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The  
HENRY VIII BOOK  
(British Library, Add. MS 31922)

Facsimile  
with introduction

BY  
DAVID FALLOWS

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## FACSIMILE

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DAVID FALLOWS  
Chorlton-cum-Hardy and Basel  
'In May that lusty sesonn' 2014

# INTRODUCTION

For Dagmar



# I

## The Book

### Composers

Even though he probably never owned it, this must be called the 'Henry VIII Book'. Of its 109 pieces, almost one third have Henry's name at the head of the page, all with exactly the same wording: 'The Kyng . H . viij' or 'The Kynge . H . viij'. All other ascriptions are at the bottom of the page, at the end of the music. They name the following (with details in brackets taken from elsewhere):

Dr [Robert] Cooper	H14, H62, H63
William Cornysh	[H6], H8, H16, H25, H27, H35, H38, H39, H41, H49, H50, H60
William Daggere	H18
[John] Dunstable	H32
Thomas Ffaredyngge	H17, H19, H20, H24, H28, H40, H59
[Robert] Ffayrfax	H53, [H107]
[John] Fflude	H21, H26, H74
[?John] Kempe	H13
[William] Pygott	H105
[?Henry] Rysbye	H22

Daggere, Kempe and Rysbye are so obscure that they do not even merit entries in the 29-volume *New Grove dictionary of music* (London, 2001). Of Daggere, nothing is known to this day, though his one piece also appears in the British Library MS Royal Appendix 58. Kempe was probably the John Kempe who was Master of the Choristers at Westminster Abbey in 1502–8. No other music by any of those three is known apart from a tiny two-voice fragment printed by Morley (1597: 121–2) as 'of one *Henry Rysbie*', who may therefore be the Henry Rysby who was at Eton College in 1506–8.

But four of the named composers were in the Chapel Royal: Farthing (d. 1520–21) from 1511, Flude (Lloyd, d. 1523) from 1505, and Fayrfax (d. 1521) certainly from 1497. Cornysh (d. 1523) had been there since 1493 and was also deeply involved in providing theatrical entertainments for Henry VIII's court.

Two are slightly more distant from the court. Cooper (in modern reference works usually as 'Cowper'), whose Cambridge Mus.D. is dated 1507, was in the chapel of the Lady Margaret Beaufort, Henry VIII's grandmother, c. 1504–1509. Pygott (d. 1549) was Master of the Children in cardinal Wolsey's household chapel from 1517 and first heard of in that same year as having committed offences with a crossbow and a handgun. For Dunstable (d. 1453), by far the most famous

English composer of the preceding century, this is the last known copy of a work plausibly ascribed to him.

That Cornysh and Farthing are the best represented composers apart from the king may seem to put the manuscript into court circles. But it is very surprising indeed that Fayrfax, effective head of the Chapel Royal from the day of Henry's coronation and supported with extraordinary financial generosity thereafter,<sup>1</sup> should be represented here only by one uncharacteristic puzzle-canon (H53) and a single very early song (H107), here given anonymously. It is also surprising that by far the largest work of Cornysh in the manuscript, *Ffa la sol* (H6), is not ascribed here.

Equally surprising is that, apart from Cornysh and Fayrfax, there is nothing here by any of the composers in the two great English manuscripts from around 1500, the Fayrfax Book (with songs by Banester, Browne, Davy, Hampshire, Newark, Phillips, Sheryngham, Turges and Tutor) and the Eton Choirbook (with sacred music by Banester, Browne, Davy, Lambe, Turges, Wilkinson and many others).

On the other hand, the printed book of *XX songes* (London, 1530) includes works by four of the Henry VIII Book composers, namely Cornysh (3), Pygott (1), Fayrfax (1) and Cooper (3), but has in addition one work each by Ashwell, Gwynneth and Jones plus three by Taverner.

These matters raise questions that the following pages try to address. Even so, the procedure with the ascriptions makes it clear that in the view of the copyist this was a collection focussed around Henry VIII.

### Continental music

Uniquely among surviving early Tudor music manuscripts, this one also contains twelve or more pieces originating on the continental mainland, including works by Hayne van Ghizeghem and Henricus Isaac (two each). All are transmitted here anonymously. Nearly all were extremely popular, copied in dozens of sources, reaching forward in most cases to 1540 or later. Four (H2, H3, H36 and H37) go back to the 1470s and are therefore substantially earlier than anything in the book apart from Dunstable's H32. All but two of the others are from before about 1500 (H1, H4, H5, H42, H43, H45, H83), whereas of the English pieces only the Dunstable and H107 (Fayrfax's *Sumuhat musing*) are likely to be from before 1500. The

<sup>1</sup> Best outlined in Sandon 2004, with documentation laid out in Ashbee 1993.

latest continental piece, perhaps from around 1510, is the added *Amy souffrez* (H85).

Perhaps the surprise here should be that there is so little evidence of overseas music in other English manuscripts. Theodor Dumitrescu (2007: 63–116) has shown how there were many musicians from France and Flanders at the English court more or less throughout Henry VII's reign; and their numbers grew under Henry VIII. Even so, the international interests in this book are distinctive and part of its individuality.

### English sources

By contrast, there are only six English sources that share music with the Henry VIII Book, and five of them share only a single work. The book known as Ritson's Manuscript (British Library, Add. MS 5665) contains two copies of Henry's *Pastyme with good companye* (H7). The Fayrfax Book (British Library, Add. MS 5465), almost certainly copied in the early months of 1502, contains Fayrfax's own *Sumwhat musing* (H107).<sup>2</sup> The same piece also appears in a manuscript now scattered between Cambridge, Wells, New York and Cleveland, Ohio (reassembled in Fallows 1993a). The printed Bassus partbook *In this boke ar conteynyd XX songes* (London, 1530) contains Cornysh's *Ffa la sol* (H6) without its last section. The printed *A new interlude and a mery of the Nature of the iiii elements* (c. 1523) contains a version of Henry's *Adieu madam[e]* (H9). Only the perplexing mixture of bits and pieces that is now British Library, MS Royal Appendix 58 contains more, namely H18, single voice-parts of H27, H29 and H35, plus lute tablatures of H7 and H42.

In addition, there are various sources that contain tunes more or less concordant with H7, H25 and H35; but these are just melodies that were plainly well known and may have nothing in particular to do with settings here. After all, this was a generation that made

heavy (and heady) use of popular songs, as can be seen particularly from the Italian *frottola* repertory, the German *Gesellschaftslied* and the Spanish pieces of the *Cancionero de palacio*.

### Missing repertory

What does need saying, though, is that the repertory here has very little to match the glories of the Fayrfax Book or the Eton Choirbook, both from around 1500 when Henry VII had been on the throne for about fifteen years and created a new kind of stability in England. That style certainly did not disappear with the new reign. We know this from the works printed in *XX songes* (1530), almost all in the tradition of the Fayrfax Book. They include three by Cornysh (d. 1523) far more ambitious and complex than his little pieces in the Henry VIII Book (with the exception of his remarkable and florid *Ffa la sol* (H6), on ff. 9<sup>v</sup>–14), three elaborate songs by Cooper, and two by Fayrfax (d. 1521) alongside comparably extended works by composers of the next generation, among them John Taverner (three astonishing pieces), Richard Pygott and Robert Jones.<sup>3</sup> It is a crippling tragedy that only the Bassus part survives for this collection; but the book stands as clear evidence of a continuing tradition, as one would indeed expect from the surviving sacred music of Fayrfax, active from the 1490s and apparently well into the second decade of the sixteenth century. The mainly less ambitious music in the Henry VIII Book is just that portion of the repertory that was appropriate for enthusiastic amateurs.

And that would explain what was earlier described as the 'surprising' shortage of music by Fayrfax here. He is represented by one of his two simplest pieces (to perform, that is) and one work that was added at the end, partly for its historical importance, as outlined in the Commentary to H107. The other known music by Fayrfax is far more elaborate.

<sup>2</sup> The clearest argument for the date of the Fayrfax Book is Roger Bowers, 'Early Tudor courtly song: an evaluation of the Fayrfax book (BL, Additional MS 5465)', in *The reign of Henry VII*, ed. Benjamin Thompson (Stamford, 1995): 188–212, at p. 194. It was definitely copied before prince Arthur's unexpected death on 2 April 1502, since it contains three songs in his honour (Stevens 1975: nos. 28, 47 and 64) and, as Bowers noted, 'it is inconceivable that the texts delighting in the life of Arthur as prince of Wales and commending to God his safekeeping can have been copied into a formal manuscript after his untimely decease'. This is at its most explicit in *From stormy wyndis and grevous wethir/ Good Lord, preserve the estrige fether* by Edmund Turges, written specifically for celebrations after the wedding of prince Arthur and Catherine of Aragon in November 1501 (including the lines 'This eyre of Brytayne,/ Of Castell and Spayne'), in which case the copying of the Fayrfax Book can plausibly be located within a four-month window between the wedding and Arthur's death. It may be fair to note that not all authorities agree on the date of that song. It is accepted in Benham 2004. But Richard Leighton Greene (1935: 443) expressed

unspecified doubts, precisely repeated in Greene 1977: 481; John Stevens (1961: 381) suggested that it was for when Arthur 'sets out on a journey, perhaps a sea voyage' (this is much repeated in later literature, though the poem contains no mention of sea and there is no record of Arthur ever having taken a sea voyage); Andrew Wathey 2001 stated that it was 'perhaps to mark his betrothal (1497) or marriage (1501) to Catherine of Aragon'. Magnus Williamson, 'The early Tudor court, the provinces and the Eton choirbook', *Early music* 25 (1997): 229–43, at p. 237, noted that 'In the autumn of 1501, during the marriage festivities of Prince Arthur and Catherine of Aragon, the papal legate and a Spanish nobleman were wined and dined at Eton. It was probably at this time that Turges wrote his song ...'. But the song's wishes for a safe journey can only concern the departure of Arthur and Catherine in November 1501 from Baynard's Castle (where the celebrations had included 'the best voiced children of the King's chapel, who sang right sweetly with quaint harmony') to Tickenhill Manor and thence to Ludlow Castle, where Arthur died.

<sup>3</sup> Further evidence of what it lost is outlined in Fallows 1993a.

## Courtly context

When Henry VII died on 21 April 1509, Henry VIII was not quite eighteen years old but had been heir apparent since the death of his elder brother Arthur in 1502. After the funeral on 10 May, Henry VIII unexpectedly announced that he would marry Catherine of Aragon, which he did quietly on 11 June, prior to their magnificent coronation less than two weeks later on 23 June (Midsummer's Day) at Westminster Abbey. Catherine was six years older and had been for the last seven years at the court something of a political football as prince Arthur's widow. Although the necessary papal indulgences had been obtained in 1504 for her to marry Henry, nothing was done and Henry showed little interest in her: in fact, all evidence is to the contrary.<sup>4</sup> Why he so suddenly changed his mind nobody knows, though he himself said that it was in response to his father's deathbed wish.

But everything happened very quickly. Whereas Henry VII had been careful to be crowned alone, only then to marry Elizabeth of York, and much later to have her crowned queen, thereby crucially securing the unification of the two roses, Henry VIII—for equally compelling political reasons—did things the other way round, deciding to marry Catherine of Aragon only after he had succeeded his father, then marrying her very quickly so that he and the daughter of the Catholic Monarchs could be crowned together. The coronation tournament on 25–6 June was the first of many such festivities during the first ten years of his reign.

That decade was one of the most brilliant in English royal history. Erasmus, who had known Henry and his prodigious intellect since 1499, wrote to Henry's close companion Sir Henry Guildford on 15 May 1519:<sup>5</sup>

What university or monastery anywhere contains so many men of outstanding integrity and learning as your court can show? ... Everyone, of course, is quick to follow the example of your admirable king. To say nothing of his other gifts (which he shares with other monarchs, but in such a way that he excels in most of them, and is not outdone in any), where could one find greater keenness in argument, originality of thought, sanity of judgment, elegance of expression? ... What has become of the people who are always telling us that if a prince has any education, his energy must suffer? Look at Henry the Eighth. Who more skilful in war, more intelligent in legislation, more far-seeing in counsel, in the repression of crime more active, in the choice of magistrates and officers more painstaking, more successful in concluding alliances with other kings? For my part, I perceive the dawn of a new golden age, which maybe I shall not live to enjoy, for the part I play on the world's stage has reached its climax.

<sup>4</sup> Details in David Starkey, *Henry: virtuous prince* (London, 2008): 278 and 388.

<sup>5</sup> *The correspondence of Erasmus ... 1518 to 1519*, translated by R. A. B. Mynors and D. F. S. Thomson, annotated by Peter G. Bietenholz = *Collected works of Erasmus*, vol. vi (Toronto, 1982): 364–5.

Henry VII's main aim had been stability. For a quarter century as king he had shored up the royal finances and avoided the expense of war, thereby leaving an enormous fortune at his death. He had also been careful to resist exposing his remaining male heir to the kind of public excess prince Arthur had experienced. So Henry VIII emerged quickly from a fairly secluded youth. With a brilliant mind and a stupendous physique, he immediately turned his court into one of Europe's leading establishments. He was also during those first years, so far as one can tell, madly and publicly in love with his queen.

The days of bliss were over fairly soon. Only five years into the reign, on 28 August 1514, Vettor Lippomano in Rome reported that Henry intended to repudiate his wife because he was unable to have children by her and that he planned to marry the daughter of the Duc de Bourbon.<sup>6</sup> By Christmas 1514 his affair with Elizabeth Blount was very public; and certainly in 1519 he openly acknowledged his one illegitimate son by her, Henry Fitzroy (= son of the king). After that, his declarations of unwavering love in the Henry VIII Book would have seemed tasteless, particularly in his closest circle—to which, as we shall see, the manuscript must be assigned.

Edward Hall's chronicle reports that on progress during the summer of 1510 the king was 'exercising himself daily in shooting, singing, dancing, wrestling, casting of the bar, playing at the recorders, flute, virginals, and in setting of songs, making of ballettes' (Dillon 2002: 35; Ellis 1809: 513). In 1517 Nicolo Sagudino wrote that he stayed ten days at Richmond with the Venetian ambassador, and in the evening they enjoyed hearing the king play and sing, and seeing him dance, and run at the ring by day; in all which exercises he acquitted himself divinely.<sup>7</sup> On 15 October 1516, Francesco Chiericato wrote to Isabella d'Este, marchioness of Mantua, that 'The king of England devotes himself to accomplishments and amusements day and night. Is intent on nothing else, leaving business to the cardinal of York [*sc.* Wolsey], who rules everything sagely and most prudently'.<sup>8</sup>

In October 1513, after Henry's conquest of Théroutanne, there was a celebration in Lille. A diplomatic report describes how Henry showed off outrageously to the archduchess Margaret of Austria (1480–1530): 'he sang, and played lute, cittern, harp, recorders and cornetto; and he danced'.<sup>9</sup> Another report on the same event states

<sup>6</sup> *I diarii di Marino Sanuto*, ed. Federico Stefano, et al., vol. xix (Venice, 1887): col. 6: Si dize etiam che il re d'Inglaterra, vol lassar la moglie che l'ha, fia del re di Spagna, qual fo moglie di suo fradelo, per non poter have con lei alcuna heredità, e vol tuor per moglie una fia dil ducha di Barbon francese.

<sup>7</sup> J. S. Brewer, *The reign of Henry VIII*, vol. i (London, 1884): 5.

<sup>8</sup> Paraphrased in Rawdon Brown, *Calendar of state papers and manuscripts ... Venice, and in other libraries of northern Italy*, vol. ii: 1509–1519 (London, 1867): 328.

<sup>9</sup> *I diarii di Marino Sanuto*, ed. Federico Stefano, et al., vol. xvii (Venice, 1886): col. 165: Ch'el re de Inghiltera, in presentia de la prefata madama [Margaret of Austria], ha cantato, et sonato de liuto, de cythara, de lyra, de flauti e de corno, e balato.

that ‘he danced magnificently in the French manner ... and played the harpsichord and recorders in consort most excellently (*in compagnia molto dignamente*) and to the great pleasure of all who were present’.<sup>10</sup> Three years later Piero Pasqualigo actually printed in Venice a letter in which he reported that Henry spoke French, English, Latin and a little Italian; that he played the lute and harpsichord well; and that he could sing at sight (*canta a libro a l’improvista*).<sup>11</sup>

There is not much information about Henry’s music-making sessions, but the kind of event for which the music in this book could have been appropriate is described in *The Fyancells of Margaret*, reporting the marriage of Henry’s sister Margaret to king James IV of Scotland in 1503:<sup>12</sup>

Incountynent the kyngy begonne before hyr to play of the clarycordes, and after of the lyte, wiche pleasyd hyr varey much, and she had grett plaisur to here hym. Apon the said clarycorde Sir Edward Stannely playd a ballade, and sange therwith, whiche the kyng commended right muche. And incountynent hee called a gentyman of hys that colde synge well, and mayd them synge togeder, the wiche accorded varey well. Afterward the said Sir Edward Stannely and two of hys servaunts sange a ballade or two, wherof the kyngy gave hym good thanke.

Another description, also from slightly earlier, is of the singing sessions of Henry VIII’s brother-in-law, prince Juan de Viana, who died suddenly in 1497. This is from the *Libro de la camara* of his courtier Fernández de Oviedo:<sup>13</sup>

My lord prince Juan was naturally disposed to music and he understood it very well, although his voice was not as good as he was persistent in singing; but it would pass with other voices. And for this purpose, during siesta time, especially in summer, Juan de Anchieta, his chapelmaster, and four or five boys, chapelboys with fine

voices ... went to the palace and the prince sang with them for two hours, or however long he pleased to; and he took the tenor and was very skilful in the art.

Perhaps Henry, like Juan, used professionals for his music session; but he almost certainly also had fellow amateurs who will have joined him in the Privy Chamber. We do have the statement about Sir Peter Carewe singing freemen’s songs with Henry in 1545.<sup>14</sup> But, directly from the time of the Henry VIII Book there is possible relevance in Edward Hall’s description of Elizabeth Blount, mother of Henry’s illegitimate son Henry Fitzroy:<sup>15</sup>

Which damsel in singing, dancing, and in all goodly pastimes exceeded all other; by which goodly pastimes she won the king’s heart. And she again showed him such favour that by him she bare a goodly man child of beauty like to the father and mother.

That is as far as the record seems to go, beyond the fact that Henry massively enjoyed singing and playing instruments. It seems most likely that the repertory here was largely for the amusement of Henry himself and a few intimates. These could have included two of the professional musicians who had been in his Privy Chamber since the beginning of the century, the French lutenist Giles Duwes and ‘Bonitamps’;<sup>16</sup> among others may have been the courtiers William Compton (see the Commentary to H18), Edward Howard (d. in battle, April 1513), Thomas Knyvet (d. in battle, 1512), and the half-brothers Edward and Henry Guildford. As John Stevens remarked (1962: xxi–ii), Henry’s

boon companions were young courtiers who had undergone the usual chivalric upbringing (‘hunt, sing and dance’) and who doubtless emulated, at a proper distance, the refined accomplishments of their brilliant sovereign.

To get closer we must examine the manuscript.

<sup>10</sup> The Milanese ambassador Paulo de Laude, writing on 11 October 1513 to Massimiliano Sforza; cited from Helms 1998: 249.

<sup>11</sup> *Copia de uno capitulo de una littera del magnifico misser Piero Pasqualigo* (?Venice, ?1516), in British Library, C.33.g.7. Helms (1998: 250) read this as meaning that Henry could improvise *super librum*.

<sup>12</sup> Cited in Richard Firth Greene, *Poets and princepleasers: literature and the English court in the late middle ages* (Toronto, 1980): 58, from John Leland, *De rebus britannicis collectanea*, second edition enlarged by Thomas Hearne, 6 vols. (London, 1774), iv: 258–300, at p. 284.

<sup>13</sup> Translation from Tess Knighton, ‘The “a capella” heresy in Spain: an inquisition into the performance of the “cancionero” repertory’, *Early music* 20 (1992): 560–81, at p. 566.

<sup>14</sup> See fn. 37 below.

<sup>15</sup> Ellis 1809: 703.

<sup>16</sup> ‘Bonitamps’ or ‘Bonetamps’ was paid monthly in Henry’s household from May 1498 until November 1515 (Pearsall 1986, vol. ii: 22–132; Ashbee 1993: 164–219), always reported with surname alone and to be distinguished from the minstrel John Bountance, employed from 1538. It would be good to know whether Bonitamps was the composer ‘Bontemps’, identified only in the index as composer of the motet *Suscipe verbum virgo Maria*, on ff. 5<sup>v</sup>–7 of the Pepys MS 1760 (see fn. 40 below), and generally identified with the Louis Ormeau alias Bontemps, reported in 1493 as a musician of the future king Louis XII. Dumitrescu (2007: 104) identified Bonitamps with a Possant Bonitamps who was in the household of queen Elizabeth when she died in 1503.

## Physical description

### Structure

At first glance, the book is chaotic. Some pieces have decorated initials, others not; the ruling changes from page to page; and there seem to be several different scripts. Closer inspection belies most of that.

The manuscript has fifteen regular eight-leaf gatherings and a final gathering of only six leaves, with an added shiny leaf at the end, f. 128. Apart from that last leaf, the parchment is of uniform quality. The inventory in Table 1 (pp. 80–1) shows that the boundaries between gatherings very rarely coincide with new pieces: they do so only at the beginning of gathering D and at both beginning and end of gathering M. Broadly speaking, the music was probably copied in its present order.

The parchment is relatively thick and very white. It may look rather rough today but it was actually prepared very carefully and expensively: it is perfect for use in a high quality music book.<sup>17</sup>

The assembly ignores ‘Gregory’s Rule’,<sup>18</sup> whereby a hair side faces a hair side and a flesh side faces a flesh side. The point of that convention was that the two

sides of parchment reacted differently to ink, the hair side absorbing it more and the flesh side not letting it below the shinier surface; so matched facing pages made for a more coherent view of the open book. In this particular case, the parchment was prepared so well that it made very little difference to the writer. Even so, the viewer can usually see from this facsimile which was which. That is partly because the telltale follicles of the hair side are very often visible right at the edge of the page, away from the written area.<sup>19</sup> That gatherings E, L and Q actually do follow Gregory’s Rule must be a coincidence.

Two sets of gathering signatures tell us more.<sup>20</sup> Roman numbers are easily visible at the foot of the first pages of gatherings I (f. 2), II, III, IIII, V (very faded), VI, VII and VIII; but there is nothing on the ninth gathering (J, at f. 66) and the tenth gathering (K) has VIII (f. 74), which must mean that there was a change of plan. There are only traces of the other set of collation marks on the very bottom right margin: most are trimmed off, but remnants can be seen on, for example, ff. 11–13 (b [ii], b [iii], b [iiii]), f. 35 (e [ii]), ff. 83–5 (l ii, l [iii], l [iiii]), f. 90 (m), f. 93 (m iii [i]), ff. 98–101 (n, n ii, n iii, n [iiii]) and f. 109 (o iii).<sup>21</sup> These letters correspond to the present structure, at least up to the fourteenth of the sixteen gatherings, so they are used in Table 1. It is particularly gratifying that the one on f. 83 (l ii) is so

<sup>17</sup> There are the inevitable repairs to bits of damaged skin from the original animal, as in almost any parchment manuscript. An easily visible (and enormous) case is the bottom right-hand corner of f. 8 (easier to see on f. 8<sup>v</sup>, where the patch was applied); also at f. 7 (top right above the horizontal rule), f. 37 (at the top of the fifth stave, a bit left of centre), f. 42 (at the bottom, right of centre), f. 43 (almost at the bottom, centre), f. 65 (left-hand edge, just below the level of the bottom stave), f. 69 (bottom left-hand corner), f. 71 (at the left, half way between text and the lower margin), f. 78 (just below and to the right of the bottom stave), f. 82 (two below the bottom stave) and f. 94 (in the fifth stave). On f. 22 in the middle of the top stave the patch (again more easily seen on f. 22<sup>v</sup>, where the repair was applied) required some retouching of the stem on the minim and the surrounding stave-line—which seems clear enough evidence that the stave-ruling was done before the repair was made. But on f. 16, for example, nobody bothered to repair the hole at the bottom left, not least because it wasn’t going to be needed for copying; the same happened on f. 5 (above the last note of the top stave), f. 49 (top margin towards the right), f. 58 (below the start of the third stave), f. 76 (bottom left) and f. 114 (between the bottom stave and the word ‘said’).

<sup>18</sup> As established by the German biblical scholar Caspar René Gregory (1846–1917). Albert Derolez, *Codicologie des manuscrits en écriture humanistique sur parchemin* (Turnhout, 1984), 33, noted that none of the 1200 Italian manuscripts in his survey ignored that rule but added that it is not generally followed in insular manuscripts or French manuscripts under insular influence.

<sup>19</sup> For the record—and for the interest of those curious to see the differences—here is a list of the hair sides in each gathering:

A (I), ff. 2–9: 2<sup>v</sup> 3<sup>v</sup> 4<sup>v</sup> 5<sup>v</sup> 6 7 8 9;  
 B (II), ff. 10–17: 10<sup>v</sup> 11 12 13 14<sup>v</sup> 15<sup>v</sup> 16<sup>v</sup> 17;  
 C (III), ff. 18–25: 18 19<sup>v</sup> 20<sup>v</sup> 21 22<sup>v</sup> 23 24 25<sup>v</sup>;  
 D (IV), ff. 26–33: 26<sup>v</sup> 27 28<sup>v</sup> 29<sup>v</sup> 30 31 32<sup>v</sup> 33;  
 E (V), ff. 34–41: 34<sup>v</sup> 35 36<sup>v</sup> 37 38<sup>v</sup> 39 40<sup>v</sup> 41;  
 F (VI), ff. 42–9: 42 43 44<sup>v</sup> 45 46<sup>v</sup> 47 48<sup>v</sup> 49<sup>v</sup>;  
 G (VII), ff. 50–57: 50<sup>v</sup> 51 52<sup>v</sup> 53<sup>v</sup> 54 55 56<sup>v</sup> 57;  
 H (VIII), ff. 58–65: 58 59 60 61<sup>v</sup> 62 63<sup>v</sup> 64<sup>v</sup> 65<sup>v</sup>;  
 J, ff. 66–73: 66<sup>v</sup> 67<sup>v</sup> 68 69 70<sup>v</sup> 71<sup>v</sup> 72 73;  
 K (labelled VIII, though the tenth gathering), ff. 74–81: 74 75<sup>v</sup> 76<sup>v</sup> 77<sup>v</sup> 78 79 80 81<sup>v</sup>;  
 L, ff. 82–9: 82<sup>v</sup> 83 84<sup>v</sup> 85 86<sup>v</sup> 87 88<sup>v</sup> 89;  
 M, ff. 90–97: 90 91 92<sup>v</sup> 93 94<sup>v</sup> 95 96<sup>v</sup> 97<sup>v</sup>;  
 N, ff. 98–105: 98 99 100<sup>v</sup> 101 102<sup>v</sup> 103 104<sup>v</sup> 105<sup>v</sup>;  
 O, ff. 106–113: 106<sup>v</sup> 107 108 109 110<sup>v</sup> 111<sup>v</sup> 112<sup>v</sup> 113;  
 P, ff. 114–121: 114<sup>v</sup> 115<sup>v</sup> 116<sup>v</sup> 117<sup>v</sup> 118 119 120 121;  
 Q, ff. 122–7 (with stub before 122): 122<sup>v</sup> 123 124<sup>v</sup> 125 126<sup>v</sup> 127.

<sup>20</sup> First laid out in Helms 1998: 41–2.

<sup>21</sup> In addition, Margaret Bent drew my attention to the apparent letter ‘G’ in the top right-hand corner of f. 51; but since this is the second leaf of gathering ‘G’, I cannot be sure of its meaning.

easy to read, since this is near the start of gathering L, after the potential confusion of the ninth and tenth (J and K). Moreover, that the music begins on the second opening of the first gathering is evidence that the first opening (ff. 2<sup>v</sup>–3) was planned from the start as containing an index with around seventy entries.

There is much to be said for the guess of Denis Stevens (1963: 48) that the book may have been intended 'to create an English counterpart' to the famous first book of printed polyphony, Petrucci's *Harmonice musices odhecaton A* (Venice, 1501), nominally of 100 pieces, mostly presented with just text cues. The main differences are that the Henry VIII Book is handwritten and that its pages are of normal quarto size, not the unusual and eccentric oblong format of Petrucci's music publications. The Petrucci also has no fully texted pieces, whereas the Henry VIII Book has a mixture of texted and untexted—though we shall see in due course that rather more were probably copied for instrumental performance than one would guess at first glance. But it may be significant that the Henry VIII Book opens with a sacred piece, like the Petrucci and many other songbooks from those years, as though a good musical session, like a good meal, should always begin with a prayer.

### Stave ruling

The key to the whole structure of the manuscript lies in the horizontal frame-rule about 3 cm from the top of every page. This is an inked line that runs right across the page but also serves as the top line of the top stave and is in all cases indistinguishable in colour or technique from that stave or any other stave on the page. In addition, normally the first stave of any other voice has a similar rule right across the page and serving also as the top line of the stave.

Obviously, then, the staves cannot have been ruled with a rastrum—the normal five-pointed pen that was widely used for ruling music staves from the thirteenth century to the eighteenth.<sup>22</sup> In general, studies have tended to describe manuscripts ruled like the Henry VIII Book as 'freely ruled'. But there is no slip

in the ruling anywhere: never a stave line a bit further away from its neighbours; never any hint that the five lines are not parallel; no sign of hesitation. Nor is there any trace of pricking to aid the organisation of the staves. It is just possible that pricking was trimmed off, like most of the second set of collation marks. But pricking is regularly visible for blocks of added text (to be described presently), just not for any of the stave-lines.

The stave sizes do vary, from 14 mm to 17 mm, though averaging at just over 15 mm. Almost the only possible explanation for their general regularity is that the copyist had a fixed frame with five parallel bars against which the five lines could be ruled individually. There seems to be no mention of such a frame in the (limited) literature on stave-ruling; but it is hard to see how else the ruling could be quite so regular over more than 250 pages. Often staves get a bit smaller towards the end of the line, as though the pen came at the parchment from a different angle. And very often the lengths of the individual lines vary, giving ragged edges at both ends.

The basis is of seven staves per page; but that basis is adjusted on almost every page of the book, and the spacing of the staves is adapted for the individual piece, never quite the same on any two pages.

The extra horizontal rules for the top stave of any voice that began within the body of the page are sometimes missing: ff. 22<sup>v</sup>–24, then for most of ff. 26<sup>v</sup>–34 in gathering C, as though following a new policy, then just on the last leaves of gathering D (ff. 38<sup>v</sup>–41<sup>v</sup>) but so sporadically thereafter that they must really be oversights (ff. 60<sup>v</sup>, 63<sup>v</sup>, 84, 95<sup>v</sup>, 99<sup>v</sup>) until the last two gatherings, where they are mainly missing (ff. 117<sup>v</sup>–20, 121–2, 123, 124<sup>v</sup>–8). Apart from those exceptions, though, the sheer regularity and correctness of these extra full horizontal rules can only mean that they were done just before the copying of the music.<sup>23</sup> Plenty of pages have more staves than were needed (ff. 3<sup>v</sup>, 10<sup>v</sup>–11<sup>v</sup>, 13<sup>v</sup>, 19<sup>v</sup>–20, 21<sup>v</sup>–24, etc.); but—and this is perhaps the key point—when text continuations are needed there is never any trace of staves being there first.<sup>24</sup>

Less consistent is the indenting of the first line of a voice to make way for a decorated initial. Normally there are indents when an initial was expected but not for abstract instrumental pieces without text. There are mistakes: an unneeded indent on f. 9<sup>v</sup>, two omitted on f. 15<sup>v</sup>, all four omitted on ff. 18<sup>v</sup>–19, unneeded indents on f. 20, all omitted on ff. 22–23, and so on. Once again, it looks as though in some respects the copyist was developing a style as work progressed, with hints at a change of policy in gatherings C and D but then a return to the normal scheme.

<sup>22</sup> The classic study—with detailed listing of 25 known rastra (sadly all from after 1700)—is Jean K. and Eugene K. Wolf, 'Rastrology and its use in eighteenth-century manuscripts', in *Studies in musical sources and style: essays in honor of Jan LaRue*, ed. Eugene K. Wolf and Edward H. Roesner (Madison, 1990): 237–91. But there is a beautiful representation of one in a printer's mark dated Rotterdam, 1614, in J. P. Gumbert, 'Ruling by rake and board: notes on some late medieval ruling techniques', in *The role of the book in medieval culture*, ed. Peter Ganz = *Bibliologia* 3 (Turnhout, 1986), vol. i: 41–54, at p. 47. Complementary material appears in Stanley Boorman, 'Rastrology', in *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians: second edition*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London), xx: 843–4, and in John Haines, 'The origins of the musical staff', *The musical quarterly* 91 (2008): 327–378, particularly at 363–6.

<sup>23</sup> On four occasions, the expectation of a decorated initial was a reason not to extend that horizontal line to the left-hand margin: ff. 3<sup>v</sup>, 15, 37<sup>v</sup> and 42.

<sup>24</sup> See ff. 15, 29, 31, 33, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40, 46, 49, 52, 55, 56, 66, 69, 71, 72–3 (a particularly interesting case), 85, 88, 95, 96, 97, 107 and 111<sup>v</sup>.

Most pages also have much lighter vertical frame-rules to left and right of the writing-space, varying between 25 and 40 mm from the edge. Often these go only part of the way down on the outside margin (and almost never go to top or bottom of the page), as though only a slight hint were needed for how far the staves needed ruling. And this too was done approximately: the length of the staves (i.e. the distance between the vertical rules) can vary from 14 to 16 cm. These vertical lines are in the light plummet colour that was also used for the horizontal text-guide rules to be described later.

### Musical script

The musical script is in the same ink as the staff lines and looks uniform throughout the volume (M1), with three exceptions: on f. 51, the first page of gathering G, the top two staves in the Tenor of H46 have an entirely different character (M2); H85 on f. 90, the front page of gathering M, is plainly added (M3), albeit on staves ruled by M1; and the last piece, H109, is in yet another style (M4).

M1 was evidently a professional musician who seems never to have hesitated and made very few mistakes. Stems go upwards except for longs and maxims or where there would be text or a decorated letter above. Rising stems are the length of two and a half spaces—that is, if the note is in the bottom space of the staff, the stem will rise to half way between the fourth and fifth lines. Falling stems are the length of three spaces. In most cases it is clear that M1 ruled the horizontal frame-rule and the staves immediately before copying the music on that page if only because the ruling is normally judged specifically for the piece to be copied. That is why the individual commentaries on the songs in Chapter 6 below describe the ruling of each page.

In two respects M1 was inconsistent. The first is that almost all pieces and sections of pieces end with a breve surmounted by a fermata and followed by a barline, whereas the more common procedure at the time was to write a long without a fermata. Just occasionally here the last note is a long, but with no consistency at all, as though M1 saw no essential distinction between the two. The fermata is nearly always there unless it is irrelevant, as in the case of rounds and canonic voices. On the other hand, the distinction between a fermata and a sign of congruence is consistently maintained.

There is also inconsistency in the placing of mensuration signs. Very often there is none at all, which is not surprising because in this kind of music the sign is almost always C (or  $\phi$ , which this copyist apparently thought equivalent).<sup>25</sup> Sometimes they are immediately above the

<sup>25</sup> The evidence for this is on ff. 8<sup>v</sup>–9, 16<sup>v</sup>–17 and 72<sup>v</sup>–73, where pieces begin in C and return to  $\phi$  after a sesquialtera section. In the case of ff. 8<sup>v</sup>–9, there are many further sources to confirm that Isaac's piece returns to the opening mensuration. That sesquialtera is denoted by just the number 3 on

clef. But sometimes they are to the left of the staves, above the horizontal line and sometimes they are to the left of the staves, straddling the horizontal line.

The main conclusions up to this point are threefold.

First, there is no indication that the copying order of the music was other than the present order, with the two obvious exceptions that H85 was copied onto f. 90 by another hand at a later stage and that the earlier collation mark on gathering K with 'VIII' rather than 'X' indicates that some of the music in gathering K may have been copied before the music in gathering J; this with the rider that the music copyist was so skilled (or at least experienced) that the script is unlikely to have changed over even a ten-year gap.

Second, staves were almost always ruled immediately before the copying of each piece.

Third, the order of the pieces must reflect merely the order in which they became available to the copyist, with various groups of apparently related pieces perhaps reflecting the existence of previous loose fascicles as exemplars; as a rider to which, such groupings make a little more sense if it is concluded that Farthing and Cornysh belonged to the king's closest circle, so the groupings could include H1–4, H6–12, H15–20, H36–7, H38–41, H42–3, H44–61 and H76–82.

That could suggest a scenario like that offered by Dietrich Helms (2009: 129), who suggested that it

must have been copied from the contents of the box in which the king kept the odds and ends of his musical studies, the models he imitated, and the results of his own efforts. What motivated the king to open this box and hand its contents to a copyist? I think we can rule out that it was the vanity of a composer who may have felt that his years of youthful play were over and consequently wished to create a souvenir of his times as a pupil.

We can explore that in due course.

