, MT 1527 and HT 1528).

¹³⁸ ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1521-2, *Stipendia...clericorum*), p.301.

¹³⁹ ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1523-5, under *Stipendia...clericorum*), pp.355, 378.

began on only 26s. 8d. *per annum*;¹⁴⁰ his contemporary, Summer, spent only three and a half terms at Eton during 1521-2, paid 6s. 8d. for Michaelmas Term, which was raised to 10s. a term in Hilary Term, and was *informator* for the last term and a half he was at Eton, after the departure of Noresse, earning a further 2s. 6d.¹⁴¹

Conversely, there were a significant number of clerks who were paid the full 40s. from the start, like Robert Mawnse and Henry Porret, both of whom arrived a term after Summer.¹⁴² The criteria on which allocation of wages was contingent do not seem to have been exclusively musical, and do not appear to have been consistently applied. Given the demands made on the size of performing resources by the music of the time (and that contained within MS 178), and given the diminishing difference (financially at least) between the different ranks of clerkship, it is likely that choral singing was expected of most of the clerks;¹⁴³ limited resources were therefore spread more evenly, rather than being concentrated in the hands of a few select soloists.

Perhaps as a result of the increase in the proportion of short-term clerkships, the post of *informator* was not filled permanently after Robert Wylkynson's departure

¹⁴⁰ ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1516-17, under *Stipendia...clericorum*), p.216. He arrived in Hilary Term, 1517; for the three terms he was paid 18s. 4d.

¹⁴¹ ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1521-2, under *Stipendia...clericorum*), p.301; a Henry Somer had been a clerk at Arundel College in 1499-1500, before joining the household chapel of Robert Sherborne, bishop of Chichester, from which he was nominated to one of Sherborne's newly-established lay clerkships at Chichester Cathedral. See above, p.151.

¹⁴² ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1521-2, under *Stipendia...clericorum*), p.301.

¹⁴³ See above, p.367, n.123.

in 1515; in the following year, no payment was made for instruction of choristers. Until Walter Ditty's appointment in 1530, a number of more short-term appointees performed the duties: Robert Noresse (*circa* 1517-1522),¹⁴⁴ Summer (one and a half terms in 1522),¹⁴⁵ John Darlyngton (1522-3),¹⁴⁶ John Smyth (1523-5), Nicholas Bartelett and Roger Witworth (1525-6),¹⁴⁷ Robert Rowland (1525-7) and Robert Alexander (1527-1530).¹⁴⁸ The usual 13s. 4d. supplement paid to the *informator* was not always issued; Noresse and Summer received half this amount, which perhaps reflected on their experience and abilities. This, together with the rapid turnover of both clerks and instructors, must have broken somewhat the continuity enjoyed during the Wylkynson years, to the detriment of the choir as a whole. With the arrival of Walter Ditty, a degree of stability was restored; he remained until 1540 or later.¹⁴⁹

Of the activities of the clerks over and above their chapel commitments, a few scattered clues remain during the reign of Henry VIII. Likewise, there are one or two

¹⁴⁴ The succession of *informatores* is obscured by the disappearance of accounts for the years 1517-1520. It is possible that Noresse, who was present for three terms (as an ordinary clerk) in 1517, took over as *informator* as early as Michaelmas 1517.

¹⁴⁵ ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1521-2, under *Stipendia...clericorum*), p.301.

¹⁴⁶ ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1522-3, under *Stipendia...clericorum*), p.329.

¹⁴⁷ ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1525-6, under *Stipendia...clericorum*), p.398. Each served as *informator* for half the year. Roger Witworth became a chaplain in 1529 (see below, pp.374-5).

¹⁴⁸ ECR 62/2 (audit book 2, 1529-30, under *Stipendia...clericorum*), p.10. Walter Ditty took over the instruction of the choristers immediately after Robert Alexander's departure at Easter in 1530. Rowland and Alexander were possibly one and the same: in the 1527-8 accounts, the name Rowland has been struck out and the name Alexander superimposed (ECR 62/37 (bursars' book 1, 1527-8, under *Stipendia...clericorum*), f.11).

¹⁴⁹ See below, p.479.

instances in which information survives concerning the provenance of clerks. Just as John Lyndesey and Hugh Chapman in the previous century had progressed from clerkships to chaplaincies, there are three cases of clerks taking higher orders while at Eton, all of them doing so in the mid to late 1520s.¹⁵⁰ William Tubman, who joined the chapel staff as a clerk in Michaelmas 1522, remained as such until Easter 1528.¹⁵¹ He then became a chaplain, on £4 *per annum* - a significant advance on the 26s. 8d. he had received as a clerk;¹⁵² he remained at Eton until Easter 1531.¹⁵³ He was probably a scion of a local family, one of three Tubmans who were employed or patronized by Eton College at this time. Nicholas Tubman first appears in the records in 1516, as door-keeper and barber on 26s. 8d. a year.¹⁵⁴ Unlike William Tubman (perhaps his elder brother), Nicholas stuck at the same job for a number of years, until 1532; by Michaelmas 1533, David Butler had taken over. Nicholas was married; Mrs Nicholas Tubman was paid at various times during the 1520s for cleaning vessels in the chapel, usually for 4s. 2d.¹⁵⁵ Together with his wife, Nicholas lived in Eton; he is present in both the 1522 certificate of musters and the 1524 subsidy roll as a

¹⁵⁰ See above, pp.179-80.

¹⁵¹ ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1522-3, 1526-7, under *Stipendia...clericorum*), pp.329, 417; ECR 62/37 (bursars' book 1, 1527-8, under *Stipendia...clericorum*), ff.11r-v.

¹⁵² ECR 62/37 (bursars' book 1, 1527-8, under *Stipendia...clericorum*), ff.12r-v.

¹⁵³ ECR 62/2 (audit book 2, 1530-1, under *Stipendia capellanorum...*), p.32.

¹⁵⁴ ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1516-17, under *Stipendia...servientum*), pp.216-7.

¹⁵⁵ For instance, ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1524-5, under *Custus templi*), pp.379-80, when Mrs Tubman was paid 4s. 2d. for maintenance work before Easter.

townsman of Eton.¹⁵⁶ It is likely that another Nicholas Tubman, scholar from *circa* 1529 until 1533 was the issue of this couple. His subsequent career illustrates the potential benefits open to the children of college servants.¹⁵⁷ Like William Tubman, Roger Witworth and Richard Dean started life at Eton as clerks, becoming chaplains while in service there, both during 1529. Witworth had joined the clerks in 1525-6, paid 20s. for that year, and 26s. 8d. subsequently, until Michaelmas Term, 1528, for which he was paid 10s. Richard Dean, who may have been one of a number of musical Deans in the area,¹⁵⁸ was paid a miserly 6s. 8d for two terms as a clerk in 1526.¹⁵⁹ This small payment, mandated by the provost, was not unique – Robert Grene had been paid identically for Michaelmas Term 1512 and Hilary Term 1513¹⁶⁰ - and may have been in recompense for periodic rather than continuous service, or for ‘services rendered’. Dean’s pay went up in 1526-7 to a slightly more generous 23s.

¹⁵⁶ *Certificate of Musters*, p.225, in which his goods were valued at £2, and *Subsidy Roll*, p.18, when he was assessed at £5. A number of current and erstwhile college servants were included in these valuations.

¹⁵⁷ *Register*, p.337: Nicholas Tubman *junior* was a scholar *circa* 1529-1533,

was admitted to King’s, 13 August 1533 (aged 17), leaving without a degree in 1536. He was a member of the College of Herald; Hampnes poursuivant in 1545, Rouge Croix poursuivant, 1549-50 and Lancaster in 1553. In 1554 he was granted a lease of the Boveney and West Mill brook fisheries by the Crown, and was leased a house by Boveney Church, dying on 8 January 1559 at Gravesend.

¹⁵⁸ William Dene was chorister of St George’s, Windsor, 1479-1483 (*GB-WRch* xv.34.55-59, under *Cotidiana choristarum*) and sacrist there in 1490 (*GB-WRch* xv.34.62). A George Dean also was a chorister of St George’s, 1489-1492 (*GB-WRch* xv.34.62-65). William Deane was master of the Fraternity of St Nicholas in London, in 1516, when a clerk of All Hallow’s, Lombard Street, dying in 1519 (Baillie, *RMARC*, 2, p.33).

¹⁵⁹ ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1525-6, under *Stipendia...clericorum*), p.398.

¹⁶⁰ ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1512-13, under *Stipendia...clericorum*), p.152. Grene was a clerk (or, at least, listed with the clerks) for these two terms.

4d.; by Michaelmas Term 1528 he was receiving 10s. per term, or 40s. a year.¹⁶¹

Both Witworth and Dean ceased being clerks at the end of Michaelmas Term, 1528;¹⁶² Dean was made chaplain in Hilary term and Witworth in Trinity Term.¹⁶³

Neither Dean nor Witworth stayed long as chaplains, Dean leaving after only a term, and Witworth remaining until mid-way through Trinity term, 1530.¹⁶⁴ Apart from Witworth, Dean and William Tubman, few other clerks took priests' orders while at Eton; the brevity of their periods as chaplains suggests that life within the college was for them a convenient stepping-stone towards a career in the church outside.

5.5 CHAPLAINS AND THEIR MUSICAL ROLE

Although they were not bound by statute to sing polyphony, the chaplains' participation in performances of choral polyphony is a possibility which needs to be examined. The lush scoring of some of Robert Wylkynson's pieces (which were almost certainly written specifically for Eton) suggests that it was not only the clerks and choristers who sang polyphony; if the six musically-competent clerks sang unassisted, the lower voice-parts would never have been sung by more than two to a

¹⁶¹ ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1526-7, 1528-9, under *Stipendia...clericorum*), pp.417, 435.

¹⁶² ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1528-9, under *Stipendia...clericorum*), p.435.

¹⁶³ *ibid.*; Dean was not present for the whole of Hilary Term, paid 16s. 8d., rather than the usual 20s. fee.

¹⁶⁴ ECR 62/2 (audit book 2, 1529-30, under *Stipendia capellanorum...*), p.10.

part. In a large foundation like Eton College, additional singers could have been supplied from within: among the scholars were a number who had been choristers, and this probably applied to the fellows as well. On a day-to-day basis, the chaplains were most closely involved with the liturgy and with the clerks and choristers. But the careers and aptitudes of the chaplains are generally obscure. The meagre evidence which exists suggests that, while some of the chaplains were musically competent, it is not likely that all were. The availability of skilled singers depended on a number of variable factors, most of which have evaded record.

In 1525-6, shortly or immediately after his arrival, Roger Witworth had been *informator choristarum* for two terms.¹⁶⁵ During the early 1520s, the choir was undergoing an upheaval, after the departure or death of some of the longest-serving clerks, some of whom, like Thomas Kendall and William Yong, had been at Eton since before MS 178 was compiled: it was a period of rapid turnover of personnel. It is therefore unclear whether Witworth was simply a safe pair of hands, a stop-gap instructor, or a specialist. Roger Witworth and Richard Dean, clerks who took holy orders and became chaplains, were exceptional; their periods as clerks may have been preparatory to their ordination, perhaps on account of their age, and their duties primarily non-musical. As with most other chaplains, there is no surviving evidence to show that Dean, Witworth and Tubman had musical interests; the fact that they were clerks does not necessarily prove that they were skilled singers. There are one or two scattered instances in which chaplains did participate in the running of the

¹⁶⁵ ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1525-6, under *Stipendia capellanorum...*), p.397.

musical establishment. In 1529, Dns John Kechyn was paid 40s. for pricking diverse songs;¹⁶⁶ this large sum amounted to a half of his annual salary, and must have been for a major *tranche* of repertory. That a task like this was entrusted to a chaplain rather than a clerk is significant; Kechyn was unusually long-serving (1521-1543+), was succentor at the time (1528-1536), and would have been more familiar with the workings of the chapel and choir than most of the clerks, nearly all of whom were relative newcomers. Later on, in 1539-40, Dns Johnson served as *pulsator organorum* for the two terms he was present as chaplain.¹⁶⁷ Apart from these scattered instances, there is no other surviving evidence that chaplains were active in the provision of polyphony. This is in marked contrast to the two comparable foundations in Oxford - Magdalen and New College. At New College, William Wykeham's statutes provided for ten chaplains, three clerks and sixteen choristers, the clerks on 20s. *per annum*.¹⁶⁸ With the later addition of an *informator* on 53s. 4d., these numbers were maintained until the Reformation. Such a small number of clerks would preclude the performance of much contemporary polyphony by the end of the fifteenth century; the participation of any chaplains competent enough to do so would have been the most practical solution, rather than engaging on an expensive re-alignment of finances and personnel. Indeed, as early as the 1450s, such participation was taking place, with the appointment of Dns John Charles as *informator* in 1449,

¹⁶⁶ ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1528-9, under *Custus templi*), p.436: 'Dno Johani Kechyn pro le prickynge diversorum canticorum in libris ad templum xl^s'.

¹⁶⁷ ECR 62/2 (audit book 2, 1539-40, under *Stipendia capellanorum...* and *Remuneraciones officiariorum*), pp.193, 193-4; ECR 62/37 (bursars' book 1, 1539-1540 (mis-dated 1540-1), under *Stipendia capellanorum...*), ff.214r-v; Johnson arrived at Easter 1540.

¹⁶⁸ Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', pp.4012-4; Harrison, *MMB*, pp.31-3.

which he remained until the summer of 1455.¹⁶⁹ The accounts of Magdalen College tend to be more detailed than those of New College; because of this, and because its chapel was established in the 1470s and 1480s, when large-scale choral polyphony was in the ascendant, Magdalen is perhaps more useful as a point of comparison with Eton. Like Eton, perhaps more so, Magdalen was not an over-generous employer for clerks, and suffered from similar staffing problems to those which periodically affected the chapel at Eton.¹⁷⁰ The staff of the chapel at Magdalen consisted of only four chaplains, plus eight clerks and fifteen or sixteen choristers; on the whole, these numbers were maintained throughout the early Tudor period, the *informator*, when there was one, being in addition to this. Of the eight clerks, one or more acted as a *factotum*, rather like the parish clerk at Eton.¹⁷¹ Involvement of the chaplains in liturgical polyphony, especially during the first three decades after 1476, was not unusual. The first two *informatores*, John Claveryng (1484-6) and John Hardy (1486) were chaplains, as was William Bernard, who became a chaplain in 1491, having served as organist and instructor in the previous year, when he had been a clerk.¹⁷² Like Bernard, George Kendall became a chaplain (in 1509) having served previously as clerk (1496-), organist (1502) and *informator* (1506).¹⁷³ Henceforth,

¹⁶⁹ *GB-Onc*, bursary accounts, numbers 7411 (1449-50), 7412 (1452-3) and 7413 (1454-5), under *Custus capelle*.

¹⁷⁰ Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', pp.6075-9, § 6.4.1.C., 'The necessity for adequate provision'. The salary paid by Magdalen to its clerks was a mere 20s. annually.

¹⁷¹ In 1486-7 (*GB-Onc*, Liber computi 1, under *Stipendia conductorum clericorum et serviencium capelle*, f.115), John Chayny earned 12d. for cleaning vestments, in addition to his 20s. clerk's stipend.

¹⁷² *GB-Onc*, Liber computi 1, ff.43, 98; Liber computi 2, f.18.

¹⁷³ Bloxam, *Register*, 2 (Oxford, 1857), p.182.

the training of the choristers was left to the specialists; John Mason, a clerk and Bachelor of Music in 1508 and chaplain in 1509, made a career in holy orders, having been *informator* when a chaplain.¹⁷⁴ A number of clerks continued to take higher orders as chaplains, and it is likely that a number of these ex-clerks were able to sing in performances of polyphony.¹⁷⁵ The participation of priests in polyphony was becoming more common at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and some institutions, like Ripon Cathedral in 1503, felt able to promulgate statutes requiring their chaplains and vicars choral to be competent performers of written and improvised polyphony.¹⁷⁶ There is no documentary evidence of this sort at Eton, although it is possible that some chaplains sang in the choir unpaid, thus leaving no records of payments. Oxford and Cambridge, being centres of academic and ecclesiastical training, were homes to large numbers of young men, qualifying or recently-qualified, some of whom may have received all their previous education in the same town or institution. Thus, of the sixteen choristers present at Magdalen College in 1485, seven later became demies (or scholars on half-fees) and one, John Chayny, a clerk.¹⁷⁷ Choristers continued to progress to scholarships, clerkships, chaplaincies and fellowships into the sixteenth century, and some clerks became chaplains as they acquired the necessary qualifications. Thus there existed in Oxford and Cambridge a traffic of trained musicians who were destined for careers, after

¹⁷⁴ Bloxam, *Register*, 2, p.125. He was granted the B.Mus. on 12 February 1508/9, 'much in esteem for that profession'. He was given prebendaries in the diocese of Hereford in 1525, dying in 1547/8.

¹⁷⁵ See Bloxam, *Register*, 2, pp.123f, for a comprehensive chronological list.

¹⁷⁶ Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', pp.6097-8.

¹⁷⁷ Bloxam, *Register*, 1, p.1

university, which may well have been non-musical; in the absence of family wealth or student grants, singing in one of the college choirs would have been a means of earning money while studying. It was also a way of entering the church hierarchy with a view to the priesthood.

Eton College did not have access to such a fund of locally-available talent; it was relatively isolated compared to university colleges, it could not confer degrees, and there was not the concentration of trainee priests familiar at Oxford and Cambridge. With a few exceptions, members of the chapel staff were more liable already to be ordained when they arrived, and few of them appear in the records of either university, despite the founder's statutory injunction that they should be 'graduates, laudable of learning'.¹⁷⁸ The statutes do not stipulate that the chaplains were to have Masters' degrees; in this, the distinction between chaplains and fellows mirrored that between the *informator scholarum* (M.A.) and the usher (usually B.A.). This obscures the chaplains' university backgrounds, as an M.A. would automatically confer the title *Magister* or Maister, but a B.A. conferred no title beyond the *Dominus* which, as ordained priests, the chaplains were permitted. Of some 175 chaplains who served at Eton between 1440 and 1560, seven are known to have held Masters' degrees. Of these, three - Thomas Clyff, John Edmunds and John Hebbyn - were appointed during the first twenty years of the college's foundation, when it enjoyed the advantages of great wealth and royal patronage; Robert Smyth served for eight years after the college's re-establishment in 1466; John Herte, Richard Skyppyth and

¹⁷⁸ ECR 58, p.48.