### Text hands

More complicated, on the face of it, are the text hands. For these, the main discussions are in two places: Raymond Siemens (2009a, his online description), basically a refinement of the earlier descriptions by Richard Leighton Greene (1935: 333), John Stevens (1961: 386), Greene (1977: 311) and himself (Siemens 1997a: 85–6); and Dietrich Helms (1998: 42–3), with a careful distinction between music and text as well as a central emphasis on the material copied between two guide-lines.

It is easy enough to agree that all the text material between two parallel guide-lines is the work of a single

ff. 8<sup>v</sup>–9, 25, 28<sup>v</sup>–29, 50, 72<sup>v</sup>–73, 77<sup>v</sup>–78, 91 and 122 but by a  $\phi$  over 3 on ff. 16<sup>v</sup>–17 and 68<sup>v</sup>–69 must surely go back to differences in the exemplars. Other mensuration signs are so few that they can be listed here: O on ff. 27<sup>v</sup>–28 (Rysbye), 36<sup>v</sup>–37 (Dunstaple), 57<sup>v</sup>–58 (Fayrfax) and 105<sup>v</sup>–106 (clefless);  $\phi$  only for *Tannder naken* on ff. 82<sup>v</sup>–83 and 84; and C on f. 36<sup>v</sup> (Dunstaple, to denote augmentation) and f. 54<sup>v</sup> (Corynsh).

hand, which we can call T<sub>1</sub>. This includes all the ascriptions to Henry VIII as well as the vast majority of the text.<sup>26</sup> And all writers on the topic so far have agreed on the plausible notion that this is the main music writer, M<sub>1</sub>.

But there is a different style on ff. 14<sup>v</sup>–17<sup>v</sup>, namely in the first three texted pieces (H7–9), breaking off in the middle of a piece at the end of gathering B. This is more cursive. It could be another hand; but it could also be the main musical copyist (M<sub>1</sub>), who soon decided that the cursive script was inappropriate and that it would be better to use something easier for singers to read. It may be convenient to resist glib conclusions and to call this earlier style T<sub>2</sub>. In favour of it being M<sub>1</sub> is that all T<sub>2</sub> material is in exactly the same colour as the surrounding music, which is not always the case elsewhere.

The other main text style is the more spidery italic manner that we can call T<sub>3</sub>, often written with just a single guide-line below the letters. Helms found it on ff. 18–19, 20<sup>v</sup>–21 (namely the right-hand page of H9 and the next two texted pieces, H10 and H12) and 26 (the first piece in gathering D) as well as the second page of the index (f. 3).<sup>27</sup> We can add that T<sub>3</sub> also appears—though usually without a specially ruled guide-line—in the ascriptions on f. 26 (Ffaredyng), f. 30 (Ffardyng), f. 31 (Cornysh), f. 32 (Fflud), f. 34 (Ffardyng), f. 37 (Dunstable), f. 40 (Cornysh), f. 45 (Ffardyng), f. 46 (Cornysh), f. 54 (Cornysh), f. 63 (Ffardyng) and f. 64 (Cornysh) as well as the ‘La my’ at the head of f. 7<sup>v</sup>, the text-cues on ff. 6<sup>v</sup>–7, the voice-names that appear on ff. 76<sup>v</sup>–77 and two brief entries on f. 2<sup>v</sup> of the index.

Siemens disagreed with Helms in two main respects: first, he saw T<sub>2</sub> not just on ff. 14<sup>v</sup>–17<sup>v</sup> but also on ff. 18<sup>v</sup>–21 (here as T<sub>3</sub>); second, he saw the second page of the index (f. 3) as all in a different hand, not found elsewhere, except for the last line, which he identified as T<sub>1</sub>; Helms classified that entire page as T<sub>3</sub>.

It is clear at a glance that the music hand of the last piece, H109, also ruled the staves and copied the text: we can call it M<sub>4</sub>/T<sub>4</sub>.

### The emender of H106

There is a single major intervention after copying. Nearly all the eight pages of H106 (ff. 116<sup>v</sup>–120) contain

extensive adjustments, particularly of pitches and text-underlay, in a different colour and apparently a different hand. The emender shows authority and no trace of hesitation, giving every sign of being a professional musician; but the piece has many more seriously problematic passages despite those emendations. Given that H106 was one of the last pieces to be added to the manuscript, this could have happened at almost any time, perhaps after the manuscript ceased to be used.

The claim by Helms (1998: 42) that this is in the hand of M<sub>4</sub>/T<sub>4</sub> (H109) is hard to support in view of the elaborate letter ‘w’ used consistently through H109 but not to be seen among the corrections in H106. That is, the proposed scribal identity seems to be based entirely on ink colour, which is surely irrelevant in such circumstances. Helms made the same claim for the emendations on f. 23 and f. 23<sup>v</sup>; but those are so small as to resist confident identification.

### Ruling for texts

More help in sorting out the place of T<sub>1</sub>, T<sub>2</sub> and T<sub>3</sub> comes from examination of the pre-ruling for their texts. By startling contrast with the confidence, clarity and precision of the music, the preparation of the pages for poetic text seems to have evolved almost randomly in the course of copying (done in the lighter plummet colour that we have already encountered in the vertical rules to the left and right of the staves).

It is easiest to begin with the blocks of text residuum, poetic material not actually underlaid to the music. The first of these, on f. 15 (for Henry’s *Pastyme with good companye*), has no visible ruling at all. For the next, on f. 29 (for Henry’s *The tyme of youthe*), there are pre-ruled lines in groups of three: the first of each group has pricking at the outside edge while the other two are closer together and are used to outline the text. Roughly the same happens on f. 31 and f. 35. Only from f. 36 was a pattern established for the rest of the manuscript, like f. 29 but with pricking at each end of the first rule of a group. The close double lines are always lighter than the single line; and they often run in slightly different directions, being visibly not parallel. The only exceptions thereafter are f. 40 and f. 111<sup>v</sup> (which have just the single ruled line and look like the second page of the index, f. 3).

With it established that the pattern for copying blocks of text becomes clear and consistent only after gathering D (again!), we can move on to examine the pre-ruling for the underlaid texts, ascriptions and canonic instructions.

Most have a double-rule, above and below the lower-case letters. It is there on ff. 4<sup>v</sup>–6; 9<sup>v</sup> (heading of *Ffa la sol*); ascriptions on 18<sup>v</sup> and 20<sup>v</sup>; 21<sup>v</sup>–25<sup>v</sup> (but apparently not ascription at bottom of 24<sup>v</sup>); 27 (ascription); 27<sup>v</sup>–31; 32<sup>v</sup>–37<sup>v</sup>; 38<sup>v</sup>–45 (but apparently not ascription at bottom of 42<sup>v</sup> or bottom of 44, both Cornysh); 46; 47<sup>v</sup>–48; and

<sup>26</sup> It also includes places where the script is unmistakable but without the double-lines: ff. 6<sup>v</sup>–7<sup>v</sup>; the ascriptions to king Henry VIII on f. 28<sup>v</sup>, f. 35<sup>v</sup>, f. 37<sup>v</sup> and f. 55<sup>v</sup>; on ff. 49<sup>v</sup>–50 neither the ascription nor the text-cues have the double guide-lines; on f. 91, the canonic instruction at the top of the page for H87 has the double guide-lines of T<sub>1</sub> but the cue ‘Duas partes in unum’ for the lower piece, H88, has no guide-lines. This is to say that the distinction in terms of double guide-lines is useful but not universal.

<sup>27</sup> Actually, Helms (1998: 43) misprinted ff. 18–19 as just f. 19 and f. 26 as f. 29. But there can be no question of what he meant.



50<sup>v</sup>–124 (apart from canonic instruction on 58 and Farthing ascription on 63).<sup>28</sup>

But that procedure took some time to be established. In some cases there is no pre-ruling visible: ff. 6<sup>v</sup>–7 (style T3); 7<sup>v</sup> (also style T3); 14<sup>v</sup>–15<sup>v</sup>; 45<sup>v</sup> (an interesting case, as the copyist seems to have used the show-through of the stave lines from the previous page to organise the writing); 49<sup>v</sup>–50; 58 canonic instruction; 76<sup>v</sup>–77 voice names (style T3); 98 (one word, style T3); 99<sup>v</sup> (3 words); 100 (also 3 words); 105 (2 words, style T3); and 124<sup>v</sup>–128. In the earlier cases it looks as though the copyist thought it safe to copy without guide-lines before thinking better about it. Most of the others look like cases where it seemed like too much trouble to draw preparation lines for so little text.

Another procedure appears on ff. 16–17<sup>v</sup>, namely the last two leaves of gathering B, with a single rule that serves as a guide through the middle of the text (but with no ruling for the ascriptions on f. 16<sup>v</sup> and f. 17<sup>v</sup>).

Next there is the rule beneath text: ff. 18–21 (but double rules for ascriptions on f. 18<sup>v</sup> and f. 20<sup>v</sup>) and 26 (first page of gathering D). It looks as though this too was abandoned once the copyist realised that the only safe way forward was with double lines.

That is to say that the pattern for underlay, ascriptions and canonic instructions became clear a little sooner than the pattern for text blocks and stave rulings. But all the information so far points in the same direction: that the skilled music copyist, evidently a professional musician, had no such skill with text copying and needed time to establish a scheme and a procedure.

## Numbering systems

Of the two modern pencil numberings, it is clear that the pencil foliation (top right) was added when the manuscript joined the British Museum collection in 1887; this has been used ever since and is used herewith. The pencil pagination (top left and top right, those on the right crossed out) is earlier, almost certainly done by William Chappell, since these references are used in the first full description of the manuscript, Chappell 1867.<sup>29</sup> Apart from the British Museum foliation, all the pencil writing in the body of the manuscript is probably by Chappell.

<sup>28</sup> An odd and special exception is on f. 110: the copyist expected two lines of text under each line of the music, so ruled two pairs of lines, but then for the refrain sections decided to put the refrain text between those two pairs; and the same thing happens on f. 112. (It is not clear what happened on f. 111<sup>v</sup>.)

<sup>29</sup> In fact, Chappell's letter to Augustus Hughes-Hughes, dated 24 June 1886, in British Library, Add. MS 47216, f. 4, contains the number '398', looking exactly like the pagination '39' in the Henry VIII Book, f. 22. Particularly the placing of the serifs is convincing; and there are several comparable cases in surviving letters by Chappell. But in any case there is hardly anybody else who is likely to have added this pagination.

Before that, the only numbering was in the messy roman numbers for the texted songs. This numbering seems to be consistent, in style T3: at least, all those that include the figure 'x' have it written in that distinctive sloped manner that seems to declare them all from the same hand, though one could have doubts about 'j' to 'viii'—doubts that grow when it is noted that 'j' is on the verso, centred (we shall come back to that one), 'ij'–'v' are on the recto, vaguely centred; and the remainder are at the top right-hand corner of the recto. But that reflects the pattern already established, that the copying of anything but music and staves was at first most hesitant, gathering confidence as work progressed.<sup>30</sup>

There is in fact a further numbering system, in the index on ff. 2<sup>v</sup>–3. It more or less follows the principle of those roman numbers, but it is in arabic numbers and was plainly subject to considerable correction and emendation. Entry 10 was originally written as 9: that is, the writer gave the next piece the next number before realising that there was a roman numbering on the second opening of *Adew mese amours*. For most of the rest of that page in the index the numbers have been corrected one up—particularly visible at 11/12, 13/14, 18/19, 19/20, 22/23, 29/30, 30/31, 31/32, and on the next page 42/43, 45/46, 46/47 and 49/50. But at this point the writer apparently realised that here was another case of a song being given two numbers and accordingly gave up with all the adjustments. From then on to the bottom of the page, it looks as though the numbers were written first, with the appropriate cue added later.

But it was only when that information was in place that Margaret Bent noted a further set of number changes. The roman numerals in the body of the book have exactly the same set of changes: certainly from 'xij' to 'l' they are all adjusted upwards by one. These adjustments are done with astonishing care. Where the previous number was xij (on f. 21), the descender of the 'j' is erased to turn it into 'i' before a new 'j' was added. In other cases the adjustment is more extensive: after 'l' one can easily see further to the right an insufficiently erased 'xlix'.

In other words the adjustments in the index are precisely the same as those in the body of the manuscript. The writer decided to add a roman numeral 'ix' for the second opening of Cornysh's *Adew mes amours* and then added that number and the cue 'Pardon amoy' to the index, thereafter correcting all the numbers down to 50. The next texted work to occupy two openings is *Fare well my joy* (H63 on ff. 66<sup>v</sup>–68), which was originally numbered xlvij and xlvij; the next is *I am a joly foster* (H65 on ff. 69<sup>v</sup>–71), though for some reason only the

<sup>30</sup> On ff. 9<sup>v</sup>–10 the sharps look very much as though they were added later by the same person who added the song-numbers. On the other hand, usually a space is left for those sharps, so they are not later additions in any real sense and certainly not done in the sense of proof-corrections. So that leaves open the possibility that the T3 material was done more or less at the same time as T1, just with a different nib.

first opening was numbered; but for the next, *Though sum saith* (H66 on ff. 71<sup>v</sup>–3) there are again two roman numbers. For what it is worth, the remaining works that occupy more than one opening get just a single number in the roman numbering: H92, H96 and H103–108. It looks as though there was a problem with H92 (*Lusti yough shuld us ensue*, on ff. 94<sup>v</sup>–97) because it fills three openings but the second opening contains only one voice; and the resolution was to number only the first and third openings (and both are included in the index). Thereafter, the decision seems to have been just one number for each song.

What benefit was expected to accrue from numbering the second opening of those three songs is hard to guess. But it may be significant that the changed numbers go only as far as the middle of gathering J, the added gathering.

While on the topic of inconsistencies in the numbering, it is perhaps also worth putting on record that the rounds occupying only a single page are also treated in two different ways: on ff. 21<sup>v</sup>–22, 24<sup>v</sup>–25 and 79<sup>v</sup>–80 each page has its own number; but on ff. 25<sup>v</sup>–26, 35<sup>v</sup>–36 and 60<sup>v</sup>–61 the number on the right-hand page must serve for both pieces.

## The index

The index (more strictly, the table of contents) is a mess. As mentioned, Helms and Siemens agreed that its first page, f. 2<sup>v</sup>, is in style T1; and Helms identified the whole of the second, f. 3, as in style T3, while Siemens thought that the last line is again in T1 but that the rest is a hand not otherwise found in the manuscript. It is certainly true that f. 2<sup>v</sup> has double guide-lines and f. 3 has single guide-lines, which for Helms was the basic definition of T1 and T3. But it is also true that all the numerals on both pages of the index have a single style, namely T1.

There are several strange details about the index. First, the spelling very often varies from that in the body of the manuscript (see Table 2, on pp. 82–3), even though half of it is apparently in T1 style, like most of the manuscript: that seems to say that the index was done at a time when the book had been copied and bound, so it was not easy to check the spelling. Second, while the index has arabic figures the body of the manuscript has roman: Margaret Bent reminds me that exactly the same happens in the Bologna manuscript Q15; and perhaps the reason is that arabic figures are more compact than roman, look neater in a table of contents. Third, from no. 49 onwards the index numbers disagree with those in the body of the manuscript.

It is now time to examine the plummet-coloured rules for the text in the index, which are chaotic and amateurish even by the worst standards elsewhere in the book. The only credible explanation for this is that they were done after the book had been bound.

It is easiest to begin with f. 3, the second half of the index. Here there are two vertical rules, to act as

margins to the left of the numbers and to the left of the text cues. (The left-hand margin was later erased between the numbers 41 and 59.) Then came the horizontal lines individually, one for each entry, at only roughly equal spaces and by no means parallel, never going right across the page (though almost reaching the right-hand edge for nos. 50–53): that is another indicator that the book was already bound when the index was added. Oddly, there are also four further lines below that for the last song entered, which is also the last piece copied by the main copyist in the manuscript.

The erasures and corrections of various numbers in the index were described earlier. I leave to a sharper eye or a sharper mind the explanation of why the entire column of figures appears to have been erased (though nothing more shows up under ultraviolet light).

Lower down the page, for nos. 58–63, there were extra lines drawn freehand in pen below the figures, for no obvious reason—though it could reflect copying layers: no. 58 is *Dulcis amica* (H83), which may well represent the end of the original plan for the book on the last opening of gathering L, since many such collections end with a prayer; 63 is the only five-voice piece, *And I war a maydyn* (H101), which may also have been seen as a possible last piece for the collection (even though it is on the first opening of gathering O).

The pencilled arrows on that page, to the left of the left-hand vertical rule, are apparently in the hand of William Chappell. As mentioned above, the pencil pagination of the manuscript was almost certainly done by him in preparation for his introductory article (Chappell 1867). The shape of the pencil pagination ‘3’ on the present f. 4 corresponds to the same figure in the left-hand margin of the present f. 3. I conclude that Chappell inserted those arrows to mark places where the index failed to correspond to the contents of the manuscript.

The first page of the index, f. 2<sup>v</sup>, is more complicated. Again, work started with two vertical rules to the left, one to the left of the figures and—in this case, by contrast with f. 3—the other to the right of the figures, but used later as a margin for the text-cues. These lines are now mostly invisible, perhaps partly as a result of the erasures to almost all the figures.

From about no. 14 there are double lines, to go above and below the lettering for each song, usually going two-thirds of the way across the page. This is already odd, as it is different from the ruling in the body of the manuscript for text-only sections. But it is the consistency of this treatment for nos. 14–39 that makes the change of procedure on the next page all the more startling, with a kind of script that at first glance looks quite different.

For the first 13 entries on f. 2<sup>v</sup>, the copyist began with six horizontal rules that reached the right-hand edge of the page, spaced more or less as those on the facing f. 3. Above the second of these, another line serves as the top for the entry ‘1 Benedictus’; the next pair of lines, for ‘2 Ffortune esperee’, is newly ruled between the second and third larger lines. Perhaps there

was the same for '2 Alese regrett', though they are not visible now. For '4 En frolyk weson' there is a new line below the fourth large line; and for '5 La my iiii partes' there is a new line added above the fifth large line, hence the apparently squashed quality of those two entries. That is to say that the irregularities here result not from changes of any kind but simply from the copyist's having no experience in writing indexes and just devising the system as work progressed.

At this point, the writer plainly decided that the original longer rules were a mistake (even though they appear again on f. 3). '6 Ffa la soll' has two lines ruled independently of the longer one that was already there, in fact slightly above it; and '7 Pastyme with gode company' has two more, a little below the original line. Thereafter, there are two close lines for each entry, once again evidently ruled by eye and going three-quarters of the way across the page for the next six entries. Only with no. 14 (again in the middle of gathering C) did the writer establish what was to remain the pattern for the rest of the page, namely each entry having two close lines that run only two-thirds of the way across the page.

It remains to add that the inserted entry for the second opening of '8 Adew mese amours', using Script T<sub>3</sub>, is not between the two close lines already ruled for that song, but on the higher of those lines.

### Les écritures réunies

But a return to the index leads to the conclusion that T<sub>3</sub> must be the same writer as T<sub>1</sub>, perhaps later and perhaps with a different pen: compare the capital letters 'W' and 'I' and 'L'. Essentially, all that has happened is that the copyist no longer bothered to rule the double guide-lines, so the writing is rather less controlled; and that slightly less rigorous preparation of the pages is in line with the relatively inconsistent use of the vertical frame-rules.

In that context, it strikes the eye that Helms's T<sub>2</sub> appears only in the first two texted pieces plus just the first page of the third texted piece (H7–9 at the end of gathering B). I suggest that the experienced music-copyist who was a lot less at home with text was moving forward cautiously and fairly soon realised that respectable text-copying would need the formal double guide-lines and a different pen. That Siemens, following Greene and Stevens, found T<sub>2</sub> also on ff. 18<sup>v</sup>–21 rather endorses the point that the hands have much in common and are hard to distinguish (and that Siemens, without Helms's insight about double guide-lines, saw no reason to see the scribes as different).

Briefly, then, I propose that T<sub>1</sub>, T<sub>2</sub> and T<sub>3</sub> are all the same writer, who was also the main copyist of the music, M<sub>1</sub>. T<sub>2</sub> is just an early stage in the unfamiliar task of writing texts; T<sub>1</sub> is the main body of the text copying effort; and most of the material in style T<sub>3</sub> was done with a different pen perhaps away from the main writing studio of this experienced music copyist.

For the rest the writers in the main body of the manuscript seem to be:

M<sub>2</sub>, who copied two lines of music at the top of f. 51;  
M<sub>3</sub>, who copied the music of H85 onto staves already ruled by M<sub>1</sub>;

M<sub>4</sub>/T<sub>4</sub>, the copyist of the final piece and H109; and  
M<sub>5</sub>/T<sub>5</sub>, who made copious corrections to H106 (ff. 116<sup>v</sup>–120) and cannot possibly be the same person who copied H109, not least because of the different shapes of the letter 'w'.

The remaining corrections and adjustments are so small as to resist any serious identification, though it is likely that they were the work of M<sub>1</sub>.

There is actually a snag here, in the shape of M<sub>2</sub> on the two top staves of f. 51. These notes are not in the style of M<sub>1</sub>; and they look very much as though they were added as T<sub>1</sub> inserted the text. The colour of the notes precisely matches that of the text. The problem is that there is absolutely no possibility that the music was written by M<sub>1</sub>: the shapes of the breves, the shape of the last note, even the *custos* at the end of the top staff, rule that out. There are two possible conclusions: either the entire analysis above is wrong and all the T<sub>1</sub> and T<sub>3</sub> texts were written by someone other than M<sub>1</sub>; or the apparent similarity between M<sub>2</sub> and T<sub>1</sub> at the top of f. 51 is just apparent. I obviously prefer the latter, without rigorously excluding the possibility of the former. That is part of the reason why it has seemed preferable here to continue referring to text 'styles' T<sub>1</sub>, T<sub>2</sub> and T<sub>3</sub>.

### Words and music

Just as the ruling of each page appears almost always to have been done with a precise knowledge of the music to appear on that page, so the copying of the music was done with a clear knowledge of whether a particular line was texted or not. The copyist's normal procedure was to have note-stems going upwards, but downward stems were used for notes on the top two lines if there was to be text above. This is easily seen in the first texted piece, Henry's own *Pastyme with good companye* (H7 on ff. 14<sup>v</sup>–15). Another good example of his technique is in Henry's *Helas madam* (H10 on f. 18<sup>v</sup>), where the second half of staff five has all stems upwards, because the copyist knew that the first voice had ended in the middle of the line above, and where the middle of staff six has ascenders where there happened to be a space between words on the line above.

Once the copying system was established, it looks as if the texts for a particular line of music were often added before the next line of music was started. The clearest case is on f. 32<sup>v</sup>, where the third staff has two stems going upwards either side of the word 'sore' but most of the rest go down to avoid conflicting with the words above; and the same happens in the sixth and seventh staves, where stems on the top line go upwards because there happens to be no text immediately above them. Other cases include: f. 24<sup>v</sup>, third staff; f. 25, fifth

stave; f. 30, sixth stave; f. 30<sup>v</sup>, fourth stave; f. 42<sup>v</sup>, second stave; f. 72, second stave; f. 79<sup>v</sup>, fourth and fifth staves; f. 80, at the end of the third stave; f. 103, fifth stave; f. 115, fourth stave; f. 117<sup>v</sup>, third, sixth, seventh and eighth staves; f. 118<sup>v</sup>, seventh stave; f. 120, fourth stave; f. 121<sup>v</sup>, second stave; f. 123, almost the whole page. These, at the end of the day, are the details that tipped the balance for me in the painful choice of whether the entire book was basically the work of a single copyist or whether most of the text was done by another hand.

In some of those cases it is possible that the text was copied before the music. That was after all still the normal practice in chant books, where the music was mainly syllabic. And in a case like ff. 32<sup>v</sup>–33 (H27) it is easy to see that the text was copied more or less evenly for all three voices; but it is less easy to argue that the entire text was copied before any of the music (an argument made slightly harder by uncertainty about the expected texting). With the cursive script of Henry's *Pastyme with good company* (H7 on ff. 14<sup>v</sup>–15) it may be considered almost certain that the text was copied first: the evenness of the text writing as against the irregular spacing of the notes is the clearest evidence there. But already on f. 15<sup>v</sup> the nature of the music makes it very unlikely that the text could have been copied first; and that applies repeatedly throughout the book.

### Copying order

What follows is an attempt at reconstructing some details of the book's assembly.

1. The music of ff. 3<sup>v</sup>–14 was copied without text cues or headings. Downward stems (other than for longs and maxims) are all below the decorated initials. The question is whether the initials were already there or whether an intelligent copyist knew to leave the space free. Obviously the latter.

2. Then came a group of texted songs on ff. 14<sup>v</sup>–17<sup>v</sup>, using a single guide-line for each line of text but using it just as a guide, namely running the text both above and below that guide-line. The texting (style T2) is here done in exactly the same colour as the notes, presumably with the same pen.

3. At the beginning of gathering C (f. 18) it evidently seemed that the texts should be in more of a book-hand (style T1), to make them easier for singers to read. Hence the changed procedure: the copyist ruled double guide-lines wherever there was going to be text and resisted the temptation to join the letters within words. On that first page there is also a light rubrication of the first word of each poetic line; but that never recurs, except on ff. 33<sup>v</sup>–34. That is yet another indication of the experienced music copyist being inexperienced in text copying.

4. It was probably at this point that the copyist went back and added the text cues to H2 and H3 on ff. 4<sup>v</sup>–6,

which are in the same T1 style and in roughly the same colour (absolutely not the colour of the notation). The text-cue for the first piece was omitted presumably because something a little more elaborate was envisaged for the first decorated letter. H4 (ff. 6<sup>v</sup>–7), on the other hand, had a Flemish text cue, and it looks as though the copyist was even more uncomfortable with Flemish than with French.

5. After the middle of the gathering C (f. 21<sup>v</sup>) came the first group of rounds, generally on seven-stave pages. What is clear is that throughout the second half of that gathering the texts are written with extreme clarity and care. There is one exception, namely Henry's *Alas what shall I do* on ff. 20<sup>v</sup>–21. This is the first time we see style T3. The text is in lighter ink than the notes and was perhaps added rather later.

6. Gathering D begins (f. 26) with one piece texted in style T3 in the same lighter colour as the notes. This is in contrast with the rest of the gathering, where the notes and text are a firm black and the texts very much in the formal book hand called T1. Perhaps the round on that opening page was added later. For the rest, though, the pages have apparently been pre-ruled with seven staves each and horizontal rules only at the top. It is as though the copyist had begun to think that clarity and openness were the guiding features here. But on ff. 30<sup>v</sup>–31 Cornysh's *My love she morneth for me* plainly needed special ruling, which it received. And so it continued.

7. Shortly after gathering K had been started, prince Henry died. The gathering was laid aside, but probably not for long: Cooper's *I have bene a foster* (H62) has its music on the last page of gathering H, f. 65<sup>v</sup>, and its remaining text on the first page of gathering J; similarly, the anonymous *Madame d'amours* (H67) flawlessly straddles the break between the added gathering J and gathering K, ff. 73<sup>v</sup>–74.

8. But it must have been soon after this that the copyist decided to overrule the roman gathering-signatures and substitute a new system that labelled the gatherings with letters, thereby making it possible to number each sheet of each gathering.

9. Only when the book was completed and bound did the copyist begin compiling the index on ff. 2<sup>v</sup>–3. Given the unevenness of the first few entries in the index and also of the first few roman numbers in the body of the manuscript, it seems that the entire process happened initially one piece at a time. The number and text cue were first written in the index; then the number was added to the page in the main body of the manuscript.

For the first piece (ff. 3<sup>v</sup>–4) the number 'j' was written boldly in the middle over the music on the verso; and the moment the page was closed for a return to writing in the index the number smudged onto f. 4 (as can easily be seen in the facsimile). The copyist then realised that the only sensible place for the numbers was indeed on the recto: to put them on the verso entailed pressing on the page at precisely the point where the

previous number had been, with inevitable smudging onto the facing page. The copyist also realised that the numbers on the music pages must be light, hence use of the wispy T<sub>3</sub> style and roman numerals. In other words, at least in the first stage of index compilation, the arabic numbers in the index appear to have been entered at the same time as the roman numbers in the body of the manuscript.

10. This all worked fine until the index reached the bottom of f. 2<sup>v</sup> and the rest was to be written on f. 3. Writing on the recto entailed putting pressure on the rest of the manuscript and creating a problem for the roman numbers being added to the texted songs. The solution was to finish the index and only then to add the roman numbers to the pieces themselves.

11. But when it came to adding those roman numbers for the second half of the book, the indexer had a change of heart and—for reasons that can only be guessed at—decided that the numbering should be changed so that the two openings of Cornysh's *Adev mes amours* should have their own numbers and be included in the index. That entailed the laborious and labour-intensive changing of all the roman numbers from 10 to 50; but after that the remainder were numbered very quickly—so quickly, in fact, that *I am a joly foster* on ff. 69<sup>v</sup>–71 received only a single number, though the next piece received two, as did *Lusti yough* on ff. 94<sup>v</sup>–7. Here came a crisis, with a song occupying three openings, the second of which was in any case incomplete.

12. As already noted, the numbers in the index also needed changing. These were done rather less fastidiously, so they are easier to see. But there came the moment when the writer eventually gave up the task and let the existing numbers in the index remain uncorrected.

## Decoration

The coloured initials are fairly inconsistent and not at all skilled. That suggests that they were not sent off to a professional illuminator but probably done there and then by the main copyist or by a colleague nearby. They involve no special techniques. Moreover, they become slightly more consistent and more controlled as the book progresses, as though the decorator were learning the skill—a pattern we have already seen several times. On the other hand, many of the letters use gold leaf. Once again the evidence points to a royal context but not actually royal possession.

In addition, there are a few visible guide-letters: 's' for the Tenor on f. 50<sup>v</sup>, 't' for the Tenor on f. 82<sup>v</sup>, 'w' for all three voices on f. 84<sup>v</sup>, on f. 106<sup>v</sup> an 'a' for the second voice, which the decorator overlooked, and on ff. 116<sup>v</sup>–117 for all three voices. They could perhaps indicate that a separate person did the decorations; but they could just be memoranda for letters to be added a bit later.

## Bindings and endpapers

The present binding dates from 1950–51: that is to say that the old binding (now kept separately from the manuscript in a different box) has the date 1950 written on the 'dummy block' that is placed inside it to hold it in shape and the new backboard is dated 1951, information repeated on f. [IV].

The original binding, which is what is reproduced herewith, is of dark brown leather over oak and comes from an unnamed binder active during the early 1520s in or around London, identified by J. Basil Oldham, who found his work on various printed books, as well as British Library Add. MS 34807. Each face has eight blind-stamped rosettes and four stamped *fleurs de lis*<sup>31</sup> within a geometrical design done by roll-stamps (Siemens 1997a: 89–90; Siemens 1999: 190; at greater length in Helms 1998: 36–41).

But the shock is this. The two gold-on-red printed labels on the original spine were pasted on when the book was acquired by the British Museum. What that means is that there was no identification on the original spine or elsewhere on the really rather expensive binding. And what that in its turn must mean (and I owe this observation to Justin Clegg, Curator of Illuminated and Liturgical Manuscripts in the British Library) is that whoever had it bound had no need of that information—either had no particular interest in the book or knew it instantly by sight as 'the music book' in an otherwise tiny library.

What should be added to this information is that books were normally bound after they had been completed. That must have been particularly the case with this manuscript, because of the way the stave-ruling is carried out, individually for each piece and in most cases immediately before the copying of the music. Ruling and copying of that precision requires the book to be in independent gatherings on a formal writing-desk. Only the messy roman numbering in the body of the manuscript and the index on ff. 2<sup>v</sup>–3, with its oddly irregular ruling, are likely to have been added after the binding.

The endpapers begin with a parchment bifolium, the first page of which was formerly attached to the original front binding-board, and the second of which has the stamped British Museum number (simply '31,922.') and the written note 'Purch<sup>d</sup> of B. Quaritch. 22 April 1882.'

Then come two heavy paper leaves that are part of the 1950–51 rebinding process. The first has the literature list that was formerly pasted into all British Museum manuscripts. The second new leaf has the two eighteenth-century bookplates pasted on to it. It is not entirely clear where those bookplates were originally

<sup>31</sup> J. Basil Oldham, *English blind-stamped bindings* (Cambridge, 1952), nos. 1034 (rosette) and 1055 (*fleur de lis*). Further details appear in Oldham, *Shrewsbury School library bindings* (Oxford, 1943), and Oldham, *Blind panels of English binders* (Cambridge, 1958). All three books were reprinted in the Garland series *The history of bookbinding technique and design* (New York, 1990).

pasted, but they were probably on the first recto of the book, namely the page that currently carries at the top the stamped manuscript number and at the bottom the handwritten information that it was purchased from Quaritch in 1882.

Lastly at the front there is a parchment leaf, tacked on to the first gathering (with its stub peeping out after f. 9, though not visible in the facsimile). This leaf contains the small but early entry 'henricus dei gratia rex anglie'; and on the reverse of that sheet is a British Museum red stamp. This parchment is not of the quality of the main body of the manuscript: it is thinner and shinier. But the entry is definitely from the first half of the sixteenth century. On the other hand it is equally definitely not the hand of Henry VIII, whose distinctive square-shaped writing is hard to mistake.<sup>32</sup> Chappell (1867: 371) suggested it may have been written by one of Henry's librarians. And there is something erased after it, no clearer under ultraviolet light. Bizarrely, the same handwriting appears in the outer margin of f. 55, twice putting the name 'henr'; and it could actually be the same hand that was responsible for the pen-trials on ff. 129<sup>v</sup>–130.

However, what we have here is a leaf of thinner and shinier parchment added before the first gathering of the manuscript proper, with its stub visible at the end of the first gathering; and at the end of the manuscript proper is a similar sheet of thinner and shinier parchment with its stub visible at the start of the last gathering. This all looks very much as though the two were added at the very end of the copying process, to top and tail the manuscript.

On f. 2 is a large but very light design that could be the letter 'R' or something else entirely. This is in fact the first leaf of gathering A: on the first opening (ff. 2<sup>v</sup>–3) is the table of its contents, with the music starting on f. 3<sup>v</sup>.

At the end of the last gathering of the music the last leaf is of an entirely different quality of parchment, much thinner (f. 128).

After it, there is another parchment bifolium (ff. 129–30), also thinner, the back of which was attached to the binding board, containing on ff. 129<sup>v</sup>–30 some jottings from the later sixteenth century, to be discussed in due course. In the 1950–51 binding it is followed by two paper leaves, one with a record of the manuscript's treatment, the other now pasted to the backboard.

### The main copyist

There is no direct evidence of who the copyist was. But there are now a few clues. If I am right in saying that it was a professional musician, we seem to be restricted to those in Henry VIII's immediate circle. The most obvious choices would be the professional musicians who had been in his Privy Chamber since his earliest youth, namely Giles Duwes and Bonitamps. But both were apparently French, and the copying of the few French texts here is abysmal (see in particular Commentary to H10): if M1 and T1–2–3 were all one person, that person cannot have been Duwes or Bonitamps. Of the English musicians, the contents of this book make it seem very much as though Cornysh and Farthing were the closest to Henry and this particular repertory. Cornysh, as Master of the Children in the Chapel Royal in addition to writing and directing most of the court disguisings and performances, would seem to be too busy to have copied such a manuscript; besides, a prolific author is unlikely to have had such mixed handwriting habits (or to have left his own marvellous *Ffa la sol* unascrbed). By elimination, then, one possibility would be Thomas Farthing.

But there are further problems. To explore them a little more, we must look at the music.

<sup>32</sup> David Starkey, *Henry: virtuous prince* (London, 2008): 118–19, plausibly suggested that Henry and his sister Mary learned their unusual handwriting style from their mother, Elizabeth of York. There is an excellent anthology of photographs of Henry's handwriting in Stemmler 1988.

## Repertory

### Rounds

The thirteen rounds are an unusual feature of the Henry VIII Book. Earlier rounds are rare: in England, there is *Sumer is icumen in* from before 1300 and a very special case in several ways. From the years around 1400 there are two in the Cambridge University Library manuscript Add. 5943 (edited in Fallows 2014: nos. 5–6), *Nurue mit sorgen* among the music of Oswald von Wolkenstein and the apparently continental piece *Talent m'es pris* (edited from four different sources in *Polyphonic music of the fourteenth century*, vol. 20 (Monaco, 1982): no. 65).<sup>33</sup> All have a total range of a ninth between their three voices, which seems a comfortable range for non-professional social singing (and obtains for a very high proportion of the known English rounds from the seventeenth century). Here, though, are the ranges of the rounds in the Henry VIII Book:

In gathering C, plus the first page of D:

H13 on f. 21 <sup>v</sup>	Kempe	Hey nowe nowe	13
H14 on f. 22	Cooper	Alone I leffe	14
H17 on f. 24 <sup>v</sup>	Farthing	Aboffe all thyng	13
H18 on f. 25	Daggere	Downbery down	12
H19 on f. 25 <sup>v</sup>	Farthing	Hey now now	13
H20 on f. 26	Farthing	In May	13

On a single opening in gathering H:

H56 on f. 60 <sup>v</sup>	Henry VIII	Departure is my chef	14
H57 on f. 61	Henry VIII	It is to me	15

On a single opening in gathering K:

H74 on f. 79 <sup>v</sup>	Flude	Deme the best	15
H75 on f. 80	[anon.]	Hey trolly loly	15

In gathering M:

H86 on f. 90 <sup>v</sup>	[anon.]	[textless]	13
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In gathering N:

H93 on f. 98 <sup>v</sup>	[anon.]	Now	13
H97 on f. 104	[anon.]	Pray we to God	14

That is to say that they need singers with trained voices and very wide ranges. There is one earlier English round with a comparable range, Robert Wilkinson's bizarre *Jesus autem transiens* in 13 voices at the end of the Eton Choirbook, with a range of (only!) 13 notes. But this is very obviously a spectacular piece for spectacular singers who are capable of singing the cruel Eton music. Of the rounds in the Henry VIII Book, three have a

range of two octaves (15 notes). Only one has a range of as little as 12 notes, namely the single known work of William Daggere (and that may explain why this alone of the rounds is found in any other manuscript, though it is by no means a simple work).<sup>34</sup> They also share a considerable musical and rhythmic complexity—once again, far beyond the level of the earlier known rounds. This is not material for amateur singers.

On the other hand, bearing in mind that five of these pieces have either no text (H86), or just one word (H93) or just three (H13 and H19) or just eight (H57), there is room for wondering whether they were copied here for singers at all or whether their place in this particular book was perhaps as instrumental pieces.<sup>35</sup> Farthing's H17 and H20 both have thoroughly confusing texts that look as though they have major transmission problems. As music, though, they are fine, with some pleasing irregularities.<sup>36</sup>

### 'Consorts'

This title is in quotes as a reminder that it is an invention of John Stevens (1962: xix), though surely plausible. Its danger is that Stevens applied the term only for the twenty-four pieces that have no title or cue. To these we need to add the six that he called 'Puzzle-cansons' and those with such headings as *Ffa la sol* (H6).

But the distribution of these consorts is intriguing: in gatherings A–F there are just two consorts: *Ffa la sol* (H6) of Cornysh and H11, sandwiched between pieces by Henry. Then from the end of gathering G and through gathering H there is a group of them, mostly by Henry; then there are none in the mysterious gathering J, but many more in gatherings K–M, once again with many ascriptions to Henry, but with a fairly large number of pieces lacking ascriptions. In these gatherings there are quite a few pieces that look as though they could have originated with text (H72 and H73

<sup>33</sup> There are other canonic pieces from the fourteenth century, among them several Italian *cacce*, three larger French *chasses* in the Ivrea codex and the three-voice canonic strophes in Machaut's *lais* nos. 11 and 12. These are all far more extensive than the rounds discussed here.

<sup>34</sup> The fullest collection of comparable music from the sixteenth century is in the publications of Ravenscroft, available in *Thomas Ravenscroft: rounds, canons and songs from printed sources*, ed. John Morehen and David Mateer = *Musica Britannica*, vol. 93 (London, 2012). While most have a range of between 8 and 12 notes, one has a range of 16 (no. P68) and one has 17 (no. P88).

<sup>35</sup> An idea briefly sketched by Thurston Dart (1955: 80).

<sup>36</sup> Common to all the rounds in the Henry VIII Book is that only the second entry is marked with a sign of congruence: for the third entry the second singer evidently gave a sign upon reaching the sign of congruence.

on ff. 77<sup>v</sup>–79, for example). Two use the same melody (H70 and H71 on ff. 76<sup>v</sup>–77); two more have identical length and seem to be twins (H76 and H77 on ff. 80<sup>v</sup>–82).

The earliest printed song collections, Ottaviano Petrucci's three *Canti* volumes (1501, 1502 and 1504), contain between them some 300 pieces, nearly all without texts but none of them without a cue or identifying title. And the same is the case with many other printed music collections, particularly from Germany, later in the century. How much of that material was originally composed for instrumental ensembles is a tricky question; but everything in these volumes is in an imitative, polyphonic style. There is nothing there like the 'consorts' in the Henry VIII Book, with their florid top lines and mainly simple accompanying voices, pieces that look more and more as though designed for (or even by) the royal patron for him to play the top lines with one of the many melody instruments on which he wished to show his prowess.

### 'Tastar de corde'

Some of the textless pieces are fairly substantial, but others are unbelievably slight. The only equivalents elsewhere would seem to be the occasional little flourishes in certain continental keyboard manuscripts and, particularly, the five pieces labelled 'tastar de corde' in the printed lutebook of Joanambrosio Dalza (Venice, 1508), tiny preludes as though to check the tuning of the instrument. The style can be seen in H44, H48, H52, H54, H55 and H61, for example. So it is worth just stressing how rare the survival of such music is. In general it was surely improvised and hardly needed writing down. Dalza, in one of the earliest printed lutebooks, was just showing a few ways of doing it. But once again the picture is of light-hearted quasi-improvisatorial pieces for the royal patron and his friends, a kind of informal music that is otherwise mostly lost.

### Texts that do not fit the music

It is worth noting the relatively large number of pieces where the text cannot reasonably match the music. Perhaps the most obvious cases are the carols with music for only the refrain, or 'burden' (H31, H33, H35, H47, H50). The history of the carol form is that one would expect new music for the verses, which are different metrically from the burden; and in these cases the one thing that is clear is that the verses go to the existing music most inelegantly indeed. Other cases where there is a serious dispute between textual form and musical form include H24, H34 and H44. But once again the broad picture is that the collection is beautifully adapted for amateur music-making, mainly on instruments—copied by an experienced copyist who was far less interested in the texts.

### Freemen's songs

But there are other pieces that are plainly intended for singing, not least the pieces that can perhaps be characterised as freemen's songs. This is a disputed term, but well worth trying to clarify. There are three main witnesses. *The lyffe of Sir Peter Carewe* (c. 1514–1574) tells how in the year 1545:<sup>37</sup>

The king himself being much delighted to sing, and Sir Peter Carewe having a pleasant voice, the king would very often use him to sing with him certain songs they called fremen songs, as namely *By the bank as I lay* and *As I walked in the wood so wild*.

John Foxe's *Actes and monuments* describes Thomas Cromwell and two companions singing 'a threemans song (as we call it) in the English tongue, and all after the English fashion' when visiting the pope in 1518, as a result of which 'The Pope suddenly marvelling at the strangeness of the song, and understanding that they were Englishmen, ... willed them to be called in.'<sup>38</sup> In addition, the title-page of Ravenscroft's *Deuteromelia* (1609) includes the category 'K. H. mirth, or Freemens Songs', namely seven in three voices and seven in four voices—several of them looking as though they could be considerably earlier and one demonstrably an adaptation of *By a bank as I lay*, of which earlier versions appear from Henry VIII's reign in Royal Appendix 58 and in the manuscript additions to the surviving Bassus partbook of *XX songes* (1530).

There are other scattered references. The inventory of Henry Courtenay, marquess of Exeter (executed for treason in 1539), included 'William Bothe of th'age of 40 years not married ... A good archer and can synge proprely in threeman song' (Helms 1998: 217). In act IV, scene iii of Shakespeare's *The winter's tale* (1623) the Clown says to Autolycus: 'She hath made me four and twenty nose-gays for the shearers, three-man-song-men all, and very good ones; but they are most of them means and bases; but one Puritan amongst them and he sings psalms to hornpipes.' The language dictionaries are not very helpful: Randle Cotgrave's *A dictionarie of the French and English tongues* (London, 1611) translates 'Virelai' as 'a ... Round, freeman's Song'; and John Florio's *A worlde of wordes, or most copious, and exact dictionarie in Italian and English* (London, 1598), translates 'Strambottare' as 'to sing rounds, gigs, catches or freemens songs'.

Two references from the fifteenth century can complete the story. In the play *The castle of perseverance* (c. 1425) we have (line 2335 in the edition by David

<sup>37</sup> Thomas Phillipps, 'The life of Sir Peter Carew, of Mohun Ottery, co. Devon', *Archaeologia* 28 (1839): 96–151, at p. 113. It was written by John Hooker soon after Carew's death, now in Lambeth Palace Library, MS 605. A more extensively annotated edition, with modernised spelling, is in John Maclean, *The life and times of Sir Peter Carew* (London, 1857): 38–41, with a pseudo-facsimile of *By a bank* from British Library, MS Royal Appendix 58.

<sup>38</sup> Dumitrescu 2007: 1, from John Foxe, *Actes and monuments* (London, 1583), vol. ii: 1178.



Klausner) ‘Thyrty thousande that I wel know ... That hed levere syttyn at the ale, Thre mens songys to syngyn lowde, Thanne toward the chyrche for to crowde’; and the *Promptorium parvulorum* of c. 1440 gives ‘Three manys songe, *tricinnum*’.<sup>39</sup>

Those various references—scattered across almost two hundred years—may cover a wide range of practices. But that of 1517 is of course the most suggestive, in that the singing was instantly recognised by the cultured Pope Clement VII as distinctive, ‘other’, and English. Whether he recognised this in the style of the music rather than the style of the singing is unclear. If the singing included rounds—a genre more or less non-existent on the continent—they would presumably have been a lot simpler than those in the Henry VIII Book.

But at the same time it is true that the Henry VIII Book contains a group of songs that are basically unlike the songs of the continental mainland—unlike the evocative Spanish songs of the *Cancionero de palacio*, unlike the elegant and refined songs of the French court, unlike the colourful Italian *frottole* and quite unlike the German *Gesellschaftslieder*. A good collection of examples is in H62–5 (ff. 65<sup>v</sup>–71); others include perhaps H79, H96, H102 and H103. Apart from being in three voices and having convivial texts, often with hunting themes, they all have their highest voice written in a tenor range. Two further examples of the style in lesser-known sources are printed by Helms (1998: 91–5).

They are distinctive in their sense of gregarious fun, of the sheer exuberance of three men singing together without much refinement, without soulful love-longing, and without any literary pretensions, and very often with far cruder part-writing than survives in comparable sources from elsewhere in Europe (not forgetting for a moment that—as mentioned earlier—there is highly refined English music from those years, not just the songs in the Fayrfax Book and the *XX songes* but also in the sacred repertory). That is part of the Henry VIII Book’s distinctive importance.

### Apparently theatrical songs

In addition, though, the Henry VIII Book includes a surprisingly large number of pieces that make no textual sense at all and can only be understood as having been part of some lost theatrical event at court. Among them are H22, H38, H39, H41 and H63. Stevens proposed the same for H68. Some of these do in fact have the mysterious allusive nature occasionally found in the Spanish song repertory of the time. But of course we shall never know the exact origin of these pieces. On the other hand Dietrich Helms (1998: 49) suggested the Henry VIII Book was partly an anthology of music for courtly shows.

<sup>39</sup> British Library, Harley MS 221, considered the oldest witness and used as the base text for the edition for the Camden Society by Albert Way (London, 1843–65).

### Larger works

The last five pieces in the manuscript are more substantial than anything that precedes them. This group starts with Pygott’s magnificent four-voice carol *Quid petis* (H105 on ff. 112<sup>v</sup>–116), then the otherwise unknown *My thought oppressed*, Fayrfax’s *Sumwhat musing* (certainly earlier than 1502, when it was copied into the Fayrfax Book, as outlined in fn. 2 above), and finally two more unique pieces, one of them copied in an entirely different script and going on to a final added leaf of much thinner and shinier parchment. Broadly speaking, these pieces are in the style of the music in the Fayrfax Book; and this is also the style of the music in the earliest known book of polyphonic music printed in England, the famous *XX songes* of 1530. Given also that Pygott is not known to have been active earlier than 1517, it seems reasonable to conclude that all five pieces represent a kind of musical activity that continued throughout the first quarter of the sixteenth century but happens not to have been represented in this particular manuscript (though it is there in almost all known church music from the reign of Henry VIII, particularly the work of Fayrfax, Ludford and Taverner).

It may be no accident that these come at the very end of the collection, as though somebody at the last moment felt that the collection was unrepresentative or possibly even lightweight. It may also be relevant that from this point the copying becomes much more compact, with generally eight staves per page (rather than the default of seven up to that point), and with the writing very seriously crowded, particularly in H107 and H108. It is therefore doubly intriguing that the available evidence indicates that the originally planned scope of the book goes precisely to gathering O and that the Pygott piece (H105) is the last in that gathering.

### Repeated final phrases

Many pieces here have directions for their last phrase to be repeated, usually denoted by signs of congruence at the beginnings of such phrases. Dietrich Helms (2009: 131–2) pointed out that these are not present in any comparable source: not in the Fayrfax Book, not in Royal Appendix 58, certainly not in *XX songes* (1530) or elsewhere in early Tudor England. And he speculated that they reflect a particular preference in the court.

Perhaps the clearest case is Loyset Compere’s *La season* (H43 on ff. 47<sup>v</sup>–48), in which the last phrase is written out a second time in full—as happens in none of its other nine known sources (all continental). But in general these repeats are marked by a sign of congruence at the start of the last phrase of a piece, as for example in *Fortune esperee* (ff. 4<sup>v</sup>–5), [Consort I] (ff. 19<sup>v</sup>–20), *Adew adew* (ff. 23<sup>v</sup>–24), *Who so that wyll* (ff. 27<sup>v</sup>–28), etc.

What can be said is that the habit of repeating the last line of a song with the same music or a light variant had taken root in the French tradition shortly before

then. For example, it appears in many of the songs in the Pepys Library MS 1760, a French court chansonnier given to Henry VIII soon before he became king;<sup>40</sup> and there is a written-out repeat in *Helas madam* (ff. 18<sup>v</sup>–19). Early examples of a sign of congruence to mark this are, for example, the copy of *Ough warder mount* (H42) in the small partbooks Tournai-Brussels, dated 1511.<sup>41</sup>

That is to say that this mannerism was by no means confined to English music; but it seems to have been very new at the time of the Henry VIII Book and it did have a most remarkable popularity in England, continuing comfortably into the generation of lute-song composers in the early seventeenth century.

### Metrical irregularities

One further distinctive detail here is the number of pieces that are metrically irrational. John Stevens, in his critical edition of the music (1962), had to use a range of techniques—irregular bar-lengths, irrational upbeat, oddly delayed cadences—to give it some semblance of metrical order.<sup>42</sup>

This is extremely rare in the music of the continental mainland. There are pieces with unusual metres (five-beat units, 3/4—6/8 alternations), but always rational in their structure. There are pieces that evaporate to an almost imperceptible end, but always with a

clearly identifiable main concluding chord at a logical place. And, most important, there is a musical style that sounds as though it is in triple units but is fundamentally on a two-beat framework, though these pieces (mainly songs) can usually be understood in terms of a gracious juxtaposition of phrases, often setting up a light metrical expectation that is then frustrated. But there is almost nothing in those pieces or in the works of Josquin, Obrecht or Isaac to match the sheer unpredictability of the English pieces.

It must be said, first, that these irregularities are characteristic of early Tudor music and, second, that they have been rather hidden in modern editions by editors understandably aiming to reduce confusion. But they are easy to see in Harrison's edition of the Eton Choirbook, since he was unrepentant in inserting totally irrational time-signatures for penultimate bars in quartered note-values.<sup>43</sup> For that reason they merit special study far beyond the few words offered here. My list of the main problem-pieces in this respect is intended, first, to focus on the range of ways in which this happens, second, to note that the problems are by no means special to the works of Henry VIII and, third, to note that many of the most intractable problems occur either in the abstract pieces that John Stevens called 'Consort' or in the rounds, themselves a special category of problem pieces, as outlined earlier.

### Misunderstandings

There are several clear cases of confusion in the copying here, mainly towards the latter end of the book. H66 on ff. 71<sup>v</sup>–73 includes in its text that 'the eighth Harry' is speaking, but there is no ascription to him (or anybody else): perhaps he wrote only the text. But perhaps, as Helms has proposed, rather more pieces were actually claimed by Henry than are specified in the manuscript.

On ff. 74<sup>v</sup>–75, for *Adeu adeu le company* (H68), the Bassus is entirely missing, though it should be obvious enough to any musician that the voice needed to be there, and it would be entirely uncharacteristic of this

<sup>40</sup> Magdalene College, Cambridge, Pepys MS 1760, f. 1<sup>v</sup>, had a portrait of the prince of Wales, now cut out. This we know from Edward Bernard, *Catalogi librorum manusciporum Angliae et Hiberniae* (Oxford, 1697), vol. ii: 209, no. 6806, where the entry includes: 'in the time of King Hen. VII for the then Prince of Wales; being the Prince's Original Book, elegantly prickt and illuminated with his Figure in Miniature'. The only princes of Wales between 1485 and 1537 were Henry VIII and his elder brother Arthur (d. 1502). The repertory here cannot pre-date 1502, with works by Antoine de Fevin, Mathieu Gascogne, Hylaire and particularly Richafort; and it is unlikely to pre-date Henry's accession by very much. The nature of the miniature's excision while the manuscript was already in the Pepys library, cutting out most of the first piece in the manuscript, is plainly punishment rather than for profit. It was therefore almost certainly given to Henry VIII as prince of Wales. More details in: *Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys MS 1760*, ed. Howard Mayer Brown = Renaissance Music in Facsimile 2 (New York, 1988), at p. vi; Dumitrescu 2007: 121–2; and David Fallows, 'Moulu's composer motet', in *The motet around 1500*, ed. Thomas Schmidt-Beste (Turnhout, 2012): 325–33, at 331–2.

<sup>41</sup> The Tournai-Brussels partbooks lack their Bassus. Two of the partbooks have long been known, namely (D) Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS IV.90, and (T) Tournai, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS 94. The Contratenor partbook was discovered only in the 1990s and is now Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS IV.1274. The Discantus volume of the set is available in facsimile and commentary with the (thoroughly misleading) title *Cancionero de Juana la Loca: la música en la corte de Felipe el Hermoso y Juana I de Castilla* (Valencia, 2007).

<sup>42</sup> The most extreme examples include H6, H8, H13, H30, H44, H48, H54, H58, H61, H64, H65, H75, H79, H81, H82, H90, H93, H94, H98 and H106. Of those pieces, incidentally, two are by Cornysh, one is by Kempe, eleven are by Henry and six are unascribed; but that may give a slightly misleading account of the broader picture.

<sup>43</sup> *The Eton choirbook*, ed. Frank Ll. Harrison = Musica Britannica, vols. 10, 11 and 12 (1956, 1958 and 1961): see vol. 10, pp. 111, 113, 114 (all Davy), 123 (Corynsh), 124, 127 and 129 (all Browne); vol. 11, pp. 21, 23 (twice, all Huchyn), 27, 29 (both Wilkinson), 35 (Fayrfax), 67, 68, 70, 74, 85, 98, 99, 101, 116 (all Davy) and 147 (Corynsh); vol. 12, pp. 31 (Browne), 60 (Corynsh), 64 (twice), 68 (all Nesbett), 75, 76 (both Horwood), 90, 92, 95 (all Lambe), 98 (Fayrfax), 104, 105, 106, 108 (twice), 110, 111 (all Stratford), 148 (Fayrfax), 153 (Wilkinson), 159, 160 (both Holyngborne), 176 (Huchyn), 181 and 182 (both Wilkinson).

copyist to misjudge the necessary space. Given that this is the piece that specifically honours Henry's first-born son, the short-lived prince Henry, there may be some significance in its incomplete copying.

On ff. 95<sup>v</sup>–96, Henry's own *Lusti yough* (H92) surely lacks a voice on the second opening, where only a single voice is copied.

On ff. 99<sup>v</sup>–100, Alexander Agricola's *Belle sur tantes* (H95), with a newly added and unique Bassus line, lacks the last twelve breves of that line even though there is an empty stave that could have carried the music.

On ff. 108<sup>v</sup>–110, *What remedy what remedy* (H109) has its decorated letters on the second opening and is in several other ways a little confused in its repeating of music already written.

Finally, on ff. 116<sup>v</sup>–120, the anonymous *My thought oppressed* (H106) has major problems, as mentioned earlier. A later hand made adjustments to the texting and text-underlay throughout, even making a few small adjustments to the music; but even so there

are musically impossible passages at the ends of the third and fourth openings—passages whose impossibility must have been clear to any reasonably experienced musician.

Those last four cases rather suggest that the copyist was losing control and concentration. And that in its turn helps to explain the really absurd progress of the table of contents on ff. 2<sup>v</sup>–3 and the roman numbering in the body of the manuscript: as explained earlier, the copyist at a fairly late stage decided to change all the numbers 9–50 with a seriously time-consuming set of erasures in both sets, all because of a sudden decision to give the second opening of Cornysh's *Adeu mes amours* a number of its own and a place in the table of contents. That, too, looks very much like somebody who is losing a grip on reality. Perhaps indeed we are looking at the work of Thomas Farthing, who made his will on 23 November 1520 and was dead by April 1521. But that detail in itself is really not enough to identify the copyist.

## Henry VIII

### Royal and noble composers

Two mass movements are ascribed ‘Roy Henry’ in the early fifteenth-century Old Hall manuscript (British Library, Add. MS 57950). Both—a Gloria and a Sanctus—‘stand at the heads of their respective sections in the MS, and were not later additions, as has been suggested’.<sup>44</sup> That is good enough evidence that the ascriptions are indeed intended to denote the king, presumably Henry V. But these are the only known polyphonic works ascribed to any king prior to Henry VIII.

Monophonic songs credited to thirteenth-century kings include Alfonso X of Castile’s 420 *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, Thibaut IV of Navarre’s 50-odd trouvère chansons and Dinis of Portugal’s 137 *cantigas de amor* and *cantigas de amigo*. Obviously all three raise questions not profitably explored here. But all three surely traced their ancestry to the longest and shortest books in the bible, the Psalms of king David and the Song of his son, king Solomon.

As concerns other high nobility, there is the case of duke Charles the Bold of Burgundy (1433–77), who was at various times described as having composed songs and motets and who can be identified tentatively today as the composer of two surviving polyphonic chansons.<sup>45</sup> Much less eminent, but perhaps more interesting, is the case of Oswald von Wolkenstein (1377–1445), one of the most resourceful poets in the German language, known from 134 poems, mostly with monophonic music but 37 with polyphony, about half of which have now been shown to be adaptations of previously existing music—a consideration that will become relevant when we turn to the details of Henry VIII’s music.

But it is as well to forget the nineteenth-century view—based largely on passing comments in Baldassare Castiglione’s *Il libro del cortegiano* (Venice, 1528) and Thomas Elyot’s *The boke named the governour* (London, 1531)—that nice nobility did not take credit for their

creations.<sup>46</sup> We need only look at Henry’s near contemporaries. The emperor Maximilian I (1459–1519) assumed authorship of his extended autobiographical poems *Weisskunig* and *Theuerdank*. Many poems are credited to king François I of France (1494–1547). The *Canzoniere* of Lorenzo de’ Medici (1449–92) runs to 166 poems. Charles d’Orléans (1394–1465), nephew and father of kings of France, wrote over 500 poems, assembled in manuscripts that include responses by his peers, but also available at the time as more or less complete translations of his entire output into English and—with gorgeous decorations—into Latin. Even more prolific in those years was his cousin ‘Good’ king René d’Anjou (1409–80). In most such cases it is legitimate to ask how much of this is their own unaided work. But what matters in the present context is that they were proud of their creations. There was nothing demeaning or nouveau-riche about Henry displaying his compositions. Quite the opposite: this was all part and parcel of creating what was for a time the most impressive court in Europe.

That Henry received musical instruction from an early age was of course nothing special (though he did have three minstrels and a lutenist in his personal household by 1498 and had a flute teacher by 1503; the French lutenist Giles Duwes joined his household in 1501 and remained at court until he died in 1535):<sup>47</sup> Henry VII had given lutes to Henry when he was seven (1498), to the princess Margaret at the age of seven (1501) and to the princess Mary at the age of twelve (1505).<sup>48</sup> But hundreds of documents from the fifteenth century bear witness to such activity for royal and noble children of all kinds. What really is exceptional for Henry VIII is the massive collection of musical instruments he had assembled by the end of his life—including over 70 recorders, over 70 flutes, almost 30 plucked instruments, almost 30 bowed instruments, almost 60 keyboard instruments and 18 crumhorns.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>46</sup> This matter is very plausibly treated by Helms (1998: 257–60), with the observation that eye-witness accounts of his public performance end in about 1519.

<sup>47</sup> The case for Duwes as Henry’s instructor in composition was first made by Dietrich Helms (1998: 243–7).

<sup>48</sup> Spring 2009: 195.

<sup>49</sup> The inventory of Henry VIII’s instruments in British Library, Harley MS 1419, is perhaps best consulted in the revised transcription edited by Thurston Dart in the 4th edition of Francis W. Galpin, *Old English instruments of music: their history and character* (London, 1965): 215–22, or in Ashbee 1993: 383–98. A more recent critical edition is in David Starkey, *The inventory of Henry VIII: Society of Antiquaries MS 129 and British Library MS Harley 1419*, vol. 1 (London, 1998).

<sup>44</sup> Margaret Bent, ‘Roy Henry’, in *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London, 1980), xvi: 285, repeated unchanged in the 2001 edition.

<sup>45</sup> I plan a publication on this shortly. Pending that, the preliminary case is in David Fallows, ‘Robert Morton’s songs’ (Ph.D. dissertation: University of California at Berkeley, 1977): 303–24. In addition, Helms (1998: 20) drew attention to Sir William Haute (d. 1497), member of the Order of the Bath and cousin of Edward IV’s queen, who is credited with one composition in Ritson’s Manuscript and two in the Pepys Library MS 1236.

## Henry VIII as a composer

Edward Hall's chronicle reports that in the summer of 1510—in his first year as king and when he was just nineteen—Henry 'did set two goodly masses, every of them five parts, which were sung oftentimes in his chapel, and afterwards in diverse other places' (Dillon 2002: 35; Ellis 1809: 515). It is unclear whether they were in five sections (relatively rare in English masses, which tended to lack the Kyrie in those years) or five voices (which was normal for the big festal masses of Fayrfax and Ludford though obviously hard to do). But Hall was too young to have been present so early in the reign and must have relied on a secondary witness.

A century later, Henry Peacham wrote in *The compleat gentleman* (London, 1622), p. 99: 'King Henry the eighth could not only sing his part sure, but of himself composed a Service of four, five, and six parts; as Erasmus in a certain Epistle, testifieth of his own knowledge.' His marginal gloss, 'Erasm. in Farragine Epist.', can only refer to *Farrago nova epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami ad alios et aliorum* (Basel, 1519). Dietrich Helms (1998: 252) noted that this book includes no such statement; and an extensive search has failed to locate it among the known work of Erasmus. That is particularly frustrating because Erasmus knew Henry well and—according to Glareanus—had been a choirboy under Jacob Obrecht in Utrecht. It is also frustrating because Peacham's Anglican term 'service' cannot have been used by Erasmus (d. 1536), whose known writings are all in Latin. It is perfectly possible that these compositions of Henry were destroyed either later in the century or during the Commonwealth in the next century. After all, the present manuscript may well survive only because it was in private hands, not mentioned or described—apart from one passing *on dit* reference to be discussed later—until 1867.

On the other hand, we do still have Henry's *Quam pulchra es*, with its ascription to 'rex henricus octavus', in British Library, R.M. 24.d.2, the commonplace book of John Baldwin, Chapel Royal singing-man and the copyist of—among other books—the best MS of William Byrd's early keyboard music, 'My Ladye Nevells Booke' (completed on 11 September 1591; now British Library, MS Mus. 1591). Baldwin was a man of considerable historical interests. His commonplace book includes a group of pieces from the mid-fifteenth century (printed in Fallows 2014, nos. 76–82) as well as pieces and sections of pieces from the early sixteenth century by Taverner, Fayrfax, Cooper, Dygon and Wilkinson. That is all to say that Baldwin's view on the authorship of this piece looks pretty solid. There are modern editions of it in Hawkins (1776, vol. ii: 534–40), Trefusis (1912: 51–60, transcribed by Cecie Stainer) and Helms (1998: 459–65). In addition, Charles Burney (1782: 573) mentioned a further copy of this motet in the possession of the composer Philip Hayes in Oxford—not now known, though perhaps not lost.

What strikes the eye about *Quam pulchra es*—180 breves in length, thus enormously longer than anything in the Henry VIII Book—is not just that its three-voice texture is flawlessly controlled throughout but that it shows a highly sophisticated understanding of notation. The opening half is in *tempus perfectum*, always correctly treated, with coloration where appropriate, and some complicated ligatures (that is, not just those *cum opposita proprietate* still being used at the time but ligatures ending with a *longa*, for example). There are also some fairly complex proportions in the Tenor. There are those who think this a weak piece, but it is by no means the work of an ignorant amateur.

Of Henry's known pieces: two or three are highly skilled and sophisticated works (H78 on ff. 82<sup>v</sup>–84, H66 on ff. 71<sup>v</sup>–73 and *Quam pulchra es*), a few more are relatively simple but so lovely that the world would be a poorer place without them (H7, H15, H33, H55, H57, H64, H78, H80, H81); another fifteen or so are so slight that they would hardly be worth copying but for the name of their composer. But even so, the solemn preservation of so many tiny or seriously flawed pieces was not going to do anybody much good: it was not intended for any grand visitor; it was not intended to trumpet the virtues of Henry and his skill; it was just for somebody (man or woman) who wanted to know more about the man who, for at least the first ten years of his reign, counted as the most brilliant and charismatic monarch in Europe. By 1520 he was perhaps outclassed by François I in France and by Charles V in the Holy Roman Empire and in Spain. But in that first decade of his reign Henry VIII was without question the young star among European royalty.

## Henry VIII as an arranger

In *Gentyll prince de renom* (H45 on ff. 49<sup>v</sup>–50), Henry's contribution is demonstrably limited to the addition of a (very hesitant) Contratenor to a three-voice piece published in 1501; I have argued elsewhere (Fallows 1993b) that the added voice was the result of early composition lessons for the teenage prince, of unique historical interest as an example of how a young boy in the years just after 1500 was taught the elements of music and of counterpoint, preserved simply because he happened to become king.<sup>50</sup> And it seems likely that the (rather better) Contratenor in *Helas madam* (H10 on ff. 18<sup>v</sup>–19) is Henry's only contribution there. In *Adieu madam[e]* (H9 on ff. 17<sup>v</sup>–18), the existence of a three-voice version with different text makes it all but certain that Henry added a (much better but still flawed) florid Contratenor and pasted a new text onto a probably well known song; the view that the other source for the music may have been borrowed from Henry is contested below in the Commentary.

<sup>50</sup> In fact I suggested that the second phrase was composed by his teacher to help him see how it could be done.

But the situation also raises further questions. First, it adds to the number of cases where Henry just added a voice or a few other details to an existing piece but apparently took credit for the whole work. (Perhaps he did the same in the lost mass cycles.) Second, more seriously, the plain mismatch of words and music draws attention to similar cases in *The time of youth* (H23 on ff. 28<sup>v</sup>–29). Third, the situation offers an explanation for some of the metrical irregularities in certain of Henry's apparent compositions, such as *Alac, alac what shall I do* (H30 on f. 35<sup>v</sup>). Fourth, it then becomes important to look more aggressively at the songs that are in the manner of instrumental pieces and appear with poems that cannot realistically be used for the music, such as *Who so that wyll all feattes optayne* (H34 on ff. 38<sup>v</sup>–39) and *If love now reynynd* (H44 on ff. 48<sup>v</sup>–49 and H48 on ff. 52<sup>v</sup>–53). So almost the only song of his that escapes suspicion is *Wher to shuld I expresse* (H47 on ff. 51<sup>v</sup>–52); but even here we have the problem that stanzas 2–5 have a different rhyme-scheme from the stanza underlaid to the music; and the way the closing fifth stanza ends with the last line of the first stanza suggests that there were at least two hands (and minds) at work on at least the poem.

For *Pastyme with good companye* (H7 on ff. 14<sup>v</sup>–15) we can—on balance—now conclude that the melody and the chordal basis already existed, in which case his main contribution would again be the text, as outlined in the Commentary on that song.

On the other hand, several unjust accusations have been levelled at Henry's work. Some have suggested that his only contribution to *[E]n vray amoure* (H81 on ff. 86<sup>v</sup>–87) is the Contratenor, since it is written in longer notes; but that Contratenor is flawless (more so than the other voices, as it happens), just written down according to different conventions. Others have stated that his *Tannder naken* (H78 on ff. 82<sup>v</sup>–84) is largely borrowed from other settings of the same melody; but closer observation shows that view to be baseless.

Even so, fourth voices added to three-voice polyphony were by no means rare in those years. Petrucci's *Odhecaton* (Venice, 1501) has at least eight, five of them unique to that volume. And Allan Atlas has even argued that composers adding an extra voice, or just slightly modifying a received work, often also added their names to the music thus transformed.<sup>51</sup> To charge Henry with deceit in these cases may be to see him too much in the light of his later life.

### Henry VIII as a poet

By and large, we are still in the age when it was broadly expected that the author of the music was the author of the poem. The ability to assemble a credible quatrain

was one of the required skills of a courtier or any educated person (as it is today); but the composition of music in three voices required very specialised skills.

Nobody seems to have questioned Henry's authorship of those texts; and there is a substantial recent bibliography devoted to them, particularly in the writings of Peter Herman, Raymond Siemens and Theo Stemmler. Stemmler (1992: 97) approvingly quoted John Stevens (1961: 8–9) to the effect that 'To describe the categories of early Tudor lyric is to find oneself describing the medieval lyric'; but he immediately went on to demonstrate the distinctive tone of Henry's poetry (further elaborated in Stemmler 1999) and how it matches the tone of his later letters to Anne Boleyn.

In fact the texts for Henry's music have two features that are extremely rare in the medieval lyric. The first is that the love songs all speak of unrestrained and fully requited love, namely H9, H10 (even though taken from elsewhere), H12, H15, H33, H34, H47, H51, H56, H64 and H79. And the second is the presence of 'lifestyle' songs, either saying how the writer prefers to live (H7, H23), or justifying his lifestyle (H66, H92)—perhaps not entirely without precedent, since a few such poems are in the *Carmina burana*, but very rare in the fifteenth century.

The quatrain *Adieu madam[e]* (H9 on ff. 17<sup>v</sup>–18) is the most feeble doggerel, pasted on to music that must already have existed. Many would say that if Henry was capable of sinking so low he could not have written glittering poems like *Pastyme with good cumpanye* (H7) or *Grene growith the holy* (H33). But that is to judge without considering context: *Adieu madam[e]* was plainly a swift and charming courtly gesture; some of the others are more considered poems.

Apparently he three times pasted on to music texts that had precisely the opposite mood of his model: H7, H9 and H81. These raise interesting questions of musical expression (which I shall not pursue here), but they also remind us that in the early fifteenth century Oswald von Wolkenstein frequently pasted new texts onto polyphony by others, transforming the music and presenting the results as his own.

### The anonymous pieces

There has always been a slight feeling that many of the anonymous pieces were also by Henry. William Chappell, in the first ever discussion of the book (1867: 375–6), wrote that 'there are also others, where the scribe has omitted the name of the author, which from identity of style and thought, from the use of the same words and rhymes, may safely be ascribed to the King'. He mentioned in particular *Hey troy loly* (H75) and *Let us not that yong men be* (H82).

Helms (1998: 391–6) considerably broadened that. He began with *Though sum saith* (H66), in which the text includes a specific statement that it was by king Henry

<sup>51</sup> Allan W. Atlas, 'Conflicting attributions in Italian sources of the Franco-Netherlandish chanson, c.1465—c.1505', in *Music in medieval and early modern Europe: patronage, sources and texts*, ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge, 1981): 249–93.

but there is no ascription above the music. He therefore concluded that its music was also by Henry, having earlier established that it shares materials with *Pastyme* (H7). He then added *Iff I had wytt* (H29) and *Sy Fortune* (H46) on the basis of their similarity, *Hey troy loly* (H75) on the basis of its use of *passamezzo antico* patterns and that it precedes a group of pieces ascribed to Henry; then came H90, H69, H82, H31, H84, H11, H70, H71 and H89; then the added voices of H2 and H37. This is not the place to reproduce his arguments (relevant details of which are scattered around various points in his book); but it is the place to wonder why M1/T1-2-3, who copied all the music as well as most of the text and did all thirty-three ascriptions to Henry, should have overlooked another fifteen.

It is fair also to recall that slightly over half the pieces in the Henry VIII Book have composer ascriptions; and that proportion is more or less normal for songbooks of the time. But it is true that two of the greatest compositions in the book, Cornysh's *Ffa la sol* (H6) and Fayrfax's *Sumwhat musing* (H107) both appear here anonymously, even though their composers were the two most elegant and eminent composers at court. It is also true that absolutely none of the overseas pieces has an ascription, even though the composers of several of them must have been well known to any literate musician of the time. Seen within the broader pattern of songbooks during these years, however, and seen within the clear centrality of Henry and his compositions to the copyist, it is hard to believe that ascriptions to Henry were simply omitted.

## History

### Early annotations

The jottings on ff. 129<sup>v</sup>–130 are of some interest because their script looks very much as though from the first half of the sixteenth century. One on f. 129<sup>v</sup> has the old schoolboy joke ‘Vinsent Wydderden ys an onest man, so sayeth Nycolas Benden, cuius contrarium verum est’; and facing it on f. 130 is the straight statement ‘Vinsent Wydderden ys a kneve’. There are also references to ‘Sir John Leedes in the parishe of Benynden’ (f. 129<sup>v</sup> and again on f. 130), to ‘Davey Jonys in the paryshe of Benynden’ (with more of the ‘honest man’ joke) and to ‘James Reve of the parishe of Mountfyld’.