John Lane were present during the first decade of the sixteenth century. Herte had been a scholar of Eton and King's, a lay clerk and then conduct at King's;¹⁷⁹ Skypwyth had been a foundation fellow of St John's College, Cambridge in 1504-5, simultaneously with his appointment to Eton and shortly before his presentation to the Eton College living of St Alban, Wood Street, London, and may have been chaplain in name only, holding several other more lucrative posts at the same time;¹⁸⁰ John Lane, probably a one-time scholar of Winchester College and New College, Oxford, where he was a fellow in 1496-7;¹⁸¹ he was the first appointee to the Bost chantry and may have been head-hunted with this in mind. George Hale served as chaplain, having been a scholar at Eton and King's, then a clerk and usher in turn at Eton.¹⁸² It may or may not have been coincidental that three M.A.s happened to be serving at the time that MS 178 was copied and first used.

Several other chaplains can be identified as graduates, albeit Bachelors rather than Masters. Walter Sawnders (chaplain 1494-1500) studied Canon Law at Cambridge;¹⁸³ Hugh Wodecock (1501-2), an *alumnus* of Eton and King's (who had also been a lay clerk at King's) was a B.A.;¹⁸⁴ Laurence Sutton, an Oxford B.A., was

¹⁷⁹ *BRUC*, p.300; according to Emden, Herte was an M.A. by 1498-9, although the title *Magister* is not used in the accounts at Eton.

¹⁸⁰ *BRUC*, p.532.

¹⁸¹ *BRUC*, p.1091; he had originated in Windsor.

¹⁸² *Register*, p.153.

¹⁸³ *BRUC*, p.507.

¹⁸⁴ *BRUC*, p.650.

at Eton as chaplain by Michaelmas 1519 (staying until the following March);¹⁸⁵ John Googe (1535-1569) and Alexander Philips (1528-1558) who both *alumni* of Eton, although only Googe is known to have taken a degree (B.A.).¹⁸⁶ Like Philips, Thomas Elys (1470-2), Hugh Chapman (1475-6) and Geoffrey Lyngard (1503-4) had also been scholars at Eton and King's, but left no record of having taken any degree.¹⁸⁷ Of the educational attainments of the other chaplains, the great majority, little can be ascertained: it is likely that their backgrounds were varied and that, while some were graduates and some had been schooled in grammar, there were many whose education had been rudimentary. When, in 1561, Grindall wrote to William Cecil reminding him of Eton and of 'the hedge priests there', he was decrying the Catholic sympathies of the fellowship (which had elected a provost without the queen's consent), rather than commenting on the literacy of the fellows or chaplains.¹⁸⁸ Nevertheless, only a small minority of the chaplains were graduates, or *alumni* of the college school, probably implying an adequate or indifferent standard of learning. By analogy, evidence of musical activity among the chaplains (in terms of playing the organ, training the choristers and copying music) exists, but is infrequent enough to suggest that, while some of the chaplains were involved in singing polyphony, it is unlikely that all of them did so.

¹⁸⁵ *BRUO1540*, p.549.

¹⁸⁶ *Register*, pp.145, 266.

¹⁸⁷ See Appendix C, pp.487-95 below, under Philips, Elys, Chapman and Lyngard.

¹⁸⁸ In a letter dated 11 August 1561, written at Fulham (*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth, 1547-1580*, ed. Robert Lemon (London, 1856), p.183); the letter is quoted in Lyte, *History*, p.166.

5.6 MUSICAL ACTIVITY AMONG THE SCHOLARS

For the first fifteen years of the sixteenth century, when Robert Wylkynson was *informator*, there were, on average, seven clerks on the payroll at Eton at any one time; briefly, in the mid 1520s, this number was exceeded, the overall manning peaking at twelve in 1525-6.¹⁸⁹ By way of comparison, the number of gentleman clerks present at St George's, Windsor, was thirteen;¹⁹⁰ the household chapel choir of Henry Percy, fifth Earl of Northumberland, included eleven gentlemen.¹⁹¹ Of the seven clerks present at Eton, one at least - the parish clerk - would have had a number of mundane duties, and is likely to have been a non-singer. Yet, of all the compositions incorporated into MS 178, those requiring the greatest number of adult male voices were written by Robert Wylkynson, who almost certainly wrote them when he was at Eton. The nine-part *Salve regina* has two bass parts, one tenor and three Contratenor (or wide-ranged tenor) parts, thus requiring a bare minimum of six adult singers - seven, if the *Medius* part was sung by an alto. The tenor part is mostly simple enough for a non-specialist to read, and could have been sung by a chaplain. However, with the six or seven clerks available, most or all of the lower parts would

¹⁸⁹ See Appendix E, pp.522-4 below.

¹⁹⁰ Those paid £10 *per annum* numbered thirteen in 1498-9 (*GB-WRch*, xv.34.71) and in 1541-1542 (*GB-WRch*, xv.59.3), after a long *lacuna* in the records. Bowers maintains that the total number of singers available at St George's was 42-5, with the addition of the vicars to the complement of clerks and choristers (Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', p.6041). Unless a rota system was in operation, however, it is unlikely that the vicars would be needed to bolster what was already a large number of lay clerks.

¹⁹¹ Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', pp.6097-8.

have been sung by soloists throughout if performance of the piece was undertaken by clerks alone.

More puzzling is the thirteen part *Jesus autem transiens/Credo in Deum*, which is written for thirteen equal voices (with a range of thirteen notes). If this piece was written to be sung and not as an esoteric compositional exercise, it would have presented considerable performance problems. Throughout the time Wylkynson was working at Eton, the combined number of clerks and chaplains reached or exceeded thirteen only between 1507 and 1514, and then only intermittently.¹⁹² The *Credo* canon is by no means the most technically demanding work in MS 178 - the notation is relatively simple and the phrases quite short - but the wide *tessitura* of thirteen notes demanded of all thirteen singers means that, at whatever pitch the piece is performed, all the singers have to be of the same vocal calibre (unless recourse be made to singing in *falsetto*). The written range of the canon – *c-a'* – spans the entire range of the early-sixteenth-century countertenor voice.¹⁹³ The clerks of Henry Percy's household chapel consisted of three basses, four tenors and four countertenors; thus, out of eleven men, the tenors and countertenors - eight in number - were likely to have had similar vocal ranges. Proportionately, the equivalent number at Eton would have been four or, perhaps, five, leaving a shortfall too great to be filled by the chaplains alone (assuming that any chaplains took part), should any performance of the canon have been contemplated. The performance of choral polyphony by choirs not – on paper at least – ideally suited to it was not a problem

¹⁹² See Appendix E, pp.520-1 below.

¹⁹³ Bowers, 'The Vocal Scoring, Choral Balance and Performing Pitch of Latin Church Polyphony in England, c.1500-58', *JRMA*, 112 (1987), pp.47-9.

peculiar to Eton. At New College, Oxford, there were only four clerks in all, yet it seems possible that Edmund Turges wrote his five-part *Gaude flore virginali* while he was a chaplain there in 1507/8; this explains the unusual scoring of Tr/Tr/M/T/B, which would have enabled the men to sing the Tenor and Bass parts, two to a part.¹⁹⁴ Wylkynson's nine-part *Salve Regina* was added to the choirbook after his death, possibly between 1515 and 1520.¹⁹⁵ If this is plausible, it is equally possible that the *Credo* canon was added posthumously, as well, although it has been assumed that it was written in his hand in the manuscript.¹⁹⁶ Reinhard Strohm suggests that this piece may have been written for dramatic, rather than liturgical, performance;¹⁹⁷ if so, it is unlikely to have been included in MS 178 when it was composed, as it would have been written for performance in hall, not chapel. This would correspond with the glut of clerks employed in the 1520s, though it would not explain why Wylkynson wrote a piece for thirteen equal voices in the first place. It is possible that it was originally written in a higher clef for thirteen equal boys' voices, but was copied into MS 178 in C4 clef.¹⁹⁸ But if it was written in one clef, why copy it into MS 178 in another? It need not have been written for performance by clerk or

¹⁹⁴ Bowers, 'The Vocal Scoring', p.66. Fragments of Turges's *Gaude flore virginali* were found in New College.

¹⁹⁵ Bowers suggests these dates in 'The Vocal Scoring', p.66 n.75.

¹⁹⁶ Harrison, 'The Eton College Choirbook', p.227, and 'The Eton Choirbook', p.166; there is, however, no evidence to support this hypothesis, as no exemplars of Wylkynson's hand survive.

¹⁹⁷ R. Strohm, *The Rise of European Music, 1380-1500* (Cambridge, 1993), p.402, n.101; Strohm suggests that the nine-part *Salve regina* was also written with semi-dramatic performance in mind.

¹⁹⁸ The quasi-didactic nature of the piece, in which Jesus walks among the twelve disciples, may have been a demonstrative way of illustrating elementary points of theology to young boys (rather than grown men). The thirteen-note range of the *Credo* could have been rendered in G2 clef if performance by trebles was intended.

choristers, but by the scholars, if its uses were dramatic or didactic uses. The presence of ex-choristers of Eton, King's and St George's as scholars ensured that there was a regular, if limited, supply of trained musicians on site.

Since the restoration of Eton College in the mid-late 1460s, choristers had been received from St George's, Windsor, albeit in small numbers, and from King's College, Cambridge, in considerably larger numbers. From Windsor came Richard Hampshire (scholar, 1479-83), Thomas Scalon (*circa* 1490-5), Robert Hobbys (*circa* 1491-5), William Chard (1493-5), and Richard Blakborne (*circa* 1486, probably son of William Blackborne, the current parish clerk).¹⁹⁹ The presence of Hampshire, Scalon and Hobbys is known because they proceeded to Cambridge after leaving Eton, and were thus recorded in the election registers and other records of King's College, Cambridge. Chard and Blakborne both appear in the nominal rolls which survive for 1492-3, 1494 and 1495.²⁰⁰ Quite probably a number of other choristers went from St George's to Eton but, like Chard and Blakborne, did not go to Cambridge: in most years, for which listings of scholars do not survive, their presence cannot be ascertained from those records which remain. The institutional links between Eton and King's ensured that a large number of choristers came to Eton from King's, and an equally large proportion of these returned to Cambridge as scholars; indeed, it seems that more choristers proceeded to scholarships at Eton from King's than did choristers from Eton itself. Each August, choristers were taken from

¹⁹⁹ See Appendix C, pp.496-503_below.

²⁰⁰ ECR 61/NR/3-5.

Cambridge to Eton for election under the care of their instructor or a college servant; in 1510-11, for instance, the precentor's servant was paid 11s. for accompanying boys to Eton.²⁰¹ The number of choristers taken for election varied: in 1508-9, eight choristers (half the total number) were taken, at a cost of 18s. (2s. for each person, including Dns Wilson, the supervisor).²⁰² Perhaps as a parting gift, choristers were given a new cap if and when they proceeded to Eton.²⁰³ In some years enough data survives to allow for some degree of statistical analysis. The nominal roll for Michaelmas Term 1509 and Hilary Term 1510 survives complete.²⁰⁴ Fifty-six scholars are listed after the clerks and before the nine choristers in Hilary Term. Of these fifty-six, at least eleven, perhaps twelve, can be identified as one-time choristers of King's: John Brasbryge,²⁰⁵ John Andrew(s),²⁰⁶ Arnold,²⁰⁷ Gosnell/Cosewyll,²⁰⁸ William Tripel,²⁰⁹ Guy Johnson,²¹⁰ Thomas Cornwallis,²¹¹ Robert(?) Wood,²¹² Robert

²⁰¹ KCC, Mundum Book 10 (1510-1, under *Exhibicio chorustarum*), f.23v.

²⁰² KCC, Mundum Book 10 (1508-9, under *Exhibicio chorustarum*), f.22.

²⁰³ In 1510-11, the one chorister to go to Eton, Sommer, was given a cap worth 10d. (KCC, Mundum Book 10, under *Exhibicio choristarum*, f.23v).

²⁰⁴ ECR 61/NR/6 (HT 1510, front; MT 1509, dorse).

²⁰⁵ *Register*, p.47; KCC, Mundum Book 9 (1503-4, under *Custus ecclesie*), f.24.

²⁰⁶ *Register*, p.7; KCC, Mundum Book 9 (1503-4, under *Custus ecclesie*), f.22v.

²⁰⁷ ECR 61/NR/6 (nominal roll, 1509-10, listed twenty-fifth among the scholars); KCC, Mundum Book 9 (1503-4, under *Custus ecclesie*), ff.22v, 24. He did not return to Cambridge as a scholar, and may plausibly be identified with Arnold, a clerk at Eton in 1510-11 (see below, p.478).

²⁰⁸ ECR 61/NR/6 (nominal roll, 1509-10, listed 26th among the scholars); KCC, Mundum Book 9 (1506-7, under *Exhibicio chorustarum*), f.21.

²⁰⁹ *Register*, p.337; KCC, Mundum Book 10, (1507-8, under *Exhibicione chorustarum*), f.21.

²¹⁰ *Register*, p.191; KCC, Mundum Book (1506-7, under *Exhibicio chorustarum*), f.21.

²¹¹ *Register*, p.86; KCC, Mundum Book 10 (1507-8, under *Exhibicione chorustarum*), f.21.

Davy,²¹³ Grey and Stretty,²¹⁴ and, possibly, Bolney/Belamey.²¹⁵ Nor were these ex-choristers the only musicians to be scholars in 1510: John Grappe, listed seventh among the scholars subsequently became a lay clerk at King's College, Cambridge;²¹⁶ Alexander Philip(s), fifteenth among the scholars, returned to Eton as chaplain in January 1527, after three years at King's, staying until his death in 1558.²¹⁷ Philips may or may not have been a trained singer; but, even if Philips was not a musician, at least twelve or thirteen of the fifty-six scholars (that is, nearly 25%) had been or subsequently became singers. The total number of musicians, including ex-choristers, is likely to have been greater still: a Watkyns *minor* and a Watkyns *maior* listed below the choristers in 1510, may possibly have been the John Watkyns who had been a chorister at St George's, Windsor, in 1503-4.²¹⁸ There may also have been ex-choristers of Eton among the scholars but, as no list of choristers survives from the years immediately preceding, this cannot be ascertained. At least two, perhaps three, of the ten choristers present in 1510, however, are known to have

²¹² *Register*, p.374; ECR 61/NR/6 (nominal roll 6: a Wode *ma^{or}* and a Wode *mi^{or}* are listed, respectively, forty-first and forty-second among the scholars); KCC, Mundum Book 10 (1507-8, under *Exhibicione chorustarum*), f.21.

²¹³ *Register*, p.97; KCC, Mundum Book 10 (1509-10, under *Exhibitio chorustarum*), f.21.

²¹⁴ KCC, Mundum Book 10 (1509-10, under *Exhibitio chorustarum*), f.21; ECR 61/NR/6 (nominal roll 6, front, HT 1510, listed 54th and 55th).

²¹⁵ KCC, Mundum Book 10 (1509-10, under *Exhibitio chorustarum*), f.21; ECR 61/NR/6 (nominal roll 6, front, HT 1510, listed 3rd from end).

²¹⁶ *Register*, p.146.

²¹⁷ *Register*, p.266.

²¹⁸ ECR 61/NR/6 (nominal roll, MT 1509-HT 1510); *GB-Ob*, MS Berkshire Rolls, 5 (treasurer's accounts, St George's, Windsor, 1503-4), under *Choristis*. No Watkyns is listed in Sterry's *Register*: it is therefore unlikely that either of the Watkyns proceeded to Cambridge. A Thomas Watkyns, however, was senior clerk at King's from 1515-6 until 1518-9, when he is listed as *Magister* John Watkyns (KCC, Mundum Book 10, 1515-6 (under *Pensiones*), ff.6, 7v, 9, 10; *ibid.*, 1518-9 (under *Pensiones*), ff.6, 7, 8,

become scholars subsequently: William Brough, John Newman and, perhaps, (William) Smyth.²¹⁹

The records for 1509-10 are unusually complete, the survival of a complete nominal roll at Eton coinciding with a period of assiduous record-keeping at King's, in which the names of nearly all the choristers have been preserved. Not all years would necessarily have seen such a large traffic of musicians and, especially, of one-time choristers; but enough biographical information exists to demonstrate that choristers from King's, St George's and Eton itself became scholars, and a rather smaller number of scholars became singers. The composers Walter Lambe (of Salisbury) and, possibly, John Browne (of Coventry) were admitted as scholars in 1467;²²⁰ Robert Hacomplaynt, later provost of King's and the composer of a five-part *Salve regina* setting in MS 178 (openings *h6-7*), was a scholar at Eton from 1469 until 1472;²²¹ John Buttery, a scholar from around 1499 until 1504, gained his B.A. at King's before becoming a conduct there and then master of the choristers at Ramsey Abbey;²²² Robert Cotterell, a scholar from *circa* 1479 until 1483, became clerk and *informator choristarum* at Fotheringhay College after he graduated.²²³ John

9v.

²¹⁹ *Register*, pp.50, 245, 312. Only the surnames are listed in the nominal roll (ECR 61/NR/6): given the commonness of Smith as a surname, we cannot be certain that the two Smyths were one and the same.

²²⁰ Harrison, *MMB*, pp.455, 459.

²²¹ *BRUC*, p.278.

²²² *Register*, p.59; KCC, Mundum Book 10 (1510-11, under *Pensiones conducticii/clerici*), ff.7v, 8v.

²²³ See below, p.498.