Dietrich Helms (1998: 52) identified the will of James Reve of Mountfield, dated 1555, and documents concerning Vincent Wetherden of Benenden (a particularly unusual and therefore convincing name), who had died in 1551. That makes it seem very likely that by about 1530, and perhaps earlier, the manuscript was no longer valued and found its way into the hands of children who scribbled meaningless pen-trials on the endpapers.

But those annotations are what led to the current view on the book’s origins. As John Stevens put it (1962: xxiii), ‘William Chappell made the happy suggestion, when he was describing the songbook, that it got down to Benenden in Kent because Sir Henry Guildford, Controller of the Household, had his seat there.’ Cautious though his wording was, John Stevens included Holbein’s portrait of Sir Henry as the frontispiece to his critical edition of the music (perhaps partly because it is a magnificent painting, and certainly because it gives a good visual sense of the music’s context).

Helms pointed out (1998: 53) that the home in Benenden was actually inherited by Sir Henry’s elder half-brother, Sir Edward Guildford, another member of the king’s closest circle; and from 1512 Leeds Castle in Kent seems to have been Sir Henry’s normal residence. But it would not change the story much if the original owner were indeed the elder Guildford. Moreover there were plenty of other courtiers in the area. There is simply not enough information to place the book. All the same, Sir Henry’s position as Master of the Revels for the first fifteen years of Henry’s reign makes him a very plausible candidate: born in 1489, he was two years older than Henry and a fixed part of the household in those early years.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>52</sup> The fullest recent case for Sir Henry Guildford is in Siemens 1997a: 92–9; and very convincing it is. Both brothers have extensive articles in the *Oxford dictionary of national biography* (Oxford, 2004).

### Purpose and possible origins

Helms remarked (2009: 118–19), paraphrasing his earlier comments (1998: 279–80): ‘A copyist who had access to the king’s simplest and least representative compositional exercises must have worked within the innermost circle of the court, and certainly with royal consent’. And he added: ‘Because Henry always ensured that the impression would be perfect, and because many compositions ... are not immune to criticism, I assume that the book was not intended to leave the king’s inner circle’.

We must also conclude that the book was not for Henry himself or for his immediate family. Apart from anything else: the decoration is far too amateurish; the texts of Henry’s own songs are presented in too ignorant a manner; and there are far too many cases where the text simply cannot fit the music or where the text is almost incomprehensible (as in some pieces by Farthing). But it was plainly for somebody in his circle. And it seems almost certain that it is for amateur music-making (which is one of the reasons for publishing it now in facsimile) within a group that included singers as well as players of all kinds of instruments.

On the other hand, perhaps partly to deflect readers from the too-easy assumption that it was for one of the Guildford family, Dietrich Helms (1998: 404–5; 2009: *passim*, but particularly 129–31) proposed that the book was copied as an instructional tool for Henry VIII’s children Mary (b. 1516) and Henry Fitzroy (b. 1519). That seems particularly hard to square with the various rounds and the complex puzzle canons, not to mention the occasional amorous or ribald text, though his case rests on the notion that the book is a collection of models from which a child could learn. That may overlook the fair proportion of pieces here that should never serve as a model for anybody, among them—alas—several by Henry himself. But one must also ask at what age a book opening with a complex *ricercar* by Isaac would be suitable for the young princess Mary: she was precocious enough to be playing virginals for visitors at the age of four, but she would hardly be reading polyphonic music before she was about eight, namely in 1524. That seems far too late for the initial conception of the book.

One possibility that occurred to me was that Farthing had in fact copied it for himself as a record of his years in the king’s favour. The copyist’s confused handwriting and orthography suggest someone with little interest in books of language, therefore not the owner of a large library, hence having no need for



labelling on the spine of the relatively expensive binding. But that hardly computes with either the inclusion of seven of his own pieces or the way they are scattered around the book, not to mention the seriously confused manner of most of their texts. (I spent a bit of time wondering whether Farthing had no serious interest in either the meaning or the metrical design of the texts; but later thought that viewpoint rather too much influenced by the classical music singers of today.)

With all caution, it looks as though the book was prepared for somebody like Sir Henry Guildford and copied by somebody like Thomas Farthing. But that is as far as we can go.

### Possible dates

First of all, it must be stated that the arguments of Siemens (1997a) and Helms (1998) for a copying date after 1522 are based on insufficient grounds. They seem to have been working independently: at least, neither mentioned the other; but perhaps they talked to some of the same people, because their arguments are more or less the same, giving three reasons for this late date. The first and most important is the apparent references to the *Schatew Vert* (*Chateau vert*) of 4 March 1522 in *Yow and I and Amyas* (H41): in the Commentary to that piece, I have given reasons to doubt any secure connection between the poem and the play. Second is the matter of *A Robyn* (H49) and its possible authorship by Sir Thomas Wyatt (c. 1503–42), still very much doubted by Wyatt scholarship. Wyatt arrived in the court as an esquire of the royal body in 1525; but the music is ascribed to William Cornysh, who died in 1523 after a court career that stretched back into the preceding century. Again, I have outlined in the Commentary the reasons for rejecting that as evidence for the date. And the third consideration was the binding, perhaps from the early 1520s: I have already noted that there is really not enough information for such a precise date.

My own view is that it would be hard to date anything here much later than 1516: in March, the organist Benedictus de Opiitiis arrived from Flanders to 'waite upon the king in his chambre' (Pearsall 1986, vol. ii: 139); in September, Dionisio Memo's arrival at the court brought with it an influx of Italian music, of which there is no trace here. It is also perhaps relevant that the continental music—which is much easier to date than the English, because there are so many parallel sources—includes nothing that can date after 1510 and very little from after 1500. I would also suggest that several of the texts would be inappropriate once Henry's relationship with Catherine of Aragon had begun to lose its initial glow, particularly after the birth in 1519 of his illegitimate son, tactlessly but politically named Henry Fitzroy (d. 1536).

John Stevens wrote (1962: xviii): 'The best reasons for believing that the songs were mostly composed in

the early years of Henry VIII's reign are based on the general tone of the manuscript.' But the available evidence is thin and often ambivalent. Plainly it is important to distinguish between the composition date, the copying date and the dates at which the manuscript continued to be used.

Since the ascriptions to Henry all uniformly name him as 'The Kyng . H . viii', the copying must have been done after his accession on 21 April 1509. Just one piece can be dated with some confidence: the anonymous *Adew adew le company* (H68 on ff. 74<sup>v</sup>–75) must have been composed in the first two months of 1511, between the birth of prince Henry on 1 January and his death on 22 February; and it is most unlikely to have been copied after the prince's death.

Farthing's round *Aboffe all thyng* (H17) may just also be for the short-lived prince Henry; but it seems likely to be for much earlier events (see Commentary).

In addition, *Englond be glad* (H96 on ff. 100<sup>v</sup>–102) bids England 'help now thi Kyng and tak his part ageynst the Frenchmen in the feld to fyght': this is generally dated early 1513, when Henry invaded France, but it could just as well be from the summer before, the disastrous first invasion of France, led by Edward Howard. On the other hand, the canon *Pray we to God* (H97 on f. 103), praying to God for the king's upcoming voyage and ending 'Sent George graunt hym the victory', is more specific and may indeed concern Henry's 1513 invasion. That may explain why there is a blank page between the two pieces—to make it clear that they concern different events.

Nevertheless it was the dating of H96 and H97 to 1513 that persuaded Denis Stevens (1963: 48) that 1513 was as good a date as any for the copying of the book. He wrote: 'Since both pieces are copied near the end of the book it is probable that 1513 or 1514 saw its completion.' Chappell (1867: 384) was more nuanced, suggesting that 'so far as this page', namely that containing *Englond be glad* (H96), 'all in the MS. was written before June 1513'.

Since the gathering numbers I–VIII are all clearly legible at the foot of first pages of gatherings A–H and K, we must conclude that any further gathering numbers in that style would similarly still be legible. In their absence, it seems that at this point the book had only those nine gatherings. 'This point' must be the first weeks of 1511 when prince Henry was born and still living, as celebrated in *Adew adew le company* in gathering K.

The other system of gathering numbers goes consistently through to the end of gathering O. Since most of the numbers in this series have been trimmed off, it is hard to know exactly how far this system continued. But it is clear from what remains that the numbers were on every single sheet, namely the first four leaves of each gathering. Plainly the book was not yet bound.

Gathering M (ff. 90–97) is a special case: the last page has empty staves; the first page was ruled with staves by M1 but filled with music by another hand, M2.

In gathering N we have the two pieces that look as though they refer to the French invasions of 1512 and 1513; and it is by no means absurd to think that the pieces were copied more or less at the time.

The physical evidence discussed above seems to show that the manuscript was prepared over some time, as the various different pieces became available to the copyist. If *Adeu adeu le company* (H68) was, as I have proposed, not just composed in the first two months of 1511 but copied in those months, thereby furnishing an explanation for the reorganisation, then we could be looking at assembly over the years 1510–11 for the first eight gatherings, perhaps 1512–13 for the next five gatherings, and perhaps the remainder of 1513 for the rest. The joker in the pack here is of course Pygott (H105), not documented before 1517; but he was already Master of the Children in Wolsey's chapel in that year, so he must by then have been professionally active for some years.

There is almost nothing to suggest continuous usage over an extended number of years. In fact, the only details that even hint in that direction are the copious emendations to H106 and the addition of H109 in an entirely different hand. That is to say that one view of the manuscript could be that it was copied across 1510–13 and used for perhaps another two years.

### Provenance

The documentable provenance of the manuscript begins with a bookplate of 'Thomas Fuller MD', a physician (1654–1734) with a degree from Queens' College, Cambridge, born in Rosehill, Sussex, but with his practice in Sevenoaks, Kent, where he was buried—about twenty miles from Benenden, where the manuscript seems to have been in the mid-sixteenth century. He was the author of four major books on pharmacy (1702, 1718, 1723 and 1730) as well as three books on prudent living compiled when he was over seventy years old (1725, 1731 and 1732).<sup>53</sup> The last of these contains no fewer than 6071 one-line proverbs, arranged alphabetically and numbered, followed by 425 proverbs in rhyming couplets, including everything one could think of apart from the rhyming proverb of H74. His 1725 book is specifically compiled 'for the use of the Author's dear son, J[ohn] F[uller]'.

William Berry, *Pedigrees of the families in the county of Sussex* (London, 1830), p. 281, reports that Thomas Fuller's son John was born on 12 February 1709, thus at

the age of about sixteen a suitable dedicatee for such a book. Berry gives no date for his decease and no information about any children.<sup>54</sup>

On Thomas Fuller's bookplate are scribbled the words 'Stephen Fuller of Hart Street Bloomsbury 1762'; and the same name appears on the first page of the music (f. 3<sup>v</sup>), though in a much more formal hand. Stephen Fuller of Bloomsbury (1716–99) gained a Cambridge BA in 1738 and an MA in 1742. So far as the available information reports, he was from an entirely different family. His father was John Fuller (1680–1745) of Brightling, Sussex, elected in 1713 MP for Sussex. Stephen was from 1760 until his death agent in London for the newly established Jamaica assembly, not least because his family had connections with Jamaica and particularly the slave trade.<sup>55</sup> Stephen is also mentioned (as being very deaf) in the journals of Charles Burney's daughter Fanny.<sup>56</sup> The significance of this is that he was plainly part of the same social circle frequented not just by the Burneys but also by Dr Samuel Johnson and the 10th earl of Eglinton, both of whom will soon come into the story.

Below Fuller's bookplate is the bookplate of 'The Right Honourable Archibald Earl of Eglinton'. Archibald Montgomerie, 11th earl of Eglinton (1726–96), had a highly distinguished military and political career, serving in the Seven Years' War and later in the French Revolutionary Wars, reaching the rank of general. But he was not the man who acquired the book from Stephen Fuller.

The evidence for this lies in what seems to be the only printed reference to the manuscript before 1867, namely in the third and last volume of Thomas Warton's *The history of English poetry* (London, 1774–81):<sup>57</sup>

I have also been told, that the late lord Eglintoun had a genuine book of manuscript sonnets, written by king Henry the eighth.

Were it not that the 11th earl of Eglinton's bookplate is in the manuscript, one would think that

<sup>53</sup> *Directions, counsels and cautions, tending to prudent management of affairs in common life* (London, 1725, and at least six later editions); *Introductio ad sapientiam: or, The art of right thinking assisted, etc.* (London, 1731); and *Gnomologia: adagies and proverbs; wise sentences and witty sayings, ancient and modern, foreign and British* (London, 1732, and at least three later editions). There was also a portrait of him by Joseph Tymewell, now known only from an engraving by George Vertue (1716).

<sup>54</sup> The website [johnmadjackfuller.homestead.com](http://johnmadjackfuller.homestead.com) (last visited on 1 May 2014) reports that Thomas Fuller and his wife Mary Plumer (1670–1726) had five children, all of whom died in infancy except the last, John, born on 12 February 1709. It includes no further information on John Fuller.

<sup>55</sup> Further details in *The Fuller letters: guns, slaves and finance, 1728–55*, ed. David Crossley and Richard Saville = Sussex Record Society, vol. lxxvi (Lewes, 1991), which traces the rise of the Fullers of Brightling Park, formerly Rose Hill estate.

<sup>56</sup> *The early journals and letters of Fanny Burney*, ed. Lars Troide, et al., 5 vols. (Oxford and Montreal, 1988–2012), iii: 166 and 362.

<sup>57</sup> Vol. iii, p. 58, at the end of Section XXI (in the revised edition of 1824, 4 vols., vol. iii, p. 342, at end of Section XXXIX). The earliest reference known to me is in Siemens 1997a: 48 (using only the 1824 edition and therefore missing the key point that it must refer to the 10th earl, not the 11th). There are probably earlier references among the copious literature on Henry VIII; but Siemens must take the credit for seeing that this can only be Add. MS 31922.

Warton was referring to a different book entirely.<sup>58</sup> There is not a single sonnet here; and Warton makes no mention of the music—though of course the wording makes clear that he had not seen the book himself. But in 1781, when this remark was first published, the 11th earl was still alive. The reference can only be to his elder brother the 10th earl, Alexander Montgomerie (1723–69), famously shot dead by an angry neighbour, as reported in *The trial of Mungo Campbell for the murder of Alexander earl of Eglintoun* (London, 1770, and at least two more editions in the same year, one of them published in Dublin). The murder was also, for example, the topic of a heated Socratic discussion that James Boswell reported in his *Life of Samuel Johnson* (1791).

In point of fact, the 10th earl had introduced Boswell (1740–95) to London society in the years 1760–63, as reported in *Boswell's London journal 1762–3*, ed. Frederick A. Pottle (London, 1950). Boswell also reported that the 10th earl instructed him in the singing of catches (*op. cit.*, pp. 226 and 256). In the present context it is also relevant that the 10th earl was one of the original nine members of the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club when it was founded in November 1761.<sup>59</sup> There can be very little doubt that the Henry VIII Book would be a stunning acquisition for such a person.

If Stephen Fuller owned the book in 1762 and the 10th earl died in 1769, there is not much of a window during which it could have changed hands. I suggest that Stephen Fuller's annotation to the bookplate was in fact to report his ownership before selling it to the eminent man-about-town Lord Eglinton. At the time of his murder the 10th earl was engaged but not married, so he died without heir and the entire estate passed to his brother, as did the title.<sup>60</sup>

That could also explain why the manuscript remained unknown for so long. If the 10th earl acquired it soon before his death (meanwhile having substantial and complicated obligations in Scotland), the book could have been passed alongside a large number of others to his brother, who had no particular interest in any of them. The *Oxford dictionary of national biography* (2004) describes the 11th earl as 'Hard-drinking, hot-

tempered, without intellectual interests, ... a man of limited ability in all his roles'. So what may have been his elder brother's most prized possession apparently passed down unrecognised through the family for another hundred years until someone stumbled across it in the 1860s.

A little anecdote may put this in context. My dear late friend Jerome Roche described once how he was tutoring a group of Cambridge music students who had to transcribe one of Henry VIII's compositions from this manuscript and none of them recognised the name, one transcribing it as 'The Frog' and another as 'The king is sick'. If bright undergraduates actually taking a notation course failed to read this as an ascription to England's most famous king, it is even less likely that a busy and apparently uncultivated general would recognise it.

In that case, it is perfectly possible that the information about Eglinton having owned this book reached Warton through his acquaintance James Boswell, who gave a certain amount of space to Warton in his *Life of Samuel Johnson*. After all, if Eglinton really did buy the book in 1762, within a year of his having been instrumental in founding the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club, this was between Boswell's first (1761) and second (1764) visits to London.

The rest of the story is narrated by William Chappell (1867: 386), in the first published description of the manuscript:

The [11th] Earl's only surviving child and heiress married, secondly, Sir Charles Montolieu Lamb, Bart., of Beauport Park, Sussex. This lady brought the personal property of the Montgomeries into the Lamb family; and this volume, with other relics, came into the possession of Mrs. Lamb, mother of the present baronet, through her marriage with the only son of Sir Charles M. Lamb, by his wife Lady Mary Montgomerie.

It is worth spelling out the details, because they have a certain spice. The elder of the 11th earl's two daughters, Lady Mary Montgomerie (1787–1848), in 1815 married Sir Charles Montolieu Lamb, 2nd baronet Lamb (1785–1864). Their son Charles James Savile Montgomerie Lamb (1816–56) predeceased his father, so the baronetcy passed in 1864 to the previous baronet's grandson, Sir Archibald Lamb, 3rd baronet (1845–1921); three years later Chappell published his article.

The 'Mrs Lamb, mother of the present baronet' mentioned by Chappell, was a publicly controversial character, (Anna) Charlotte Grey of Bersted, Sussex, daughter of a local draper who was reportedly also a smuggler. Charles James eloped with her at the age of sixteen when Charlotte was nineteen. Their eldest child, Mary Montgomerie Lamb (1843–1905), was a poet and author of several three-volume novels who used the nom-de-plume Violet Fane. A society beauty and wit, her circle of friends included Browning, Swinburne, Whistler, Wilfrid Blunt and Oscar Wilde—who expressed unforgettable views on ladies who wrote three-volume novels. Because of her parents'

<sup>58</sup> The same information appears in Sarah W. Brooks, 'Some predecessors of Spenser', *Poet-love* 1 (Philadelphia, 1889): 214–23, referring (p. 222) to 'his book of sonnets, a manuscript edition of which is said to be still extant, and was in the possession of the late Lord Eglinton'. But by then the manuscript was already in the British Museum and had been described in some detail by William Chappell some twenty years earlier.

<sup>59</sup> Viscount Gladstone, Guy Boas and Harald Christopherson, *Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club: three essays towards its history* (London, 1996): 13. The Club still flourishes, meeting regularly in the Houses of Parliament. My brother Christopher is a member, and I must thank him for inviting me to one of their meetings.

<sup>60</sup> William Fraser, *Memorials of the Montgomeries earls of Eglinton* (Edinburgh, 1859): 127.

eccentric oriental-influenced lifestyle, she grew up and was educated largely at the family home of Beauport Park.<sup>61</sup> She married in 1864 at the age of about 20, but it could easily have been her interest in literature and poetry—much discouraged by the family—that drew her to explore the ancestral library and perhaps to find this neglected volume shortly before Chappell's publication of 1867.

What William Chappell (1809–88) thought when he first saw the book is hard to imagine. In the two large volumes of his ground-breaking and erudite *Popular music of the olden time* (London, 1855–9, issued initially in fascicles and itself an expansion of his *A collection of national English airs, consisting of ancient song, ballad, and dance tunes, interspersed with remarks and anecdote, and preceded by an essay in English minstrelsy*, 1838–40), he had said much about Henry VIII's reported skills in music (vol. i: 50–56) and about his instruments but knew nothing of his compositions apart from Hawkins's publication (1776, vol. ii: 534–40) of *Quam pulchra es* and John Stafford Smith's (1812: 44) of *Pastyme with good companye* (H7), taken from Ritson's Manuscript. Quite suddenly the emergence of the Henry VIII Book changed the picture. Strangely, though, Chappell's report is totally pokerfaced and conveys nothing of that excitement: it is a clear, businesslike description.

In summary: some time around 1700 the book came to the hands of the worthy Thomas Fuller, from whose likely family member the elegant and catch-loving 10th earl of Eglinton apparently acquired it, probably in 1762. After his early death in 1769 it passed to his brother and thence to the family of the baronets Lamb. Chappell's 1867 article appeared three years after the 2nd baronet died. The British Museum purchased the book for £500 through the London firm of Bernard Quaritch on 22 April 1882, a full fifteen years after the publication of Chappell's article.<sup>62</sup> Why the family sold the manuscript may never be known; but it is easy to imagine a certain pressure being exerted on them to make this national treasure available to the British Museum.

## Publishing history

Apart from its brief and almost unrecognizable reference by Thomas Warton in 1781, the book remained unknown and unmentioned until 16 May 1867,<sup>63</sup> when William Chappell presented his extensive discussion to the Society of Antiquaries, soon afterwards printed in *Archaeologia*. Chappell described it in considerable detail, presenting several of Henry's poems and giving facsimiles of two openings, those containing Henry's own *Pastyme with good companye* (H7) and *Trolly lolly* by Cornysh (H39). But after the British Museum acquired it in 1882 the references grew. In particular, Ewald Flügel (1889) published the entire texts in the journal *Anglia*, though he was badly disadvantaged by not understanding the music.

Obviously its Henry VIII connections aroused interest, and Lady Mary Trefusis published Henry's music in an elegant privately printed volume for distribution to members of the Roxburghe Club in 1912. (Lady Mary is better known to music lovers under her maiden name of Lady Mary Lygon, considered by many to be the mysterious dedicatee of the 13th of Elgar's *Enigma* variations but certainly an active local patron of music who regularly attended Elgar premieres. In 1913 she became the first president of the English Folk Dance Society at the special request of its founder, Cecil Sharp.)<sup>64</sup> The patron for this volume was her younger brother William, the 8th earl Beauchamp (since the Roxburghe Club, founded in 1812, had no female member until 1985): his decision to present this collection of music by Henry VIII must have been fuelled to some extent by the knowledge that their distant ancestor, Sir Richard Lygon, had been knighted at Anne Boleyn's coronation in 1533.

Even so, the major publication was and remains the complete edition of the entire manuscript by John Stevens in the monumental series *Musica Britannica* (Stevens 1962 and subsequent reprints). This and his book *Music and poetry in the early Tudor court* (Stevens

<sup>61</sup> All this information comes from Helen Small's marvellous article 'Currie (*née* Lamb), Mary Montgomerie' in the *Oxford dictionary of national biography* (Oxford, 2004). Small also reports that Fane's novel *Sophy, or, The adventures of a savage* (1881) 'drew heavily on memories of her childhood at Beauport and proved her most popular work'. Sadly, it contains no reference to libraries or manuscripts in the family home.

<sup>62</sup> Nicolas Bell kindly provided the entry from the acquisition minutes of the British Museum (Library) Department of Manuscripts, which reads in part: 'Report by Mr [E. Maunde] Thompson, 19 April, recommending the purchase from Mr Quaritch, of A small folio volume ... The work is of the greatest value and of unique interest for the history of English ballad music, as 18 ballads and 15 instrumental pieces bear the name of Henry VIII as composer'.

<sup>63</sup> Alec Hyatt King (1975: 20) challenged this, stating that *Pastyme with good companye* was printed in John Stafford Smith's *Musica antiqua* (London, [1812]: 44); but that edition is based on Ritson's Manuscript, from which Smith also published several carols in the same book.

<sup>64</sup> To clarify: Lady Mary Lygon (1869–1927) was married in 1905 to Lieutenant-Col. the Hon. Henry Walter Hepburn-Stuart-Forbes-Trefusis (1864–1948); she was also Woman of the Bedchamber to Queen Mary (of Teck). She seems not related to the writer Violet Trefusis, *née* Keppel (1894–1972), married in 1919 to Denys Robert Trefusis (1890–1929), but more famous for her love affair with Vita Sackville-West. While on a literary excursion, it may be of interest that the Lygon family home (since the 1120s), Madresfield Court in Worcestershire, would later serve as the main model for Evelyn Waugh's novel *Brideshead revisited* (1945): Waugh had stayed there several times in the early 1930s, as outlined in Jane Mulvagh, *Madresfield: the real Brideshead* (London, 2008) and Paula Byrne, *Mad world: Evelyn Waugh and the secrets of Brideshead* (London, 2009).

1961)—with its critical edition of all the texts—were so comprehensive and masterly that they more or less drew publication to a halt for the next third of a century.

Then in 1997–8 there were several important contributions, as though the time suddenly seemed ripe for a new assault on the manuscript and its problems: from Germany the doctoral thesis of Dietrich Helms (1995, published in 1998),<sup>65</sup> from Canada the doctoral thesis of the literary historian Raymond Siemens (1997a), from England John Milsom's sixty-page article on 'Songs and society in early Tudor London' (1997). One could add from around the same time the chapters by Tim Carter and John Harper in the *Blackwell history of music in Britain* (1995) and the relevant materials in John Caldwell's *Oxford history of English music* (1991). Between them, these contributed a large quantity of new material, which I have tried to incorporate and reconcile in the present introduction and particularly the Commentary on the compositions (Chapter 6).

But there is also a much broader series of questions that arise from the half-century of work on music

around 1500 since John Stevens's book and edition were published. As a result, some of the commentaries below occupy far more space than others. It seemed particularly urgent to lay out far more fully than hitherto the situation with *Pastyme with good companye* (H7) and *Sumwhat musing* (H107), each running to about 3000 words and therefore the length of a short-ish article.

In addition, I have taken extra space to offer new proposals or new positions on the dates or occasions of particular works, among them Farthing's *Aboffe all thynge* (H17), Cornysh's *Yow and I and Amyas* (H41), Cornysh's *A Robyn gentyl Robyn* (H49) and the anonymous *Adew adew le company* (H68). Other pieces where there seemed a lot to say—some of it summarizing the work of the last half century, some adjusting it—include *En frolyk weson* (H4), *La my [la sol]* (H5), *Adieu madam[e] et ma mastres[se]* (H9), Lloyd's puzzle canons (H21 and H26), *[E]n vray amoure* (H81), *Amy souffrez que je vous aime* (H85), the dance *The base of Spayne* (H91), and Pygott's *Quid petis o filij?* (H105).

<sup>65</sup> This represents an enormous quantity of work, covering almost five hundred closely argued pages. Sadly it lacks an index; so important material can be overlooked by a user who does not have time to read every single word. Some of that material was later republished in Helms 2009.

## Commentary on the compositions

### H1

*B[enedictus]*

ff. 3<sup>v</sup>–4

[Henricus Isaac]

Ruling: 5 + 2 (5 not used) / 3 + 4 with extension on last stave. Full horizontal rules, though for Bassus not going left of the indent. Indents for all three voices imply that at least a first word was expected, not just the decorated initial. That the cue ‘Benedictus’ was not added (until in pencil, almost certainly by William Chappell) suggests that there were plans for a fuller decoration here. The original table of contents (f. 2<sup>v</sup>) correctly reports the title that is missing on the music page.

This is the ‘Benedictus’ of Isaac’s mass *Quant j’ay au cueur* (based on a chanson of Busnoys), as first noted in Martin Just, ‘Heinrich Isaacs Motetten in italienischen Handschriften’, *Analecta musicologica* I (1963), 1–19, at p. 4, one year after the mass itself had been first published in modern edition, *Heinrich Isaac Messe*, ed. Fabio Fano = Archivium Musicae Metropolitanum Mediolanense, vol. x (Milan, 1962). The mass appears in several manuscripts of the 1490s and was printed in Petrucci’s *Missa henrici Isac* (Venice, 1506). A more modern edition is in *Heinrich Isaac: collected works*, ed. Edward R. Lerner = Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, ser. 65, vol. vii (Neuhausen, 1984).

The ‘Benedictus’ was widely distributed as a separate piece in over thirty instrumental collections, dating back to the Florentine manuscript Banco Rari 229 (c. 1492), and printed in Petrucci’s *Harmonice musices odhecaton A* (Venice, 1501). Intabulations were published as late as the lute books of Wolf Heckel in 1556 and 1562 (details in Boorman 2006: 878–9). There is a fourth voice in five manuscripts, at least three of which were certainly earlier than the Henry VIII Book; the fullest report on this is in Filocamo 2010: 229–30.

For many years this was considered the quintessential instrumental fantasy until Martin Just located it in the mass. That was a severe shock; and it led to the thought that everybody had been a bit rigid (or casual, depending on how you look at it) in opinions on what was or was not instrumental. On the other hand, as also in the case of H5, it is perfectly possible that the piece was composed first as an abstract instrumental piece and only later incorporated into the mass. Warwick Edwards (1978: 276) very much endorsed Helen Hewitt’s earlier statement (1942: 74) that the style of the piece fits precisely to that of several other apparently instrumental fantasies printed in Petrucci’s three *Canti* volumes.

### H2

*Fortuna esperee*

ff. 4<sup>v</sup>–5

[Felice or Busnoys]

Ruling: 3 + 3 with gap / 4 + 3. Full horizontal rules. Full indents. Three of the initials look a bit more like ‘A’ than ‘F’; but the other, looking like ‘E’ is in fact very similar to those used for H63 (on ff. 66<sup>v</sup>–67).

*Fortuna desperata* is ascribed in one source to Antoine Busnoys (d. 1492) but is far more likely to be by ‘Felice’, reported in the Vatican manuscript Cappella Giulia XIII.27 (c. 1492–4), as argued in Joshua Rifkin, ‘Busnoys and Italy: the evidence of two songs’, in Higgins 1999: 505–71. Felice di Giovanni Martini was active in Florence as a singer at S. Maria del Fiore, 1469–78, and is not otherwise known as a composer. The song has over thirty known sources, none of which can be dated earlier than 1480 (listed in Fallows 1999: 518–20; see also Filocamo 2010: 278–80 for a fuller account of the literature).

Six of the sources have only three voices; over a dozen have a fourth voice that looks like a later addition. The fourth voice in H2 is unique; but it shares many details with the more famous version, as shown by the parallel transcription presented in Helms 1998: 360–361 (the opening bars are also in Helms 2009: 127). In fact the first half looks very much like a careful attempt at improving on the notoriously rough more famous version; only at about bar 21 (in the Stevens 1962 edition) does the composer of this new line seem to lose the plot. As Warwick Edwards wrote (1978: 274): ‘The added part to *Fortuna desperata* is not necessarily English as assumed in the *Musica Britannica* commentary: some of its material is found in a four-part version which circulated widely on the continent, some is present in a different (but closely related) added voice in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Panciatichi MS 27, and some is unique to *Henry VIII’s MS*.’

The original Italian poem has lines of seven syllables, rhyming *abba*; and it seems to have had three stanzas, as outlined in Honey Meconi, ‘Poliziano, *Primavera*, and Perugia 431: new light on *Fortuna desperata*’, in Higgins 1999: 465–503. The apparent repeat from shortly before the end is unique among the sources for the song and must reflect some English preference.

### H3

*Alles regret vuidez de ma presence*

ff. 5<sup>v</sup>–6

[Hayne van Ghizeghem]

Ruling: 5 + 2 with slight gap / 2 + 5 with slight gap. Full horizontal rules. Full indents.

The original French rondeau text has stanzas of four lines, each of ten syllables; and that design is easy to see in the music.

Hayne's famous rondeau setting *Allez regretz vuydez de ma presence* dates from the late 1470s and sets a poem ascribed in the songbook Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 2245, to 'Bourbon', generally believed to be duke Jean II (1427–88); but the music survives in over thirty sources (listed in Fallows 1999: 81–3), ranging from the 1470s to Formschneider's printed *Trium vocum carmina* (1538) and Hans Gerle's *Tabulatur auff die Laudten* (1533).

Those using the edition of John Stevens (1962) should note that in the lowest voice at bar 6 the second and third notes must read c B, not d c.

#### H4

*En frolyk weson*

ff. 6<sup>v</sup>–7

[?Jacobus Barbireau]

Ruling: 4 + 3 with gap / 2 + 4 with gap. Full horizontal rules. The copyist seems to have forgotten to indent the top line of the Bassus, so the decorator simply made the initial smaller. The writer of the text-cues managed slightly better for the Bassus, writing 'Een frolyk weson'.

The best summary of the sources for the music is in Christoffersen 1994 (vol. ii: 142–3), listing over twenty sources and over a dozen related compositions; the piece's wider influence is summarised in *Een vrolic wesen: fourteen settings*, ed. Richard Taruskin (Coconut Grove, 1979). See also the list of these arrangements in Meconi 1994: 29.

It is not entirely clear who composed the music. It is ascribed to 'Jacobus Barbireau' (d. 1491 in Antwerp, where he had been choirmaster at the church of Our Lady since 1448) in the Segovia choirbook, which is its earliest source and is generally authoritative on Flemish music; his name is also added by hand in a copy of Formschneider's printed collection of *Trium vocum carmina* (Nuremberg, 1538); the keyboard tablature Berlin 40026 ascribes it 'J. B.'; and the Copenhagen manuscript 1848 appears to support that by crediting it to 'Maistre Jaques d'Anvers'. On the other hand, it is given to Jacob Obrecht (who also spent time in Antwerp) in two manuscripts now in the Stiftsbibliothek at Sankt Gallen: MS 462, the personal collection of Johannes Heer, mostly copied in Paris, c. 1510, and MS 463, the personal collection of Aegidius Tschudi. The Greifswald MS 640–641 ascribes it to Isaac.

John Stevens (1962) underlaid a German text found with a related setting of the same melodic materials in Arnt von Aich's *In dissem Buechlyn fynd man LXXV. hub-scher Lieder* (RISM [1519]<sup>5</sup>), modern edition in *Das Liederbuch des Arnt von Aich (Köln um 1510)*, ed. Eduard Bernoulli and Hans Joachim Moser (Kassel, 1930): no. 28. This has three eleven-line stanzas, of (mainly) four-syllable lines with each stanza having a six-syllable line at the end, rhyming *aabbccddeF*. But the results are uncharacteristically crowded.

Christoffersen (1994) pointed out that the music is perfectly suited to a rondeau with a four-line stanza, opening 'Qu'en dictes vous? Ferés vous rien/ De ce dont tant vous ay requise?', as appears twice in the chansonnier Copenhagen 1848 (and also in the central-French poetry manuscript c. 1470, Berlin 78.B.17, ed. in Martin Loepelmann, *Die Liederhandschrift des Cardinals de Rohan* (Göttingen, 1923): no. 74). Elsewhere the music appears with other texts or text cues, including *Se une fois avant* (the opening of an entirely unrelated but extremely popular song from earlier in the century) in the Vatican manuscript CG XIII.27 and *Mes ieulx ont veu une plaisant figure* (quatrain rhyming *abab*) in Guillaume Vorsterman's *Livre plaisant et tres utile* (Antwerp, 1529), a French adaptation of Sebastian Virdung's *Musica getutscht und aussgezogen* (Basel, 1511).

Perhaps the most likely text, however, is the four-line stanza presented in the Tournai-Brussels partbooks (see fn. 41 above), ed. in Bonda 1996: 622–3. This fully matches the form of the music:

Een vraulic wesen mijn oogskins saghen,  
Wien ic ghetauwicheijt moet thoescriven.  
Al wilt mij haer jonst uut liefden driven,  
Naer dese gheen ander on mi te behaghen

#### H5

*La my [la sol]*

ff. 7<sup>v</sup>–9

[Henricus Isaac]

Ruling: 5 + 2 / 5 + 5 // 4 + 3 / 4 + 4. Full horizontal rules. No indent, as no text expected. It is intriguing to compare the layout here with that of the Sankt Gallen MS 461, copied by Fridolin Sicher in about 1510 (facsimile in Fallows 1996). Here too it is copied over two openings, with the voices occupying almost exactly the same number of staves, albeit on pages that were pre-ruled with ten staves on each (but also done without the help of a rastrum).

There are six more sources of this as an independent piece (summarised in Fallows 1996: 23–4 and Boorman 2006: 869, to which should now be added the tiny 'Purkersdorf' fragment in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 13713–1, discovered by Robert Klugseder but identified by Marc Lewon, containing the last eleven notes from the *prima pars* of the Discantus and five notes from the Tenor). The earliest known source is almost certainly Petrucci's publication *Motetti C*, dated 15 September 1504, where it appears with the (otherwise unknown) text 'Rogamus te, piissima virgo Maria' and where it is unasccribed—like most other motets in that book.

This must be the piece described in the famous letter of Gian de Artiganova to duke Ercole I D'Este, dated 2 September and now agreed by all authorities to have been written in 1502. In it he wrote: 'Isach cantore e stato a Ferrara, et ha facto uno moteto sopra una fantasia nomata La mi la so la so la mi, lo qualle e molto bono, et hallo facto in dui jorni'. Every detail of the letter suggests that Isaac's visit was very recent. If so, that seems to mean that Isaac wrote the piece in two days at Ferrara in late August

1502, since he is documented as present in Florence on 9 April and 15 August of that year. The letter has been reprinted many times, but for an edition with discussion and related documents, see Martin Staehelin, *Die Messen Heinrich Isaacs* (Bern and Stuttgart, 1977), vol. ii: 56–9.

The music also appears as the sections ‘Patrem omnipotentem’ and ‘Et unam sanctam’ in Isaac’s mass *O praeclara*—that is, the entire Credo, omitting the three-voice ‘Et resurrexit’. The complete mass is in Petreius, *Liber quindecim missarum* (Nuremberg, 1539), and later manuscripts; a modern critical edition is in Heinrich Isaac, *Messen: Band 2*, ed. Herbert Birtner and Martin Staehelin = *Musikalische Denkmäler*, vol. viii (Mainz, 1973): 120–40, at pp. 127–9 and 132–3. A comparative edition of H5 and the corresponding sections of the mass appears in Wolfgang Osthoff, *Theatergesang und darstellende Musik in der italienischen Renaissance* (Tutzing, 1969), vol. ii: 142–52, with a discussion in vol. i: 97–100—albeit viewing the word ‘moteto’ as denoting literally a sacred work with Latin text (which is to shortcut a large number of issues), as a result of which he concluded that Isaac’s only contribution in those two days was to add a Latin text to an already existing abstract instrumental piece and therefore that Isaac had exaggerated his achievement and misled the ignorant Gian de Artiganova. I cannot accept that viewpoint. A fuller discussion of Gian, his intelligence and his extensive musical experience, appears in Lewis Lockwood, “‘It’s true that Josquin composes better ...’: the short unhappy life of Gian de Artiganova”, in *Uno gentile et subtile ingenio: studies in Renaissance music in honour of Bonnie J. Blackburn*, ed. M. Jennifer Bloxam, et al. (Turnhout, [2009]): 201–16. That the text in Petrucci’s *Motetti C* almost certainly originated with Petrucci is argued convincingly in Staehelin, *Die Messen Heinrich Isaacs*, vol. iii: 63–7. There is further discussion in Willem Elders, ‘Zur Frage der Vorlage von Isaacs Messe *La mi la so* oder *O praeclara*’, in *Von Isaac bis Bach: Studien zur älteren deutschen Musikgeschichte: Festschrift Martin Just zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Frank Heidlberger, et al. (Kassel, 1991): 9–13. But the key confusion for Elders (and Staehelin) was that the manuscript St Gallen 461 was then held to date from around 1500, therefore before the time of Gian’s letter, whereas it now seems far more likely to have been copied after 1510 (Fallows 1996: 7). That opens the way for accepting that Gian’s letter says what it seems to say: that Isaac had indeed composed the piece in those two days at Ferrara.

As Warwick Edwards noted (1978: 275): ‘That Isaac [*sc.* in his mass] was drawing on already existing material is obvious from the inelegant way in which long notes have had to be split up to accommodate the lengthy Credo text.’ It seems impossible not to accept that the Credo was a later adaptation and that Isaac indeed composed the original piece in two days at Ferrara in August 1502. That in its turn obviously opens up the possibility that his *Benedictus* (H1) was also written as an independent abstract piece, only later incorporated into the mass *Quant j’ay au cuer*.

## H6

*Ffa la sol*

ff. 9<sup>v</sup>–14

[William Cornysh]

Ruling: 4 + 4, with space at end of bottom stave, as though something happened at the end of the gathering at f. 9<sup>v</sup> / 2 + 5 (2 not used), below which a rule the width of the staves // 5 + 2 (5 not used) / 3 + 4 (3 not used) // 5 + 2 (5 not used) / 3 + 4, below which a rule the width of the staves // 5 + 2 / 3 + 4, below which a rule the width of the staves // 5 + 2 (5 not used) / 2 + 4 with gap (the first such case within this gathering). Full horizontal rules. No indent except erroneously for the first stave of the Tenor on f. 9<sup>v</sup>.

On f. 10, the parchment does indeed look light, and the ink has a slightly different quality (at the first page of the new gathering and as a flesh side rather than a hair side of the parchment). On f. 13, the bottom right corner looks as though it has been slightly ripped in the course of page-turning (which would indeed need to be very precisely timed at that point).

Bars 1–83 (using the numbering of the edition in Stevens 1962), namely the first two of the piece’s three sections, on ff. 9<sup>v</sup>–12, are on leaves L1–3 (no. 19) of *In this booke ar conteynyd XX songes* (London, 10 October 1530: RISM 1530<sup>6</sup>), now surviving only as a Bassus part-book, where it is ascribed to ‘Cornyshe’ (in the list of contents only, not under the music).<sup>66</sup> The lack of that final section in *XX songes* must be an error: the piece is firmly based on G throughout; but the *XX songes* version ends on a C-chord.

<sup>66</sup> Of the four original partbooks, only the Bassus survives complete (British Library, K.I.E.I., which also includes the title-page alone of the Triplex). But we also have a bit of the title-page and colophon of the Medius partbook in Westminster Abbey library (in Fragments Box X, taken from the binding of Nicolaus Corvinus, *Interpretatio chaldaica pentateuchi* (Antwerp, 1535), shelfmark CD.15), together with a colophon, described and reproduced in H. M. Nixon, ‘The book of XX songs’, *The British Museum quarterly* 16 (1951): 33–5, plus plate XVI, and again in Franklin B. Williams, Jr., and Howard M. Nixon, *The gardyners passetaunce [c. 1512]* (London: The Roxburghe Club, 1985), 68–75, with much better plates. The entire collection was discussed at some length by John Milsom (1997: 282–91), who identified the woodblock capital letters ‘I’ and ‘T’ as ‘identical in every respect’ (p. 285) with those in John Rastell’s *Statuta in parlamento* (STC 9363.8) of c. 1530, where he additionally found the ‘large textura fount which is identical to that used to print the voice-name of the partbooks of *XX songes*’. Cautiously, though, he asserted that the *Statuta*—like many of Rastell’s publications—was sent out to another printer. As Milsom said of *XX songes* (p. 282): ‘Although the book’s colophon helpfully bears the imprint of “the sign of the black Morens” ... , no printer is registered as having occupied such an address at that time; the remainder of the colophon, which might have given further information, has been trimmed away from the only surviving copy.’ Still, there is enough to suggest that the printer concerned was a close associate of Rastell. Peter W. M. Blayney, *The Stationers’ Company and the printers of London, 1501–1557*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 2013): 268–74, gave a close analysis of the



The title, both in H6 and in *XX songes*, is puzzling. If, as John Stevens suggested (1962: 101, supported by Warwick Edwards 1978: 278), it refers to the descending figure that is so extensively treated from bar 13 (solmised with a mutation after the *fa*), there needs to be an explanation of why it is not called *fa mi re*. But the figure F A G or C E D—which is what one would normally expect from the heading *fa la sol*—is notable for its absence from the piece.

Another explanation, outlined but sadly not spelled out, was offered by Thurston Dart (1955: 80), who proposed that ‘some of the motifs are actually *soggetti cavati*, artificial melodies corresponding to the vowels of words like *Henricus rex anglie*’. Without his fuller explanation, it is hard to see what he had on his mind. The sequence *re mi ut re fa mi re* seems not to occur in the piece, though the last four syllables (for *rex anglie*) are obviously its basis.

On the other hand, this is a most remarkable composition and the longest surviving textless piece from its generation, though *XX songes* include comparably long four-voice pieces by Fayrfax and Cooper, sadly unknowable because we have only their Bassus parts.<sup>67</sup> There is possible mileage in Warwick Edwards’s suggestion (1978: 280) that it could be a section from a lost mass cycle: in such a case, a reduced-voice section would probably not contain any reference to the motif or cantus firmus that was the basis of the cycle; on the other hand, there is no known mass from that generation with a trio section of remotely comparable length.

**H7** ff. 14<sup>v</sup>–15  
*Pastyme with good companye* The Kynges . H . viij

Ruling: 4 + 3 / 1 + 4 below which a rule the width of the staves and then the remaining text.

Three strophes, each in two halves: *aabb* and *ccdeed*, the first half in four-beat lines, the second in two-beat. The music has the form A A B B’. The poem reads as a justification of Henry VIII’s carefree lifestyle in the first years of his reign and is quite unlike anything in the non-English song poetry of the time. Extended discussion in Helms (1998: 282–5).

As the most famous and memorable of the works credited to Henry VIII, this piece has a complicated background that needs laying out with care.

1. H7 is the one piece by Henry VIII that we have from another manuscript, namely British Library, Add. MS

printer, offering a strong circumstantial case for thinking it could have been John Heywood, son-in-law of Rastell and reported as a court musician to Henry VIII, 1518–27 (see the article on him in the *New Grove* by John M. Ward). It is hard to support the proposal by Helms (1998: 116–17) that no more than the Bassus partbook of *XX songes* was ever printed, not least because the Westminster Abbey Medius partbook’s list of contents makes it clear that this contained only the nine four-voice songs.

<sup>67</sup> Fayrfax’s *Ut re mi fa sol la* runs to 480 breves in length.

5665, known as Ritson’s Manuscript after its eighteenth-century owner. This is one of the strangest musical manuscripts of its time, assembled over at least seventy years: the opening layer of carols cannot have been copied much after 1440;<sup>68</sup> and there are many additions from later in the century; but the book also contains two copies of H7. The first, on ff. 136<sup>v</sup>–137, is a mess: it has passages crossed out and replaced (in one case with entirely wrong material, though it is easy enough to see what was intended), has the middle voice labelled ‘Contra Tenor’ rather than Tenor, and has only a single stanza of text. The second, on ff. 141<sup>v</sup>–142,<sup>69</sup> is a fair copy with the three voices correctly labelled ‘Triplex’, ‘Tenor’ and ‘Bassus’, all three stanzas underlaid directly below the music, and the annotation ‘The Kynges Balade’ at the end, which—if the ‘kynges’ concerned is Henry VIII rather than any earlier king—means that it was copied there after Henry’s accession in April 1509.

2. There are important differences between the two versions of the music. First, the partwriting in Ritson’s Manuscript has changes that completely eliminate the parallel fifths between Tenor and Bassus at the end of the second, fourth and last lines in the Henry VIII Book version. But any view that this represents a ‘correction’ of Henry’s work by a more experienced hand is negated by the chord under the B-flat at the beginning of the second and fourth lines in Ritson, namely chord I (the first time in second inversion) rather than the far more convincing and likely chord III—which rather suggests that the music circulated orally, a suggestion endorsed by many more detailed variants between the two versions. And the third major difference is that the Discantus in the Henry VIII Book begins lines 1 and 3 with the pitch B-flat, whereas Ritson has the pitch G, which is the note found in every single other copy of the melody.

2a. There is a lute version in the British Library, MS Royal Appendix 58, f. 55, copied soon after the middle of the century; but this is metrically very free, being largely in triple time. One would be hesitant about identifying it at all if it did not have the title ‘Pastyme’. It is transcribed and discussed in some detail by John M. Ward (1960: 121 and 123–4).

The melody alone appears in Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS 9450 (= Panmure House Music Book No. 11, since 1957 on loan from the earl of Dalhousie: commonplace book of Robert Edwards, c. 1635; described in RISM B VII (1978): 102–3), f. 10, with the heading ‘Passe tyme uithe good companie’. This version is printed in Helms 1998: 282.

2b. That the Ritson copyist called it a ‘Balade’ is intriguing. Obviously the word can have lots of meanings, but the specific French poetic and musical form of a ballade

<sup>68</sup> I plan to lay out the details here in my very next project, a book provisionally entitled *The English carol and its music in the fifteenth century*.

<sup>69</sup> Edited in Stevens 1962: no. 7a, and Stevens 1975: no. 12.

had three stanzas (like H7), each with basically A A B form (like H7) but with the first four lines rhyming *abab* (whereas H7 rhymes *aabb*). That will become relevant at a later point.

3. The first complication is that the melody turns up in a song by Jean Richafort (documented as a professional singer from 1507 to 1550 and already *maître du chant* at St Rombaut in Mechelen by 1507, so old enough to have composed it before Henry became king) with the text *De mon triste desplaisir* (Ex. 1). This is an elaborate imitative setting that substantially expands the top line, particularly at the start, is metrically freer, and is almost certainly a later arrangement of a pre-existing melody. Whether that melody is Henry's can remain for the moment an open question; but the likelihood that Henry drew on Richafort seems almost impossible, given the pattern of French song composition in those years. Ex. 1 gives its Discantus.

First printed anonymously in Pierre Attaignant's *Trente et quatre chansons musicales* (Paris, 1529: RISM 1529<sup>3</sup>), it is ascribed to 'Richafort' only in the second edition of 1531 (its RISM number, [c.1528]<sup>6</sup>, was assigned before the fuller account of Attaignant's chronology in Hertz 1969); it also appears in three later manuscripts.<sup>70</sup> There is a fairly literal intabulation by Francesco da Milano, ed. in Ness 1970: 354–5 (no. 121) from four Francesco publications. Also by Francesco, and always the very next piece in those printed sources, is a 'Fantasia de mon triste', ed. in Ness 1970: 114–15 (no. 36); in addition, Ness reported two manuscripts. This is a far freer fantasy, but it is recognisably based on Richafort's setting. As an appendix, Ness printed (pp. 471–3) a fantasy on the same melodic materials by Perino Fiorentino, from the 'Siena Lutebook' in The Hague.

Richafort's Discantus voice alone appears in a collection of bicinia with the text cue 'De mon triste et desplaisir celle ne my geplains', published in *Sixteenth-century bicinia: a complete edition of Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 260*, ed. Bruce Bellingham and Edward G. Evans, Jr. = *Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance*, vols. xvi–xvii (Madison, WI, 1974): no. 74; it is the only piece in the MS to appear as just a single line, and it must be concluded that this too was planned as a bicinium. There is also a parody mass by Jacquet of Mantua, using the first six semibreves of Richafort's polyphony as a motto in several movements and taking Richafort's entire Discantus as the top line of its last 'Agnus Dei'.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Printed in *Theatrical chansons of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries*, ed. Howard Mayer Brown (Cambridge, MA, 1963): 45–7, and, with critical commentary, in *Johannes Richafort: collected works*, ed. Harry Elzinga = *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, ser. 81, vol. iii (Neuhausen, 1999): no. 13. A useful exploration of the sources appears in Adrienne F. Block, *The early French parody Noël* (Ann Arbor, 1983), vol. ii: pp. 304–8.

<sup>71</sup> *Jacquet of Mantua: collected works*, vol. vi: *The masses of Scotto's 1540 collections*, ed. Philip T. Jackson = *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, ser. 54, vol. vi (Neuhausen, 1986): 160–87.

De mon tri - ste des - plai - sir  
 A vous, bel - le, je m'y com - plains,  
 Car vous traic - tes mal mon de - sir  
 Si du - re - ment que je m'y plains. En -  
 tre vos mains Souf - fre mauix main Sans  
 nul con - fort, Dont  
 sur ma foy Comme a - per - çoy Vous  
 a - vez tort. (Dont sur ma foy Comme  
 a - per - çoy Vous a - vez tort.)

Ex. 1: Discantus of Jean Richafort's *De mon triste desplaisir* (4vv)

*De mon triste desplaisir*, 6vv, is credited to 'Jo. Toulouis' (Brown and Ward) or 'Jo. Courtois' (Bridgman in *MGG*, s.v.; also in *Census-catalogue*) in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 1508, no. 115; Brown (1963: 204) wrote that this uses 'the thematic material of [Richafort], but no one voice states the Richafort superius completely'. It does, however, have the full first stanza of the poem underlaid to each of the six voices; it uses all the melodic material of the tune; and it is imitative throughout. A transcription of about half the piece is available in JoAnn Taricani, 'A chansonnier from a library in Renaissance Augsburg: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 1508' (diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1986), 469–70.

These are enough to show that Richafort's piece was very well known indeed and highly respected. Other intabulations and assorted pieces are not in any way related to the Richafort, and we can come to them a little later.

3a. Whereas Henry's poem is in praise of gregarious fun, the French poem is a lament for frustrated love (therefore precisely the opposite of the case with H9, where Henry's version has a poem of sad farewell while the other version is jovial and happy). It would be too glib to say that the strongly metrical homophony of the English music is more appropriate for the English poem and that the more linear and irregular melody of Richafort's music suits the French poem. For one thing, although Richafort's music does not have any homophony it is still fairly metrical, especially towards the end. For another, nobody is likely to think that Richafort's is the earliest setting of the tune. But even

so, it is unwise to rule that out as a consideration at this point in the discussion.

3b. It is also relevant that the chordal basis for the first two lines of Henry's music—at least, as it appears in the Henry VIII Book—is close to the chord sequence that was later called *passamezzo antico* (noted in Helms 1998: 339 fn. 48).<sup>72</sup> The earliest clear description of *passamezzo antico*, *passamezzo moderno*, *romanesca* and *folia* as chord sequences for dancing is in Book II of Diego Ortiz's *Tratado de glosas* (Rome, 1553). That may indicate a dance origin and conceivably Italian origin. But more importantly it hints at an unwritten tradition, which would explain the significant differences between the two versions of H7. Helms (1998: 307–13 and 320–26) noted that several of the apparently earliest songs here, among them H7, H45, H81 (and similar homophonic pieces in the Italian *frottola* repertory and in the Spanish songs of the *Cancionero de palacio*) put heavy emphasis on simple chord sequences based around I, V, VII and III.

4. A search for a pre-existing tune on which Richafort based his piece is not at all easy. Ward (1960: 124) printed an intabulation in Phalèse, *Des chansons reduicts en tablature ... Livre premier* (Louvain, 1547), f. G4<sup>v</sup>, as 'De mon triste', which seemed to be from a simpler three-voice homophonic arrangement. But there is a wide range of other versions. Phalèse's *Theatrum musicum* (Louvain, 1563), for example, has a bizarre arrangement of the melody in highly rhythmic style, with parallel octaves and fifths throughout (Ex. 2). This may be the strongest piece of evidence that we are dealing with something in the aural tradition.

Coming far closer to Henry's version of the melody is the one (Ex. 3) printed in Symon Cock's *Souter Liedekens Ghemaect ter eeren Gods op alle die Psalmen van David* (Antwerp, 1540, and many later editions) for Psalm 113 (*In exitu Israel*) and from there taken over precisely as the middle voice in a setting by Clemens non Papa in his complete set of three-voice arrangements of *Souterliedekens* printed by Susato in four volumes, volumes 4–7 in his set of *Musyck boexken* (Antwerp, 1556–7)<sup>73</sup>

That dancing metricality seems appropriate for the joyful psalm about Israel's departure from Egypt. But in both the monophonic *Souterliedekens* volumes and the Clemens non Papa arrangement there is the heading 'Den Tenor nae die wyse: Waer mach [in some editions: Waer so mach] se zyn, die mi dick heeft verhuecht. Int walsche: De ma tristesse.' That is to say that they acknowledge a Dutch text alongside the more familiar French text. Unfortunately there is no further trace of that Dutch text; but the little that survives of the first line looks very much like another love lament, not a

<sup>72</sup> On the other hand, it is hard to support his hint that there may be a causal relationship between the word *passamezzo* and the word 'Pastyme' (Helms 1998: 326 fn. 35).

<sup>73</sup> A modern edition is in *Jacobus Clemens non Papa: collected works*, ed. K. Ph. Bernet Kempers = *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, ser. 4, vol. ii (Rome, 1953): 88–9.

The image shows a musical score for 'De mon triste' for lute. It consists of six systems of music, each with a treble and bass staff. The music is written in a style typical of 16th-century lute tablature, with a mix of whole, half, and quarter notes. The key signature has one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). The score includes measure numbers 4, 7, 10, 13, 16, and 19.

Ex. 2: *De mon triste* for lute, from Pierre Phalèse, *Theatrum musicum* (Louvain, 1563), f. 17

The image shows a musical score for 'Als sij zijn ghetoghen' with Dutch lyrics. It consists of ten systems of music, each with a single staff. The music is written in a style typical of 16th-century vocal or lute tablature, with a mix of whole, half, and quarter notes. The key signature has one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). The score includes measure numbers 3, 6, 9, 13, 16, and 19. The lyrics are in Dutch and are printed below the notes.

Als sij zijn ghe - to - ghen Al  
 Hey - li - cheit ghe - co - men Gods

uoet E - gyp - ten - lant Al van die vreem - de  
 macht is daer ghe - plant Int Joet - sce lant en

nan - cy Dat volc van Is - ra - hel.  
 Is - ra - hel Ver - staet dees woer - den wel.

Als dit die zee sach aen Haest -

lijc heeft si ghe - gaent al met - ter spoet Te -

rug ghinc die Jor - daen Die ber - ghen vruecht ont

faen Recht als die scaep - kens soet.

Ex. 3: *Als sij zijn ghetoghen* in Symon Cock, *Souter Liedekens* (Antwerp, 1540)

gregarious drinking song or a psalm in which mountains are said to have ‘skipped like rams’.

An even more distant version of the melody was identified by Adrienne Fried Block in Jacques Moderne’s *La fleur des noelz nouvellement notés* (Lyon, [c. 1535]), with yet another text.<sup>74</sup>

Chan - tons 'No - el' par grand de - sir,  
Et re - pre - nons nos ap - pe - titz

Et soy - ons de li - es - se plains,  
En lais - sant nos tris - tes com - plains.

O cueurs hu - mains, Le - vez vos mains, Chan - tons 'No -  
el' Tous d'ung ac - cord, Sans nul dis -  
cord, No - el, no - el, no - el, no - el,  
no - el, no - el.

Ex. 4: *Chantons 'Noël' par grand desir*, from Moderne’s *La fleur des noelz* (Lyon, [c. 1535])

The fascination here is of course that it has the melodic outline of H7 and Richafort without any apparent metrical regularity, as though deriving from an unrhythmed popular song.

In Jacques Moderne’s *S’ensuivent plusieurs basses dances* (Lyon, [c. 1530–38]: only known copy in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France), f. B2, there is a list headed: ‘Icy apres ensuyvent les noms de toutes bassedances communes. C’est assavoir ceulx que plus souvent on dance maintenant. ... De mon triste desplaisir.’

5. The French poem appears in various French chapbooks of the early sixteenth century (Brown 1963: 203 listed nine). Brian Jeffery (1971: 245–7) printed this from two books he dated c. 1525–30 and with reference to two slightly later publications. These all have the poem in five stanzas, rather than the three of Henry’s poem; but the stanzas open with the rhyme-scheme *abab* (which is orthodox for a ballade) rather than Henry’s *aabb*.

There is a further relevant detail here, namely that the French poem is far less regular than one would normally expect. English poetry at the time was by and large accentual until the generation of Wyatt and Surrey brought strict counting of Italian and French poetic theory in the later 1520s. But every single stanza of the

<sup>74</sup> Howard Mayer Brown (1963: 203) mentioned the melody’s use as a timbre for a Protestant chanson *De mon tres triste desplaisir* in Eustorg de Beaulieu, *Chrestienne resjouissance* (Geneva, 1546). This at least fits metrically. He also mentioned it as the timbre for another Protestant chanson *Des assauls que Satan me fait*, in Mathieu Malingre, *Chansons* (1533), no. 11.

French poem has deviations from the eight-syllable basis for its first quatrain, sometimes with seven syllables and once with nine (the four-syllable lines are all regular). Even the first line has only seven syllables in most sources.

A further manuscript, Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, MS Vokalmusik i Handskrift 76a, f. 81<sup>v</sup>, contains the first stanza plus a second stanza not otherwise known. This is a chansonnier from the early sixteenth century (though without music for this particular poem), not easily datable but the only French source mentioned so far that stands any chance of being from before the mid-1520s. That is to say that we have massive evidence of the circulation of the tune and the French poem after 1520 but only Uppsala from earlier years.<sup>75</sup>

6. The melody also appears with what must be an attempt at Henry’s title in Melchior de Barberiis, *Opera intitolata continua: intabolatura di lauto ... libro decimo* (Venice: Scotto, 1549; Brown 1965, no. 1549<sub>2</sub>), f. Ee3<sup>v</sup> (no. 17), ‘Pas de mi bon compagni’, ed. in Helms 1998: 338.<sup>76</sup> Three points need to be made about this. First, like so many of the other versions mentioned here, it has no intrinsic connection with Henry’s apart from the melodic outline. Second, the appearance of the English title in this publication from shortly after Henry’s death (and probably forty years after Henry’s piece) is by no means evidence that the music began life with Henry’s text. Third, though, there does appear to be a history of English melodies making their way into the repertory of the continental mainland with different texts, as argued in Fallows 2014, under *O Rosa bella* (no. 65) and *Ave regina celorum* (no. 70). Those cases are certainly not ‘proven’; and they come from the years around 1450, when there was still a major English presence on the continental mainland. But it would be a mistake to dismiss the possibility.

7. The English poem slowly but surely made its impact, as various well-known citations attest:

7a. In a letter dated 5 March 1521, ed. in *Letters and papers, foreign and domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII*, vol. iii, pt. 1 (London 1867): 447 (no. 1188), Richard Pace wrote to Cardinal Wolsey that a sermon by the royal almoner included the lines ‘Passe tyme wyth goodde cumpanye’ and ‘I love unlovydde’ (H108).

7b. On 15 March 1548, Hugh Latimer’s ‘Second sermon before Edward VI’, ed. in his *Sermons* (Parker Society, 1844), p. 120 and p. 125, and in *Selected sermons of Hugh Latimer*, ed. Allan G. Chester (Charlottesville, VA, 1968), p. 79, included the comment addressed to the

<sup>75</sup> It is described and discussed in Howard Mayer Brown, ‘A “new” chansonnier of the early sixteenth century in the University Library of Uppsala: a preliminary report’, *Musica disciplina* 37 (1983): 171–233. Slightly later, Brown edited a facsimile with further description in *Renaissance Music in Facsimile* 19 (New York, 1987).

<sup>76</sup> This concordance was mentioned in print apparently for the first time in Arthur J. Ness, ‘Barberiis’, in *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London, 1980), ii: 136–7.

ten-year-old king: ‘Yet a king may take his pastime in hawking or hunting, or such like pleasures. But he must use them for recreation, when he is weary of weighty affairs, that he may return to them more lusty; and this is called Pastime with Good Company.’

7c. The printed Scottish book *The complaynt of Scotlande*, c. 1550, includes a list of 38 ‘sueit sanges’, which opens with the song ‘Pastance vitht gude companye’. It is edited and discussed in *The complaynt of Scotlande: 1549*, ed. James A. H. Murray (London: Early English Text Society, 1872): 64, with discussion at lxxxii, and in *The complaynt of Scotland (c. 1550) by Mr Robert Wedderburn*, ed. A. M. Stewart (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society 1979), p. 51.<sup>77</sup>

7d. There is a moralised version of the poem in the Maitland quarto MS (= Pepys Library MS 1408), f. 31, ed. William Alexander Craigie, *The Maitland quarto manuscript* (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1927), p. 63.

7e. Mentioned last here because of doubtful relevance: Anne Boleyn had a motto ‘Ainsi sera, groigne qui groigne’, perhaps reflecting the line ‘Grugge so woll, but noon denye’ in H7. Robert E. Jungman (1979: 397–9) construed H7 as Henry’s reassurance to her that he would marry her; Siemens (1997: 26–7) pointed out that the song must have been composed long before Anne Boleyn became an issue for Henry and that both could well refer independently to Margaret of Austria’s motto ‘Groigne qui groigne et vive Burgoigne’.

In summary: the two versions of H7 have enough substantial harmonic differences to suggest origins in aN unwritten tradition, as endorsed by their closeness to what was later to be called the *passamezzo antico* and by the often startling differences in other versions and arrangements of the melody. Outside those two English manuscripts there is absolutely no direct hint of the melody’s existence before the mid-1520s, though the nature of Richafort’s version makes it seem likely that the melody and the French poem existed much earlier; the French text *De mon triste desplaisir* matches the form of the music better than the English text *Pastyme with good companye*; and metrical irregularities in that French text hint at origins in the unwritten tradition. The balance of probabilities is that Henry took the popular melody as the basis for his new poem.

**H8** ff. 15<sup>v</sup>–17  
*Adeu mes amours et mon desyre* Cornysch

Ruling: 3 + 3 with gap / 3 + 3 with gap // 3 + 4 with gap / 3 + 3 with gap. Full horizontal rules. Indents on only f. 16. Last stave on f. 16<sup>v</sup> is half length so that the ascription ‘Cornysch’ can be in a blank space (the

only time that happens in the manuscript). On the second opening Discantus and Bassus final lines had to be extended into the margin to accommodate the last notes.

Not otherwise known. Music through-composed for a poem very badly copied by a copyist who knew no French; but it seems to have had the form *ababbcbd* with eight-syllable lines. The use of mensuration signs is notable: in all voices the work begins in C, then changes to  $\phi$  over 3, and then changes to  $\phi$ . Here, as elsewhere, the copyist evidently saw no musical difference between C and  $\phi$ .

**H9** ff. 17<sup>v</sup>–18  
*Adieu madam[e] et ma mastres[se]* The Kyng . H . viij

Ruling: 3 + 3 with gap / 3 + 3 with slight gap. Full horizontal rules. No indent. Text script changes to style T3 over gathering-break.

In 1962, John Stevens announced for the first time (1962: 102: ‘the connection has not, I think, previously been noted’) that a three-voice version of the same music is printed in John Rastell’s *A new interlude and a mery of the Nature of the iiii elements* (undated but probably from the mid-1520s, as argued in Milsom 1997),<sup>78</sup> leaves E5–6, with the entirely different text *Tyme to pas with goodly sport (a8 a8 b4 b4 c6 c8)*, printed in Stevens 1962: no. 9a (and, slightly revised, in Axton 1979: 64–5).

<sup>78</sup> Surviving in a unique (and incomplete) copy in the British Library, C.39.b.17. The publication has been variously dated over the years: Stevens 1961: 456 gave ‘c. 1517’ without further commentary; Stevens 1962: 102 gave ‘1539?’, probably taken from Robert Steele’s *The earliest English music printing* (London, 1903): 36, but with justification on p. 5 (in which context it is worth noting that Stevens 1962 was effectively completed long before Stevens 1961); the edition of the play in Axton 1979: 10 proposed c. 1520. Peter W. M. Blayney, *The Stationers’ Company and the printers of London, 1501–1557*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 2013): 264, opts for c. 1520. The main issue, however, must be that it seems to be the earliest known example of single-impression typeset music from anywhere in the world, anticipating Pierre Attaignant’s presumed invention of 1528 by some five years. Daniel Hertz (1969: 162–3), pointed out that the technique is rather different from Attaignant’s and a lot cruder: ‘Fragments of the staff sometimes peep through the white notes, and the tails lean to the right or left without the staff-segment’s showing a corresponding incline. These imperfections occur because the workmen struck the matrix twice, once with the staff-segment, and once with the note (or other symbol).’ In addition, he surmised (a) that the technique had already been invented in France and (b) that Rastell had French craftsmen who did it for him. The fullest discussion of the entire topic is in King 1971, with the conclusion (p. 213) that—like all English printers of the time—Rastell almost certainly obtained his type from abroad. However, Blayney, op. cit., 268, added that ‘it is interesting that no trace of those types has yet been noticed in any book or sheet printed outside England’.

<sup>77</sup> On the endless lists paraded in *The complaynt of Scotland*, very much in the manner of Rabelais, see L. A. J. R. Houwen, ‘Cacophonous catalogues: *The complaynt of Scotland* and the “monologue recreative”’, *Journal of the northern Renaissance* 4 (2012: online).

The Rastell song had long been famous as an early example of printed polyphonic song in England. John Stafford Smith printed it (1812: 45) right opposite his edition of Henry's *Pastyme with good cumpanye* (H7), with the perceptive comment (p. 8) that Henry's *Pastyme with good cumpanye* is 'So closely imitated by Rastell, in the Four Elements, in "Tyme to passe," that it would seem to be a satirical counterpart'—a comment echoed in Milsom 1997: 256. That version is also printed in Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York, 1954): 878.

Since the two versions are printed back-to-back in Stevens 1962, making comparison almost impossible, it might be helpful to put them together here in Ex. 5.

Contrary to all received opinion, H9 is plainly an

adaptation. That is, Henry took an existing three-voice piece, added a really rather bad extra florid voice (printed smaller in Ex. 5), and added a text that takes no account of the form of the music. It may be too easy to mention infelicities in the new Contratenor line: the parallel fifths in bar 3, the violent dissonances at the start of bar 5, the double parallel octaves at the end of bar 11. Certainly Henry is by no means the only composer of that generation who could write clumsy counterpoint. Those are just details not to endorse Henry's authorship but to stress that this really rather limited Contratenor can hardly be part of the original composition.

Henry's new poem is a quatrain of mindless clichés, each line of eight syllables, as was normal. The trouble

**John Rastell**

D Tyme to pas with good-ly sport Our srytes to re - newe and con - fort To pipe, to singe, To  
 T Tyme to pas etc. with good-ly sport Our srytes to re - newe and con - fort To pipe, to singe, To  
 B Tyme to pas etc. with good-ly sport Our srytes to re - newe and con - fort To pipe, to singe, To

**Henry VIII**

D A - dieu ma - - dam[e] et ma mas - - tres[se]. A - dieu mon so - las  
 Ct A - dieu ma - - dam[e] et ma mas - - tres[se]. A - dieu mon so - las et  
 T A - dieu ma - - dam[e] et ma mas - - tres[se]. A - dieu mon so - las et  
 B A - dieu ma - - dam[e] et ma mas - - tres[se]. A - dieu mon so - las et

10 daunce, to spring With ple - sure and de - lyte Fo - low - ing Sen - su - al Ap - pe - tyte. To pipe etc.  
 daunce, to spring With ple - sure and de - lyte Fo - low - ing Sen - su - al Ap - pe - tyte. To pipe etc.  
 daunce, to spring With ple - sure and de - lyte Fo - low - ing Sen - su - al Ap - pe - tyte. To pipe etc.

15 et mon joy. A - dieu jus - que vous revoye. A - dieu vous diz par grant tris - tesse.  
 ma joy - e. A - dieu jus - que vous re - voye. A - dieu vous diz par grant tris - tesse.  
 ma joy - e. A - dieu vous re - voye. [A - dieu vous diz] par grant tris - tesse.  
 ma joy - e. A - dieu jus - que [je] vous re - voye. A - dieu vous diz [par] grant tris - tesse.

Ex. 5: *Tyme to pas with goodly sport*, from Rastell's printed *Nature of the iiiii elements*, in parallel with Henry VIII's *Adieu madam[e] et ma mastres[se]* (H9)

is that it simply didn't fit the music: in the third line he had to miss out a syllable in all voices. It is easy to see the charm of Henry's adaptation: probably the music was well known, so he just added a new voice and a new text appropriate to his departure from Catherine of Aragon—not in any sense a considered poem so much as a bit of courtly *sprezzatura*.

Adieu madam[e] et ma mastres[s].  
 Adieu mon solas et ma joye.  
 Adieu jusque [je] vous revoye.  
 Adieu vous diz par grannt tristesse.

Incidentally, the text printed by Rastell is also most unlikely to be original. Certainly its last line, 'Following Sensual Appetite' connects the song directly to the play within which it is printed. But many details of the texting and the music suggest that this too was an adaptation of something that would be known to the audience.

Tyme to pas with goodly sport,  
 Our sprytes to renewe and confort.  
 To pipe, to singe, to dance, to spring  
 With plesure and delyte  
 Folowing Sensual Appetyte.  
 To pipe, etc.

If we discount the repeated chords in bars 2 and 12 of Rastell's music and iron out a few more issues, it begins to look as though the original poem will have had lines of 4, 8, 4, 4, 4 and 8 syllables, probably rhyming *abccab* and perhaps looking a bit like Ex. 6.

Ex. 6: Hypothetical reconstruction of the original music for H9 with the syllable numbers added

Henry's own grasp of French is clear from the famous report of the Venetian ambassador on 3 May 1515: 'He speaks English, French and Latin; understands

Italian well; plays almost on every instrument; sings and composes fairly (*delegnamente*); is prudent and sage, and free from every vice' (translation from Rawdon Brown, *Four years at the court of Henry VIII* (London, 1854), vol. i: 76). On the other hand, in the French love-letters he wrote to Anne Boleyn in 1527–8 he repeatedly addressed her as 'ma mestres' (facsimile and edition in Stemmler 1988: 84, 92, 96, 100, 120), though the rhyme-scheme in H9 requires the full 'mestresse'. Also in his letters there are puzzlingly phonetic spellings, 'opres' for 'aupres', 'omoin' for 'au moins' and 'occune' for 'aucune' (Stemmler 1988: 20).

**H10** ff. 18<sup>v</sup>–19  
*Helas madam cel que j'eme tant* The Kynge . H . viij

Ruling: 4 + 4 / 4 + 4. Full horizontal rules. Full indents. Text in T3; ascryption in T1.

The melody appears in the monophonic 'Bayeux Chansonnier' (Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 9346), f. 44<sup>v</sup>, headed 'xlii', ed. Théodore Gérold, *Le manuscrit de Bayeux* (Strasbourg, 1921): no. 44, with six stanzas of text, an amorous dialogue between the wooer and the fair lady. It also appears in the monophonic chansonnier Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 12744, ff. 31<sup>v</sup>–32, ed. Gaston Paris and Auguste Gevaert, *Chansons du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1875): no. 47, with a text that differs completely after the first stanza and with a text opening 'Ma chere dame que je desire tant', hence the melodic identity of the two was first noticed and discussed in Isabel Kraft, *Einstimmigkeit um 1500: der Chansonnier Paris, BnF f. fr. 12744* (Stuttgart, 2009), 81–4.