Wickham spent five years as a scholar at Eton (1518-23) before going to King's for two years.²²⁴ Like Robert Cotterell, he may have migrated the relatively short distance to Fotheringhay College where, in 1528-9 and in 1530, a John Wicham or Wykeham was a clerk;²²⁵ by Michaelmas 1544, he returned as a clerk to King's, where he died in September 1558.²²⁶ Thomas Tusser became a musician in the service of Lord William Paget and a vicar choral at Norwich Cathedral;²²⁷ the career of Robert Wydow, scholar *circa* 1460-4, is well known, as he was the first recipient of an Oxford music degree (the B.Mus., awarded in 1502), which was incorporated at Cambridge the following year.²²⁸ As well as these, there were a number of instances in which scholars became singers, albeit for short periods: John Apslande, a scholar during the later 1480s, spent two years as scholar at King's (1489-91) before a two-year stint as lay clerk there (1492-4);²²⁹ according to Emden, John Heydon, scholar at Eton during the early-mid 1490s, spent time as a lay clerk at King's in 1499, after three years as a scholar there;²³⁰ John Water (scholar, 1444), Lewis Palmer, and,

²²⁴ *Register*, p.365.

²²⁵ NtsRO, MS Westmorland Apethorpe 5.V.4/2 (master's accounts, Fotheringhay College, 1528-9), under *Stipendia clericorum*; A. Hamilton Thompson (ed.), *Visitations in the Diocese of Lincoln 1517-1531* (Lincoln Record Society, 35, 1944), p.147 (visitation, 27 August 1530).

²²⁶ *Register*, p.365; from January 1537 until Michaelmas 1542, a Christopher Wickam, perhaps John mis-named, served as clerk (KCC, Mundum Book 11, 1536-7 (under *Pensiones*), ff. 6^v, 8, 9; *ibid.*, 1541-2 (under *Pensiones*), ff. 6, 8, 9v, 12).

²²⁷ *Register*, p.339; see also below, p.390.

²²⁸ See *NG*, 20, p.553, and *BRUC*, pp.654-5, where his numerous ecclesiastical preferments are listed.

²²⁹ *BRUC*, p.19.

²³⁰ *BRUC*, p.303.

possibly, Robert Wylkynson, became clerks at Eton after completing their terms as scholars.²³¹

At Oxford a number of past, present and prospective scholars sang in college choirs; similarly, contributions to the polyphony of the *Opus Dei* could have been expected from unpaid scholars at Eton, in furtherance of their education, musical as well as academic.²³² Thus Lewis Palmer, who had been a chorister in 1470 and was to become a clerk in 1476, spent the intervening years as a scholar; given his previous and subsequent musical orientation, it would be surprising if his skills were not made use of in some way or another when he was a scholar. Although no mention of music is made in either Malim's or Cox's customaries, it is likely that music-making was encouraged. Thomas Tusser was a scholar at Eton from *circa* 1540 until 1543, having been a chorister at Wallingford College and then St Paul's Cathedral, under John Redford.²³³ After studying at Cambridge, he served as musician to Lord William Paget, before becoming a lay clerk at Norwich Cathedral.²³⁴ His *Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry* (1557), a compendium of versified essays on domestic and agricultural practices, contains an autobiography lauding Redford (and execrating the food served at Wallingford) and a recommendation of music as a

²³¹ *Register*, pp.256, 353.

²³² At Magdalen College, thirty-nine out of some 125 choristers between 1485 and 1510 subsequently became demies (scholars); out of forty-eight clerks (1476-1510), two had been demies; out of thirty-four chaplains (1515-30), ten took degrees during or shortly before or after their terms (Bloxam, *Register*, 1, pp.1-7, *ibid.*, 2, pp.1-3, 125-6).

²³³ *Register*, p.339.

²³⁴ *Register*, p.339; he also farmed barley in Suffolk.

handmaid to education.²³⁵ He may have had a professional motivation in extolling music as a didactic tool, but he was hardly advocating a revolutionary or original ideology in doing so. Tusser's comments echo those of William Horman, once headmaster of Eton, and a fellow there until shortly before Tusser's arrival as scholar. William Horman had published his *Vulgaria* in 1519 at the instance of William Atwater, bishop of Lincoln, to whom Robert Aldrich penned commendatory Latin verses by way of preface.²³⁶

Given Horman's distinguished career as headmaster of Eton then of Winchester College, and given the official sponsorship of his book, the *Vulgaria* is most likely to have represented standard practice at Eton during the early sixteenth century. As its name suggests, it is a series of commonplaces, giving simple English phrases with translations in 'correct' (i.e. Humanistic) Latin.²³⁷ Several comments on music are included in Chapter Nine, *De philosophicus* (significantly, perhaps, not Chapter One, *De pietate*), for example: 'This is a good descant' ('Hec est mera symphonia'), 'He sange out all the selffe parte' ('Nomon peregit'), 'Contynual syngyng dulleth the voyce and restyng refressheth' ('Continuus cantus vocem in primis obtundit / cessatio reficit').²³⁸ His aphorism 'Without knowledge of musyke

²³⁵ W. Payne & S. J. Herrtage (eds.), *Five Hundred Pointes of Good Husbandrie by Thomas Tusser* (English Dialect Society, London, 1878), pp.206-7, and 185, §95: 'For men a perfect warning / How childe shall come by larning'.

²³⁶ W. Horman, *Vulgaria uiri doctissimi Guil. Hormani* (R. Pynson, London, 1519); Lyte, *History*, pp.105-6. At the time, Aldrich (later provost of Eton) was headmaster; 600 copies were printed.

²³⁷ Hence, 'I have sayde matyns' is translated as 'Persolui matutinum officium' not 'Persolui matutinas', and 'the chaunter' or precentor is rendered as 'phonostus' rather than 'precentor' or 'cantor' (*Vulgaria*, Chapter One, *De Pietate*, f.13), and 'crke' is a 'ierodulus' not a 'lericus' (*ibid.*, f.16v).

²³⁸ Horman, *Vulgaria*, Chapter Nine, *De philosophicus*, f.107^v.

grammar can nat be perfecte' may simply refer to chant or song (in its wider sense) rather than to measured music, but it nevertheless throws some light on the importance attached to some attainment in music, be it practical or theoretical, chant or song.²³⁹

Given Horman's knowledge and approbation of music as an adjunct to grammar, it would be surprising if music was not actively encouraged, even if it was not given classroom time. Being an unofficial extra-curricular activity, scant evidence exists that music was taught at Eton, and that which does exist post-dates Horman by some years. In 1550-1, mention is made of the purchase of 'a shawme and a small viall' as a part of chapel expenditure.²⁴⁰ The verse anthem was not yet established - a viol would therefore be of limited use in the chapel; nor, unless it was used to lead the singing of new psalm-tunes in the (possible) absence of an organ, would a shawm have been an ideal liturgical instrument. In 1552-3, viol-strings, as well as recorders and 'the shalme' (very probably the same one mentioned in 1550-1) are included as expenses incurred in the boys' chamber, not the chapel.²⁴¹ It is thus implied that, after the Reformation at least, musical tuition was undertaken by boys in the school. At other institutions during the 1540s, most notably London choir schools, the learning of the viol by boy choristers was particularly in vogue.²⁴² As well as

²³⁹ See R. Woodley, *John Tucke: A Case Study in Early Tudor Music Theory* (Oxford, 1993), pp.7-8, n.24.

²⁴⁰ ECR 62/3 (audit book 3, 1550-1, under *Templum*), p.23.

²⁴¹ ECR 62/3 (audit book 3, 1552-3, under *Cubiculum puerorum*), p.137: 'To John Stamaige [a clerk] for strings & ii newe recorders the string being bowght ffor the vyalles, vj^s viij^d...unto the same John paide for ii reedes for the shalme, viij^d'.

learning an instrument, a scholar may equally well have been given lessons in singing and, once proficient, might expect or be expected to sing in the choir. Given the demonstrable musical aptitude of some who are not known to have sung for a living in liturgical choirs, but who spent time in this kind of educational environment - like the composers John Sutton and Robert Hacomplaynt - it would seem more rather than less likely that, as young scholars, they had been given some grounding in singing.²⁴³

The statutory number of sixteen choristers was not maintained between the mid 1490s and 1540; indeed numbers were allowed to drop from fourteen in 1486 to seven or eight by 1536-7.²⁴⁴ The statutes stipulated that at the evening devotion the choristers, should they be fewer than sixteen in number, must be joined by as many scholars as were necessary to maintain the same number.²⁴⁵ The scholars most likely to have been selected to participate would probably have been those most familiar with it: ex-choristers (of Eton, or any other institution with similar ordinances).²⁴⁶

²⁴² I. Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol* (Cambridge, 1984), pp.206-18; Woodfield states that choristers learnt the viol only at a tight-knit group of London choir-schools, as well as 'outposts' like Ely Cathedral. Whether Eton College was one of these outposts, or whether it is evidence of wider practice than Woodfield suggests is not clear. The playing of viols by choristers was often associated with the performance of plays and pageants (Woodfield, p.213); it may or may not be coincidental that, after 1525, the performance of plays like Nicholas Udall's *Ralph Roister Doister* became commonplace (Lyte, *History*, pp.112-3).

²⁴³ See *BRUO*, p.1822 (John Sutton); *BRUC*, p.278 (Hacomplaynt). The same may have applied to Walter Smythe, fellow of Eton, who left books of polyphony to the college in his will, although the nature of his pre-University education is not known (see above, pp.315-18)

²⁴⁴ In the nominal rolls (ECR 61/NR/1-9), choristers are listed as following: 1486, fourteen; 1492-3, nine/eleven; 1494, twelve; 1495, ten; 1509-10, eight/nine; 1527-1528, nine; 1536-7, seven/eight; 1539-40, eight/ten.

²⁴⁵ ECR 58, p.107.

²⁴⁶ The scholars were obliged to attend the ceremony only during Lent (ECR 58, p.108).

Throughout the period when MS 178 was used, and beyond, a significant number of the participants in the evening devotion - sometimes as many as half the youths - were not choristers at the time, assuming the statutes were adhered to. If any of the scholars voluntarily took part in singing the votive antiphon, no records of any payments have survived; but the scholars would almost certainly not have been paid, in any case.²⁴⁷ Thus, while it cannot be proven that scholars regularly participated in the performance of polyphony, and while they were under no obligation to do so, it is nevertheless likely that they did, especially on the greater feasts, when their classroom hours were lessened.

²⁴⁷ Bowers (in 'The Vocal Scoring...c.1500-58', pp.66-7) argues that boy Means could be substituted for adult altos where there was an insufficient number of clerks. This expedient is likely to have been used at Eton, giving 4/5 trebles and 4/5 means; if there were, on average, a maximum of six clerks available to sing, they could have divided into three pairs in the standard five-part texture (Tr/M/Ct/T/B) without recourse to extra personnel. In six- or seven-part pieces, they would be struggling, and any performance of Wylkynson's nine-part *Salve Regina* would have to have been sung by solo countertenors, tenors and Basses, unless extra singers were added.

5.7 CONCLUSION

During the early sixteenth century the clerks and choristers, those charged with performing polyphony, numbered approximately twenty, perhaps fewer. Of the seven or eight clerks present at any one time, one, perhaps two, may not have been specialist singers. The exact composition of the choir cannot be ascertained from the archives alone; because no payments were made for copying polyphony, and because the duties of *informator choristarum* and organist were not rotated, there is no convenient archival evidence to indicate how many of the lay clerks were skilled musicians. Equally, the involvement of clerks in non-musical duties does not necessarily rule out their participation in the *Opus Dei* unless (as can be demonstrated in the case of William Ketyll) their extra duties took them away from Eton altogether for protracted periods. Likewise, there is scant evidence to prove either that the chaplains were singers or that they were not: it is likely however that some were but most were not. There does not appear to have been a concerted attempt to update the college's statutory framework in order to facilitate the performance of choral polyphony, as happened elsewhere. There was no need for radical statutory overhaul: there were enough musicians within college to supply a large enough choral ensemble, especially on feast days like the Assumption (for which Wylkynson wrote the most lavishly-scored of all the Eton motets). MS 178 was therefore intended to be used not just by a small group of lay clerks and choristers. This may account for the high quality of the choirbook: it was intended to be seen as well as heard.

CHAPTER SIX

SCHISM, REFORMATION AND COUNTER-REFORMATION, 1530-1558:

evidence for the use and disuse of MS 178

The physical state of MS 178 raises a number of questions about its fate before, during and after the Reformation. Although nearly half of its leaves have been lost, MS 178 survived the years of religious change, unlike other liturgical or musical books at Eton. The rebinding of the manuscript together with the presence of mid-sixteenth-century marginalia furthermore suggest that it not only survived but was re-used during the Catholic restoration of 1553-8. Given the age of the repertory at the time of the rebinding (between fifty and one hundred years old), the revival of MS 178 - if indeed it was revived for use under Mary - is the more remarkable. The fact of the choirbook's survival, and the lack of any physical evidence to suggest that it was wilfully defaced, also sheds light on the nature of the Reformation at Eton. The destruction of Latin music manuscripts is commonly attributed to the 'violent upheavals attending the Reformation'.¹ In fact, the Reformation in England was generally orderly, piecemeal, non-violent, and certainly not spontaneous.² At Eton, the Reformation injunctions were heeded cautiously: there was no outbreak of iconoclasm. The Reformation, paradoxically, may have been decisive in the survival

¹ NG, 17, p.695, §19.

² See, for instance, C. Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford, 1993), pp.168f.

of MS 178. Having been shelved at some point before 1548 or 1549, MS 178 had a second lease of life when the restoration of Catholicism in 1553 created an urgent need for Catholic liturgical and devotional material. After the accession of Elizabeth, the choirbook became an artefact and an object of antiquarian interest. The onset of obsolescence probably began in the 1530s, when new musical and devotional tastes displaced those of the years during which MS 178 was compiled. It is therefore necessary to examine in detail the years preceding the Reformation.

During the last seventeen years of Henry VIII's reign, following the break from Rome, little appears to have changed in the liturgical arrangements at Eton: expenditure on the upkeep of the chapel and its fittings, the celebration of Morrow Masses, the manufacture and repair of vestments, and the maintenance of a full complement of clerks and chaplains all bespeak a 'business as usual' attitude. Levels of expenditure were comparable with those pre-1530. Between 1530 and 1547, the combined stipends of chaplains and clerks amounted annually to around £45, having risen from around £30 in the 1500s: this rise was commensurate with increasing expenditure on commons (from £230-£240 in the 1500s to £320-£370 in the decade before 1547), which was afforded by a progressive rise in income (from £626 15s. 8d. in 1500 to £1,313 6s. 9½d. in 1548); expenditure on the fabric and fittings of the chapel varied from £16 to £36.³ Although Henry VIII's death in 1547 was to leave the reforming party in the ascendant at Court, it probably came as a relief at Eton, where the commissioners had conducted a *valor* in March 1546:⁴ the 1545 Chantries

³ See Appendix G, pp.537-8 below.

⁴ Lyte, *History*, pp.116-7.

Act lapsed on the king's demise.⁵ Although Henry's use of the act had been leisurely and his intentions unpredictable, the educational colleges of Oxford and Cambridge were - or were believed to be - in peril, and intensive lobbying was undertaken to avert dissolution.⁶ The Edwardine Chantries Act, given royal assent on 24 December 1547 after an unprecedentedly swift passage through parliament, specifically exempted the educational establishments.⁷

Insofar as can be deduced from the college accounts, the overall attitude of the college to the Edwardine reforms appears to have been reactive rather than proactive. This is unsurprising given the piecemeal nature of the process of reformation: nearly two and a half years elapsed between the death of Henry VIII on 27 January 1547 and the abolition of the Latin rite when the Act of Uniformity came into force on Whit Sunday, 1549. No account books survive from the crucial years, 1547-1550; although bursars' drafts survive for most of these three years, they are sketchy and incomplete.⁸ Sir Thomas Smith, a protégé of Protector Somerset, was elected provost on 29 December 1547, after prompting from Somerset.⁹ His education had encompassed a competence in pricksong, and his reformist convictions were lax

⁵ A. Kreider, *English Chantries: The Road to Dissolution* (Harvard/London, 1979), p.180.

⁶ Kreider, *English Chantries*, pp.180-2.

⁷ Kreider, *English Chantries*, p.192.

⁸ ECR 62/38: bursars' book 2, containing accounts for 1541 or 1542 (although there is a mid-sixteenth-century endorsement of 1544, internal evidence suggests that this account predates that for 1542-3), 1545, 1548, 1549, 1550 (25 March 1549-25 March 1550), 1553.

⁹ Lyte, *History*, pp.121-2.

enough for him to allow his chaplain to wear an alb and chasuble as late as 1569, long after the Elizabethan settlement; but it is unlikely that he would (or could) have tolerated any significant deviation from the regime's line.¹⁰ The new library, built by Provost Lupton, was cleaned out to make a suitable residence for Smith and his wife in 1548-1549;¹¹ while preoccupied with affairs of state, having been appointed one of the principal secretaries of state in April 1548, Smith's position within government afforded him both the means and the motivation to monitor the affairs of the college, and this may have been one of the causes of friction between him and the fellows.¹² It is thus unlikely that the daily Marian devotions and the music associated with them continued to be performed for long after 1547.

6.1: MUSICAL AND LITURGICAL CHANGES BEFORE 1547

After the break from Rome, the signals emanating from the regime were confused and conflicting; Henry's immediate necessity to surround himself with anti-papists ensured that royal policy was steered towards reform, albeit piecemeal, during the first six or seven years after the schism. With the publication and enforcement of the Six Articles in 1539, the fall of Thomas Cromwell in 1540, and with the king's personal conservatism re-asserting itself, the conservatives appeared to have won the

¹⁰ Lyte, *History*, p.122; see also *DNB*, 18, pp.532-5.

¹¹ R. Birley, *The History of Eton College Library* (Eton, 1970), p.12.