John Stevens's view (1962: 102) that Henry probably contributed only the Contratenor is endorsed in what still remains the major study of the French chanson tradition in the early sixteenth century, Bernstein 1982, at p. 302 fn. 71, where the three 'original' voices are plausibly aligned with other French court songs from the first decade of the century. In view of my comments on the preceding piece, H9, that must now seem all the more credible a view. And it has to be said that the Contratenor spoils the music at almost every turn, though it is more advanced than the Contratenor Henry added to *Gentyl prince* (H45). Siemens (2009b: 142) implied that the initial for the Tenor is a portrait of Henry VIII; Helms (1998: 44 fn. 28) more gently suggested the same.

The Bayeux text reads:

Hellas ma dame, que je desire tant,  
 Souffrez que soye vostre loyal amant.  
 Tout mon vivant tousjours vous serviray  
 Car vostre suis et tousjours le seray.

H10 reads:

Helas madam cel que j'eme tant  
 Soffre que soie vontre humble servant.  
 Vontre umble servant je ray a tousjours  
 Etant que vivray altre n'aimeray que vous  
 etant que n'aimeray que vous

- 1 cel] cell (T), celle (Ct, B)  
 1 je] om. (Ct)  
 2 vontre] vostre (Ct, B)  
 3 vontre] vostre (Ct, B)  
 3 je ray] *que* seray (T), *que* je seray (Ct), je seray a vous (B)  
 4 Etant] Tant (B)  
 4 n'aimeray] *noimay* (T)  
 5 altre n'aimeray] om. (T)

The point of attempting to transcribe what was there and to list the variants is to show (a) that the copyist had very weak French though the exemplar was almost certainly something very like what is in the Bayeux Chansonnier and (b) that in the course of copying the text for each voice got progressively better as he (or she) slowly grasped what the text was. This is certainly not Giles Duwes or anybody of Henry's francophone musical staff. Of course the other point of presenting this is to show that the correct French text of the Bayeux chansonnier fits the music far better than the jumbled nonsense in the Henry VIII Book. The ten-syllable *aabb* form of the stanza (indeed of all six stanzas in Bayeux) is obviously right for the music, which broadly has the form AABAA, that is, with the last line repeated to identical music and with only the third line having music different from the others, a design relatively common in the later 'Parisian' chanson but also found in the first decade of the century. The piece is discussed at length by Helms (1998: 312–17) in the context of H45 and H81 (and with a new edition on p. 314), with the plausible conclusion that these pieces give a better view of the state of the 'Parisian' chanson in the early years of the century than do the few surviving sources of those years from France.

**H11** ff. 19<sup>v</sup>–20  
 [Consort I] [anonymous]

Ruling: 3 + 3 with gap (3 and 6 not used) / 3 + 3 with gap (3 and 6 not used). Full horizontal rules. No indent.

This is the first of many apparently English abstract instrumental pieces in the book. Surprisingly, the next [Consort II], is not until f. 56<sup>v</sup>. But it is remarkably common with such pieces that far too many staves are ruled.

Extremely odd is the placing of signs of congruence just before the end in all four voices. It is hard to accept the suggestion of Thurston Dart (reported in Stevens 1962: 102) that it denoted a page-end in the copyist's exemplar, given that it is such a tiny piece. Far more likely is that it denotes a repeat of the final section, as in so many other pieces here.

**H12** ff. 20<sup>v</sup>–21  
*Alas what shall I do for love* The Kyng . H . viij

Ruling: 3 + 3 with gap / 3 + 3 with gap (that is, precisely the same ruling as the preceding piece, though the music lines are here all filled up and there are

indents for all voice openings). Full horizontal rules. Full indents. Text and ascription seem to be in style T3. It is odd that the Discantus has a much smaller initial, below the stave even though there is plenty of room before the indented stave.

Poem has form *a8 b8 c4 c4 b6 d2*—which is to say that it is fairly irregular. It could be reconstrued as eight-syllable *abcd*, namely with no rhyme at all; but that emphasises the slight absurdity of repeating the first words at the end with the very same notes as before. John Stevens (1962:102) drew attention to a *custos* at the end of the top voice, which he thought may be a guide for singers if there is more than one stanza; but there is no comparable case elsewhere in the manuscript (or in any other, so far as I am aware).

Musically, this is a decidedly odd piece. The Contratenor (f. 21 top) starts and ends above the Discantus as well as including some very ugly lines. Meanwhile the other three voices make perfect sense, both contrapuntally and in terms of musical effect. That is to say that there could be some argument that only the Contratenor is Henry's work. But the oddness does not end there: each phrase has metrical irregularities that made it necessary for the edition in Stevens 1962 to cheat with barlines.

On the other hand, in the right hands the piece can sound absolutely lovely, as in David Munrow's 1972 recording with the Early Music Consort of London.

**H13** f. 21<sup>v</sup>  
*Hey nowe nowe* Kempe

Ruling: 7 (6 and 7 not used, except ascription in 6). Horizontal rule at top. Top line indented. Text now in style T1 again. Note that the consistent use of rising stems for the minims is evidence that the copyist never expected more text than is now present.

This is the first round in the book. It is also the only known composition of Kempe. He has now been tentatively identified as the John Kempe who was Master of the Choristers at Westminster Abbey in 1502–8 (Kisby 1995: 228); and he may well be the John Kempe who joined the London guild of parish clerks in 1515 (James 2004: no. 554).

Same text as H19, namely the three words 'Hey now now', also found in the fuller text of H18. The settings by Kempe and Farthing are both 3vv ex 1 rounds (that is, three voices from one written voice), but otherwise show no direct relationship to one another except that they share exactly the same range, from *c* to *a'*. The metrical irregularity at the end of each entry suggests a composer of some skill.

In the index (f. 2<sup>v</sup>) the words 'of Kemps' are added later in style T3, obviously to clarify the difference between this and H19 (which does not appear in the index, because it is on the left-hand page of the opening).

It is not obvious why the sign of congruence for the second entry has been partly erased.



**H14** f. 22  
*Alone I leffe alone and sore I sygh for one*  
 Doctor Cooper

Ruling: 6 (5 and 6 unused, except ascription in 5), below which a rule the width of the staves, as though planned for a 7th staff. Horizontal rule at top. No indent.

Poem is just two six-syllable lines rhyming *aa*, repeated twice, that is, once for each entry of the round. As a result, the text comes through clearly in the almost homophonic design when all three voices are singing. The couplet has a long history and must have been traditional: it appears as the burden of two carols in sixteenth-century sources: Greene 1977: no. 450.1, ed. Saltmarsh (1935) and more recently ed. in Helms 1998: 102; and Greene 1935/1977: no. 164, among the carols printed by Richard Kele. The first line also appears, as though naming the melody, for Greene 1935/1977: no. 418, which is firmly from the fifteenth century. Stevens 1961: 390 adds one further reference in a book printed in 1532.

The music follows a standard pattern, with the second entry mostly above the first and the third firmly a Bassus.

**H15** ff. 22<sup>v</sup>–23  
*O my hart and o my hart* The Kyng . H . viij

Ruling: 5 + 1 (4 and 5 not used) below which a rule the width of the staves, as though for a 7th staff / 3 + 4 (3 and 7 not used). Horizontal rules at tops of pages only. No indent.

On the fourth staff of f. 23, the fifth note from end (C) was originally E (as is clear from the length of the stem), but changed. The next note was originally a minim, turned into a crotchet and followed by the crotchet low A. Both changes were almost certainly made to eliminate parallel fifths with the Tenor. Perhaps it is a pity the copyist did not also repair the fifths nearer the start; but the piece remains one of the most attractive and memorable of Henry's compositions.

Poem rhymes *abab*, alternating lines of four and three beats. The copy of *Here begynneth the legende named in Latin legenda aurea* (Westminster: Wynkyn de Worde, 20 May 1493) in the Huntington Library, Rare Books no. 69798 (formerly in the duke of Devonshire's collection at Chatsworth House, Derbyshire) has on its last verso a hurriedly scribbled copy of the poem (and I am grateful to Stephen Tabor, Curator of Early Printed Books at the Huntington Library for sending a scan of the page), reported in Ringler 1992, as no. TM 1218 (and Siemens 1997a: 31, 133). Siemens (1997a: 64 fn. 137, and 2009b: fn. 80) wrongly stated that there is also music on that page.

**H16** ff. 23<sup>v</sup>–24  
*Adew adew my hartis lust* Cornysch

Ruling: 5 + 2 (4 and 5 not used) / 3 + 4 (2, 3 and 7 not used). Horizontal rule at tops of pages only. Indent only for the Discantus. This looks like the earliest case where

the copyist was not at all clear what was needed for copying the music and simply ruled 7 staves on each page.

In the third staff of f. 23<sup>v</sup>, the fifth and sixth notes are heavily repaired in a different colour of ink (a rare phenomenon in this manuscript): they were originally both a third higher, producing parallel fifths with the Bassus. On the fourth staff of f. 24, the fourth note was originally written a step higher, as though copied from an unclear exemplar. These corrections are comparable only with H15 or more distantly with H29, a far clearer case.

Poem rhymes *abab* with eight-syllable lines. Text also in Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 176, f. 100 (mid-sixteenth century), a manuscript described in Bernard M. Wagner, 'New songs of the reign of Henry VIII', *Modern language notes* 50 (1935), 452–5; also discussed in Milsom 1997: 270, with new edition and discussion of the music at pp. 272–5.

**H17** f. 24<sup>v</sup>  
*Aboffe all thyngge now lete us syngge* Ffaredyngge

Ruling: 6 below which a rule the width of the staves, as though for a 7th staff. Top line indented.

The poem looks as though it should rhyme *aabaab* with four-syllable lines, but the last two lines (referring to the royal child) are much longer and perhaps pasted on to a poem already existing. Since the text seems to be sung just twice through in the three entries of the 3 ex 1 round, there may be some transmission problem here: certainly there is a disparity between the form of the music and the form of the poem.

The text rejoices that 'a bud is spryngyngge of the red rose and the whyght'. John Stevens (1961: 391) and others have suggested that it may possibly refer to the short-lived prince Henry in the first months of 1511 (definitely the occasion for H68). But prince Henry was not the child of the red rose and the white, so the text must refer to one of the Lancastrian (red rose) Henry VII's children with Elizabeth of York (white rose). After all, Farthing was from at least 1504 in the household chapel of Lady Margaret Beaufort (d. June 1509), Henry VII's mother, who had committed more than most to the union of the red and white roses.

Although Henry VII and Elizabeth had eight children, born between 1486 (Arthur) and 1503 (Catherine), there is little in the style of the music to suggest a possible date. But it may be worth noting that Catherine's birth on 2 February 1503 was preceded by elaborate Christmas celebrations at the royal court, with gifts from the Lady Margaret Beaufort and a new carol composed by Cornysch.<sup>79</sup> Since prince Arthur's unexpected death had been the previous April, there was a

<sup>79</sup> 'Item: to Cornyshe for setting of a carralle upon Cristmas day, in reward: 13s 4d'. *Privy purse expenses of Elizabeth of York: wardrobe accounts of Edward the Fourth, with a memoir of Elizabeth of York, and notes*, ed. Nicholas Harris Nicolas (London, 1830): 83.

special significance in the queen's new pregnancy. And that could explain the words 'adew mornynge'.

This is the first of the seven pieces by Thomas Farthing in the Henry VIII Book. Not a note of his music is known from elsewhere. What we have here is three rounds, all with textual problems (H17, H19, H20), three largely homophonic songs that all have texts comprising two couplets, not always well matched to the music (H24, H28, H40), and one abstract instrumental consort (H59). He was certainly in the Chapel Royal from 1511 until his death in about 1521; perhaps he joined already on the death of the Lady Margaret Beaufort in 1509.

**H18** f. 25  
*Downbery down now am I exiled my lady fro*  
Wylliam Daggere

Ruling: 7 (7 not used except for ascription). Horizontal rule at top. No indent.

The poem is a mess: after the opening 'Downbery down', it seems to go *aaa* in four-stress lines plus *bbb* in three-stress lines: two lines are for the first entry, just one for the second, and the last three for the third. Once again, then, there is a disparity between music and text form, at least as it now stands.

Also in British Library, MS Royal Appendix 58, f. 4<sup>v</sup>, where it is headed 'A Rownde', printed in Stevens 1962: no. 18A. That both sources intersperse the poem with 'Hey down' and 'Hey now' may well link this with the almost textless rounds H13 and H19.

That heading may incidentally be the earliest known use of the term 'round' with this precise meaning: the *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. 'round', section n.1.19 (last visited 7 March 2014), gives unspecific uses dated 1522 and 1530 for vocal music, but otherwise only from 1586.

Considerable search has failed to locate any William Daggere (or anybody else called 'Daggere') during these years. William Dacre (29 April 1500–18 November 1563), 7th baron Greystoke and 3rd baron Dacre Gilsland, was probably too young to be in the Henry VIII Book. So that raises the possibility that this was a *nom de plume*. William Compton (c. 1482–1528) was one of Henry's closest companions from a very early age, as reported in detail in G. W. Bernard, 'The rise of Sir William Compton, early Tudor courtier', *English historical review* 96 (1981): 754–77. Another distant possibility is that it is a name for William Crane, in the Chapel Royal from 1506 to his death in 1545, successor to William Cornysh as Master of the Children, actively involved in court disguisings particularly in the first years of Henry's reign, and responsible for preparing three war ships for Henry's French invasion in 1513. No music is ascribed to him (though he merits articles in both *The new Grove dictionary of music* and *The Oxford dictionary of national biography*); but he absolutely fits the profile of the kind of man who would be expected to have composed music for court events or for the king's amusement.

**H19** f. 25<sup>v</sup>  
*Hey now now hey now* Thomas Ffaredyng

Ruling: 7 (5–7 not used except for ascription on 5). Horizontal rule at top. No indent. Note that the consistent use of rising stems for the minims is evidence that the copyist never expected more text than is now present.

Same text as H13, q.v.

**H20** f. 26  
*In May that lusty sesonn* T Ffaredyng

Ruling: 7 (7 not used; ascription on 6). Horizontal rule at top. No indent and no decorated initial. Text and ascription in style T3. With the beginning of a new gathering, the ink colour and manner of notating the round seem to change entirely. So does the manner of writing Farthing's name at the end.

The text is one of the oddest in any early song repertory. It could just be a very poorly transmitted poem with the basic form *aab ccb ddb* in three-beat lines, in which case each entry of the round has (roughly) one of the three tercets. But the meaning of the text is also unclear: it seems to say that the birds were gathering flowers; their tuning seems to be described as 'clean'; and the punchline seems to be that the nightingale sang merrily among thorns that are 'keen'.

The music, though, is absolutely standard for a round of this date. The second entry provides a bass line below the first, and the third provides a descant over the top.

**H21** ff. 26<sup>v</sup>–27  
[Puzzle-canon I] Fflude

Ruling: 4 + 3 / 3 + 4 (3 not used). Horizontal rules at tops of pages only. No indent.

While John Lloyd (Flude: d. 1523) had a distinguished career, from 1504 heading the musicians of the duke of Buckingham and from 1509 in the Chapel Royal, his only known compositions are the two puzzle-canons, H21 and H26, and the three-voice round H74.

There has been much speculation as to whether he was also the composer (as first proposed by Thurston Dart in the British weekly magazine *The Listener*, on 17 March 1955) of the five-voice mass *O quam suavis* and the antiphon *Ave regina celorum*, which are the only contents of the large and elegant choirbook MS Nn. 6. 46 in the Cambridge University Library.<sup>80</sup> Of the latest statements on Lloyd, that in *The new Grove dictionary of music* (2001 by John Caldwell, rev. Roger Bray) strongly supported his authorship, that of Roger Bowers (2004b, in the *Oxford dictionary of national biography*) strongly

<sup>80</sup> The only publication of the music in this manuscript remains *Missa 'O quam suavis' for five voices by an anonymous English composer, circa 1500, A.D.*, ed. H. B. Collins (Burnham, 1927).

denied the possibility.<sup>81</sup> There is nothing musical in either work to connect them with the composer of H21, H26 and H74.

The ascription here has a very light descending stem from the crossbar of the final ‘t’ of the words ‘in armonia graduat’, which has occasionally been read as an ‘us’ abbreviation (Stevens 1961: 317, and Bowers 2004b); but this is just a normal serif, as found after the letter ‘t’ elsewhere in the Henry VIII Book (so read in Stevens 1962: 103); and in any case an ‘us’ abbreviation would require a hook, which is certainly not present here. So the inscription must read ‘Fflude in armonia graduat’. Bowers (2004b) wrote: ‘Lloyd’s tombstone (minutely described by Strype) represented him as bachelor of music, though his award is recorded at neither English university.’<sup>82</sup> Leofranc Holford-Stevens reminds me that ‘graduari’ is a deponent verb and therefore cannot have the form ‘graduat’. Whether ‘armonia’ is an adequate florid replacement for ‘musica’ is unclear. In other words, it is hard to think what the inscription could mean.

Above the first note of the Tenor (hidden away at the end of the second line of the right-hand page) is an abbreviation that John Stevens (1951: 30) read as ‘Tris’, crediting ‘Dr. Atkinson of the University Library, Cambridge’, and adding in a footnote that ‘I have the more faith in this reading because Dr. Atkinson proposed it without knowing that Greek terms were extensively used by these composers or that the number was mathematically apt’. Later, Stevens elucidated as follows (1962: 103): ‘The word “tris” (Greek ‘thrice’) seems to indicate the repetition of the descending phrase 9 times (i.e. 3 × 3).’ I simply don’t believe that. The ‘is’ ending seems fairly clear but what precedes it is entirely unclear, though it could be ‘bis’ or ‘gis’. The closest likeness is in the ‘g’ clefs elsewhere in the book (on ff. 10<sup>v</sup>–13<sup>v</sup>, 28<sup>v</sup>, 32<sup>v</sup>, 43<sup>v</sup>, 50<sup>v</sup>, 57<sup>v</sup>, 64<sup>v</sup>, 71<sup>v</sup>–72<sup>v</sup>, 77<sup>v</sup> and 104); but that would not bring us any closer to an understanding of the sign.

<sup>81</sup> Bowers in fact suggested attributing this mensurally complex music to the curious figure of Dr George Newton, famously listed on Thomas Whythorne’s ‘musical scrap’ among the ‘Doktorz and Bachelorz of Miuzik in England’ as follows: ‘Thar waz in king henry the eights daiez a doktor of miuzik named doktor newton. It iz reported that hee waz both a master of art, a bachelor of divinite, and also a doktor of miuzik, but the miuzik which hee mad, was by speculation, and not by praktyz, for when hee had mad a song, he kowld not sing a part of it when hee had mad it.’ See James M. Osborn, *The autobiography of Thomas Whythorne* (Oxford, 1961): 300; Osborn added (p. 301) that there is no trace of him among the graduates of either Oxford or Cambridge. Dr Newton is also mentioned among the annotations for Morley 1597: f. \*1<sup>v</sup> (ed. Harman, p. 123), among ‘our English doctors of musicke’.

<sup>82</sup> John Stow, *A survey of the cities of London and Westminster*, new edition, ed. John Strype (London, 1720), Book IV, p. 110: Situs hic est pietatis, ac Religionis cultor Ioannes Floid, Artis Musicæ Bacchalaureus, qui dum vixit, Regis Henrici octavi in sacello cecinit, & Christi Sepulcrum inuisit Ierosolymis. Obiit Anno Dom. 1523. Mens. Aprilis die tertio.

What happens to the four-note Tenor is that each note is to be read first with 8 semibreves, then with 7, then with 6, then with 5, then with 4, then with 3, then with 2, then with 1, and then as a minim before the concluding pitch a (this last not entirely clear or logical but the only acceptable solution apart from continuing the reduction of note-values *ad infinitum*). But that solution is nowhere described: it can be reached only by trial and error.

H22

ff. 27<sup>v</sup>–28

*Who so that wyll hym selff applye*

Rysbye

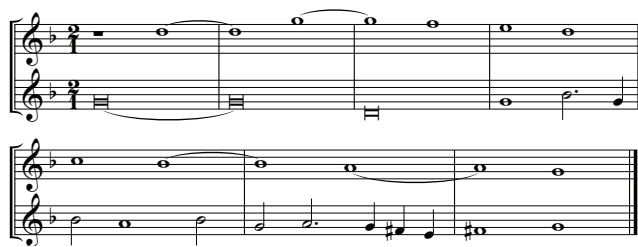
Ruling: 4 + 3 (4 not used) / 4 + 3 (4 not used). Horizontal rules at tops of pages only. No indent. Unusually, we have here a four-voice piece with the Tenor written not at the bottom of the verso but at the top of the recto.

Poetic form *aaaa* in eight-syllable lines. Stevens (1961: 241) suggested it could be a tournament song, though such a theme is otherwise unknown to the song repertory of these years. Perhaps it was for some theatrical event. It might be mentioned that the edition in Stevens 1962 is thoroughly misleading, as pointed out in Austin Clarkson’s review (1963–4: 220–21). The piece is in perfect time, clearly so marked in all voices and endorsed by the two perfect breve rests plus two semibreve rests in the Bassus at the start of the last section: Ex. 7.

DT  
CIB  
Who - so that wyll hym - self ap - plye  
5  
To pass the tyme of youth jo - ly, A - vauce hym  
9  
to the com - pa - nye Of lus - ty bloddys and che -  
13  
- val - ry, of lys - ty bloddys and che - vall - ry.

Ex. 7: Revised transcription of *Who so that wyll him selff applye* (H220)

Rysbye is almost entirely unknown: Thomas Morley (1597: 121–2) printed a short musical extract as ‘out of a verse of two partes of an *Agnus dei*, of one *Henry Rysbie*’ (ed. Harman, pp. 216–17): see Ex. 8 overleaf. Thus equipped with a first name, Frank Ll. Harrison (1958: 35 and 462; 1960: 347) found a Henry Rysby as a clerk at Eton College in 1506–8.



Ex. 8: Thomas Morley's extract of music by Henry Rysbye

**H23** ff. 28<sup>v</sup>–29  
*The tyme of youthe is to be spent* The Kynge . H . viij

Ruling: 5 + 2 (5 not used) / 2 + 3 (2 not used) with space for later stanzas on recto. Horizontal rules at tops of pages only. Top line of verso indented. Text apparently added immediately.

Six couplets of eight-syllable lines (except lines 7–9 seem sprung); but as poetry this looks like the worst kind of high-minded doggerel. The theme of youth, avoidance of vice, and worthy feats of arms is entirely uncharacteristic of the song repertory of these years. Peter Herman (1993: 176) used this as his first example of poems by Henry that ‘yield few rewards’.

Worse, the musical setting entails two statements of line 2, the second of which should be repeated, which would be seriously tiresome at the end of six stanzas. Moreover, there are cases of extremely dubious dissonance treatment here, particularly towards the end: performing it as it stands is a substantial challenge.

Warwick Edwards (1978: 277) noted that the instrumental style of the music puts it more alongside the textless pieces. In addition its 21-note range is exceptional for a three-voice piece in those years: it is shared with Cornysh's *Ffa la sol* (H6), but that too is an exceptional piece (and enormously longer).

**H24** ff. 29<sup>v</sup>–30  
*The thoughtes with in my brest* T Ffardynge

Ruling: 5 + 2 (5 not used) / 3 + 4 (3 not used). Horizontal rules at tops of pages only. No indent. Text in style T1 but ascription T3.

A single quatrain of six-syllable lines rhyming *abab*, with the four lines having music of, respectively, 12, 22, 12 and 6 semibreves. The music really does not look as though it was composed for such a quatrain, with the last line jammed into a quarter the length of the others. Stevens (1961: 392) suggested that some verses may be missing. Their meaning as they stand is hard to grasp. So perhaps this too is part of a theatrical performance. For more on Farthing, see under H17.

**H25** ff. 30<sup>v</sup>–31  
*My love she morneth for me* Cornysh

Ruling: 3 + 4 / 1 with space for the text on recto. Full horizontal rules. No indent. Text in style T1 but ascription in T3.

Eleven stanzas, thus enormously long; and it might be noted that the first stanza departs from the rhyme-scheme of the others, which are regular *a4 a4 b6 c4 c4 b6*. It is possible that the first stanza is derived from something else and adapted; and in fact the first couplet (‘My love she morns ffor me for me/ my love she mornes for me’) appears in a manuscript miscellany from around 1500.<sup>83</sup>

The opening melody was reused as the Contratenor for much of *How long, O Lord, wilt me forget*, in British Library, MS Royal Appendix 74–6, c. 1550, published in Judith Blezzard, *The Tudor church music of the Lumley books* = Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance, vol. lxxv (Madison, WI, 1985): no. 18, as reported in David Humphreys, ‘Secular melodies in the Lumley partbooks’, *Early music* 22 (1994): 191.

Musically speaking, this works more or less as *A Robyn* (H49), with the two lower voices acting as a canonic *pes* above which the Discantus moves more freely.

**H26** ff. 31<sup>v</sup>–32  
 [Puzzle–canon II] Fflud

Ruling: 4 + 1 + 2 / 3 + 4 (3 and 7 not used). Horizontal rules at tops of pages only. No indent. Canonic instruction in style T1, ascription in T3.

Discussion in Stevens 1951: 30–31. See H21 for the matter of the ascription, with the same wording (but different spelling for his name). What is not clear from the canonic instruction is that the *maxima* in the written notation must be perfect and in augmentation, that is, worth six longs rather than the two longs the notation would lead one to expect. There is no hint at all that the notes must be reversed (or inverted). The ‘canon’ reads:

Iste tenor ascendit a gradu epo[g]doico in semitonium et descendit in diatesseron cum diatonico.

This Tenor ascends from the pitch ‘epogdoicus’ with a semitone and falls a fourth with the diatonic system.

<sup>83</sup> Trinity College, Cambridge, MS O.2.53 (1157), f. 45<sup>v</sup>, as first reported in R. M. Wilson, *The lost literature of medieval England* (London, 1952): 182, albeit wrongly as on f. 24<sup>v</sup>—an error taken over in most later references, with the honourable exceptions of Boffey 1985: 165, specifying that it is on f. 45<sup>v</sup> (‘not 24<sup>v</sup> as in *Supplement*’), and Siemens 1997a: 178. Two details have led to the confusion. First, the words are written in extremely light ink between an English letter and a Latin poem on tithes, so light that it was not reported in the standard catalogue, Montague Rhodes James, *The western manuscripts in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1900–04), vol. iii: 169–74. Second, Wilson’s own footnote gives two references within the James catalogue, both sending readers to entirely inappropriate pages (presumably he got his notes mixed up). For help in clarifying this I am indebted to Mr Sandy Paul of the Trinity College Library and particularly to Julia Boffey, who quickly—and astonishingly—forwarded accurate details from notes taken when she examined the manuscript in about 1980.

Normally ‘epogdoicos’ is the intervallic proportion 9:8, namely a major tone. In practice, the Tenor has six notes, each of six longs: a b c' g a b-flat.

**H27** ff. 32<sup>v</sup>–33  
*A the syghs that cum fro my hart* W. Cornyssh.

Ruling: 3 + 3 + 1 / 3 with space for the text on recto. Full horizontal rules. No indent.

Text has four stanzas of *abab*, alternating four-beat and three-beat lines. Oddly, the first stanza addresses the parting lady directly, but the other stanzas refer to her only in the third person.

Discussion in Stevens 1961: 331. The Tenor, down a fifth, also appears in British Library, MS Royal Appendix 58, f. 3, ed. in Stevens 1962: no. 27A.

**H28** ff. 33<sup>v</sup>–34  
*With sorowfull syghs* T Ffardynge

Ruling: 5 + 2 (5 not used) / 3 + 4 (2, 3 and 7 not used except for ascription in 7). Horizontal rules at tops of pages only. No indent. Text in style T1, ascription in T3. There is a new gathering at f. 34, between the two pages.

Text form *abab*, alternating four-beat and three-beat lines. Helms (1998: 386) proposed that this is a response to H27: it certainly has the same poetic form; and the similarities look even closer if H27 is read a fifth lower, as in MS Royal Appendix 58. For more on Farthing, see under H17.

**H29** ff. 34<sup>v</sup>–35  
*Iff I had wytt for to endyght* [anonymous]

Ruling: 3 + 3 with slight gap / 4 with space for the text. Full horizontal rules. No indent.

At the bottom right edge of f. 34<sup>v</sup>, the ‘x’ matches in colour and execution those at the bottom of ff. 39<sup>v</sup>, 42<sup>v</sup>, 44 and 54<sup>v</sup>. Their meaning is unclear.

Three notes before the end of the penultimate stave on f. 34<sup>v</sup>, the minim is wrongly dotted and insufficiently corrected.

Six stanzas of four-beat lines, rhyming *abab*, all ending with an identical fourth line, which is then repeated with new music. The Tenor also appears in British Library, MS Royal Appendix 58, f. 5<sup>v</sup>, ed. in Stevens 1962: no. 29A. The text appears in British Library, Add. MS 18752, f. 58<sup>v</sup> opening ‘Yf I had space now for to write’.

Helms (1998: 376) plausibly suggested Henry VIII as composer, partly on account of similarities to *Pastyme* (H7). Siemens (1999: 190) suggested Wyatt as the poet, on stylistic grounds and partly on the basis of his view (rejected herewith) that the Henry VIII Book was copied after 1522. The piece is printed and discussed in Stevens 1961: 105–6.

**H30** f. 35<sup>v</sup>  
*Alac alac what shall I do* The Kyng . H . viij

Ruling: 2 + 2 + 2 with slight gaps. Full horizontal rules. Full indents.

Text three lines, rhyming *aba*—very much as though more stanzas were missing. And the copyist was also confused as to its content, writing ‘lakked’ for ‘lokked’ in the Discantus. The music is fairly irregular but works best if the first note of each phrase is treated as an upbeat.

The opening of the text appears in Trinity College, Dublin, MS 160 (the Blage manuscript), f. 59, in the table of contents.

**H31** f. 36  
*Hey nony nony no* [anonymous]

Ruling: 1 + 1 + 1, with space for the text. Horizontal rule at top. No indent, as if no text expected.

The text is a carol, as asserted in Stevens 1961: 398 and accepted in Greene 1977: no. 463.1. The burden must be repeated after each stanza (as in H43), though there is no direct indication of this. The nine stanzas of text—with the form *a4 a4 b6 a4 a4 b6*—cannot be fitted to the music, which must be for the refrain only (as also in H33). The opening lines are description; then the discarded lady begins to speak in the middle of the second stanza, continuing until the end of the eighth stanza.

The d-clef for the bottom (Bassus) voice is most unusual but appears in two works by Sheppard and in Redford’s *Sint lumbi* (information kindly provided by John Milsom and Magnus Williamson). Perhaps the copyist introduced it because an f-clef on the top line of the stave would have interfered with the text of the voice above.

**H32** ff. 36<sup>v</sup>–37  
 [Puzzle-canon III] Dunstable

Ruling: 5 + 1 (5 not used) + writing space for the canonic instruction / 6 (4–6 not used, except for ascription on 4), below which a horizontal rule the width of the writing area, as though for a new stave. Horizontal rules only at top of page. No indent. Canonic instruction in style T1; ascription in style T3.

Discussed in Stevens 1951: 31. The canonic instruction seems poorly written:

Adorio tenor hic ascendens esse videtur  
 Quater per genera tetracordum refitetur.

Sir John Stainer, in *Sacred and secular songs ... in the Bodleian Library*, vol. ii: *Transcriptions* (London, 1901): 96, noted that the first word should be ‘A dorio’ (starting in the Dorian mode) and the last should read ‘repetetur’. Leofranc Holford-Strevens, apart from noting that the first syllable of ‘dorio’ is actually long, kindly proposed two emendations that would make the second line just acceptable in Renaissance Latin: for ‘Quater’ put

‘Quatuor’, and before ‘repetetur’ put ‘ter’. So we would get two (very rough) hexameters:

A dorio tenor hic ascendens esse videtur:

Quatuor per genera tetracordum [ter] repetetur.

That seems to mean that the Tenor begins in the Dorian mode, namely on d, and then each further statement is on the next step of the notes of the tetrachord, namely e, f and g. What it does not say is that the  $\text{c}$  mensuration sign implies a doubling of all note-values in relation to the other two voices. The resulting piece is in many ways similar to a group of pieces printed in Fallows 2014, nos. 30–33, all perhaps from the 1420s or 1430s—a matter that may endorse the ascription of H32 to Dunstaple.

### H33

ff. 37<sup>v</sup>–38

*Grene growith the holy*

The Kyng . H . viij

Ruling: 2 + 2 + 2. Horizontal rules irregularly go only to the right of the stave on the 2nd and 3rd voices so that there is room for decent initials. Full indents. Recto has text only. Ascription written without pre-ruled guide-lines and therefore looking distinctly odd.

The purple blob on f. 38, just right of the left-hand vertical rule, three-quarters down the page, is a piece of fluff, now removed.

The text is a carol, ed. in Greene 1935/1977: no. 448. But the four stanzas of text cannot be fitted to the music, which must be for the refrain only, as clarified by the words ‘Grene groweth etc.’ after the first stanzas and ‘ut supra’ after the others (compare also the case of H41). It simply lacks music for its verses. So perhaps the same is the case with H31. Theo Stemmler (1999: 181) called the poem ‘perhaps Henry’s finest song-text ... he succeeds in giving the old symbolism of the holly and the ivy a new meaning ... compares his ever-lasting love to the evergreen holly’. One could add that the music seems flawless and is unforgettable.

### H34

ff. 38<sup>v</sup>–39

*Who so that wyll all feattes optayne* The Kyng . H . viij

Ruling: 5 + 2 (5 not used) / 3 plus room for the text. Horizontal rules at tops of pages only. No indent.

The music ends with an implied *da capo*, which is written out only in the Discantus because new embellishments are included for that repeat (perhaps a unique case); this *da capo* is denoted by signs of congruence at the beginning and end of Tenor and Bassus. But several things went wrong in the copying here.

First, the downward stems on the fourth stave of f. 38<sup>v</sup> imply that the copyist expected text for that voice. Second, the single line of text is underlaid to the first phrase of the Bassus, a procedure not found elsewhere in the book. Third, that line is the first of a seven-couplet poem that is completed below the music. Fourth, that poem can hardly be made to fit the music, though John Stevens (1962) underlaid the first two couplets to the Tenor alone.

The music has five relatively short phrases, the first and last identical apart from the Discantus embellishments at the end. Phrases end with a breve surmounted by a fermata in all voices, each preceded by music occupying a different and irrational number of semibreves: 14, 6, 6, 4, 14. That hardly seems an adequate basis for setting the poem.

The style of the first and last phrases puts this piece very much in the context of the instrumental consorts elsewhere in the volume: no attempt should be made to perform it with text.

But even so there is a surprising number of simple errors here: the first phrase ends with a long in the Discantus but a breve in the other two voices. The fourth phrase ends with a long in the Bassus but a breve in the other two voices. The third phrase lacks its fermata on the last note. The Bassus lacks the fermatas for all its phrases. And in the middle of the fourth phrase there is a fermata in the Discantus, a sign of congruence in the Tenor, and nothing in the Bassus. That kind of carelessness is not at all typical of the copyist—who may well have been aware that there were serious problems with the exemplar.

### H35

ff. 39<sup>v</sup>–40

*Blow thi hornne hunter*

W. Cornysh

Ruling: 3 + 3 + 1 / 2 plus room for the text. Horizontal rules only at tops of pages. No indent. Ascription in style T3. Designation of Tenor with ‘Tenor’ is most unusual in this manuscript.

At the bottom right edge of f. 39<sup>v</sup>, the ‘x’ matches in colour and execution those at the bottom of ff. 34<sup>v</sup>, 42<sup>v</sup>, 44 and 54<sup>v</sup>. Their meaning is unclear.

The form of the seven stanzas differs from that of the music, which must be for the refrain only, as in the case of H33. But in this case (as with H31) there is no indication of a return of the burden with its music after each stanza—which may be why it was not included in Greene 1935, though it was accepted in Greene 1977: no. 466.1, in the light of John Stevens’s observation that it is a carol. A possible solution to its performance would be that each stanza goes to the first portion of the music, with the words ‘Now blow thi hornne hunter and blow thi hornne joly hunter’ as a refrain at the end of each stanza.

John Milsom (1980–81: 43–4 fn. 6) drew attention to an apparent adaptation in the Lumley partbooks (British Library, MS Royal Appendix 74–6) as *O Lord, our Lord, how marvellous*, citing Judith Blezzard, ‘The Lumley books: a collection of Tudor church music’, *The musical times* 112 (1971), 128–30, at p. 129, with the observation that ‘The music of the odd-numbered verses bears a resemblance to Cornysh’s *Blow thy horn, hunter*’. This is published in Judith Blezzard, *The Tudor church music of the Lumley books* = Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance, vol. lxxv (Madison, WI, 1985): no. 17. It is a four-voice setting, but the Bassus partbook is lost. Even so, it is plain that this is not

identical, just another arrangement of what must have been a well-known tune.

The Tenor also appears in British Library, MS Royal Appendix 58, f. 57<sup>v</sup>, ed. Stevens 1962: no. 35A. By contrast with the Lumley version, this is almost certainly the same version as H35. And that in its turn may explain why the Tenor in H35 has the marking ‘Tenor’.