¹² *DNB*, 18, pp.533-4.

king's ear.¹³ Liturgical reform was pursued most rigorously in the late-1530s with the abrogation in February 1537 of feast-days during harvest and the Westminster law terms;¹⁴ this was followed by the Injunctions of September 1538 which forbade the burning of lights before images (except the rood, the sacrament and the Easter sepulchre), inveighed against the veneration of and pilgrimages to relics and icons, forbade the ringing of the *Angelus* and *Ave* bells, and foreshortened the processional Litany of the saints.¹⁵ Yet only two months later, on 16 November 1538, the king issued a proclamation which condemned unauthorised publication of primers and Bible translations, and sought to underpin the fabric of traditional devotions.¹⁶ This same proclamation ordered the removal of the feasts of Thomas Becket from the *Sanctorale*. The Translation of Thomas Becket on 7 July had been a feast of prime importance at Eton, on which absence was forbidden, and was one of twenty-five feasts on which a dole was made (6s. 8d.):¹⁷ as a holiday and an occasion for the lighting of bonfires it was included in William Malim's Customary of 1560, albeit in the past tense.¹⁸ The prohibition of Becket's feasts thus intruded upon the liturgy at Eton in more immediate a way than any other of Henry's injunctions.

¹³ The halting process of reform, or 'the attack on traditional religion' between 1530 and 1547 is covered extensively in E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c.1400-c.1580* (New Haven/London, 1992), pp.379-447.

¹⁴ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp.394-6; A. Clark (ed.), *Lincoln Diocese Documents, 1450-1544* (EETS, 149, 1914), pp.216-9.

¹⁵ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp.406-8.

¹⁶ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp.410-2.

¹⁷ H & W, pp.536-7, 549.

While Becket's desecration was politically motivated, and continued observance of his feasts would have been politically unacceptable, much of the reforming legislation left latitude for interpretation. Edward Lee, Archbishop of York, issued a diocesan endorsement of the royal injunctions of 1538 which omitted some of the prohibitions mentioned in the original.¹⁹ John Longland (d.1547), Bishop of Lincoln and thus episcopal visitor of Eton College, was a conservative.²⁰ Both as visitor and as Chancellor of Oxford University (from which the majority of the fellows still came), he is unlikely to have insisted upon the enforcement of the royal injunctions *ad litteram* or beyond the minimum requirement. Although he may not have overseen the day-to-day liturgy at Eton, that he was buried (mostly) at Eton after his death in May 1547 suggests that he took an active interest in the college. Longland's episcopal prerogative was over-ruled when Cranmer conducted an archiepiscopal visitation at Eton in June 1534.²¹ This, however, was ostensibly a single-issue visitation, intended to stifle opposition to the Act of Succession passed earlier in the year;²² the fellows of Eton swore the oath unanimously. John Longland's conservatism was tempered by a whole-hearted commitment to the royal supremacy, and his rights of visitation were restored to him in February 1537;²³ the fellows thus enjoyed considerable latitude in the interpretation of royal decrees and

¹⁸ R. A. Austen-Leigh (ed.), 'Malim's *Consuetudinarium*', *Etoniana*, 5 (1905), p.67.

¹⁹ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp.412-4.

²⁰ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p.429; *DNB*, 12, pp.120-1.

²¹ ECR 60/14 (register 1), p.167; the visitation certificate is dated 16 June.

²² S. Brigden, *London and the Reformation* (Oxford, 1989), p.225.

²³ Haigh, *English Reformations*, p.124.

injunctions, able to justify either conservatism or progressiveness by recourse to episcopal or archiepiscopal authority.²⁴ The abrogation of feast-days, moreover, could have been implemented wholesale, piecemeal or, perhaps, hardly at all: the wording of the 1537 decree left sufficient lee-way for both traditionalist and reformist interpretation. While the abrogation of feasts was used to prune the liturgical year, its main function was economic, hence the specific abolition of feast-days during the harvest season.²⁵ It primarily applied to the laity: 'all prestes and Clerkes' were permitted to observe the abrogated feasts, provided they did not do so 'solemnly' or with pealing of bells, and provided that the clergy did not enjoin others to keep the feasts.²⁶ Apart from the removal of the feast of Dedication to 1 October, the abrogation could justifiably have been ignored at Eton, had the fellowship so wished. The proviso against ceremonial bell-ringing could hardly have had much impact at Eton, where the great belfry envisaged by Henry VI had never been built.²⁷ There were probably only two bells available (not including any installed in Lupton's Tower), and these do not appear to have worked particularly efficiently, given the regularity with which bell-ropes and other equipment needed replacement.²⁸

²⁴ Duffy (*The Stripping of the Altars*, pp.412-5) contrasts the execution of the royal injunctions by Longland (conservative) and Nicholas Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury (reformist).

²⁵ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p.394.

²⁶ *Lincoln Diocese Documents*, p.218.

²⁷ *HKW*, 2, p.285. The bell-tower, standing on the West side of the cloister court, North of the entrance to the nave, was to have been 140 feet high; abutting the Slough road, it would have occupied much the same position and would have been of a similar size as the Great Tower at Magdalen College, Oxford. No indication is given as to how many bells it was to contain, although (given its size) a peal of eight or ten would seem likely.

²⁸ In 1542-3 (ECR 62/2 (audit book 2, 1542-3, under *Custus templi et campanilis*), p.226) a smith was paid 7s. 6d. for repairing the second bell. There seems to have been a design fault, as in 1499-1500 (ECR 61/AR/F/10 (audit roll, 1499-1500), under *Custus ecclesie*), three carpenters were paid 15s. for working in

Although the prohibition on lay attendance applied to the townsfolk, it is questionable whether it applied to members of college. It is quite possible if not likely that those living *intra mures*, who were included in the college's exemption from certain forms of lay and clerical taxation (the 1524 subsidy, for instance), were also exempted from the provisions of the abrogation, covered by the exemption for priests and clerks.

The injunctions of 1538, which sought the removal of 'abused' images were equally ambiguous. As well as images of the BVM, there were images of Saints Anne, Nicholas, Andrew, Clement, Anthony, Loo and the Holy Trinity in the chapel;²⁹ although there is no mention of these latter images in the accounts during the 1540s, the image of the BVM at the high altar, at least, was still in place a year or two after the injunctions were issued: in 1539-40, 4d. was paid for a key for the pyx before her image.³⁰ Although Eton had long ceased to be a destination for pilgrims, an annual ale continued to be held on the feast of the Assumption at least as late as 1545, when the customary £5 was spent.³¹ The ambiguity of many of Henry's injunctions allowed for various interpretations: it is therefore necessary to examine the internal evidence in order to gauge how these injunctions and their local interpretation may have affected the *Opus Dei* within chapel.

the bell-turret for ten days, and again, in 1506-7 (ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1506-7, under *Custus ecclesie*), p.41), another carpenter was paid 52s. for working for 104 days in the bell-turret.

²⁹ Lyte, *History*, p.91.

³⁰ ECR 62/2 (audit book 2, 1539-40, under *Custus templi*), pp.194-5; and ECR 62/37 (bursars' book 1, 1539-40 [mis-dated 1540-1], under *Custus templi*), f.220: 'Solut pro clavi ad pixidem iuxta icona Mariæ ad summum altarem iiij^d'.

³¹ ECR 62/2 (audit book 2, 1544-5), p.251.

Provost for the post-schism years was the old-Etonian Robert Aldrich, who was elected as the king's nominee in 1535, and resigned in 1547.³² A friend of Erasmus, he appears to have been a convinced Humanist: he had persuaded William Horman to write his *Antibossicon* (1521) in refutation of Robert Whittington and had been instrumental in introducing Greek into the syllabus at Eton when he was headmaster (1514-21).³³ He was active in the king's service from 1533, when he went on an embassy to France with the Duke of Norfolk;³⁴ shortly after he became provost, he was elevated to the see of Carlisle, although he continued to reside at Eton when not on royal business.³⁵ His religious opinions appear to have been cautiously reformist, neither radical nor reactionary: in 1535 he was sent to persuade the monks of Syon to accept the royal supremacy, but he supported the conservative Act of the Six Articles in 1539, and - although a member of the commission established to reform the liturgy in 1547 - he resisted the introduction of the Book of Common Prayer in the House of Lords.³⁶ There is little evidence of outspoken conservatism or radicalism among Aldrich's colleagues on the fellowship. John Belfeld, who was elected in June 1536, did not leave until 1558, evidently able to weather the religious changes of Edward's and Mary's reigns. Richard Bruerne (or Brewarne), who was elected in January 1544, remained until 1561, when his botched

³² Lyte, *History*, p.108. *DNB*, 1, p.252, gives 21 June 1534; he was paid as provost from Easter 1536 (ECR 62/2 (audit book 2, 1535-6, under *Porciones*), p.135).

³³ *DNB*, 1, p.253; Lyte, *History*, p.100.

³⁴ *DNB*, 1, p.252.

³⁵ Lyte, *History*, pp.108-9.

³⁶ *DNB*, 1, p.252.

election to the provostship precipitated his resignation;³⁷ although his supposed anti-protestantism was a factor in his deposition, he had nevertheless retained his fellowship apparently without qualm during the Edwardine Reformation. There were no deprivations during the late 1540s like those of 1554 (on account of marriage) and 1560/1561 (for anti-protestantism or contumacy), suggesting dutiful compliance with the regime's reforms. Roger Hutchinson, an advocate of reform, was not elected until 1550, by which time Thomas Smith was provost.³⁸ Perhaps the most unequivocally reformist member of college was Richard Cox, a scholar from *circa* 1514 until 1519, when he went to King's, and headmaster of Eton from 1528 until 1534.³⁹ Prior to his arrival at Eton, he had been one of the foundation canons of Cardinal College, but had had to quit on account of his Protestant opinions;⁴⁰ in 1542, he was one of those appointed to make an translation of the Bible, and served on the Windsor commission to make an English order of communion (1548), prayer book (1549) and ordinal (1550).⁴¹ As tutor to Prince Edward (from 1544), he was in a position to influence royal policy (although he could not proselytize until after Henry's death), and he pursued royal policy vigorously when he was one of the royal visitors who, in 1549, 'swept the schools and colleges with the most destructive zeal'.⁴² After exile under

³⁷ *BRUO1540*, p.69.

³⁸ Venn & Venn, I, 2, p.441.

³⁹ *VCH*, Bucks, ii, p.178.

⁴⁰ *DNB*, 4, p.1337.

⁴¹ *DNB*, 4, p.1337.

⁴² *DNB*, 4, p.1337; D. M. Loades, *The Tudor Court* (revised ed., Bangor, 1992), pp.121-2.

Mary, Cox returned to be Bishop of Ely, where he was appointed in July 1559; his refusal to minister in Elizabeth I's chapel, on account of the continued presence of crucifix and lights there, attests to his thoroughly Protestant convictions.⁴³ As headmaster of Eton, Cox would have been circumscribed by the jurisdiction of the provost, Roger Lupton, and it is unlikely that he would have been able to propagate radical reformist ideology to his scholars; moreover, he would not have been in a position to influence the devotional apparatus within the chapel. Nevertheless, his election to the headmastership suggests that orthodoxy was not as stringently enforced at Eton as it had been at Cardinal College; in electing him so shortly after his departure from Oxford, the fellows of Eton demonstrated tolerance if not sympathy.

As far as can be deduced from the accounts, the last seventeen years of Henry VIII's reign were characterized by liturgical continuity. Daily celebration of Morrow Mass continued until 1547, likewise the £5 payment for the Assumption ale; as late as 1548, after the election of Thomas Smith as provost, wine was provided in hall to mark the Feast of Relics, Corpus Christi and the Assumption;⁴⁴ the provision of 'singing' or 'housling' bread for consecration at the numerous daily masses was maintained at the same levels: 1,000-odd wafers a quarter, at 9d., plus 4d. *per annum*

⁴³ *DNB*, 4, p.1338.

⁴⁴ ECR 62/38 (bursars' book 2, 1547-8, under *Custus aule et promptuarii*), ff.83-83v.

for the parishioners' bread;⁴⁵ the organs continued to be repaired and maintained until 1548, and an organist paid until 1550.⁴⁶ Indeed, the established order was not just maintained, but augmented with the purchase and binding of twelve books containing the order for the Feast of the Name of Jesus in 1531-2;⁴⁷ the tardiness with which this feast was introduced (some thirty years after it had become commonplace in printed liturgical books) suggests liturgical conservatism.⁴⁸ In 1537-8, new paxes were bought for the two nave altars (probably those abutting the rood screen).⁴⁹ Nearly every year work was done on the chapel windows; although this may have entailed defacement of prohibited images (like that of Thomas Becket) in later years, most payments were for resetting old glass in new lead.⁵⁰ References to coloured glass suggest that there was no great desire to replace stained glass with plain, at least until 1548.⁵¹

⁴⁵ In 1542-3 (ECR 62/2, audit book, 1542-3, under *Custus templi et campanilis*), pp.226-7), John Smyth (sacristan-clerk) was paid 3s. 4d. for the year's bread; in 1524-5, before the schism, 3s. 7d. had been paid for 3,200 wafers (ECR 62/1 (audit book, 1524-5, under *Custus templi*), p.379). In 1548, expenditure on bread was reduced to 4d. a quarterly; expenditure on wine varied considerably.

⁴⁶ John Howe received his two-yearly 4s. fee as *confectior organorum* until 24 March 1548 (ECR 62/38 (bursars' book, 1547-8, under *Custus templi*), f.82); William Butler was last paid as organist in 1550 (ECR 62/38 (bursars' book, 1549-50, under *Remuneraciones officiariorum*), f.177v), although he continued to receive the 6s. 8d. fee as part of his regular salary thereafter.

⁴⁷ ECR 62/2 (audit book 2, 1531-2, under *Custus templi*), p.55.

⁴⁸ See R. W. Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 1970), pp.38, 62-83, 129.

⁴⁹ ECR 62/2 (audit book 2, 1537-8, under *Custus templi*), p.171.

⁵⁰ In 1535-6, for instance (ECR 62/2 (audit book 2, 1535-6, under *Custus templi*), p.146), when 18d. was paid for setting six feet of old glass in new lead.

⁵¹ In 1533-4, for instance (ECR 62/2 (audit book 2, 1543-4, under *Custus templi*), pp.101-2); see below, pp.426-8.

There is no evidence within the college archives to indicate that the Marian devotions ceased under Henry VIII, or that theological or liturgical opinion within college was inimical to the performance of the votive antiphons contained in MS 178. The choirbook's continued use or disuse is more likely to have been dependent more on stylistic than on ideological grounds: by 1530, many of its contents would have been obsolete; perhaps the only instance in which the manuscript or its contents would have fallen foul of the regime was in the presence in John Browne's six-part *Stabat virgo mater Christi*, whose *cantus firmi*, *Exulat vir optimus* and 'cudit custos' (*Jacet granum*) were proper to the feast of Thomas Becket.⁵² The first evidence of the copying of polyphony after 1500 occurs in 1526-7, when 2s. 11d. was paid for the pricking and manufacture of a codex for the boys, as well as the witing of their prayers on a board.⁵³ Just two years earlier, Walter Smythe had left his own books of polyphony for use in chapel.⁵⁴ We therefore know that MS 178 was not the only musical codex in use at the time. In 1528-9, John Kechyn, one of the chaplains, was paid 40s. for pricking 'diverse songs' into books in the chapel.⁵⁵ This was probably a sizeable *tranche* of copying, perhaps including up to forty masses or sixty votive antiphons: James Jakson was paid 6s. 4d. for copying ten antiphons (nine five-part and one six-part) at King's College, Cambridge, in March 1503;⁵⁶ in 1515-6, just 4d.

⁵² From November 1538, Becket's feasts were abolished. See also above, pp.322-3, regarding double *cantus firmi* and their possible significance.

⁵³ ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1526-7, under *Custus templi*), p.418.

⁵⁴ ECR 60/14 (register 1), p.144: his will, dated 14 February 1524 (new style 1525), was proved on 22 June 1525.

⁵⁵ ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1528-9, under *Custus templi*), p.436.

⁵⁶ KCC, Mundum Book 9 (1502-3, under *Expense necessarie*), f.28.

was paid for Fayrfax's Magnificat *O bone Jesu*, and 3s. was paid for three masses to be copied at King's.⁵⁷ Fees for copying at Tattershall College in the 1490s are comparable: 4s. sufficed for six quaterns of prick-song, and 1d. appears to have been the going rate for individual voice-parts of antiphons or masses.⁵⁸

Whether the polyphony copied by John Kechyn was intended to replace or complement the music in MS 178 is unclear; he may even have been paid for copying some of the contents of MS 178 into the more up-to-date partbook format. In 1529-30, 18d. was paid for the writing and binding of a book used by the choristers at services of the BVM;⁵⁹ this may or may not have contained polyphony. In 1536-7, Walter Ditty, the *informator choristarum*, was paid 6s. 8d. for a book containing a mass and 'diverse of the best newly-written antiphons' and for repairing other books (probably books of polyphony).⁶⁰ In 1540-1 or 1541-2, John Kechyn was again paid for copying, just 2s. 8d. for diverse songs, including *Laudes Deo*, as well as a song for the hall.⁶¹ It is possible if not likely that the copying of polyphony was

⁵⁷ KCC, Mundum Book 10 (1515-6, under *Expense necessarie*), f.27^v.

⁵⁸ KCRO, MS U1475 Q19/4 (precentor's accounts, Tattershall College, 1498-9, front), and U1475 Q19/3 (precentor's accounts, Tattershall College, 1496-1497); a six-part *Salve regina* cost 6d. in 1496-7, and in 1498-9 1d. was paid for the Bass and Tenor parts and 1½d. for the Countertenor part of a piece by (Richard) Davy.

⁵⁹ ECR 62/2 (audit book 2, 1529-30, under *Custus templi*), p.12.

⁶⁰ ECR 62/37 (bursars' book 1, 1536-7, under *Custus templi*), f.127^v: 'Et Waltero Dytty pro vno libro continento unam missam et diversas antyphonas optimas de novo editas et reparacione aliorum librorum'.