**H36** ff. 40<sup>v</sup>–41  
*De tous bien plane* [Hayne van Ghizeghem]

Ruling: 5 + 2 / 3 + 4 (3 not used). Horizontal rule at tops of pages only. No indent.

Hayne’s *De tous biens plaine est ma maistresse* sets a rondeau with a four-line stanza (though the text is not given here). It is the most successful song of the 1460s, with thirty known sources and used as the basis of over fifty later arrangements. Surprisingly, the Henry VIII Book has the original version, albeit with a few unique readings, the most distinctive and audible of which are the Discantus cadence embellishments at the end of the first and last lines. Full listing of sources and modern editions in Fallows 1999: 129–30.

**H37** ff. 41<sup>v</sup>–42  
*J’ay pryse amours* [anonymous]

Ruling: 4 + 3 / 1 + 6. Horizontal rule at top of page only on verso, but full on recto (at the new gathering). The second stave is indented for the Bassus initial and has an additional rule, albeit going only to the right margin of the page.

On the fifth stave of f. 41<sup>v</sup>, the blue initial letter seems to have faded away. Since it is the last page of gathering E, there is a possibility that it was left uncovered and rubbed.

A highly popular and successful song of the 1460s, with a very large number of sources and of later arrangements, listed in Fallows 1999 and Filocamo 2010; related settings are printed in *J’ay pris amours: twenty-eight settings*, ed. Richard Taruskin (Coconut Grove, 1982). One of the puzzles is that a piece with so many sources has no ascription—though several have guessed it could be by Firminus Caron.

The three earliest sources have a Contratenor in the same range as the Tenor; then ten sources replace that Contratenor with a Contratenor Bassus in a range below the Tenor. The Contratenor Bassus in H37 is unique. Also unusual is that the Discantus and Tenor are a step lower than all other sources apart from the unnumbered choir-book (c. 1500) in Segovia Cathedral, where the facing page is lost and could conceivably have carried H37’s Contratenor Bassus, which therefore may not be English.

**H38** f. 42<sup>v</sup>  
*Adew corage adew* W. Cornyshe

Ruling: 2 + 2 + 2 with slight gaps. Full horizontal rules. Full indents. It is puzzling that this piece is followed by

an entirely blank page, not even ruled for staves. Perhaps the reason was just that the copyist needed a full opening for the next piece. Ascription in style T1.

At the bottom right edge of f. 42<sup>v</sup>, the ‘x’ matches in colour and execution those at the bottom of ff. 34<sup>v</sup>, 39<sup>v</sup>, 44 and 54<sup>v</sup>. Their meaning is unclear.

John Stevens (1961: 401) glossed ‘corage’ as ‘desire to love, the amorous spirit’; but even so this tiny piece makes little sense unless viewed as part of a theatrical event, in which ‘Ardent Desire’ (or whoever) loses his faith in himself and the world.

**H39** ff. 43<sup>v</sup>–44  
*Trolly lolly loly lo* William Cornyshe

Ruling: 5 + 2 (5 not used) / 2 + 4. Full horizontal rules. Full indents. Ascription in style T1.

At the bottom right edge of f. 44, the ‘x’ matches in colour and execution those at the bottom of ff. 34<sup>v</sup>, 39<sup>v</sup>, 42<sup>v</sup> and 54<sup>v</sup>. Their meaning is unclear.

With a text form perhaps *a7 a6 b8 a6 a9*, this can hardly be described as verse. John Stevens (1961: 401) suggested: ‘Perhaps a “Maying” song.’ But perhaps it is more plausibly seen as part of a theatrical event, like H38.

The parallel octaves from the highest note of the Discantus are a reminder that in this genre poor counterpoint is not necessarily a prerogative of the king.

**H40** ff. 44<sup>v</sup>–45  
*I love trewly without feyning* T. Ffardynge

Ruling: 4 + 3 / 2 + 4 (2 not used). Full horizontal rules. Full indents except for first voice. Ascription in style T3.

Text eight-syllable lines rhyming *abab* with the last line repeated. A song of unsullied love, without any anguish or pain (which is fairly rare in this repertory). For more on Farthing, see under H17.

**H41** ff. 45<sup>v</sup>–46  
*Yow and I and Amyas* Cornyshe

Ruling: 3 + 3 + 1 / 2 plus text. Full horizontal rules. Full indents. Ascription in style T3.

In formal terms the text is a carol (Greene 1935/1977: no. 463), lacking the music for its verses. The form of the eight couplets differs from that of the surviving music, which must be for the refrain only. As in the case of H33, each couplet is followed by an indication to repeat the refrain. There is no obvious connection between the theme of the couplets and that of the refrain.

As for the mysterious Amyas in the refrain, E. K. Chambers and F. Sidgwick, *Early English lyrics* (London, 1907): 337–8, listed several people in court circles with the surname Amyas: among them is a John Amyas, Yeoman of the Doors of the King’s Chamber 1487–1520, and a Thomas Amyas (perhaps his son), Yeoman of the Chamber to princess Mary in 1525. Chappell (1867: 381) suggested Sir Amyas Poulet (or Paulet: 1533–88), who is

far too late. But none of this really explains the wording of the refrain. As Greene stated (1977: 498): ‘In a collection of songs to be used at court the choice of the name may well have had a topical interest now only to be guessed at.’ Moreover, in this particular context Amyas is more likely to be a personal name, not a family name:

Yow and I and Amyas;  
Amyas and yow and I.  
To the grene wode must we go, alas:  
Yow and I, my lyff, and Amyas.

- 3 wode] wod (ii, iii)  
3 we] I (ii)  
4 lyff] leff (iii)

It is one of those fleeting incomprehensible glimpses that occasionally appear in early literature and song. Why on earth ‘must’ they go to the green wood?<sup>84</sup> Why ‘alas’? Is it a man or a woman speaking? Beyond that, what possible connection can this have to the poem that follows and for which it apparently serves as a refrain? It is common enough in the history of the carol for the burden to be tacked on to create the form; but this is an extreme case.

The couplets need more attention. Their mention of a castle, a knight called ‘Desyre’, a lady porter called ‘Strangenes’ and two other ladies named ‘Kyndnes’ and ‘Pyte’ prompted Sydney Anglo (1968b: 32–4) to draw attention to a pageant-show called *Schatew vert* (= Château Vert) presented on 4 March 1522 by Cardinal Wolsey for the imperial ambassadors as described in Edward Hall’s chronicle. In a castle, eight ladies were kept imprisoned, the fourth and eighth named ‘Kyndnes’ (played, incidentally by Anne Boleyn’s elder sister Mary, at the time a mistress of Henry), and ‘Pitie’; a further eight ladies acted as prisoners, the last of them named ‘Straungenes’; and there were eight knights attempting to free the first eight ladies, led by one called ‘Ardent Desire’.<sup>85</sup> Anglo viewed the coincidence as ‘corroborative, though somewhat enigmatic evidence’ that the play was by Cornysh and went on to suggest that he may have written it ‘as a sequel at the request of some of those who, having heard the song, wished to know the answer to the last couplet: “Thus how thay dyd we can nott say; We left them there and went ower way”’. That the song text names only four of the twenty-five personifications named in Hall’s description of the 1522 event makes the association indeed ‘enigmatic’.

Even so, W. R. Streitberger, *Court revels, 1485–1559* (Toronto, 1994): 112–13, inverting Anglo’s discussion, tentatively proposed that H41 was actually for the pageant-show of March 1522. Building on this, Siemens (1997a: 200 and 316; repeated in 2009a) and Helms (1998: 48–9; repeated in 2009: 119, ‘Siemens and I have

discovered independently’) both concluded that the Henry VIII Book was therefore copied after March 1522. Certainly the knight called Desire and the ladies called Strangeness, Kindness and Pity are all named in Hall’s description, along with many others; but, as Streitberger pointed out, these are standard figures from the *Roman de la rose* tradition; and there were many other disguisings about which we have no details. Amyas of the refrain is not in the show.

Besides, Richard L. Greene in the revised version of his *The early English carols* (1977: 498), devoted a substantial new paragraph to the various possibilities for the song’s occasion, taking account of Anglo’s findings and listing 1522 as only one of many possible occasions for the song; he laid particular emphasis on the wedding celebrations of prince Arthur and Catherine of Aragon (1501) and a pageant on New Year’s Day 1512, both of which involved Cornysh. The evidence is by no means strong enough to support a date after March 1522 for the manuscript when there is no other indication that can put it later than 1513.

Siemens (1999: 190, and 2009: paragraph 15) also viewed the text of *What remedy* (H103) as reflecting ‘the devices employed by Anthony Browne and Henry VIII, and Browne’s motto as well, at the tournament of 2 March 1522 associated with the *Schatew vert* pageant’. Actually Browne’s motto was ‘Sanse remedy’, which is the opening of an entirely different song, recently discovered (Milsom 1997: 245, with reproduction on p. 248), printed by Rastell and given in modern edition in Milsom 1997: 271.

But the main conclusion must be that there is not nearly enough here to date the song to 1522.

#### H42

*Ough warder mount*

ff. 46<sup>v</sup>–47

[anonymous]

Ruling: 6 + 1 / 2 + 4 with gap. Full horizontal rules. Indent only on the recto. But the copying here is very strange indeed. There is no possible reason not to have had (as usual) Discantus and Tenor on the verso, then Contratenor and Bassus on the recto. Instead, the Discantus is immediately followed by the Contratenor (for the only time in the manuscript without a new line for the new voice); then the Tenor starts at the bottom of the verso and spreads onto the next page in an ungainly manner.

At the bottom stave of f. 47, sixth note from the end, the facsimile correctly reproduces the colour variations in the copying. The copyist wrote a minim and then corrected it to a semibreve by crossing lightly through the stem; but the spacing makes it clear that this was done immediately, despite the lighter colour.

Colin Slim (1981: 148–61) presented the music in parallel from nine sources, including the tablature in British Library, MS Royal Appendix 58, f. 54<sup>v</sup> (no. 6), ‘Wardamut’, intabulating only the two lower voices (ed. Ward 1960: 120–21), and the lute tablature in a painting (c. 1530) of Mary Magdalen from the school of Bernard van

<sup>84</sup> Some hints of withdrawal to the woods as a consequence of courtly disgrace are outlined in Kirsten Gibson, “‘So to the wood went I’: politicizing the greenwood in two songs of John Dowland”, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 132 (2007): 221–51.

<sup>85</sup> Dillon (2002: 103–4), supplemented by John Guy, *The children of Henry VIII* (Oxford, 2013): 37–8.



Orley, d. 1541), now in Chatsworth House, Derbyshire, reproduced in Slim 1981: 132. Further information on the sources is available in Hertz 1964: 10–11.

In addition there are at least ten other arrangements of the melody, the latest being when the Tenor becomes top voice of a protestant chorale, in Michael Praetorius, *Musae Sioniae*, part 7 (Wolfenbüttel, 1609). The best summary of these arrangements is in Meconi 1994: 36.

John Stevens (1962) underlaid the German text (opening *O werder mund von dir ist wund*) that appears with the music in Arnt von Aich's *In dissem Buechlyn fynd man LXXV. hubscher Lieder* (RISM [1519]<sup>5</sup>), modern edition in *Das Liederbuch des Arnt von Aich (Köln um 1510)*, ed. Eduard Bernoulli and Hans Joachim Moser (Kassel, 1930): no. 16; this has three stanzas, each of ten monorhyme lines in which all lines are of four syllables except the last, which has eight.

Even so, the presumed original text is a Flemish poem of five stanzas with the form *a4 a4 a4 a4 b7 b7*, in *Een schoon liedekens boeck* (Antwerp, 1544: only known copy in Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek), f. 73, no. CXXX, modern edition in *Het Antwerps liedboek*, ed. Kees Vellekoop and Hélène Wagenaar-Nolthenius (Amsterdam, 1972, 2/1975): no. 63, and in Slim 1981: 147 (with English translation). The first stanza reads there:

O waerde mont,  
Ghi maect ghesont  
Mijns herten gront  
Tot alder stont.  
Als ick bi u mach wesen,  
So ben ick al genesen.

The only known musical source with this text is the Tournai-Brussels partbooks (see fn. 41 above), no. 11.

**H43** ff. 47<sup>v</sup>–48  
*La season* [Loyset Compere]

Ruling: 4 + 2 with gap / 2 + 4 with gap. Full horizontal rules. Indents for 2 of the 3 voices.

The rondeau setting *La saison en est ou jamais*, probably by Loyset Compere (according to four sources, whereas one very late source gives it to 'Alixandre' [Agricola]). It is known from nine other sources, ranging from the 1480s to the 1520s; details in Fallows 1999: 239. The adaptation here is interesting: the two barlines are inserted at irrational points, giving rise to variants that are in no other source—not least of which is the written-out repeat of the final phrase, apparently in line with the many last-phrase repeats elsewhere in the Henry VIII Book.

Of those variants, Warwick Edwards (1978: 275) wrote: 'it must be presumed that they represent a local attempt to bring the piece into line with textless English compositions of similar structure'. Those division points also hide a very interesting feature of this song, namely that Compere introduced a musical rhyme between the ends of the first and last (fourth

lines. The new barlines and divisions are not compatible with the rondeau form of Compere's music.

Why the note in the first line of the Tenor is surmounted with two sharp signs is not entirely clear: it is as though it refers to the pitch E (previously flattened), but that the copyist originally wrote it too low and then wrote it again at the correct pitch without erasing the earlier sharp. On stave four of f. 48, the eighth note was wrongly written as a minim; and it is plain that the copyist immediately crossed it through by way of correction.

**H44** ff. 48<sup>v</sup>–49  
*If love now reynynd* (I) The Kynge . H . viij

Ruling: 4 + 2 with gap (3 not used) / 3 + text. Full horizontal rules. Only Discantus indented.

The text of the seven rhymed couplets on the right-hand page is not compatible with the music, which seems to be an abstract instrumental piece, appearing in a slightly different version as H48 (where there are three added phrases at the end). On the other hand, the indent suggests that the piece was originally to be copied with text.

This is characteristic of a certain group of pieces in relatively short phrases that all end with a breve surmounted by a fermata and then a barline. The lengths of the phrases before the fermata are 8, 7, 6, 8 and 15 semi-breves. That irregularity is mild, but more extreme cases will follow. That the second, fourth and fifth phrases end with essentially identical cadences is more unusual.

It is also characteristic of many short *tastar de corde* pieces in the Henry VIII Book, with the main action given to the top voice, as though for Henry to display his virtuosity on the recorder or the cornetto.

**H45** ff. 49<sup>v</sup>–50  
*Gentyl prince de renom* The Kynge . H . viij

Ruling: 3 + 3 with gap / 3 + 3 with gap. Full horizontal rules. Full indents.

Three voices of this piece are definitely not by Henry since they are printed in Petrucci's *Harmonice musices odhecaton A* (Venice, 1501), ed. in Hewitt 1942, no. 90. There is also a lute intabulation in Chicago, Newberry Library, MS VM. C.25, ed. in Otto Gombosi, *Compositione di meser Vincenzo Capirola: lutebook (circa 1517)* (Neuilly-sur-Seine, 1955): no. 31. The *Odhecaton* has only the words 'Gentil prince' and Capirola 'Gintil princep', so the following words in H45, 'de renom' are not otherwise documented but could well be correct.

There is a poem in the monophonic chansonnier Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 12744, ed. Gaston Paris and Auguste Gevaert, *Chansons du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1875): no. 143, opening 'Gentil duc de Lorraine, prince de grant renom'; but its music is unrelated to that of H45. Its poetic stanza (a rhymed couplet of 6 + 6 syllables) is far too short for the music. But it

does happen that six lines (of the poem's eleven) go very well with the music, so this was adopted in Helen Hewitt's 1942 edition. John Stevens (1962) used the same text, which he cannily underlaid to all voices except Henry's added Contratenor (which cannot take it).

Discussed in some detail in Fallows 1993b: 29–31, with the suggestion that the added voice here is Henry's first compositional effort, though Helms (2009: 125–6) felt that other pieces preceded it. Also published in Helms 1998: 306, with discussion, pp. 305–8.

The difference in colour between the two pages reflects only that f. 49<sup>v</sup> is the hair side of the parchment and f. 50 is the flesh side.

**H46** ff. 50<sup>v</sup>–51  
*Sy Fortune m'a ce bien purchasé* [anonymous]

Ruling: 4 + 2 with gap / 2 + 5 (7 not used). Full horizontal rules. Full indents. On the top two staves of the right-hand page the notes (but not the text) are in a different hand (as noted in Stevens 1962: 105).

In the middle of the bottom stave there is what looks like a repair—more clearly visible on the verso.

Neither the (badly garbled) French text nor the music is known from elsewhere. The rhyme-scheme, *abcb*, is obviously impossible as it stands: perhaps it is a ballade with lines 3–4 missing, in which case the copyist was not particularly close to the composer. Helms (1998: 376–7) plausibly argued that this could be by Henry VIII, largely on the basis of similarities in *Pastyme* (H7), and *Who so that will* (H79).

**H47** ff. 51<sup>v</sup>–52  
*Wher to shuld I expresse* The Kynge . H . viij

Ruling: 3 + 3 + 1 (3 and 6 not used) / 2 plus text. Full horizontal rules. Full indents.

There is a problem with the text here. The quatrain underlaid to the music has the rhyme-scheme *aabb*; but the four quatrains below the music on the right-hand page all rhyme *abab* (the first of them plainly being the lady's response). If Henry was the poet, he must have noticed the disparity, which can only mean that the text is a carol, lacking music for the verses (Helms 1998: 318 fn. 22). Helms also concluded (1998: 321) that the music is so simple that this must be one of Henry's earliest pieces. Leeman L. Perkins, *Music in the age of the Renaissance* (New York, 1999), 705–6, presented this as his main example of a 'freemen's song'. The music is discussed and re-edited in Milsom 1997: 272–3.

**H48** ff. 52<sup>v</sup>–53  
 [If love now reynyd (II)] The Kynge . H . viij

Ruling: 6 + 1 (6 not used) / 3 + 4. Full horizontal rules. Two voices indented despite absence of text.

The music until the fifth fermata is the same as H44 (apart from a few details such as divided notes and embel-

ishment patterns); so only the last three sections are new music, the second of them repeated identically at the end of the last. As with H44, the figurations in the Discantus line speak strongly against attempting to add text.

**H49** ff. 53<sup>v</sup>–54  
*A Robyn gentyl Robyn* Cornysh

Ruling: 4 + 2 with gap / 3 + 3 with gap. Full horizontal rules. Indents only on the verso.

The layout here is a little confusing—and far more lucidly printed in Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York, 1954): 770, than in Stevens 1962. Top left-hand is the two-voice canon shared by Tenor and Bassus; bottom left starts the Discantus line that begins with the words of the refrain (three-line burden) and then continues with the first four-line stanza, ending with the musical cadence of the burden. A cue directs the singer then to sing the burden again, after which the same singer sings the second four-line stanza at the bottom of the page, followed by, once again, a cue to sing the burden a last time. Thus this is a carol in which the Discantus sings both burden and the two verses over the same lower-voice duet. Certainly there is an element of dialogue in the stanzas, but the music is resolutely in three voices throughout. Further discussion in Stevens 1951: 33–4.

It may be fanciful to associate H49 with the famous occasion on 18 January 1510 (described by Edward Hall, see Dillon 2002: 31; Ellis 1809: 513) when Henry VIII and ten men burst into the queen's chamber 'like outlaws, or Robin Hood's men ... and after certain dances, and pastime made, they departed'. But if there is any virtue in that association it may be worth adding that the Discantus line is the one appropriate for Robin Hood himself, namely Henry VIII.

The eleven lines of text appear with four further quatrains in the 'Devonshire' MS (British Library, Add. MS 17492), f. 24<sup>r-v</sup>. That fuller poem also appears, lacking the second of the new quatrains, in Egerton MS 2711, f. 37<sup>v</sup>, where it is ascribed 'Wyat' in a later hand and appears in the two most recent editions of Wyatt: *Sir Thomas Wyatt: collected poems*, ed. Joost Daalder (London, 1975): no. LV; and *Sir Thomas Wyatt: the complete poems*, ed. R. A. Rebholz (New Haven, 1978): no. CXXXIX. Both Helms and Siemens have used the possibility that the poem is all by Wyatt as a consideration in their view that the Henry VIII Book may be from after 1522.

But the authorship and chronology of the poetry credited to Wyatt are contentious topics. There is a general feeling that the lines set by Cornysh were pre-existing popular material to which Wyatt added the four new quatrains. John Stevens wrote (1962: xvii–xviii):

Wyatt was born in 1503 and may, of course, have written the trifle set by Cornysh when he was fifteen or sixteen; this would push the date [sc. of the Henry VIII Book] forward to about 1518. An explanation which fits in better, perhaps, with the other facts of the case is that Wyatt at a later date took and expanded a song already popular at court.

Frederick Sternfeld (1963: 190) approved that last hypothesis. Of the text in H49, Stevens (1961: 111) wrote: ‘There is nothing specifically in Wyatt’s manner here; and the opening lines certainly reflect an older tradition (Wyatt nowhere else uses the word ‘leman’).’ His view was accepted by Winifred Maynard in an article otherwise challenging Stevens, ‘The lyrics of Wyatt: poems or songs?’, *Review of English studies*, NS 16 (1965): 1–13 and 245–57, at p. 1; it was also accepted by Julia Boffey (1985: 82) and by Wyatt scholarship in general, most recently in Chris Stamatakis, *Sir Thomas Wyatt and the rhetoric of rewriting: ‘turning the word’* (Oxford, 2012): 13, once again with a focus on the word ‘leman’ not occurring elsewhere in his poetry.

The matter is further complicated by lack of certainty about when Wyatt was born. The evidence, according to Susan Brigden’s enormous and copiously documented biography (*Thomas Wyatt: the heart’s forest* (London, 2012): 65), lies only in a now lost painting and in the *Excellent epitaffe of Syr Thomas Wyat* by Henry Howard, earl of Surrey.

But these discussions overlooked the important point that Wyatt’s father, Sir Henry Wyatt (c. 1460–1536), was a member of the Privy Council from 1504 under Henry VII and remained there for the first decade of Henry VIII’s reign, one of the most trusted members of the inner circle. There seems every possibility that a poem by Thomas could have been circulated at court when he was very young indeed, though the earliest clear documentation of him at court was when he attended princess Mary’s christening in February 1516 as ‘sewer extraordinary’ (Colin Burrow in *Oxford dictionary of national biography*, s.v.). Susan Brigden argued (*op. cit.*, p. 84) that he is the ‘Wyot’ who was admitted to the Middle Temple in May 1517. If he was capable of studying legal Latin by then he would certainly have been able to assemble this brief poem a few years earlier.

Beyond that, from September 1509 Cornysh was Master of the Children in the Chapel Royal. He was also responsible for most of the entertainments at the royal court, for which personable young boys would constantly be needed. It would be very strange indeed if Cornysh did not know the young Thomas Wyatt; and it might even be politically profitable for him to have composed a setting of his poem.

This is all not aimed to contradict the argument of John Stevens: we shall probably never know. But it is absolutely to distrust using the presence of this poem as part of an argument for dating the Henry VIII Book later than 1522.

H50  
*Whilles byffe or breth*

ff. 54<sup>v</sup>–55  
W. Cornyshe

Ruling: 2 + 2 + 3. Full horizontal rules. No indent. Recto has text only.

At the bottom right edge of f. 54<sup>v</sup>, the ‘x’ matches in colour and execution those at the bottom of ff. 34<sup>v</sup>, 39<sup>v</sup>, 42<sup>v</sup> and 44. Their meaning is unclear.

In major prolation (the only other example in the Henry VIII Book is the augmented Tenor of Dunstaple’s *A dorio tenor*, H32): Cornysh’s use of this archaic metre must have some special purpose. A woman speaks, perhaps (or even apparently) Catherine of Aragon.

The text is a carol, as asserted by Stevens (1961: 406) and accepted by Greene (1977: no. 448.1). The music seems to be for the refrain only, rhyming AA, but the second line is twice repeated; and the music has four absolutely distinct lines of four beats each. The six stanzas all end with a return to the refrain, clearly signed, but their form is *bbbAAA* (that is, with the A-rhyme remaining the same in all stanzas), and it looks as though the surviving music is for only the final (refrain) couplet of each stanza; so the rest must be for music that does not survive. There are three scribbles in the right margin of f. 55: at the top ‘henr’; half way down ‘henr’ (both plainly in the same hand found on f. 1); and at the bottom, almost erased, perhaps ‘William deynyshe’ or more probably ‘William Cornyshe’. The script for ‘henr’ is that of the mysterious entry on f. 1 of this manuscript: ‘henricus dei gratia rex anglie’.

John Stevens (1961: 1–2) used this song to raise the first questions in his famous book. But the main consideration must be that it is in many ways a most remarkable poem for a song: it is rare enough that the text is in a woman’s voice; I know of no case in the song literature during these years when a specific person is addressed except in the welcome-song to king Louis XI (1461), *Resjois toi pays de France*; and even this is far less specific and outspoken than the words here: ‘My soverayne lorde in every thyng/ Above all other as a kyng’.

H51  
*Thow that men do call it dotage* The Kyng . H . viij

Ruling: 2 + 2 + 2 with gaps. Full horizontal rules. Full indents. Recto has text only.

The two tiny halves of this song share six almost identical semibrevis beats in the middle. Admittedly there are some slight differences in the part-writing, neither version particularly good and both hinting at some kind of semi-aural transmission. But the *aa* rhyme-scheme is that of the nine couplets that follow on the right-hand page, so it looks as though the full song has twenty statements of that little progression. The almost regular eight-syllable lines are also notable. Dietrich Helms (1998: 382–3; 2009: fn. 8 and again on p. 129) proposed that this is Henry’s response to the preceding song. One could add to this that the preceding song is built largely of other versions of that same progression, albeit in halved note-values.

H52  
[Consort II] The Kyng . H . viij

Ruling: 4 + 2 with gap (4 not used) / 3 + 3 with gap (2 and 3 not used). Full horizontal rules. Full indents, despite no text or decoration.

From here onwards in the book there is a large number of these apparently instrumental pieces, many of them unbelievably slender in both size and substance. As often happens, this one has a mainly florid top line with two simpler voices below; and it is easy to imagine Henry having devised it in order to show his fluency on the recorder or the cornetto.

The last phrase is repeated here in the middle voice (with slightly different ligaturing) but not in the others, which presumably should have a sign of congruence to denote that repeat. But it is unsettling that the copyist should make that kind of a mistake after having copied over fifty pieces into the book. Equally odd is that the music copyist ruled so many more staves than were needed here.

Also characteristic of this group of pieces is that they are in relatively short phrases that all end with a breve surmounted by a fermata and then a barline. The lengths of the phrases before the fermata are 8, 8, 6 and 9 semibreves. That irregularity is mild, but more extreme cases will follow.

**H53** ff. 57<sup>v</sup>–58  
[Puzzle-canon IV] Ffayrfax

Ruling: 4 + 2 with gap / 2 + 4 with gap. Full horizontal rules. Indent only on recto.

The ascription actually reads ‘paramese Tenor Ffayrfax’. In the fragments now divided between Wells Cathedral and Case Western Reserve University, there is another piece of precisely the same length with precisely the same Tenor, except that the Tenor is all a step lower and written out in actual notes; this too is ascribed ‘fairfax’. John Stevens noticed the parallelism of the piece and therefore printed it in Stevens 1962 as no. 53A, facing no. 53. From these it is clear that H53 bars 5–8, 13–15 and 22–6 are identical to no. 53A bars 7–10, 15–17 and 20–24. (In the 1962 edition, the bottom voice of no. 53A was reconstructed by Thurston Dart; in the 1969 revision he could benefit from John M. Ward’s discovery of the correct Bassus in Case Western Reserve University, published in Ward 1966: 853–4: it is impressive how much of Dart’s reconstructed Bassus matches what Fayrfax actually wrote.)

The ‘paramese’ in H53 is a note in the ancient Greek Greater Perfect System, the lowest pitch of the tetrachord *diezeugmenon*, normally read as the pitch b in the Renaissance; the Wells–Case fragment has ‘incipiendo in mese’ referring to the pitch at the top of the tetrachord *mese*, normally read as the pitch a. And the reason why all the parallels between the two pieces are two bars apart is that identical polyphonic sections surround identical Tenor notes, as can be seen from the editions of the two on facing pages in Stevens 1962.

At the bottom of the page is the canon instruction (the translation is from Stevens 1951: 32):

Canon: Pausa facta in tenor de numero perfecto secundum philosophum percantetur omnis litera arsum et thesum per naturam sinaphe.

Rule: After the rest in the Tenor of the perfect number according to the philosopher, let every letter be sung through arsis and thesis, throughout the nature of a sinaphe.

Discussed in Stevens (1951: 31–2) and Edwin B. Warren, *Life and works of Robert Fayrfax* (American Institute of Musicology, 1969): 172–4. The unwritten but described Tenor here is all in units of six semibreves: after one rest, there are four pitches, b c’ d’ e’, then these repeated a fourth higher, then everything reversed.

It should be clear that H53, with its final on the most unusual pitch B (also used by Cornysh in H60), is conceptually far more complex than the Wells–Case piece, with its final on A.

**H54** ff. 58<sup>v</sup>–59  
[Consort III] The Kyng . H . viij

Ruling: 5 + 1 (3 and 4 not used) / 3 + 3 with gap (2, 3 and 6 not used). Full horizontal rules. Full indents despite no text.

Again the copyist prepared too many staves, far too many, as though planning for another piece entirely.

Another piece in the style of a *tastar de corde*, with a florid top line to allow the player to profile himself.

As with H52, the piece is in relatively short phrases that all end with a breve surmounted by a fermata and then a barline. The lengths of the phrases before the fermata are, in semibreves: 7, 18.

**H55** ff. 59<sup>v</sup>–60  
[Consort IV] The Kyng . H . viij

Ruling: 4 + 2 with gap (4 not used) / 2 + 4 with gap (2 and 6 not used). Full horizontal rules. Full indents despite no text.

Again the copyist prepared too many staves. This is very much in the same style as H54, with a florid top line.

As with H52 and H54, the piece is in relatively short phrases that all end with a breve surmounted by a fermata and then a barline. The lengths of the phrases before the fermata are 26 and 16 semibreves.

**H56** f. 60<sup>v</sup>  
*Departure is my chef payne* The Kyng . H . viij

Ruling: 6 + 1 (6 not used). Horizontal rule and indent only at top.

Text a couplet: *aa*, repeated once for each voice-entry of the round (with the word ‘return’ in line 2 perhaps alluding to the canonic structure). The music is a three-voice round over a Contratenor. What is not said in the manuscript is that the free Contratenor cannot enter until the third voice of the round has entered, because with the first two voices it produces several unsupported fourths—a consideration that might lead to the supposition that Henry’s contribution was only the Contratenor (which includes parallel octaves near the end, whereas the three voices of the round are in perfect counterpoint).

The first entry is in middle register, the second in high register, the third in low. In a rare slip of the pen, the copyist copied the first two notes of the second stave a third too low, then immediately erased them and corrected them; similarly, on the third stave, six notes before the end, the semiminim was originally written a third lower but immediately repaired by scratching out. Brief discussion in Stevens 1951: 34.

**H57** f. 61  
*It is to me a ryght gret joy* The Kyng . H . viij

Ruling: 6 (6 not used), below which a horizontal rule the width of a stave. Horizontal rule and indent only at the top.

This round has perhaps the most common design: the first entry is in the range  $c'-c''$ , the second in the range  $g-f'$ , and the third in the range  $c-a$ . The first thereby functions as a Discantus, the second as a Tenor and the third as a Bassus. On the other hand, it looks very much as though the single line of text was a later addition, along with the ascription to the king. Perhaps there was a second line of text, rhyming with the first, to yield a form like that of the preceding piece, namely each entry having those two lines.

**H58** ff. 61<sup>v</sup>–62  
 [Consort V] The Kyng . H . viij

Ruling: 5 + 2 / 2 + 4 with gap. Full horizontal rules. Full indents as though for a decorated initial despite no text.

As with H52, H54 and H55, this is in relatively short phrases that all end with a breve surmounted by a fermata in all voices, each preceded by music occupying a different and irrational number of semibreves: 12, 8, 3, 8, 5, 12, 7—thus quite bizarrely irregular.

**H59** ff. 62<sup>v</sup>–63  
 [Consort VI] T Ffardyng

Ruling: 4 + 2 with slight gap (4 not used) / 2 + 4 with gap (6 not used). Full horizontal rules. 2 of 3 voices indented despite no text (but signs of congruence). Ascription in script T3.

This piece is immediately distinguishable from most of Henry's abstract pieces in that the three voices are equally active and the phrases have relatively rational lengths. Warwick Edwards (1978: 277) noted its 'cluttered texture of incessant minims and crotchets'. For more on Farthing, see under H17.

**H60** ff. 63<sup>v</sup>–64  
 [Consort VII] W Cornyshe

Ruling: 5 + 2 / 3 + 4. No horizontal rule for Tenor at 5th line of verso. Indent on recto only. Ascription in script T3. It is easy to see how on the recto staves 3 and 7 were initially ruled to the normal width of the other

staves and then extended to make room for the final two notes of each.

Musically speaking, this is the oddest piece in the book. David Wulstan, *Tudor music* (London, 1985): 79, saw it alongside the 'puzzle-cans' and added:

the real puzzle is whether the piece is a joke, demonstrating the absurdity of the Locrian Mode (soon to be discussed, with due solemnity, in Glarean's *Dodecachordon* of 1547), or whether, in common with Ockeghem's *Mass Cuiusvis Toni*, the piece is a *catholicon*, in which the key can be altered by reading off different combinations of clefs and accidentals.

John Stevens (1962: 106) wrote:

There seem to be two possible ways of taking the piece: (1) as an experiment in the true Locrian mode; (2) as requiring three flats throughout. I think it likely that both were intended and that the puzzle consists in the deliberate ambiguity.

He also mentioned palindromes in the Bassus (drawn to his attention by Thurston Dart), giving incorrect pivot notes (as though working from an edition barred in units of 3 breves). From the facsimile they are easy to see, namely the three low Bs in the penultimate line of the Bassus (in Stevens's edition, bars 21, 24 and 27). As Roger Bowers noted (2004a), 'the piece also includes in its Tenor four successive palindromes, respectively of fifteen, five, nine, and three pitches; the mathematical patterning is obvious, its significance utterly obscure.' An extremely detailed analysis of the piece and its motivic structure appears in Ronald Woodley, *John Tucke: a case study in early Tudor music theory* (Oxford, 1993): 122–32.

Certainly one of the best solutions to performing this would be to change the clefs in all three voices, with the piece beginning and ending on the pitch G. On the other hand, the B-final is not unique: it appears in (the more obviously elegant) H53 by Fayrfax.

**H61** ff. 64<sup>v</sup>–65  
 [Consort VIII] The Kyng . H . viij

Ruling: 4 + 2 with gap / 2 + 4 with gap (2 and 6 not used). Full horizontal rules. Full indents despite no text.

As with H52, H54, H55 and H58, the piece is in relatively short phrases that all end with a breve surmounted by a fermata and then a barline. The lengths of the phrases before the fermata are 31 and 24 semibreves.

**H62** ff. 65<sup>v</sup>–66  
*I have bene a foster* D. Cooper

Ruling: 2 + 2 + 3. Full horizontal rules. Full indents. Stave extensions necessary for the two upper voices. Recto contains text only.

This is a simple refrain song in which each of the six five-line stanzas ends with the words 'Yet have I bene a foster'. The sign of congruence in all three voices after the first barline is hard to explain.

Richard L. Greene originally classified this as a carol (1935: no. 465) but in his 1977 revision eliminated it on the basis of the analysis in Stevens 1962. Stevens also pointed out that the opening is very similar to that of a song in Ritson's Manuscript, ed. in Stevens 1975: no. 1.

This song is across the break between gathering H and gathering J, the gathering presumed added at some point; it is notable that the music is entirely on the verso, the text entirely on the recto. On the other hand, this is the first of a group of four songs for three voices in tenor and bass registers, what seem to be known as 'freemen's songs'.

**H63** ff. 66<sup>v</sup>–68  
*Fare well my joy and my swete hart* D. Cooper

Ruling: 5 + 2 (5 not used) / 3 + 4 // 5 + 2 (5 not used) / 3 + 4 (3 not used). Full horizontal rules. Full indents.

This is where the manuscript starts having larger pieces that fill two openings and have more musical substance. That it is on the first opening of the (apparently added) gathering J may be significant. All three decorated initials look a bit as though they are 'E' rather than 'F'; but the same is the case with H2 (on ff. 4<sup>v</sup>–5), whereas the decorated 'E' elsewhere in the book is far more rounded.

With two through-composed quatrains, of which the second is plainly a response to the first, it is slightly odd that the two halves are identically scored, with very similar music; but the second quatrain (on the second opening) has its music in two halves that open almost identically. John Stevens (1962: 106) suggested 'some kind of dramatic setting in ceremony or entertainment'. But it may also belong to the category of 'freemen's songs'.

**H64** ff. 68<sup>v</sup>–69  
*With owt dyscord and bothe acorde* The Kynge . H . viij

Ruling: 4 + 3 / 1 + 4 plus text. Full horizontal rules. Full indents.