⁶¹ ECR 62/38 (bursars' book 2, 1540-1 or 1541-2, under *Custus templi*), f.15^v: 'Solut dno kechyn notulanti diversis cantus pro choro videlicet laudes deo et alium cantum pro aula ij^s viij^d'; *Laudes Deo* was probably the troped lesson sung from the pulpitum at Mass on Christmas Eve, *Laudes Deo dicam* (see Harrison, *MMB*, pp.400-1). Two settings of this survive from the mid sixteenth century, by Robert Johnson and John Sheppard.

undertaken at other times but that this was not recorded, either because it was done at personal expense or because the bursars, in engrossing the year's accounts, included the small sums involved with other items without detailed listings: it is significant that the last two records of copying occur in the bursars' books, which were draft accounts.

The surviving records of copying are inconsistent as to the sums spent and when they were made: there does not appear to have been a concerted policy to renew and supplement the choirs' polyphonic repertory through gradual year-by-year increment as there was at Winchester College.⁶² The implied quantity of Kechyn's copying in 1528-9 suggests a desire to up-date the choir's repertory wholesale: perhaps it was at this time that the obsolescence of MS 178 began to be felt. The concern to acquire the best and newest repertory in 1536-7 bespeaks a disregard for older repertory in a way that militates against the likelihood of MS 178's continued use: it was not just the format of the manuscript (i.e. choirbook rather than partbook) that was obsolete, it was the style of the music itself which required replacing with something new. The £2 paid to Kechyn in 1528-9 – six times greater than Ditty's fee in 1536-7 – suggests that it was in 1528-9 that the main work of repertory renewal was done.⁶³ This is assuming that this was indeed the first major stint of copying

⁶² See above, pp.305-6.

⁶³ This phase of copying took place after the departure of a number of old clerks (see above, pp.364-5); this may explain both the need for the copying of new repertory (and also the fact that it was one of the chaplains, not the clerks, who did the work).

since 1505; there appear to have more than one choirbook in the chapel as early as 1511-2, when keys were made for the chest in which the songbooks were kept.⁶⁴ The small amount of copying undertaken in 1541/3 was probably intended to fulfil specific liturgical (and secular) needs; it is historically significant, being the only reference to the singing of polyphony in hall, which was permitted on feast days.⁶⁵ Although they are scanty, these instances of copying polyphony point to the fate of MS 178 after 1530. As its contents became stylistically outmoded (having been written between thirty and fifty years earlier) and perhaps devotionally, the choirbook was put in the chest on the rood screen and forgotten.

6.2: THE EDWARDINE REFORMATION

The period between accession of Edward VI in January 1547 and the enforcement of the first Book of Common Prayer at Whitsun 1549 was one of attrition, as old devotional and liturgical practices were abolished by statute or by injunction.⁶⁶ If MS 178 was still in use in 1547, it was certainly not so after 1549; during the intervening years, with hindsight a period of transition from Catholicism to

⁶⁴ ECR 62/1 (audit book 1, 1511-2, under *Custus ecclesie*), p.130: 'Et pro ij clavibus ad scrinium vbi conduntur libri canticorum vj^d'.

⁶⁵ H & W, p.534 (article 17, *De mora non facienda in aula post prandium et cenam*); as well as the singing of songs ('cantilena') on principal and major double feast days, an antiphon of the BVM was sung after hall every day (H & W, p.533), although this is unlikely to have been polyphonic, as it was sung by everyone present.

⁶⁶ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp.448-77, 478-503.

Protestantism, reform was achieved by stealth, and the point at which vernacular liturgies were adopted depended on local factors, such as the convictions of the episcopal visitor, the rigour of the royal commissioners, and the resistance, passive or otherwise, of the priest and his churchwardens. Only in the summer of 1549 did the old liturgy become obsolete in its entirety: before then, as some practices were suppressed and others reformed or allowed to continue *pro tempore*, old and new co-existed; this may have had implications on the physical state of MS 178.⁶⁷ The records of expenditure for the period 1547-1550 are somewhat patchy. No fair-copy audit books exist for these years; this deficiency is mostly made up by the survival of the bursars' draft accounts, but with *lacunae* between Michaelmas 1545 and Michaelmas 1547 and between 25 March and the end of September 1550.⁶⁸ As informal working drafts, they are probably not complete, and sometimes duplicate each other. Nevertheless, they give an insight into the effects on both fabric and personnel which were attendant on the religious changes.

⁶⁷ See below, pp.432f.

⁶⁸ In ECR 62/38 (bursars' book 2, 1540/1-1552): Michaelmas 1547-Michaelmas 1548 (ff.67f), Michaelmas 1548-Easter 1549 (ff.115f), 25 March 1549-25 March 1550 (ff.167f), Michaelmas 1551-Michaelmas 1552 (ff.272f: incorrectly dated 1553); the bursars' rolls for 1549 and 1550 (ECR 61/BR/H/1-2) contain very detailed rentals but only summaries of expenses. A continuous run of audit books begins at Michaelmas 1550 (ECR 62/3 (audit book 3), pp.3f).

6.2.1: The impact of reform: personnel

Perhaps the most decisive impact of the accession of Edward VI, at least in the short term, was the election of Sir Thomas Smith as provost at the end of December 1547.⁶⁹ Robert Aldrich, provost since 1535, had also held the bishopric of Carlisle, although he resided at Eton, attracting censure from the Privy Council;⁷⁰ his resignation may not have been unprompted. Smith's election was precipitate: a letter requiring Smith's election was sent to the fellows on Christmas Day, Smith was elected on 29 December, and simultaneously, probably the next day, the vice-provost and one of the bursars rode to Lincoln in order to consult the bishop.⁷¹ Although he was the king's placeman, Smith was not without academic interests or accomplishments. His early education encompassed the traditional song (and some prick-song), as well as grammar at Saffron Walden school, which was probably based on the curriculum at Eton.⁷² He distinguished himself at Cambridge: he was a reader in natural philosophy, a public orator, an advocate of reform in the pronunciation of Greek (in opposition to Stephen Gardiner, foreshadowing their future theological disagreements), and author of a tract proposing the addition of five new vowels to the

⁶⁹ Lyte, *History*, pp.121-2.

⁷⁰ Lyte, *History*, p.114.

⁷¹ Lyte, *History*, pp.121-2; ECR 62/38 (bursars' book 2, 1547-8, under *Custus solucionum forinsecarum*), f.101: 'Solut m^o Goldwyn vicepreposito et m^o Willyat equitantibus in negotiis collegii ad d. episcopum Lincolnense pro admissione novi prepositi ut patet per billam xlv^s ij^d'.

⁷² *VCH*, Bucks, 2, pp.175-6; see also above, pp.93f.

English alphabet.⁷³ It was his academic and administrative skills which attracted royal patronage in the early 1540s; he was thus well qualified for the provostship, although administrative commitments frequently kept him away from Eton.⁷⁴ He was not an extreme reformer, despite his commitment to Somerset's regime, however, and made no secret of his distaste for John Hooper and other radical Protestants;⁷⁵ he managed to hang on to the provostship until a year of Mary's accession; and, though a trusted royal servant, he was able only to delay the visit of the royal commissioners, from 1548 until 6 May 1552.⁷⁶

Prior to Smith's arrival at Eton, there had been a rapid rotation among the fellows: three had been elected during the course of 1547 (Augustine Crosse on 26 March, William Dobson on 15 June, and William Boswell on 2 November),⁷⁷ two had been elected within the previous two years (Richard Williat on 3 September 1545 and Henry Ryley on 26 August 1546),⁷⁸ and only one, John Belfeld, had been at Eton for more than ten years (since 23 June 1536).⁷⁹ The first vacancy to occur during Smith's tenure was in 1550, when Roger Hutchinson was elected. Smith took advantage of this opportunity to promote reform: Hutchinson, like Smith, was a

⁷³ *DNB*, 18, p.532.

⁷⁴ Lyte, *History*, pp.123-4.

⁷⁵ S. Brigden, *London and the Reformation* (Oxford, 1989), p.458.

⁷⁶ Lyte, *History*, p.130; the following month, the college was again visited, after disputes broke out between Smith and the fellows, and 'certain superstitious statutes' were amended (*ibid.*, p.131).

⁷⁷ *BRUO1540*, pp.152, 170, 61.

⁷⁸ Sterry, *Register*, p.367; *BRUO1540*, p.497.

convinced Protestant, author of a collection of sermons and of *The Image of God* which was dedicated to Thomas Cranmer.⁸⁰ Hutchinson was the only Edwardine fellow to leave behind written evidence of his religious convictions, but he was not alone in taking a wife: Oliver Stonyng (fellow, 1530-1547), Richard Williat (1545-1550), Augustine Crosse (1547-1553) and John Johnson (1553-4) were deprived from their fellowships (or livings) on account of their marriages.⁸¹ Although the taking of wives may not necessarily have been a token of Protestant zeal, the fact that a sizeable minority of fellows married suggests that they were not zealous reactionaries either. Marriage violated the spirit of the statutes (though perhaps not the letter: married priests had been inconceivable in the 1440s); it also engendered serious physical dislocation, as fellows' quarters were extended to accommodate their families (Smith having appropriated Lupton's library for this purpose.⁸²

The fellows' ability to marry was facilitated by the freeing of living quarters when the number of chaplains was allowed to decline (to three by Michaelmas 1550).⁸³ Prior to 1550, seven or eight chaplains had been retained at any one time, and recruitment continued until and beyond 1545.⁸⁴ Their departure was almost

⁷⁹ *BRUO1540*, p.38.

⁸⁰ Venn & Venn, I, 2, p.441.

⁸¹ *BRUO1540*, pp.543, 152; Sterry, *Register*, pp.367, 191.

⁸² Lyte, *History*, p.125; Birley, *The History of Eton College Library*, p.12: the purging of the library, from Popish texts according to Lyte (*History*, pp.129-30), was in fact from cobwebs in preparation for Mrs Smith's arrival.

⁸³ Lyte, *History*, p.125.

⁸⁴ See Appendix F, pp.533-4 below.

almost certainly responsive rather than pre-emptive. In 1547-8 and 1548-9 the same seven chaplains were present, comparable in number to the last years of Henry VIII's reign. The only material change was that John Kechyn and Alexander Philips were no longer styled Lupton chaplain and Bost chaplain respectively (although Kechyn continued to receive the fruits of Lupton's endowment);⁸⁵ this was no doubt in response to the Chantries Act, passed in December 1547.⁸⁶ payments for Morrow Masses similarly ceased in 1547-8. At Michaelmas 1549 one of the chaplains left, followed by another after Christmas; no replacements were recruited. The following Michaelmas (1550) two more chaplains left: one of them, Dns Peter, was probably the Peter Catton who was presented by the college to its living of East Wretham, Norfolk on 4 September;⁸⁷ the other, John Kechyn, had been at Eton since 1520, and it is not unlikely that he died, or perhaps retired rather than learn a new liturgy.⁸⁸ Within the space of a year, the chaplains had been reduced in number from seven to three. But this was not achieved, as Lyte maintains, by dismissal, but by natural wastage.

While the number of chaplains was allowed to dwindle, the Edwardine reforms made little impact on the number of clerks retained at Eton. Between 1547 and 1550, there were eight clerks, and seven until 1553 (falling to six during the

⁸⁵ In 1544-5 (ECR 62/2 (audit book 3, 1544-5, under *Custus templi*), p.252), both Kechyn and Philips were styled and paid as chantrists.

⁸⁶ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p.454.

⁸⁷ ECR 60/15 (register 2), p.45; at the head of the entry is the endorsement 'SirPeter', which echoes the form of name used in the accounts. See below, p.488.

⁸⁸ See below, p.491.

winter of 1551-2 and again in from January 1553, until Michaelmas when two more clerks were recruited). Consistent levels of manning were not achieved by default: during 1550-1 three clerks departed, but three new ones were recruited to fill their places.⁸⁹ The singing of polyphony appears to have been continued until and beyond the recension of the Book of Common Prayer in 1552, necessitating the employment of lay singers;⁹⁰ there is evidence, however, to suggest that the nature of lay clerkships was changed to suit new circumstances. These changed circumstances were engendered by the paring-down of the liturgical timetable in and before 1549. Not only were the offices rationalized, but the quantity of feasts considerably reduced. This process had been begun under Henry VIII with the abolition of feasts during law terms; but this prohibition need not necessarily to have applied at Eton.⁹¹ The abolitions continued with the suppression of Corpus Christi in 1548 and the passing of the Act of Uniformity in 1549;⁹² under the terms of this Act, only the feasts of Christmas, Epiphany, the Circumcision, Easter, Ascension, Trinity, Whitsun, All Saints, the apostles, the evangelists, St Paul, St Barnabas, John the Baptist, St Michael, Mary Magdalen, the Annunciation, the Purification and Holy Innocents were retained, without their octaves.⁹³ This trimming was partially reversed in 1552 when the feast of St Laurence, which had been abrogated in 1536, was restored,

⁸⁹ Dickenson departed in November/December 1550, to be replaced by Nicholas Pursote, who arrived in December; Darlington left and George Stamage (probably brother of John Stamage, also a clerk) left and arrived respectively in March 1551.

⁹⁰ In 1552-3 (ECR 62/3 (audit book 3, 1552-3, under *Templum*), p.129), Richard Blunden, one of the clerks was paid 5s. for 'songes'.

⁹¹ See above, p.402.

⁹² Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp.459, 464.

together with the feasts of St Clement, St George and Lammas Day (which, falling in August, had also been subject to the 1536 prohibition).⁹⁴

The truncation of the calendar together with the abbreviation of services (by the omission of propers and the abandonment of chant in general) greatly reduced the man-hours spent in chapel. It is unsurprising that clerks increasingly took on duties outside chapel, and it is possible that they were redeployed as a matter of policy on the part of the college fellowship. This was not a novelty: William Ketyll, during the first part of the sixteenth century, had acted as a college agent and *factotum*.⁹⁵ John Stamage, one of the clerks recruited in 1550, was especially active outside chapel; indeed, his portfolio was so varied that it is unlikely that he was a clerk in anything but name. He was paid the exceptionally large salary of £6 from the start.⁹⁶ This reflects his position within college as a trusted agent; in 1552-3, for instance, he was collector of rents for college estates in London, Modbury (Devon) and elsewhere. In 1554-5, after the restoration of the Latin rite, he served as manciple for three terms;⁹⁷ had he been a specialist singer, such a move would have been unlikely. But the clearest evidence of his role outside chapel is the sheer quantity of piecework he did. In 1552-3, for instance, he was paid for the following undertakings and purchases: seven dozen spoons for the scholars; brooms, brushes, wine vessels, a shovel, two

⁹³ Harper, *Forms and Orders*, pp.169-70.

⁹⁴ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p.407; Harper, *Forms and Orders*, p.170.

⁹⁵ See above, pp.349-54.

⁹⁶ ECR 62/3 (audit book 3, 1550-1, under *Sacellanorum stipendia*), p.21.

⁹⁷ ECR 62/3 (audit book 3, 1554-5, under *Stipendia famulorum*), p.248.

baskets, a mustard pot and a strainer for the kitchen; strings for the viols, two reeds for the shawms, two new recorders; beans for the horses; buying fish and Lenten victuals in London; purchasing sheep at Thame and driving them back to Eton; going to the fair at St Albans (for purposes unspecified).⁹⁸ 1553 was not an unusually busy year for Stamage: these duties, frequently involving long-distance travel, combined with the time spent in collecting rent, would have kept him away from chapel for prolonged periods.

Stamage was not the only clerk to take on extra work. Thomas Hall mended the lock to the belfry door in 1550-1;⁹⁹ in 1551-2 he took the college charter to London;¹⁰⁰ in 1552-3 he provided a money bag.¹⁰¹ George Stamage, sacrist and perhaps brother of John Stamage, was paid a shilling in 1552 for tarring a cart;¹⁰² William Butler, who had been *informator choristarum* until Michaelmas 1550 and was again after January 1555, made brooms for the kitchen in 1550-1;¹⁰³ the following year John Elvydon provided a basket, brooms and brushes, also for the kitchen.¹⁰⁴ Richard Temple was listed among the clerks in 1554-5, although during

⁹⁸ ECR 62/3 (audit book 3, 1552-3, under *Aula et promptuarium, Culina, Cubiculum puerorum, Stabuli, and Expense necessarie*), pp.130, 133, 137, 140, 143, 145, 148, 150. Stamage himself had bought a shawm and a small viol in 1550-1 (ECR 62/3 (audit book 3, 1550-1, under *Templum*), p.23).

⁹⁹ ECR 62/3 (audit book 3, 1550-1, under *Expense necessarie*), p.40.

¹⁰⁰ ECR 62/3 (audit book 3, 1551-2, under *Expense necessarie*), p.94.

¹⁰¹ ECR 62/3 (audit book 3, 1552-3, under *Expense necessarie*), p.143.

¹⁰² ECR 62/3 (audit book 3, 1551-2, under *Messis*), p.92.

¹⁰³ ECR 62/3 (audit book 3, 1550-1, under *Culina*), p.28.

¹⁰⁴ ECR 62/3 (audit book 3, 1551-2, under *Culina*), p.90.

the previous year and from Michaelmas 1555 he served as servant to the provost; unless this was an error on the part of the bursars, it further suggests that the lay clerks increasingly diversified, almost certainly as a result of liturgical rationalization. It does not necessarily follow that they were non-musicians: both Thomas Hall (in 1556-7 and 1558-9) and William Butler (in 1556-7) copied polyphony, and are likely to have been at least literate in music.¹⁰⁵ Robert Smyth (*alias* Pictor), however, was almost certainly a non-musician, although he was paid as a clerk between 1548 and 1550. He may be identified with Robert Smith, a painter and sometime retainer of Sir Thomas Smith, who was burnt at Uxbridge on 8 August 1555 for denying the Mass.¹⁰⁶ Robert Smyth and John Stamage are the only clerks who are likely to have been non-musicians; the others, although they had more time on their hands (which they used to supplement their incomes), are likely to have continued singing until and beyond the accession of Mary in 1553.¹⁰⁷

Conversely, the choristers may well have stopped singing after the introduction of the first Book of Common Prayer. William Butler had instructed the choristers since his arrival at Eton in 1540-1 or 1541-2 until 1550 (apart from in 1547-8 when Thomas Bolton, another of the clerks, took over).¹⁰⁸ He also served as

¹⁰⁵ ECR 62/3 (audit book 3, 1556-7 and 1558-9, under *Templum*), pp.341-2, 447.

¹⁰⁶ S. Brigden, *London and the Reformation* (Oxford, 1989), p.609.

¹⁰⁷ In that year, Richard Blunden (one of the clerks) was paid 5s. for copying or purchasing polyphony ('songes') for the chapel (ECR 62/3 (audit book 3, 1552-3, under *Templum*), p.129).

¹⁰⁸ ECR 62/38 (bursars' book 2, 1540-1 or 1541-2 (mis-dated 1543-4) and 1547-8, under *Remuneraciones officiariorum*), ff.13, 78.

organist, the first man to hold both posts in conjunction long-term. From Michaelmas 1550 until Michaelmas 1552, the choristers were taught by John Belfeld, one of the fellows.¹⁰⁹ In 1552-3 and 1553-4, no payments for instructing the choristers are recorded. In Michaelmas term 1554, John Stamage taught the choristers before Butler resumed his position in January 1555, which he retained until his death in 1561.¹¹⁰ Throughout the period when Butler was not training the choristers, he remained on the staff at Eton. Why, therefore, was their oversight entrusted first to one of the fellows, then for a year to no-one, and lastly for a term to a clerk who does not appear to have been a specialist musician? The implication must surely be that the nature of the instructor's job changed during Edward's reign, but then reverted back under Mary, when Butler once more had charge of the choristers' instruction; it is probably no coincidence that Belfeld was precentor at the time, and thus in overall charge of the running of the chapel.¹¹¹ Butler was not reinstated as *informator* until January 1555, nearly eighteen months after Mary's accession, and over a year since the restoration of the Latin rite. Perhaps the likeliest reason for this delay was that by July 1553 the choristers had been allowed to dwindle in number, perhaps altogether, so that wholesale recruitment was needed. In 1551-2 ink and candles had been supplied for just four choristers;¹¹² in the following year there was no *informator* (or, at least, no payment was made). Belfeld's role was probably to oversee the choristers

¹⁰⁹ ECR 62/3 (audit book 3, 1550-1 and 1551-2, under *Remuneraciones officiariorum*), pp.20, 83.

¹¹⁰ ECR 62/3 (audit book 3, 1554-5, under *Remuneraciones officiariorum*), p.249; Butler's will, dated 15 November 1561 (and proved 8 December 1561), is in the college register (ECR 60/15, register 2, pp.88-9).

¹¹¹ ECR 62/3 (audit book 3, 1550-1, under *Remuneraciones officiariorum*), p.20.

¹¹² ECR 62/3 (audit book 3, 1551-2, under *Cubiculum puerorum*), p.91.

after their liturgical uses had ceased, and to manage their education until the remainder had either been elected to scholarships or had left college; the purchase of musical instruments may have been intended to help redirect the choristers from liturgical to secular activities. Thus the choristers, like the chaplains, were probably phased out by natural wastage, rather than abolished at a stroke; that this process began in or around 1550 strongly suggests that the catalyst was the 1549 Prayer Book.

6.2.2: The impact of reform: fabric and equipment

As testimony to the effects of Edwardine reform, the figures of expenditure speak for themselves. The 1550s were years of affluence: by 1550-1, college income had risen to £1,503 14s. 10d., allowing the provost and fellows to take their full statutory portion of £10 each for the first time since 1461; expenditure on commons rose from £310-£320 in the 1540s to £450-£550.¹¹³ In 1544-5, nearly £37 had been spent on the chapel; in 1547-8, £5 5s.; in 1553-4, following Mary's accession, well over £70.¹¹⁴ Apart from the dramatic drop in expenditure in 1547, there is no suggestion that reform was implemented proactively. On the other hand, the records of what was destroyed or sold, or of what needed replacing in 1553-4 demonstrate that neither did the fellows attempt to defy the reforming injunctions: the prevailing attitude seems to have been one of dutiful compliance.

¹¹³ See Appendix G, p.538.

¹¹⁴ *ibid.*

The first reforming step of the new reign was taken in the summer of 1547 when Cranmer published his *Homily of Good Works*, which was enjoined to be read in church on Sundays, together with Erasmus' *Paraphrases*.¹¹⁵ Only in 1552-3 does the college appear to have acquired a copy of the *Homily* for use in its own chapel;¹¹⁶ perhaps a copy was purchased but not recorded in the accounts, or perhaps the fellows believed they were not obliged to buy it, given the chapel's peculiar status. The college certainly saw that its parochial livings were provided with copies: on 5 January 1548, Oliver Stonyng, one-time fellow and vicar of Southmere, was given 16d. towards buying his church's copy;¹¹⁷ on 27 April and 15 December 1549 copies of Erasmus' *Paraphrases* were bought for the vicars of Chesham and Stogursey respectively;¹¹⁸ two more copies, for Oakley and Climping, were bought in 1550-1.¹¹⁹ The introduction of English liturgy in 1548 and 1549 followed a similar pattern; on 21 April 1549, a year after it had been promulgated, a communion book was bought (for 3s. 8d.) together with twelve psalters in English.¹²⁰ A month previously, in January 1549, the Act of Uniformity had been passed, and it was due to come into effect Sunday 9 June.¹²¹ It is likely that the psalters were, in fact, copies of the new

¹¹⁵ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp.449, 453, 485.

¹¹⁶ ECR 62/3 (audit book, 1552-3, under *Templum*), p.129: 'to John Serchefelde for a booke of the homolyes xvj^d'.

¹¹⁷ ECR 62/38 (bursars' book 2, 1547-8, under *Custus solucionum forinsecarum*), f.101.

¹¹⁸ ECR 62/38 (bursars' book 2, 1549-50, under *Custus allocationum*), f.200.

¹¹⁹ ECR 62/3 (audit book 3, 1550-1, under *Fortuita damna*), p.56.

¹²⁰ ECR 62/38 (bursars' book, 1548-9, 1549-50, under *Custus templi*), ff.129, 180; the two accounts overlap.

¹²¹ Haigh, *English Reformation*, p.173.

Book of Common Prayer, copies of which had been on sale in London since March 1549 and had been bought by nearly all of London's churches by June;¹²² in 1552, at the time of the introduction of the second Book of Common Prayer, two 'psalters' were again purchased.¹²³ Nevertheless, the communion book would seem to be the order introduced at Easter 1548, bought a year late; unless a copy had been bought or copied unrecorded in 1548, the delay might be construed as evidence of conservatism, but the incompleteness and sketchiness of the accounts does not allow for firm conclusions to be drawn.

The history of obits and Morrow Masses follows the same pattern of non-preemptive compliance. By 1547, ten annual obits had been added to those of Henry VI as founder:

| | |
|----------------|--|
| 19 January - | Richard Hopton (d.1497) and Thomas Barker (d.1489) |
| 22 January - | John Boner (d.1467) |
| 7 February - | Henry Bost (d.1504) |
| 16 February - | <i>Magister</i> Blackwall |
| 27 February - | Roger Lupton (d.1540) |
| 21 April - | Thomas Smyth (d.1535) |
| 26 July - | Robert Rede (by indenture of 24 April 1511) ¹²⁴ |
| 17 September - | Thomas Jourdelay (d.1468) |
| 30 October - | Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers ¹²⁵ |
| 5 November - | <i>Magister</i> Plummer |

¹²² Haigh, *English Reformations*, p.173.

¹²³ ECR 62/3 (audit book 3, 1551-2, under *Templum*), p.87; ECR 62/38 (bursars' book 2, 1551-2 (misdated 1552-3), under *Templum*), f.257v: one of the psalters was bought for Robert Avis, a fellow.

¹²⁴ ECR 60/297 (lease book register), ff.153v-154; glossed 'Master Redys dyrge', this indenture established an annual requiem Mass, with chaplains, clerks and choristers in attendance.

¹²⁵ By an indenture of 29 May 1475 (ECR 60/14 (register 1), pp.154-6), the so-called Woodville Mass was established.

Obits continued to be performed after Edward's accession until 1548, the last being that of Roger Lupton on 27 February; Thomas Smyth's obit was replaced by a distribution of alms, and the two remaining obits of the accounting year (three, including the founder's obit on 30 June) were abandoned.¹²⁶ The suppression of obits, together with the abolition of the Lupton and Bost chantries, was no doubt carried out in response to the 1548 chantry survey, which removed the obligation to attend obits and disendowed existing chantries.¹²⁷ It does not appear that the obit endowments were confiscated by the government: in 1550-1, the old obit days were marked by the distribution of alms;¹²⁸ the following year, 33s. 4d. was allocated *en bloc* for distribution as alms on dates unspecified;¹²⁹ but by 1553-4 mention was made neither of obits nor of alms, save that of the founder on 30 June.¹³⁰ From Michaelmas 1547 no payments for Morrow Mass appear to have been made (unless this was an oversight). This was an unusually pre-emptive abolition: the Chantries Act suppressed only the endowments for votive Masses and not the Masses themselves;¹³¹ and the order in Council, made in June 1549, which forbade the recitation of votive Masses, nevertheless left open the option for morning communion services along the lines of the Morrow Mass for those too busy to attend during the

¹²⁶ ECR 62/38 (bursars' book, 1547-8, under *Custus obituum*), ff.81-81^v.

¹²⁷ Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp.388-9.

¹²⁸ ECR 62/3 (audit book 3, 1550-1, under *Distributiones pauperum pro exequiis*), p.59.

¹²⁹ ECR 62/3 (audit book 3, 1551-2, under *Distributiones pauperum*), p.102.

¹³⁰ ECR 62/3 (audit book 3, 1553-4, under *Templum*), p.213.

¹³¹ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p.454.

day.¹³² The other daily Masses probably continued until 1548 or 1549. On average, around 6s. 8d. had been spent on communion wine each quarter between 1547 and 1549, and 10d. on bread;¹³³ by Michaelmas 1548 quarterly expenditure on bread had fallen to 4d., either because less was being bought, or because it was of a lower grade;¹³⁴ by Michaelmas 1550, less than half was spent on bread and wine than had been spent previously, around 13s. in 1550-1 as opposed to approximately 26s. during 1549-1550.¹³⁵ In 1553-4, following the restoration of the Latin rite (and with it the seven daily masses), 32s. 11d. was spent on wine alone.¹³⁶ The halving of expenditure on wine in the during 1550 is almost certainly indicative of the abolition of the votive Masses, albeit at rather a late date.¹³⁷

In all other respects, the administration of the chapel and its liturgy was tailored to the injunctions and statutes as and when they were issued. The Easter light was not used after April 1548;¹³⁸ the organbuilder's honorarium was paid in 1547-8

¹³² Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p.464, n.37.

¹³³ See, for instance, ECR 62/38 (bursars' book 2, 1547-8, under *Custus templi*), f.82, in which 10d. was spent each quarter on 1,000 communion wafers.

¹³⁴ ECR 62/38 (bursars' book 2, 1548-9, under *Custus templi*), f.129.

¹³⁵ ECR 62/3 (audit book 3, 1550-1, under *Templum*), p.23; ECR 62/38 (bursars' book 2, 1549-50, under *Custus templi*), f.180.

¹³⁶ ECR 62/3 (audit book 3, 1553-4, under *Templum*), pp.183, 213.

¹³⁷ It was the continuation of votive masses in St Paul's Cathedral which had prompted the Council to issue injunctions against them in June 1549 (Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p.465; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p.447).

¹³⁸ ECR 62/38 (bursars' book 2, 1547-8, under *Custus templi*), f.82.

but then discontinued (even though the organist's fee was paid *pro forma*);¹³⁹ in 1547-8, glaziers worked on the chapel windows for some thirty-one days, possibly to rectify wind damage, but probably to remove superstitious images;¹⁴⁰ on 2 April 1548, the provost bought forty-two pounds of redundant plate from the chapel, for £157 5s. 1d.;¹⁴¹ on 27 September 1548 the same year, one Crooke was paid the very large sum of £21 10s. to 'decorate' the chapel - to paint over the murals of the miracles of the BVM, and to set up the scriptures which were blotted out in 1554;¹⁴² on 22 May 1549, statues and images were taken from the chapel, and their gold ornaments sold off for 5s.;¹⁴³ in 1550-1, a workman spent six days clearing rubbish, probably redundant fittings, out of the chapel, and two men removed 'the olde stufe' later in the year;¹⁴⁴ in the same year, the provost and five of the fellows paid some £10 5s. for twelve altar frontals, probably to use as bed-spreads.¹⁴⁵ By 20 April 1549, only one organ was left in the chapel, and, although there were still twelve copes, a boy-bishop vestment, and four altar cloths, the 1549 inventory is a shadow of the one

¹³⁹ The yearly organ builder's fee was paid again from 1553-4 (ECR 62/3 (audit book 3, 1553-4, under *Honeraria*), p.225).

¹⁴⁰ ECR 62/38 (bursars' book 2, 1547-8, under *Custus templi*), f.82^v.

¹⁴¹ ECR 62/38 (bursars' book 2), f.157^v: bill of receipt by Richard Williat and Henry Riley, fellows.

¹⁴² ECR 62/38 (bursars' book 2, 1547-8, under *Custus solucionum forinsecarum*), f.104^v; ECR 62/3 (audit book 3, 1553-4, under *Templum*), p.183.

¹⁴³ ECR 62/38 (bursars' book 2, 1549-50, under *Recepta finium et casualium*), f.202.

¹⁴⁴ ECR 62/3 (audit book 3, 1550-1, under *Reparaciones domesticæ*), pp.48, 50.

¹⁴⁵ ECR 62/3 (audit book 3, 1550-1, under *Fortuiti proventus*), p.9.

made in 1531;¹⁴⁶ had an inventory been taken in 1553, it would have been shorter still. The presence in 1549 of four rulers' stools, remnants of the St Nicholas vestments, and altar cloths suggests that the old liturgy had only recently been abandoned (and may still have been practised, albeit on a reduced scale).

6.2.3: The impact of reform: Marian restoration

The accession of Mary Tudor in July 1553, which reversed the Edwardine reforms, did not immediately affect the *Opus Dei* at Eton. The apparent lack of fervour with which the old religion was re-adopted is testimony to the thoroughness with which the fellowship had been won over to (or packed in favour of) reform; after Mary's death, the Elizabethan visitors encountered a similarly stout adherence to Catholicism among the Marian fellows (resulting in no fewer than four deprivations).¹⁴⁷ Thomas Smith remained as provost until the following July, when he resigned or was induced to resign; in his stead, Henry Cole, the royal nominee was elected, albeit against the wishes of a dissentient minority of fellows.¹⁴⁸ Early in March 1554, three married fellows were deprived, permitting the imposition of conservative fellows but, for the time being, leaving reformists and conservatives in equipoise.¹⁴⁹ No steps were taken to re-Catholicize the fittings or liturgy of the

¹⁴⁶ M. R. James, 'Chapel Inventories', *Etoniana*, 27 (1921), pp.431-2.

¹⁴⁷ Lyte, *History*, pp.132, 165-7.

¹⁴⁸ Lyte, *History*, p.133.

¹⁴⁹ Lyte, *History*, p.133.

chapel immediately after Edward's death: the only theological work purchased before Michaelmas 1553 was a copy of Cranmer's *Homilies*.¹⁵⁰ Indeed, the process of re-equipping the chapel does not appear to have been started until January 1554.¹⁵¹ This contrasts starkly with the speed with which many parishes adapted again to the Catholic liturgy.¹⁵² Unlike those parishes which had been stripped under Edward, Eton College could hardly plead poverty in mitigation of its foot-dragging.¹⁵³ The degree to which Edwardine rationalization had progressed can be gauged from the repairs and restocking required once the programme was begun early in 1554:

1553-25 July 1554¹⁵⁴

30 January - mending the little organ (40s.)
 27 February - holy water stoop (4s.)
 16 March - pyx for sacraments (2s. 8d.)
 blotting out scriptures on the walls (10s. 8d.)

25 July-Michaelmas 1554¹⁵⁵

twenty-eight fathoms of 'lyne' for the high altar (5d.)
 'trimming' the places of the two lower altars¹⁵⁶
 four little towels for the altar (12d.)
 four old silk coverings for the altars

¹⁵⁰ ECR 62/3 (audit book 3, 1552-3, under *Templum*), p.129.

¹⁵¹ ECR 62/3 (audit book 3, 1553-4, under *Templum*), pp.183, 213-4; the first large group of payments commences in January and February 1554.

¹⁵² Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp.527ff; the Queen's proclamation restoring Catholicism was issued on 18 August 1553.

¹⁵³ See Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp.546-9 for parochial poverty as an impediment to the restoration of Catholicism.

¹⁵⁴ ECR 62/3 (audit book 3, 1553-4, under *Templum*), p.183.

¹⁵⁵ ECR 62/3 (audit book 3, 1553-4, under *Templum*), pp.213-4.

¹⁵⁶ Either to tidy up the traces left after their previous removal, or (perhaps more likely) to prepare for their reinstatement.

a suit vestments of white damask with lilies and representations of the assumption, together with four copes (£9)
 a processional (2s.)
 four vellum antiphonals (£9 1s. 8d.)
 two new processionals (4s.)
 Kyries, alleluias and sequences (2s. 8d.)¹⁵⁷
 a hymnal and a little bell (1s. 7d.)
 a great legend (13s. 4d.)
 painting of Lupton chantry chapel and the clock dial (3s.)
 for washing the church walls (4s.)
 a double-gilt chalice weighing 20oz. (£6 8s. 4d.)
 another chalice (£4 12s. 1d.)
 four cruets (2s. 4d.)
 two latten candlesticks for the altar (6s. 10d.)
 twelve choir candlesticks (14d.)

During the next two years, very little new equipment was purchased, chapel expenses being incurred primarily through maintenance rather than restoration.¹⁵⁸ In 1556-7, a new rood was bought and painted (£2 7s. 8d. in total), two graduals, another antiphonal, one more processional and an organ book were bought (£1 3s.), two books of 'Jesus Service' were notated, and diverse other books pricked (30s. 8d. altogether).¹⁵⁹ In 1557, the side altars were repaired, and the high altar was rebuilt, perhaps replacing a temporary structure;¹⁶⁰ the reinstatement of side altars in addition to high altars and the re-erection of roods was insisted upon during the 1557

¹⁵⁷ These are likely to have been the necessary chants for the Lady Mass.

¹⁵⁸ Accordingly, the total sums spent on chapel, having surged to £74 in 1553-4, fell back to £13 in 1554-5 and £25 the next year; see below, p.538.

¹⁵⁹ ECR 62/3 (audit book 3, 1556-7, under *Custus Templi*), pp.341-2; there may have been a temporary painted rood at Eton, as at many churches, these being replaced on the orders of the 1557 visitations (Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp.555-7).

¹⁶⁰ ECR 62/3 (audit book 3, 1556-7, under *Custus templi*), p.342: 'Item to Blunte Tyler for makinge the hye altare and mendinge other altares iiiij^s vj^d'. The minuteness of this payment suggests that the materials were already to hand in an assemblable condition, and had not been broken up during the Edwardine reforms.

visitations.¹⁶¹ The following year, three more books of 'Jesus Service' were bought, twelve yards of cloth were bought for the high altar, lead water tables were set into the wall, and an image of the Assumption bought.¹⁶² Thereafter, the Catholic restoration having been cut short by the death of Mary, the process of reform and rationalization began once more. The purchases made in 1553-4 reads almost like a check-list of Bonner's visitation injunctions of 1554;¹⁶³ but they also illustrate vividly the degree to which the chapel had been emptied during the previous three or four years: all the altars had been removed (although the absence of any payment for a new altar in 1554 suggests that the old one had not been totally destroyed); the chapel had been whitewashed, including Lupton's small side-chapel;¹⁶⁴ most or all of the service books had been removed; all lights, even those necessary to illuminate the choir-stalls in winter, had been taken away; all the old plate, even the chalice, had been sold; the smaller organ(s), and probably the choir organ, had been allowed to fall into disrepair; those vestments remaining in 1549 had been sold, destroyed or converted to profane uses, including the white damask set still used (or present) in April 1549.¹⁶⁵ There can be no doubt that the Edwardine injunctions had been duly implemented at Eton and that, by 1553, the chapel had been thoroughly stripped. But the continued presence, even in 1549, of boy-bishop vestments, stools for rulers, and

¹⁶¹ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp.555f.

¹⁶² ECR 62/3 (audit book 3, 1557-8, under *Custus templi*), pp.385-7.

¹⁶³ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp.545-6.

¹⁶⁴ Lupton's chantry is on the North side of the chapel, adjacent to the vestry, in the second bay from the East.

¹⁶⁵ See M. R. James, 'Chapel Inventories', *Etoniana*, 27 (1921), p.432.

a number of copes and other vestments (even if considerably depleted in number) does not suggest that Thomas Smith had radicalized the fellowship or that they had in any way anticipated the ensuing reforms.

6.3: REFORM AND RESTORATION: MS 178

By the time of the Edwardine Reformation, MS 178 was nearing fifty years old, some its constituent repertory seventy. If, as Roger Bowers asserts, the life-span of liturgical polyphony amounted to no more than thirty years, the mid-century reforms would in no way have affected the choirbook, which would have been obsolete by 1530 or earlier.¹⁶⁶ The copying of polyphony in the latter half of Henry VIII's reign suggests that the repertory in MS 178 was in fact being superseded at that time.¹⁶⁷ Yet the physical state of the manuscript strongly suggests that it did not go unaffected by the mid-century upheavals, and that it may well have been pressed back into service after the restoration of Catholicism in 1553 as a stop-gap before newer repertory could be copied.

¹⁶⁶ Bowers, 'Obligation, agency and *laissez-faire*', p.13.

¹⁶⁷ See above, pp.408-10.

6.3.1: re-binding

MS 178 has been rebound twice: firstly in the mid sixteenth century and, more recently, in the early twentieth. The modern binder re-used the mid-sixteenth-century leather covers which are stamped with the a binder's roll matching the roll HE.g.2 (as identified by J. B. Oldham), belonging to the London binder 'H.R.', who worked from around 1550 until 1584 or soon after.¹⁶⁸ This roll consists of eight sections, including the letters HR on medallion, Tudor rose, fleur-de-lis on medallion, portcullis on medallion and capstan which characterize H.R.'s rolls. Both front and back covers are treated identically, bearing two rectangular panels, one inside the other, each created from two adjacent applications of the roll. The outside edges of the outer panel were guided by vertical and horizontal fillets, and diagonal fillets or toolings link the inside and outside corners of the outer and inner panels respectively.

MS 178 is the only surviving book at Eton to bear the HE.g.2 roll. Most of the surviving early-sixteenth-century bindings were carried out by the binder, Lisle, who took commons at Eton for forty-six weeks in 1521-2;¹⁶⁹ if H.R. was a regular client of Eton College, it is likely that more than one of his bindings would have survived in the college library. J. B. Oldham found forty-two extant examples of HE.g.2;¹⁷⁰ used on its own, without other rolls or stamps, HE.g.2 appears on

¹⁶⁸ Ker, *MMBL*, 2, p.774; J. B. Oldham, *English Blind-stamped Bindings* (Cambridge, 1952), pp.33, 50 and plate xlvi, #759.

¹⁶⁹ Ker, *MMBL*, 2, p.629.

¹⁷⁰ J. B. Oldham, *Shrewsbury School Library Bindings* (Oxford, 1943), p.13.

manuscripts which can be dated to between 1545 and 1572:¹⁷¹ the binding could therefore have been made at any point between the end of Henry VIII's reign and the fifteenth year of Elizabeth's. But it is unlikely to have dated from before 1550, as that is when H.R. started work, and is increasingly unlikely to have been done later than 1560. As is argued below, the likeliest time of the rebinding was *circa* 1553/4, when the choirbook was pressed back into service after the restoration of the Latin rite. The sheer size of the choirbook may have been the reason for its having been taken to London for binding. A closely related roll, HE.g.3, belonging to the same HR binder, was used on bindings of blank books used for accounts running until 1584 in the bursary at Winchester College; Henry Croker, the local Winchester stationer had subcontracted the binding work to H.R. in London.¹⁷² There is thus a precedent for a stationer to an academic institution employing the same binder.

6.3.2: loss of leaves

MS 178 has three extant foliations: the alphabetical signatures placed at the bottom edge of each recto, and two foliations both placed at the top, one of which is a modern foliation in pencil. These reveal that leaves were lost in two or three stages. The second foliation has been tentatively dated as late-sixteenth-century by Neil Ker;¹⁷³ if so, this foliation was made after the manuscript was rebound. The script of

¹⁷¹ Oldham, *English Blind-stamped Bindings*, p.50.

¹⁷² Oldham, *Shrewsbury School Library Bindings*, p.13.

¹⁷³ In Ker, *MMBL*, 2, p.774.

the intermediate foliation and the form of the numbers used suggest a date in the second half of the sixteenth century, but perhaps not later than the 1550s. It may have been contemporaneous with the mid-century rebinding. What it shows is that, by 1600 at the latest, most of the leaves which are now lost had already disappeared.¹⁷⁴

When and why did the leaves disappear? There are three possible scenarios. The most straightforward - and perhaps the most likely - is that after the choirbook was cast aside a number of bifolia and whole gatherings either fell out or were removed, either deliberately or by accident. During the 1520s or 1530s, as the repertory became obsolete, the choirbook was taken upstairs to the chest on top of the rood loft. Here it lay, too bulky to be rapidly dismembered, but nevertheless a convenient quarry for scrap vellum. The worst losses were towards the end of the manuscript: the whole of gatherings *y*, *cc* and *dd*, as well as nearly all of gatherings *aa* and *bb* were lost. This suggests that the manuscript was lying on its front, and that whole gatherings, or as much of them as could be dislodged easily, were removed; it is significant that the outermost bifolia of two gatherings, *aa* and *bb*, were left intact, as if the inner bifolia had loosened enough to allow them to be removed easily, leaving intact the outer bifolia which were still held by the binding. Very little of the loss suffered before the intermediate foliation appears to have affected the outer leaves of gatherings (unless as a result of the whole gathering having been lost). Between gatherings *m* and *q* (which were and are complete), two leaves existed when

¹⁷⁴ See MS collation above, after p. 195.

the intermediate foliation was made; we have no way of knowing whether these formed a bifolium, or were two separate, detached leaves. Similarly, a leaf now lost between folios *r8* and *t4* has disappeared since the second foliation. Apart from these instances, all the losses were of whole gatherings or bifolia, rather than of single leaves. This does not suggest that the manuscript was distressed violently, unless torn leaves were removed when it was rebound either in the mid sixteenth century or the early twentieth. It is possible if not likely that the original binding had weakened irreparably at two or three points, where whole gatherings or groups of gatherings dropped (or were pulled) out: in the middle (causing the loss of gatherings *n*, *o* and *p*), between gatherings *q* and *t* (with the loss of sundry bifolia and a whole gathering (*s*), and at the end, between gatherings *z* and *ee* (resulting in the disappearance of all the intervening bifolia save two, *aa1/8* and *bb1/8*). By way of graffiti, there is little evidence to show that MS 178 was vandalized during the Reformation. At the head of *t8R*, there is a jotting in a mid-sixteenth-century hand, ‘Thys Indenture made the xxiiijrd....[illegible]’; there is no way of proving when this was written: it could easily have been written after 1570, when the manuscript had probably been moved from the chapel. The author could have been Thomas Hall, a clerk from 1550, who was notary public from the early 1560s.¹⁷⁵ As a clerk, he would probably have been aware of MS 178’s existence, would have had access to it, and would have been more likely to have practised writing indentures than other clerks. The graffiti is hardly obtrusive: it is by no means impossible that Hall was responsible for the manuscript’s safe removal from the partbook chest in the rood loft when the loft was demolished in

¹⁷⁵ ECR 60/15 (register 2), pp.91f (in his hand).

1570;¹⁷⁶ he is known to have copied polyphony under Mary, and may therefore have had personal motives for ensuring the preservation of a manuscript which he knew and appreciated. He probably did not know John Baldwin, who arrived as a lay clerk at St George's, Windsor, in 1575, eleven years after Hall had left Eton.¹⁷⁷ But it was probably through such personal connections that Baldwin came to see MS 178, from which he copied Wylkynson's thirteen-part *Credo/Jesus autem transiens* into his Commonplace Book.¹⁷⁸

Another scenario also centres around the loss of so many of the gatherings at the back of the manuscript. Four of the gatherings lost in the sixteenth century (*e, n, o, p*) contained votive antiphons, one (*s*) was largely blank, and five (*y, cc, dd* and three of the four bifolia each of *aa* and *bb*) were of Magnificat settings. The preponderance of Magnificat settings among the lost works may have been the result not of physical causes but of liturgical considerations: the Magnificats could have been deliberately and carefully extracted for performance when the rest of the

¹⁷⁶ A. H. R. Martindale, 'The Early History of the Choir of Eton College Chapel', *Archaeologia*, 103 (1971), p.191-2, n.6. Martindale suggests that when the rood-loft was demolished, the organ standing on it 'fell to the floor with a shattering crash from which it never recovered'. We may reasonably doubt that any workmen would have proceeded with demolition before all the furniture standing in the loft, including the organ and the partbook chest, had been safely removed.

¹⁷⁷ *NG*, 2, p.65; Hall was paid until Easter 1564 (ECR 52/3 (audit book 4, 1563-4, under *Stipendia... clericorum*), p.71).

¹⁷⁸ *GB- Lbl*, R.M. 24 d 2, f.188v; this is the only extant concordance for any of Wylkynson's motets. Roger Bray (in 'British Library, R.M. 24 d 2 (John Baldwin's Commonplace Book): an index and commentary', *RMARC*, 12 (1974), p.148) has suggested that the Wylkynson was copied at the end of the book, circa 1594, 'as a kind of final *pièce de resistance*'. There may, however, have been an older intermediate source copied by Baldwin at Eton.

manuscript, containing votive antiphons, was moth-balled. This could have occurred during the 1530s, when the choir's polyphonic repertory was being overhauled. But perhaps the most plausible date for the extraction of Magnificats was between 1547 and June 1549, when the Book of Common Prayer superseded the Latin offices which had still, technically, been legal. This scenario is problematic. It is predicated on the durability of the repertory, relying on the assumption that MS 178 was still being used as late as 1547. It does not take into account the fact that not all the Magnificat settings were removed, or that six of the nineteen Magnificats removed from MS 178 would have been rendered unperformable by the retention within the manuscript of one or more of their leaves (unless these missing leaves or sides were laboriously – and unnecessarily – recopied). It is also dependent on the unprovable premise that the Magnificats were extracted in the late 1540s; in fact, they could have been separated from the choirbook at any time before the second foliation was made (between *circa* 1550 and *circa* 1600). It is possible that they were extracted at the time MS 178 was rebound and refoliated. This could have been in the 1560s, after the publication of Walter Haddon's *Liber Precum Publicarum*, which allowed for the performance of Latin offices in academic colleges,¹⁷⁹ but it does not appear that Haddon's translation was used at Eton and, in any case, the choir's polyphony after 1558 consisted of metrical psalms, not florid Magnificats.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁹ *Liber Precum Publicarum* was issued in 1560.

¹⁸⁰ Thomas Hall was paid the large sum of 20s. for new songbooks in 1558-9 (ECR 62/3 (audit book 3, 1558-9, under *Custus templi*), p.447); Harrison, 'The Eton Choirbook', p.163.

In a third and less likely scenario the choirbook fell out of use sometime in Henry VIII's reign and lay unmolested in the rood-loft throughout the Reformation, the Marian restoration, and after the Elizabethan settlement had settled, until the demolition of the rood loft in 1570; at this point, it was cast out of the chapel, loose leaves and gatherings falling from the weakened binding; it was then quietly deposited in a cupboard in the bursary or the library or taken to the lodgings of one of the clerks, chaplains or fellows; having lost a number of its leaves in the move, it was rebound and foliated. The known dates of the binder H.R. (1550-1584) accord with this hypothesis as well as with the other two; so does the manner in which leaves were lost from a number of different sections of the manuscript, as if they fell out in transit. But militating against it - apart from its speculativeness - is the fact that it was rebound. Elizabeth's regime was careful to ensure that Eton College was under effective royal control, following Richard Bruerne's abortive election as provost in 1561, which resulted in the deprivation of three fellows.¹⁸¹ To have had such a large and unquestionably 'superstitious' manuscript taken to London for rebinding in the 1570s would have been at best indiscreet.

¹⁸¹ Lyte, *History*, pp.165-7.

6.4: CONCLUSION

Liturgical practices at Eton were tailored to the prevailing theological and politic circumstances. They were not reformed preemptively, but neither was reform delayed or resisted under Edward. Both Mary and Elizabeth achieved compliance through deprivations: under both monarchs, the college fellowship was quickly brought to heel. The provostship was perhaps the key to royal control: Thomas Smith (under Edward), Henry Cole (under Mary) and William Day (under Elizabeth) were all royal appointees, and all had a stake in the theological and political success of their regimes. The success of Mary's policy is proven by the steadfast recusancy of John Ashebrooke and Stephen Hopkins, fellows during the Catholic restoration, after the accession of Elizabeth;¹⁸² the thoroughness of Elizabeth's reform was ensured by the 1561 visitation, which extirpated Marian influence through wholesale deprivations, and underpinned the Protestant William Day's rule over the college.¹⁸³ None of these mid-century vicissitudes need have affected MS 178 which, paradoxically, may have survived because it had been forgotten long before the religious controversies arose. It could, in theory have been used until 1548 or (in the case of the Magnificats) 1549. It may well have been rebound for use under Mary, even if only as a stop-gap measure: perhaps it was used from 1554, after choristers had been recruited, until 1557, when up-to-date repertory was copied. It could alternatively have been rebound and foliated after it had been discarded from the

¹⁸² Haigh, *English Reformations*, pp.255, 256.

¹⁸³ Lyte, *History*, p.166.

chapel altogether, once it had become an archaic curiosity in the college library. After Elizabeth's accession, the Magnificats, could legitimately have been sung, as could the antiphons, in theory, as *contrafacta*. But no such *contrafacta* survive. By 1560, if not by 1540 or 1530, the Eton repertory was yesterday's music.

CONCLUSION

The Eton choirbook is one of the key components – perhaps the most important music manuscript – in the historiography of late-medieval English music, yet its contents have infiltrated the modern English choral repertory only to a small extent. The Latin polyphony of William Byrd, Thomas Tallis and their contemporaries has achieved a far wider circulation.¹ Perhaps the only piece to become established in the repertories of cathedral and collegiate chapel choirs is William Cornysh's *Ave Maria mater Dei*, which is both short and easy enough to be performed within the Anglican liturgy. The music of MS 178 is presently much more likely to be heard on radio, on compact disc or in the concert hall, sung by mixed-sex professional choirs rather than liturgical choirs of men and boys. There are many reasons for this, some of which are practical: only since the 1950s has an edition been available, and this edition is expensive and not always ideal as a performing edition.² Most of the motets are too long for the Book of Common Prayer liturgy. There have also been strong liturgical and cultural impediments: *Salve* ceremonies, specific extra-liturgical rites at which votive antiphons were sung, were abolished in the mid sixteenth century as

¹ A good survey of the history and attitudes towards fifteenth- and sixteenth-century choral polyphony and its performance can be found in Christopher Page, 'The English *a cappella* renaissance', *EM*, 21 (1993), pp.453-71.

² F. Ll. Harrison (ed.), *MB*, x (London, 1956; 2nd edn, 1967), xi (London, 1958; end edn, 1973), xii (London, 1960; 2nd edn., 1973). One of the problems with Harrison's edition is the high, untransposed, pitch of many of the motets, another is the quartered note-values he employed (which can make the score cluttered and difficult to read); both these problems have been addressed in a recent performing edition of Richard Davy's *In honore summe matris* by Nick Sandon (Antico Edition, RCM10, Newton Abbot, 1992), in which original note-values are retained, but the high written pitch has been transposed down a minor third.

‘superstitious’ relics of Catholic devotion. Marian devotion subsequently became so closely associated with Romanism (which, in turn, was successfully dissociated from the English national identity) that, until the present century, worship of the BVM was liturgically and culturally unaccepted.³ A symptom of changing historiographical outlook is the demise of the ‘Whiggish’ historiography of England’s Reformation and the supposed decadence of pre-Reformation Catholicism: this has been exemplified in, for instance, Eamon Duffy’s *The Stripping of the Altars*.

But perhaps the most potent impediment to the assimilation of the repertory of MS 178 in modern performance has been the difficulty of the music itself. It is demanding vocally; the prevalence of florid melismata requires vocal agility and assured breath control; the rhythmic density of the music (exacerbated by the quartered note-values in Harrison’s edition) makes considerable demands on the singers’ reading skills; the largely non-imitative linear idiom can often frustrate memorization. Combined with these problems inherent in the music itself has been the chequered history of late-twentieth-century performance practice: the fashion for upward transposition has only steadily been eroded, and the predilection for vocal purity, satisfied by the use of women’s rather than boys’ voices, still persists.⁴ In the liturgical environment, the difficulty of the music inhibits its performance: only the ablest boy trebles can attempt to perform the music which has limited utility within

³ See, for instance, Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: the Ritual Year 1400-1700* (Oxford, 1994).

⁴ See D. Wulstan, *Tudor Music* (London, 1985), pp.192-249 and R. Bray, ‘More Light on Early Tudor Pitch’, *EM*, 8 (1980), pp.35-42 regarding pitch in the early sixteenth century, and R. Bowers, ‘Further Thought on Early Tudor Pitch’, *EM*, 8 (1980), pp.368-74 for an opposing view.

the Anglican liturgy. In the concert hall and on record, the need for singers with suitable trained voices (and reading skills to match) makes performing the music of MS 178 an expensive and demanding undertaking.

It has been argued that the choir of Eton College was old-fashioned in its initial conception, and understaffed by the standards of the late fifteenth century. Yet the men and boys of the choir were clearly able to sing music which is largely excluded from the modern repertory by virtue of its complexity. It would seem unlikely that a manuscript like MS 178 would have been copied, with all the expense and labour which that would involve, unless the performers were able to use it. MS 178 almost certainly originated at Eton: as has been demonstrated in the paleographical examination, the earliest layers of the manuscript contain repertory (specifically Robert Wylkynson's five-part *Salve regina*) which was written at Eton for use in the college chapel. There is no evidence that the choirbook had been copied elsewhere for another institution and subsequently customized for use at Eton. The reasons for, and motivations behind, the compilation of MS 178 have therefore to be found in the history of the institution of Eton College itself.

The constitution of Eton College was settled in the 1440s, largely along lines originally devised some fifty years earlier. This afforded limited provision for the fostering of polyphony, especially the choral polyphony of the later fifteenth century. The statutes were not amended to take account of musical developments of the mid to late fifteenth century. But expedients were clearly devised so that contemporary music could be performed: this was facilitated by the nature of the institution, in

which education and piety coexisted. The regular polyphonic ensemble of choristers, clerks and some of the chaplains could be supplemented with other members of college – scholars and fellows. Thus the choir on paper may not necessarily have represented the totality of the choir in reality. This may have applied at other foundations similar to Eton, especially in the academic colleges of Oxford and Cambridge.⁵ We should therefore be cautious in regarding the archival evidence as sufficient in itself, especially in extrapolating from it definitive answers to questions of performance practice. On paper, the choir at Eton was modest in size: if the choral ensemble was limited to clerks and choristers alone, there can have been singers enough for no more than two singers to each of the lower voice-parts, perhaps fewer, in the standard five-part texture (S-A-T-T-B). In the more lavishly scored polyphony of Wylkynson and Browne, the performing resources would have been thinly spread. The inescapable implication is that this basic ensemble was augmented on either a regular or an occasional basis.

Because so few contemporary manuscripts have survived, we shall never know how typical was the repertory of MS 178 of late-fifteenth-century English choirs in general. The standard late-fifteenth-century scoring was five-part, S-A-T-T-B.⁶ From sixteenth-century inventories, it can be ascertained that scorings of six and seven parts were used; for instance, at Magdalen College (1522):

⁵ Ronald Woodley, (in *John Tucke*, p.11) has drawn the same conclusion with regard to New College, Oxford.

⁶ See Bowers, 'The vocal scoring', especially pp.40-50.

Item sunt novem libri pulcherrimi cantuum fractorum, quorum duo sunt majores, in quibus sunt misse septem parcium, sex parcium...Item duo magni libri Psalmorum Magnificat et Nunc dimittis ac Antiphonarum septem parcium sex parcium et quinque parcium...⁷

Six-part polyphony was commonly sung in choral institutions, including the less extravagantly staffed secular colleges, as is indicated in the precentors' accounts at Tattershall College in the 1490s.⁸ But the eight- and nine-part scorings found in MS 178 are not paralleled elsewhere. Robert Carver's nineteen-part motet, *O bone Jesu*, easily exceeds any of the repertory of MS 178 in terms of scoring.⁹ But this motet is exceptional; like his related ten-part Mass *Dum sacrum mysterium*, it was written in Scotland after MS 178 had been compiled, and defies easy comparison with the repertory in MS 178.¹⁰ In surviving English sources, archival and musical, polyphony in eight and nine parts appears to be unprecedented.

The most lavishly scored pieces in MS 178 are by composers who are either known to have had, or probably had, connections with Eton College. Robert Wylkynson, whose nine-part *Salve regina* and thirteen-part *Credo/Jesus autem transiens* are the most ambitious pieces in MS 178, was *informator choristarum*

⁷ See Harrison, *MMB*, p.431.

⁸ Wathey, 'Lost Books', p. 10, §104 (1496-7, when an anonymous six-part setting of *Salve regina* was copied).

⁹ Published in K. Elliott (ed.), *Music of Scotland 1500-1700*, MB, xv (London, 1975), pp.87-102.

¹⁰ D. J. Ross, *Musick Fyne: Robert Carver and the Art of Music in Sixteenth Century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1993), p.34; Ross suggests that the florid English idiom, as exemplified in MS 178, did not reach Scotland until the arrival of Margaret Tudor in 1503.

between 1500 and 1515 (having previously been parish clerk); John Browne, whose eight-part *O Maria salvatoris mater* is at the beginning of the manuscripts, may well have been a scholar at Eton in the late 1460s;¹¹ John Sutton, who was probably a fellow at Eton in the late 1470s, wrote a seven-part *Salve regina* which was among the first pieces in MS 178 to be copied, although he was probably not a Cambridge B.Mus. as Harrison suggested.¹² Walter Lambe did not write any motets with more than six parts (or, at least, none which were incorporated into MS 178), but he too was associated with Eton, having been a scholar in the late 1460s (at the same time as Browne, if John Browne of Coventry, elected in 1467, was the composer). Similarly, Robert Hacomplaynt, provost of King's and composer of a five-part *Salve regina* in MS 178, had been a scholar at Eton. The works of Wylkynson, Browne, Lambe, Sutton and Hacomplaynt in MS 178 together number thirty-nine, a considerable proportion of pieces in MS 178 by composers associated with Eton.

Is it possible to regard these composers as a 'school'? Early historical studies of MS 178 appear to have been motivated by a desire to establish the existence of a 'school' of composers in competition with the 'Burgundian school'. Barclay Squire's article in *Archaeologia* concludes by suggesting that MS 178

...reveals the fact that almost alone in England, during the troubled times at the end of the fifteenth century, a school of native composers was educated and flourished at King Henry's

¹¹ His seven-part Magnificat, once in openings y2-y4, is lost. See below, Appendix D (pp.504-11) for a consideration of Browne's career.

¹² Harrison, *MMB*, p.463; *BRUO*, p.1822. The Cambridge B.Mus. was, in fact, awarded to one Suthey (or Sothey), not Sutton (*BRUC*, p.567).

College and its closely allied foundations at Oxford and Cambridge.¹³

Barclay Squire substantiates his assertion by citing musical Etonians as examples: John Russell ‘a singing-man [in fact, precentor] at Fotheringhay College’, admitted to King’s in 1499; William Smith, *clericus musicalis* at Walsingham, who left Eton in 1513; John Fryer, ‘said to be “skilled in music and the lute”’; and Robert Noke, vice-provost of King’s in 1521-3 (and chorister of Eton in 1494-5).¹⁴ Barclay Squire’s analysis is historically flawed. The late fifteenth century was largely a time of stability; by the time MS 178 came to be assembled, the Tudor regime was consolidated.

Eton was not an oasis of stability, as Barclay Squire argued, but was indeed unusual in falling victim to dynastic change. It is unlikely that a ‘native school of composers’ was fostered at Eton (or at related foundations in Oxford and Cambridge): lay clerks were employed as singers, not as composers.¹⁵ But for the same reasons a ‘school’ of singers may have been fostered, not through any ambition to emulate a ‘Burgundian school’ of which the college fellowship probably had little knowledge or experience, but through expedient which was born of necessity. In order to facilitate performances of up-to-date choral polyphony, the fellows (or the precentor, the *informator scolarum* or the *informator choristarum*) could have supplemented the small number of lay clerks and choristers with singers from among

¹³ Barclay Squire, ‘On an Early Sixteenth Century MS’, p.102.

¹⁴ Barclay Squire, ‘On an Early Sixteenth Century MS’, p.102; *BRUC*, p.497; *Register*, pp.312, 132, 247.

the scholars. It has been demonstrated that a number of scholars had been choristers, and that some pursued musical careers (or are known to have had musical interests) subsequent to leaving Eton.¹⁶ The participation of scholars, like the non-participation of most of the chaplains, in singing polyphony cannot be proven, but is suggested by the weight of circumstantial evidence.

To what extent, therefore, does MS 178 represent a repertory tailored to the peculiar constitution of Eton College? Although most of the repertory originated elsewhere, a significant proportion of the pieces in MS 178 were composed at Eton or by Etonians (or ex-Etonians), and it can be assumed that whatever was written at or for Eton was written with the needs (and capabilities) of the choir in mind. The composer central to this question is, of course, Robert Wylkynson. Because he is not known to have worked elsewhere, and because he himself may have been a scholar at Eton, there is no likelier destination for all of his compositions in MS 178 than Eton College. What is particularly striking about Wylkynson is his partiality for lush textures – exemplified in his nine-part *Salve regina* and thirteen-part *Credo/Jesus autem transiens*. This is matched by his apparent love of canting. The *Credo* canon is a particularly vivid example of this tendency: the thirteen voices, representing Jesus Christ and his twelve disciples, sing within a compass of thirteen notes, each phrase of music incorporating a phrase of text attributed to each apostle. The rhythmic density of the phrases of the Creed contrast with the slow-moving *cantus*

¹⁵ Bowers, 'Obligation, agency and *laissez-faire*', p.13.

¹⁶ See above, pp.382-94.

firmus, representing Jesus literally walking amongst his chattering disciples.

Similarly the nine-part *Salve regina* has encrypted theological elements: each voice-part represents one of the nine choirs of angels. Perhaps coincidentally there were nine choristers at Eton in the late 1500s, around the time that Wylkynson wrote the *Salve*.¹⁷ At the foot of both the *Salve* and the Creed are Latin glosses; neither gives performance instructions, but both give clues as to Wylkynson's mentality. As has been argued above, these are the product of the schoolmaster, incorporating catechetical lessons of modest sophistication. The audience Wylkynson addressed was an audience of schoolboys. It is difficult to escape the conclusion, therefore, that these unusual pieces were written to suit the needs and temperaments of boy-scholars. That the choristers were not Wylkynson's only target is amply demonstrated in the scoring of the Creed, which was written for broken voices. If, as seems likely, boy-scholars were drafted into the choir (either on a regular or on an occasional basis), the original purpose had been to enable the clerks and choristers to perform five-part choral polyphony which had originated elsewhere; virtue was made of necessity when this expedient prompted the composition of new, tailor-made repertory.

Eton College may have been the source of much of the repertory of MS 178, but it was not the source of the late-fifteenth-century votive antiphon style itself; during the 1460s, a seminal period in the development of five-part florid choral polyphony, the fate of Eton College was in the balance. Given the dearth of manuscript sources, it may not be possible to locate exactly where the 'florid style'

¹⁷ ECR 61/NR/6 (nominal roll, MT 1509 and HT 1510).

originated. The likeliest source was the royal household chapel, as well as the chapels of the major nobility. Apart from the few remaining aristocratic household accounts, the best clues to the chronology of mid-fifteenth-century musical developments can be found in the constitutions of the institutions founded by the nobility (both lay and ecclesiastical). The increasing size of fifteenth-century collegiate foundations, and the refoundation and re-endowment of existing ones, probably reflected the expectations of the founders and benefactors. Nowhere is this better exemplified than at St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, whose refoundation under Edward IV transformed the choral establishment there.¹⁸ Edward had a ready model for his ambitious constitutional re-organization of St George's: the royal household, itself.¹⁹ His shrewd instinct for lavish court ceremonial is well documented;²⁰ St George's, as the Garter chapel, was a showpiece of royal munificence (and magnificence), and its reformed constitution surely reflected Edward's own ideals. That the number of choristers and clerks (i.e. those regularly involved in singing polyphony) increased after 1478 suggests that Edward's household was similarly equipped to sing choral polyphony. The growth of choral polyphony is assumed to have taken place in the mid fifteenth century: it may not be coincidental that Edward came to the throne in 1461. It seems that the royal

¹⁸ See Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', pp.6036-41.

¹⁹ See A. R. Myers, *The Household of Edward IV: the Black Book and the Ordinance of 1478* (Manchester, 1959), pp.11f and 133-7 for the ordinances governing the royal household chapel, as codified in the early 1470s (i.e. shortly before Edward's refoundation of St George's).

²⁰ See, for instance, C. Ross, *Edward IV* (London, 1974), pp.257f; Ross cites Gabriel Tetzels well-known account of the churching of Elizabeth of York in 1466, in which forty-two members of the 'king's choir' participated.

household chapel underwent a decline during the 1450s (following the effects of the resumption acts, which restricted expenditure on the entire royal household).²¹ Though wastefully funded, Henry VI's royal household was inefficiently and conservatively administered;²² it may be significant that, even though Henry VI made generous provision for chaplains and lay clerks at Eton, he allowed only for four polyphonists.²³ If Edward's royal household was the model for the refoundation of St George's, Windsor, it is equally likely that the royal household was Henry's model for Eton. If so, it is less likely that developments in musical style (from soloistic to choral polyphony) were spearheaded in Henry's chapel than in Edward's.

MS 178 and its institutional background also reveal much about the careers and preoccupations of those who used the choirbook and who worked at Eton and at similar institutions. The availability of trained voices among the scholars and fellows most probably influenced the style of repertory copied into MS 178 just as the college's liturgical customs and obligations determined the manuscript's contents. The fact that trained singers were to hand may have obviated the need to recruit and retain large numbers of trained lay singers. A significant number of the lay clerks at Eton were of local origin, owning property in the town; they were not exclusively church musicians. This was the case when MS 178 was compiled as much as at any other time. Career singers did spend time at Eton, but their terms as lay clerks were generally brief, and the surviving data suggests that Eton was for them a stepping-

²¹ Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', pp.5023-8.

²² Myers, *The Household*, p.11.

stone to other more lucrative positions rather than an ultimate destination in itself. Not coincidentally, MS 178 was compiled at a time of continuity and stability among the choral personnel. There was no stereotypical lay clerk. Some originated locally, some settled at Eton, some were present for very short periods, while a few remained for the whole of their working lives. Some were specialist musicians, others were part-time singers, a few appear to have been non-musicians. The career-minded professional musician was a fifteenth-century phenomenon, but was not necessarily the norm. This was true not only of Eton, but of the royal household chapel itself.²⁴ The rationalization of the liturgy which attended the Reformation increased the prevalence of extra-ecclesiastical and extra-musical activity of lay clerks, but did not cause it.

MS 178 was probably copied slightly later than has previously been thought: 1500-1505, rather than 1490-1502. The evidence for this dating is contained within the manuscript itself and within some of the repertory it contains, and is corroborated by circumstantial evidence gleaned from the records of the college itself. We may reasonably doubt that it was intended to be an anthology of repertory which was either specially commissioned or sought out from neighbouring and distant choral establishments. It was almost certainly not speculative: the antiphons it contained were probably already in the choir's repertory. Like the other two early-Tudor choirbooks, Lambeth 1 and Caius 667, it was probably a gift. There is no mention of

²³ See above, pp.140-6.

²⁴ See F. Kisby, 'Courtiers in the Community: the Musicians of the Royal Household Chapel in Early Tudor Westminster' *The Reign of Henry VII*, ed. B. Thompson, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 5 (Stamford, 1995),

it in the *Custus ecclesie* section of the accounts, where even the most trivial items of expenditure were listed. There is a slim chance that payments were recorded in the missing accounts 1502-3; but this would necessitate the compression of all stages of its manufacture into one accounting year. If the three extant Tudor choirbooks were gifts, the implication is that they were considered luxuries, non-essential items which did not warrant institutional expenditure. The arms of Eton College which were painted into initials imply institutional ownership, not institutional purchase.

With hindsight, the Eton choirbook occupies a unique place within the history of pre-Reformation English church music. At the time of its compilation it was probably one of a number of comparable manuscripts, though we can only guess at the number of large presentation-style choirbooks which were made before 1549. Its copying was dependent on a number of factors both local and general. The desire to provide a codex of a quality commensurate with its architectural and liturgical environment was a motive which must surely have applied in other places and circumstances. But most of the polyphony listed in late-Medieval inventories was contained in more workaday manuscripts. The engrossment of repertory from a number of smaller books and rolls into one 'great ledger' had to be financed either from institutional funds, in which case a collective decision needed to be taken before work commenced, or from private funds, in which case the project was dependent on or initiated by an individual whose motives inevitably escaped historical record. In either case the act of copying of the choirbook was as much an act of piety as the singing of its contents.