Two stanzas, each of twelve four-syllable lines, rhyming *aab ccb dde ffe*. Actually it is four six-line stanzas, but the music sets two stanzas. And the details of the setting give some room for wondering whether the composer understood the design of the poem. (Had he written it himself? Presumably. But it makes little sense as it stands.)

Again, this probably belongs in the category of 'freemen's song'.

**H65** ff. 69<sup>v</sup>–71  
*I am a joly foster* [anonymous]

Ruling: 4 + 2 with slight gap / 2 + 3 with gap, below which a horizontal rule the width of the stave // 3 + 4 / 4 + text. Full horizontal rules. Full indents.

Below the music, to the right, someone (apparently William Chappell) has written in very light pencil 'See over', indicating that the song continues on the next

opening, as would be clear to anybody studying the index on f. 3.

Greene (1935/1977: no. 466) classified this as a carol; Stevens (1962) preferred to see it as a 'modified carol', in that there is no explicit indication that the burden should be repeated after each stanza and each stanza ends in any case with a refrain line. It is hard to judge: Greene did not remove the carol from his 1977 revision; and I would be inclined to support his view that the first opening is a 'burden' to be repeated after each stanza. Otherwise too much fine music is wasted.

**H66** ff. 71<sup>v</sup>–73  
*Though sum saith that yough rulyth me* [? Henry VIII]

Ruling: 4 + 2 with gap / 2 + 4 with gap filled by text // 4 + 2 with gap (4 not used) / 2 + 2 with gap occupied by text and at the bottom a horizontal rule the width of the staves. Full horizontal rules. Full indents except on f. 72<sup>v</sup>.

The text plainly states (in stanza 4) that the speaker is king Henry VIII, but there is no ascription. Why? Perhaps Henry did not write the music? Or perhaps it was an oversight on the part of the copyist. Helms (1998: 393) judged the music Henry's work on stylistic grounds. In addition, he pointed out (1998: 373–4) that the opening phrase matches that of Henry's *Pastyme with good companye* (H7) with Discantus and Tenor exchanged and that much of the remaining musical material relates to H7.

Richard L. Greene (1935: no. 437) classified this as a carol but withdrew it from his revision of his book (1977: 481) on the basis of the analysis by John Stevens (1962: 107). There are plainly four equal stanzas to the poem, each ending with the line 'Though sum sayth that yough rulyth me'. The issue turns on whether the *dal segno* indication refers to the end of the first stanza, where all three voices have a sign of congruence, or to the first line where only the Discantus has a sign of congruence, plausibly interpreted by Stevens, *loc. cit.*, as a copying error. On the other hand, the first two stanzas have the same music, and the third and fourth stanzas have different music, simply coinciding at the end. This is such an unusual form that one is inclined to suspect that the copying error may have been in putting the second stanza on the first opening. Certainly the best musical effect comes from singing all the later text to the music found on the second opening and following each stanza with the full music on the first opening, namely the 'burden' with its little textless coda that brings the music back to the final pitch of G. Even so, the poetic form of the burden is the same as that of the stanzas, *abab* in four-beat lines; but this is not the only case of such slight irregularity in the Henry VIII Book.

As Peter Herman remarked (1993: 178), 'this is the most deeply political' of Henry's poems. The words 'God and my right' in the burden are a reference to the English royal motto since at least the time of Henry V, *Dieu et mon droit*.

**H67** ff. 73<sup>v</sup>–74  
*Madame d'amours all tymes or ours* [anonymous]

Ruling: 3 + 4 + text / 4 + 4 with slight gap. Full horizontal rules. Full indents. Extension to third stave on verso, where the copyist seriously underestimated the space needed. But the copying is also out of pattern in having the Tenor at the top of the recto rather than at the bottom of the verso.

Two stanzas of four-syllable lines rhyming *aaabaaab*. John Stevens singled this out for special mention and praise as the last song to be discussed in his *Music and poetry* (Stevens 1961: 334–5). It also received special mention in John Caldwell, *The Oxford history of English music*, vol. i (Oxford, 1991): 259–60. There is a certain relationship to the opening of Antoine de Fevin's *Adieu solas tout plaisir et liesse*, but that is a far simpler song, with the opening notes in half the note-values used in H67. Helms (1998: 401) suggested that it may be by Cornysh, but on the basis of similarities he perceived in H16. I would suggest that the uneven counterpoint of the florid closing passage indicates a composer far less skilled.

**H68** ff. 74<sup>v</sup>–75  
*Adew adew le company* [anonymous]

Ruling: 4 + 3 with small gap / 1 + 6 (7 not used). Full horizontal rules. Full indents.

This piece lacks its Bassus voice, as is clear from exposed fourths almost throughout; so it cannot be performed from the manuscript, though there is an excellent reconstruction of the missing voice in Stevens 1962. Even so, the omission needs explaining. The copyist was a good enough musician to have noted instantly that the voice was absent and shows throughout the manuscript enough skill not to run out of space unexpectedly.

The direct reference to Katharine, Henry and 'le prince, le infant rosary' must refer to some event in January or early February 1511, after the birth of their first son, Henry, on 1 January 1511. The king was still six months short of his twentieth birthday, but it was probably the happiest moment of his reign, which may have begun its downward spiral when the infant died on 22 February. Jousting in his honour began on 12 February. This is the only solidly datable work in the manuscript.

Adew adew le company.

I trust we shall mete oftener.

Vive le Katerine et noble Henry;

Et vive le prince le infant rosary.

- 1 company] *company*
- 2 Katerine] *Katerin ii*
- 3 noble Henry] om i (for musical reasons: not an error)
- 4 Et] om i iii (for musical reasons)

The music and the underlay in the source make it clear that 'vive' is one syllable and 'Katerine' is three.

John Stevens (1961: 19) memorably described this text as 'trivia ... which scarcely rhymes or scans'. One

could add that the words 'le infant rosary' seem meaningless, though it must refer to a child from the house of the Tudor rose-bearers. Elsewhere (1961: 249) Stevens described it as 'a clear example of an "exit" song for a pageant'. There is much that seems incomprehensible about the text. At the very least, it is remarkably feeble as a celebration of the high-point of Henry's reign.

On the other hand, this may well not be quite what it seems. The music, which begins with more or less homophonic declamation, becomes astonishingly florid, almost in the manner of the Eton Choirbook. And that may be part of the clue to its style. The gorgeous joust and party in honour of the young prince may well have involved singers from the Chapel Royal: the text is clearly declaimed, but the rest is highly virtuosic; and the split final note in the Discantus hints at a larger ensemble. As such, this is once again in a manner, form and style otherwise unknown among European song of these years.

More surprising is that the three surviving voices all have the same C<sup>3</sup> clef and all occupy the same range, with the Discantus, on the top left-hand page, hardly ever being at the top of the texture. One might describe it as almost a 'freemen's song' (or 'three men's song') in four voices, one of which is missing.

**H69** ff. 75<sup>v</sup>–76  
 [Consort IX] [anonymous]

Ruling: 4 + 2 with gap / 2 + 3 with gap (2 not used). Full horizontal rules. All but Discantus indented, despite absence of text.

Warwick Edwards (1978: 277) noted that this is very much in the style of Henry's instrumental pieces; and Helms (1998: 394) argued for his authorship, partly on the basis of similarities at the end of H73 and partly because he saw it as a preparatory study for H82.

Certainly it has a florid Discantus line. But what separates it from the ensemble pieces ascribed to Henry is its regularity and symmetry. It is in three equally long sections, the first two identical, and the third cadencing like the others.

**H70** f. 76<sup>v</sup>  
 [Consort X] [anonymous]

Ruling: 2 + 2 + 2 with slight gaps. Full horizontal rules. D indented despite absence of text. Voice-names added (exceptionally) for Tenor and Bassus.

This and H71 use the same melody: in the Discantus of H70 and a fifth lower in the Tenor of H71. H70 is the more skilled, with bars 2–4 repeated exactly as bars 6–8. But the copying is a little more confused: in the first line of the Tenor, the sharp should be two notes later; in the second line of the Tenor the 'c' after the first note is an indication that the next note is not sharpened.

The two phrases are exactly the same length as those in H69; and they cadence more or less as in H69.

**H71** f. 77  
[Consort XI] [anonymous]

Ruling: 2 + 2 + 2 with slight gaps. Full horizontal rules. No indent. Voice-names added (exceptionally) for Tenor and Bassus.

This uses the Discantus of H70 as its Tenor. John Stevens (1962: 107) wrote: 'One of the few instrumental pieces in this MS constructed with balanced sections (1–4; 5–8); it could have been danced to.' It seems a bit short for such purposes; but the regularity he mentions is most unusual in the Henry VIII Book. He could have added that the two phrases are essentially identical apart from their first five semibreves.

There are some serious contrapuntal problems here, as though a pupil were instructed to take H70 as a model but not to follow its Bassus line. The parallel fifths in bar 3 and the truly terrible end of the Bassus are signs of some of the difficulties the composer faced in this tiny piece.

**H72** ff. 77<sup>v</sup>–78  
[Consort XII] The Kynges . H . viij

Ruling: 4 + 2 with gap (4 not used) / 3 + 3 with gap (2 and 3 not used). Full horizontal rules. Full indents despite absence of text.

The signs of congruence at the start of all voices are incomprehensible; those at the beginning of the tripla section (itself in A A' form) are more in line with the final-phrase repetition found elsewhere. In many ways, though, this looks rather more like a song than an abstract instrumental piece. Similarities with H66 at the opening tend to underline that view.

**H73** ff. 78<sup>v</sup>–79  
[Consort XIII] The Kynges . H . viij

Ruling: 4 + 2 with gap / 2 + 3 with gap and with horizontal rule at bottom the width of the staves. Full horizontal rules. Full indents despite absence of text.

The precise repeat of the first ten semibreve beats and the precise repeat of the last eight beats both suggest that the basis of this is a texted song with an A A B C C form. On the other hand, in its present state the music of the first two phrases is unlikely to be for text, and the remainder has a floridity more associated with Henry's instrumental pieces.

**H74** f. 79<sup>v</sup>  
*Deme the best of every dowt* J. Ffluyd

Ruling: 6, below which a horizontal rule the width of the staves, as though preparing for a 7th stave. Horizontal rule at top. Top stave indented.

In Richard Hill's *Commonplace-Book* (Oxford, Balliol College, MS 354, f. 200<sup>v</sup>) the text appears in the form: 'Deme no thyng that is in dowt/ till the trowth

be tred owt' and with the Latin version 'In dubiis servi melius cape, pessima sperne', ed. Roman Dyboski, *Songs, carols, and other miscellaneous poems* (London, 1908): 131. John Stevens also noted that it appears on a bronze jug of Richard II's reign (Joan Evans, *English art, 1307–1461* (London, 1949): 90), so it was presumably a well-known proverb; Ringler 1992 reported it also present in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS c.86, f. 31, and 'copied twelve times as pen practice in British Library, Harley MS 1587, f. 212'.

This round is unusual in that all three entries occupy the same wide range and that there are clear points of imitation, particularly at the words 'Tyll the truth be tryed owt'. Short though it is, it shows more obvious mastery than Flude's other known pieces, H21 and H26. Also discussed in Stevens 1951: 35.

**H75** f. 80  
*Hey troy loly loly* [anonymous]

Ruling: 7. Horizontal rule at top. Top stave indented.

Each voice contains elements of the refrain and its own new couplet, the three couplets rhyming *aa aa aa*.

Not perhaps the most successful round in the book. Helms (1998: 393) hinted that it may be by Henry VIII, partly on the basis of style and partly because it precedes six pieces explicitly ascribed to the king. The totally positive love song of the text could well support his view.

**H76** ff. 80<sup>v</sup>–81  
[Consort XIV] The Kynges . H . viij

Ruling: 4 + 2 with gap (4 not used) / 3 + 3 with gap (2 and 3 not used). Full horizontal rules. Full indents despite absence of text.

Warwick Edwards (1978: 277) noted that this and the next piece are similar (and different from the other pieces by Henry), 'both being exactly thirteen bars long and interspersing moderately melismatic passages in the outer parts'. They also lack any internal division, have the same tonality and have almost the same ranges. In addition, they share the same ruling pattern. As concerns ranges, they also match Henry's *Tannder naken* (H78).

**H77** ff. 81<sup>v</sup>–82  
[Consort XV] The Kynges . H . viij

Ruling: 4 + 2 with gap / 2 + 4 with gap (2 and 6 not used). Full horizontal rules. Full indents despite absence of text.

For commentary, see preceding piece, H76.

**H78** ff. 82<sup>v</sup>–84  
*Tannder naken* The Kynges . H . viij

Ruling: 5 + 2 / 2 + 4 with gap (2 not used) // 8 / 2 + 6. Bassus line on second opening lacks the full horizontal rule. Indents only for Tenor and Bassus on first opening.



The text cue appears only in the Tenor and is not included in the manuscript's table of contents (f. 3)—a rare case matched by *[E]n vray amoure* (H81).

*T'Andernaken op den Rijn* is a Flemish-language song about events at Andernach on the Rhein, some 65 km south of Cologne, therefore far from where any Flemish was spoken. The earliest known setting of the tune dates from perhaps 1420–30 (by the otherwise unknown Tyling, printed in Fallows 2014: no. 33); but there was a major burst of such settings in the years around 1500, including versions by Agricola, Brumel, Hofhaimer, and others. Nearly all are, like H78, in three voices with the borrowed melody in the middle of the texture. A summary of all known settings is in Fallows 1999: 485–6; most are presented in *T'Andernaken: ten settings*, ed. Richard Taruskin (Coconut Grove, 1981).

A comparison of the various forms of the Tenor is in Fallows 2003. It shows that, apart from Brumel and Obrecht, no two composers had the same version of the tune. There is a story going around that Henry's version owes too much to those of Obrecht and Lapidica; but there is nothing here apart from the opening gambit (which is musical small-change of the time).

This piece may be Henry's clearest claim to be a skilled composer: it always works in performance and never outstays its welcome. The notation here has two infringements of the principle of *similis ante similem semper perfecta est*, a central feature of the notation of music in perfect time (though there are many other infringements among English music of the fifteenth century): bar 18 in the Bassus and bar 37 in the Tenor. On the other hand, *alteratio* is used correctly at bars 5 and 13 of the Tenor, and many other aspects of the notation show that the writer understood the principle of *similis ante similem* and knew how to use full-black notation to compensate. Henry's three-voice *Quam pulchra es*, in John Baldwin's commonplace book (c. 1591) shows abundant evidence of a thoroughly sophisticated understanding of mensural notation.

**H79** ff. 84<sup>v</sup>–85  
*Who so that wyll for grace sew* The Kyng . H . viij

Ruling: 4 + 3 with slight gap / 1 + 3 with text. Full horizontal rules. Full indents.

Two stanzas of six four-beat lines each, rhyming *aabbcc*; but the music is in A B A form, so there is a lot of repeated material in the two stanzas, especially if the sign of congruence near the end is taken to denote a repeat at the end of each stanza. (John Stevens in his commentary was confused about the use of 'ut supra' at the end of the second voice; but that is surely just another way of denoting the ubiquitous last-phrase repeat.)

The design of the music has the irregularity of several pieces here. Phrases end with a breve surmounted by a fermata in all voices, each preceded by music occupying a different and irrational number of semibreves: 15, 6, 8, 15. This is especially odd for such a homophonic song,

very much in the manner of what seem to be the 'freemen's songs'.

The text is discussed by Theo Stemmler (1992: 98–9).

**H80** ff. 85<sup>v</sup>–86  
*[Consort XVI]* The Kyng . H . viij

Ruling: 4 + 2 with gap / 2 + 4 with gap (2 not used). Full horizontal rules. No indent.

This is far more substantial than most of Henry's consorts; and it is fully in control, technically speaking. Moreover, the voices have much more equal importance than in most of his compositions.

**H81** ff. 86<sup>v</sup>–87  
*[E]n vray amoure* The Kyng . H . viij

Ruling: 4 + 3 / 4 + 4. Full horizontal rules. Indents only on the verso. Tenor unusually copied at top of recto rather than at bottom of verso.

There is no indication of what the missing first letter should be: Stevens and others have read '[E]n vray amoure'; Helms published the music (1998: 310–11) and read '[U]n vray amoure' but without further discussion of the matter—which may be appropriate in that we cannot tell but need reminding that there are other possible solutions. Like *Tannder naken* (H78), this is not included in the original table of contents on f. 3.

The tune appears in the French monophonic chansonnier Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 12744, with a sad poem of lost love, 'Helas, je l'ay perdue', ed. Gaston Paris and Auguste Gevaert, *Chansons du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1875): no. 108 (Ex. 9, though the poem has four more stanzas). But it looks as though the text cue of H81 (whatever it may have read) is for a poem of satisfied love, whereas the Paris poem is of lost love. A setting of the same melody by Loyset Compere (Ex. 11 overleaf) has the text 'Alons fere nos barbes', apparently describing the complaisant afternoon activities of the barber's wife (all sources are severely garbled, so it is hard to be sure). This last appears in Petrucci's *Harmonice musices odhecaton A* (Venice, 1501) and various other

Ex. 9: *Helas, je l'ay perdue*, from Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f. fr. 12744

sources; and the text here seems decidedly more appropriate for the metrical homophony of H81—strongly in triple time despite the duple mensuration sign.



Ex. 10: Melody extracted from Discantus and Tenor of H81

Ex. 11: Melody extracted from Discantus and Tenor of Loyset Compere's *Alons, fere nos barbes*

The fullest account of the tune is in Isabel Kraft, *Einstimmigkeit um 1500: der Chansonnier Paris, BnF f.fr. 12744* (Stuttgart, 2009), 242–4. Though the Compere setting is quite a bit more elaborate than H81, the two pieces have several important details in common, especially having very similar codas. Given that the Compere version was printed already in 1501, it must be considered certain that Compere and Henry were both treating a popular monophonic song; and the way Henry put the second section of the melody into the Tenor voice, like Compere, suggests that he knew Compere's version. If so, though, he has once again replaced a rough drinking song with a text apparently portraying satisfied love. Henry's piece probably works rather better with an instrumental ensemble.

John Stevens remarked (1962: 108, endorsed by Warwick Edwards 1978: 280 and Dietrich Helms 1998: 352) that the second voice 'looks suspiciously like one of Henry's added parts'; but actually it looks that way only because it is written in long note-values: if the notes were subdivided as in the other voices it would look no different, so it may come down to a notational shorthand.<sup>86</sup> Besides, the Compere version is also in four voices. Helms 1998: 308–12 has an extended discussion of H81 with special attention to how it matches the style of H45.

<sup>86</sup> In this context, it is worth stressing that Helms (1998: 312 and 352) was quite wrong to describe the Contratenor as 'fehlerhaft': there are parallel fifths at bar 10 (of the edition in Stevens 1962: 14 of that in Helms 1998: 310–11, though on p. 352 he uses Stevens's numbering), but these are in a manner found in much music of the time, not least Josquin. Certainly there are other cases of parallel fifths in the piece; but they do not concern the Contratenor.

## H82

ff. 87<sup>v</sup>–88

*Let not us that yong men be*

[anonymous]

Ruling: 4 + 2 with gap / 1 + 4 plus text. Full horizontal rules. Full indents.

The text has two stanzas, both rhyming *aabbcc* in four-beat lines. The music repeats after line 2, in the manner of a ballade (which would, however, have the same rhymes for the first couplet as for the second). John Stevens noted that this text is very much in Henry's manner; and Helms (1998: 394) argued that the music is by him.

More importantly, Warwick Edwards (1978: 277) suggested that this

may well have been conceived without words: not only is considerable rearrangement of the underlay necessary for performance (including the splitting up of some long notes into shorter ones), but the musical form runs contrary to that of the poem, and in any case, as John Stevens points out, is unusual for strophic songs of the period.

That initials are copied in for only three of the four voices is a further hint that something went wrong here.

But the design is the now familiar pattern of irregular phrases, all ending with a breve and a fermata followed by a barline, with the following phrase lengths, in semi-breves: 18, 8, 7.

## H83

ff. 88<sup>v</sup>–89

*Dulcis amica*

[Denis Prioris]

Ruling: 4 + 2 with gap (4 not used) / 2 + 3 with gap (2 not used), below which a horizontal rule the width of the staves. Full horizontal rules. Full indents. Text cue to Discantus only.

*Dulcis amica Dei rosa vernans stella decora* (the text, incidentally, is a pure hexameter) is known from over twenty sources, going back to the Laborde chansonnier in the 1480s and forwards to Rhau's *Symphoniae iucundae* (1538); details in Fallows 1999: 580–81, with further discussion of the piece's context in Dumitrescu 2012: 31–3. Several of the sources have an added fourth voice; but that fourth voice is always different apart from two manuscripts copied from Rhau's publication: a comparative edition of the six different added voices appears in the Prioris complete edition, *Johannes Prioris: collected works*, ed. T. Herman Keahey and Conrad Douglas = *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, ser. 90, vol. iii (Neuhausen, 1985): 126–7; and it is a fascinating (possibly unique) document for those curious to understand the broader context and the possibilities of the new voices that Henry VIII added to various pieces.

That the composer's first name was Denis, not Johannes as in most earlier literature, became clear only with the discovery in 2008 of a choirbook in Brno, the first known musical source to give his first name. Denis Prioris (or Prieur) is documented in the chapel of king Louis XII from 1491 (long before he became king) to 1512 and as chapel-master from 1496 (Dumitrescu 2012).

Oddly enough, only two sources actually name Prioris as the composer of *Dulcis amica*, and one of them is the Pepys Library manuscript 1760, probably given to Henry VIII by Anne of Brittany.<sup>87</sup> This manuscript has readings that are close but not close enough to have served as an exemplar for the Henry VIII Book. On the other hand, it is the only other source to include the signs of congruence to denote a repeat of the last section. As may be expected, all the other sources end their sections with longs, rather than the breves mostly used in H83 (and throughout the Henry VIII Book); and none of the other sources has barlines after those sections.

**H84** f. 89<sup>v</sup>  
 [Consort XVII] [anonymous]

Ruling: 2 + 2 + 2 with gaps. Full horizontal rules. No indent.

This is characteristic of the group of pieces in relatively short phrases that all end with a breve surmounted by a fermata and then a barline (though in this case there are no barlines). The lengths of the phrases before the fermata are 7, 8, 8 and 8 semibreves. That is to say that this is much more regular than most of the group. In the Bassus, the first note of the last phrase has a fermata in place of a sign of congruence: presumably a scribal slip.

**H85** f. 90  
 [*Amy souffrez que je vous aime*] [? Pierre Moulu]

Ruling: 8. Horizontal rule at top only. No indent. The first seven staves are ruled by the normal scribe, M1. M3 has added the music and the bottom staff.

With voided clefs and in a different hand with absolutely all note-stems pointing upwards, this music is plainly copied in by another hand, M3, a hand not known otherwise. It is on the front page of gathering M, so it may have been added later onto a page pre-ruled by the main music copyist, M1. The last page of this gathering (f. 97<sup>v</sup>) is also ruled with seven empty staves.

The song is very widespread among continental sources and even appears in two further English sources, British Library, MS Royal Appendix 26–30, and York Minster Library, M 91 (S). There are around fifteen known sources for the music (some with an added fourth voice), perhaps eighteen intabulations and nine later compositions based on the song.

Its composer is unclear. Le Roy and Ballard's *Tiers livre* (1553) names Moulu above the music but Heurteur in the table of contents; Le Roy's *Premier livre* (1578) names Moulu above the music but Claudin de Sermisy in the table of contents. Both books are so late as to be seriously suspect as evidence; but Moulu, who seems to have been active in the years 1510–30, is as good a candidate as any.

The Florentine manuscript Magl. XIX 117 has the music with a heading that has occasionally been read as 'Izagha' (therefore an ascription to Isaac), and Lawrence F. Bernstein (1986: 65) argued persuasively in favour of Isaac as composer, not just because the piece is unlike anything else in Moulu's known work but also because he found similar details in a five-voice piece ascribed to Isaac in the Florentine chansonnier Banco Rari 229, ff. 181<sup>v</sup>–182 (no. 172). But I am indebted to Joshua Rifkin for patiently persuading me that the ascription (if that is what it is) reads not 'Izagha' but 'Tragha', so there is no reason even to fantasize about Isaac as the composer. The Henry VIII Book may be the earliest known source for the piece (challenged only by Florence 117, mentioned above, probably from the second decade of the century).

The full text appears in various French chapbooks of the early sixteenth century, reproduced in Jeffery 1971: 239, from *S'ensuivent seize belles chansons nouvelles* (Paris, undated: surviving uniquely in Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. Ye 1379):

Amy, souffrez que je vous ayme,  
 Et ne me tenez la rigueur  
 De me dire que vostre cueur  
 Souffre pour moy douleur et peine.

Si pour moy avez de la peine,  
 Je ay pour vous moult de douleurs,  
 Mais je le reppute a valleurs,  
 Pensant d'amy estre certaine.

Je pense maintz jours la sepmaine  
 A vostre bruyt, grace et valeur;  
 Dieu vous en fut large donneur,  
 Qui grande joye au cueur me maine.

**H86** f. 90<sup>v</sup>  
 [Consort XVIII] [anonymous]

Ruling: 5 (4 and 5 not used), below which a rule the width of the staves. Horizontal rule at top. Top staff indented despite absence of text.

A round in classic style, with the second entry serving as a bass to the first and the third entry acting as a descant. It is also far more restrained than the other rounds in the Henry VIII Book, with a simple style and regular metrical patterns. With its relatively limited range and its almost homophonic texture, it looks far better suited to text than most of the others in the Henry VIII Book. Each entry has a pause in the middle denoted by a breve surmounted by a fermata and followed by a barline.

**H87** f. 91  
 [Puzzle-canon V] [anonymous]

Ruling: 2 + 3 with gap. Full horizontal rules. No indent. This is the only occasion in the book when two pieces are on the same page: two tiny canons.

'Puzzle'—the term used in Stevens 1962—seems the wrong description of this canon, since the instructions

<sup>87</sup> See above fn. 40.

for its resolution are clear and unambiguous: ‘Thys songe is iij partes in one and eche part begynnyth under the other: the second parte rest iij and begynnyth in alamire underneth; the iijd part rest v and begynnith in gesolreut beneth.’ So the second entry is a third lower on the fourth semibreve beat and the third is a fourth lower on the fifth beat. On the other hand, the difficulty of composition is considerable, even for so brief a piece. It is also most unusual for its generation, though mixed-pitch canons had been used previously in Ockeghem’s mass *Prolationum* and in various masses on *L’homme armé* (particularly that of Mathurin Forestier, perhaps from around 1510).

The copyist had a bit of trouble, starting in the wrong clef (why?) and therefore having to insert a *custos* after the tenth note, directing that the next note should be a third higher; but actually the very next note is a superfluous brevis A—which must reflect something else in the exemplar. The last note of the second voice is marked by a most unusual-looking sign of congruence. The last note of the third voice is not marked here, but the preceding note has above it an otherwise meaningless flat-sign. All this must go back to a troublesome exemplar. In which case, perhaps the structural fourth near the beginning goes back to a wrongly copied rhythm: it will be avoided if the three notes after the clef-change have the rhythm: semibreve, semiminim, semiminim (which would also result in a marked improvement when the second entry reaches that point). Discussed in Stevens 1951: 32.

**H88***Duas partes in unum*

f. 91

[anonymous]

Ruling: see previous piece (on the same page).

‘*Duas partes in unum*’ fails to specify the necessary details for resolving the canon, namely that the second voice (i) begins a fifth lower, (ii) begins at the same time as the written voice and (iii) goes at half speed. It is not astonishingly complex, but all credit should go to whoever first solved this canon (apparently John Stevens). Discussed in Stevens 1951: 33.

**H89**

[Consort XIX]

ff. 91<sup>v</sup>–92

[anonymous]

Ruling: 4 + 2 with gap / 2 plus 4 with gap (6 not used). Full horizontal rules. Full indents despite absence of text.

Warwick Edwards (1978: 277) wrote: ‘The style is English enough, but the homophonic opening, the paucity of melismas, and the curious duet passage (bars 14–17) taken together suggest a possible vocal origin.’ The indenting of all three voices, as though for texts with painted initials, could support him. On the other hand, the design, of three sections, each ending with a breve surmounted by a fermata and followed by a bar-line, is characteristic of the abstract instrumental pieces in this volume, as is much of the detailed counterpoint.

**H90**

[Consort XX]

ff. 92<sup>v</sup>–93

[anonymous]

Ruling: 3 + 3 with gap / 3 + 3 with gap. Full horizontal rules. Full indents despite absence of text.

It is very odd that there should be signs of congruence in all four voices both at the very beginning and at the start of the final section. Several of the signs of congruence in this manuscript are hard to explain, but these are the hardest. Perhaps they are hints—along with the indenting of voice-openings—that the piece had vocal origins. The four phrases of the piece all end with a breve surmounted by a fermata and then a bar-line (actually, and for this manuscript unusually, the last notes of both *Discantus* and *Bassus* are longs). The lengths of the phrases before the fermata are 8, 9, 8 and 9 semibreves. The four sections of the piece have a clear A B A’ B’ form, which is most unusual in this kind of piece. Helms (1998: 393–4) argued on stylistic grounds that it may be by Henry VIII.

**H91**[*The base of Spayne*]ff. 93<sup>v</sup>–94

[anonymous]

Ruling: 5 + 2 / 4 + 4. *Bassus* lacks the usual horizontal rule across the page also used as the top line of its first staff. No indent.

This is a fascinating case of confused notation. John Stevens (1962) plausibly interpreted the *custodes* at the end of each voice as indicating a return to the fourth note and a continuation to the signs of congruence. But John Ward (1976) demonstrated, by comparison with the other versions of the Tenor, that the repeat must be back to the signs of congruence and that the piece must end after that repeat with a G-chord that happens not to have been written in but is clearly indicated by the *custodes* after the last note of each voice. Given that this is the meaning of almost all signs of congruence in the Henry VIII Book, that should be no real surprise, even if it is counterintuitive. What can be confusing, though, is that the *custos* at the end of the Tenor comes right at the end of the verso and therefore looks as though it is directing the reader to the top of the recto.

The third voice is a *basse danse* Tenor known from two vihuela arrangements: Luys de Narváez, *Los seys libros del Delphin de musica* (Brown 1965: no. 1538<sub>1</sub>), ff. 95<sup>v</sup>–97<sup>v</sup> (no. 33), as ‘*Baxa de contrapunto*’, also found in the English ‘Osborn commonplace book’ (Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Osborn Music MS 13), ff. 10–11<sup>v</sup>, ‘*The base of Spayne*’, ed. in John M. Ward, *Music for Elizabethan lutes* (Oxford, 1991), vol. ii: no. 88; and an arrangement for two vihuelas in Enriquez de Valderrábano, *Silva de sirenas* (Brown 1965: no. 1547<sub>5</sub>), ff. 58<sup>v</sup>–60 (no. 86), ‘*Contrapunto sobre el tenor de la baxa*’, reprinted in Phalèse’s *Hortus musarum* (Brown 1965, no. 1552<sub>11</sub>), no. 205, ‘*Baxa*’. Its choreography is present in the Stribaldi manuscript (dated 1517) as ‘*El bayli de Spagna*’ and in Antonio Arena’s *Ad suos compaigniones studentes* (Lyon, [1528], and over forty later editions) as

‘Lo bas despagno’: details in David Wilson, *The basse dance handbook* (Hillsdale, NY, 2102): 132–41 and 149–78. All explained and discussed in Ward 1976, at pp. 131–5 and 137–8.

On the other hand, both choreographies agree on having twenty-three steps. The Narváez version has music for only nineteen steps and Valderrábano has it with an expansion in the middle for a dance of twenty-five steps. If, however, we take H91, repeating back to the sign of congruence and then going through to the end, we have music for twenty-four steps, perhaps allowing an extension of the final step.

This gives us enough information to reach the likely conclusion that the melody indeed came from Spain. Obviously, Catherine of Aragon’s position made for a substantial Iberian presence in the English royal court.

That the *basse danse* was well known at the English royal court is clear from, for example, the description of the festivities in honour of Catherine of Aragon in Westminster Hall in November 1501: first, prince Arthur and Lady Cecil danced two ‘bass daunces’; next, Catherine ‘and one of her ladyes with her’ did the same; and then the ten-year-old Henry did the same with his sister Margaret (details in Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 3). Probably in the 1490s, Thomas Medwall’s *Fulgens and Lucreces* (printed London, [c. 1512–16]) describes a ‘base daunce after the gyse/ Of Spayne’ (lines 380–95 in *The plays of Henry Medwall*, ed. Alan H. Nelson (Woodbridge, 1980)) accompanied by a group of minstrels including a ‘tamboryne’.

**H92** ff. 94<sup>v</sup>–97  
*Lusti yough shuld us ensue* The Kyng . H . viij

Ruling: 4 + 3 (4 not used) / 3 plus text // 7 (of which only the bottom two used) / 3 + 3 (of which only top two used) with gap filled by text // 3 + 3 with gap and with text below / 3 + 3 with text at bottom. Horizontal rules at tops of pages only except on the last opening (ff. 96<sup>v</sup>–97) full. In the whole song the only indent is for the Bassus on the first opening.

The poem has seven stanzas of four-beat quatrains, rhyming *aabb* (or perhaps it should be expressed as fourteen rhyming couplets); the music of the first quatrain is repeated for the second, that of the third quatrain is repeated for the fourth, and that of the fifth quatrain is repeated twice for the sixth and seventh. That is a highly unusual design for these years.

The second opening contains only one voice, but the page is plainly ruled for two more voices. John Stevens (1962) reconstructed the passage in only two voices, which seems plausible in view of the considerable floridity of the single voice that was written but unlikely when one considers that the stave-ruling in the Henry VIII Book was almost always done immediately before the copying and therefore designed specifically for whatever was in the copyist’s exemplar. But the transmission plainly has a problem. Perhaps Henry never finished writing that middle section.

**H93** f. 98  
*Now* [anonymous]

Ruling: 6 (5 and 6 not used), below which a rule the width of the staves. Horizontal rule at top. No indent. Note that the consistent use of rising stems for the minims is evidence that the copyist never expected more text than is now present. The facing verso (f. 97<sup>v</sup>, at the end of the previous gathering) has 7 empty staves with a horizontal rule at the top.

With only the word ‘Now’ for text, this round obviously raises questions. It is as though, as with the preceding piece, the copying was not finished. The oddly angular lines and the wide range of each entry mark the piece as rather different from the other rounds in the Henry VIII Book; but it is closer in style to the rounds than to the textless instrumental pieces.

**H94** ff. 98<sup>v</sup>–99  
 [Consort XXII] The Kynge . H . viij

Ruling: 3 + 3 with gap (3 and 6 not used) / 3 + 3 with gap (3 and 6 not used). Full horizontal rules. No indent.

In two sections, each ending with a breve surmounted by a fermata and followed by a barline. The lengths before those breves are 12 and 13 semibreves. The sign of congruence in the second voice (right-hand page) is placed one breve earlier than in the other voices—a surprising oversight for so experienced and precise a copyist. This is one of the few four-voice pieces credited to Henry and the only textless one.

**H95** ff. 99<sup>v</sup>–100  
 [B]elle sur tantes/ Tota pulchra es [Alexander Agricola]

Ruling: 4 + 4 (8 not used) / 5 + 2. Full horizontal rules. No indent (and no initial capital letter). Upper voice text cue to Discantus only. The layout of the page is, uniquely in the Henry VIII Book, in the manner of German choirbooks, with the Bassus at the foot of the verso and the Tenor at the foot of the recto.

Agricola’s motet-chanson *Belle sur toutes/ Tota pulchra es* was printed in Petrucci’s *Canti C* (Venice, 1504), with an ascription ‘Agricola’ (fullest listing of sources in Boorman 2006: 1034–5); but variant readings combine to suggest that the exemplar for H95 was not this publication but something from the Low Countries, perhaps like the Florence Conservatory MS Basevi 2439, copied in the ‘Bourgeois’ workshop for Italian patrons, where the piece appears with a fuller ascription to ‘Alexander Agricola’. The music also appears anonymously in the songbook of Johannes Heer, Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 462 (c. 1510), and in Attaignant’s *Quarante et deux chansons musicales a troys* (Paris, 1529).

The Bassus, on the left-hand page, is an addition unique to the Henry VIII Book—not a bad one at first, though it loses its way in bars 12–14 and then breaks off at the end of a line before the last dozen breves. What

is puzzling here, though, is that there is an empty stave to carry the missing music. Again, the question is whether the copyist's mind was not fully on the job or whether the composer of this line (perhaps 'deviser' would be the better word) never finished the task. John Stevens (1962) offered a thoroughly good reconstruction of the missing last bars.

None of the musical sources has more than a three-word incipit for the two upper voices; but there is a complete rondeau that fits the music perfectly in the poetry manuscript Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 1722, printed in the standard edition of Agricola's music, *Alexander Agricola: collected works*, ed. Edward R. Lerner = *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, ser. 22, vol. iv (Neuhausen, 1966): no. 14.

**H96** ff. 100<sup>v</sup>–102  
*Englond be glad pluk up thy lusty hart* [anonymous]

Ruling: 4 + 2 with gap (4 not used) / 2 + 4 with gap // 4 + 2 / 2 + 4. Full horizontal rules. Full indents.

On f. 102, the first stave originally had a wrong clef, immediately corrected (as is clear from the placing of the staff-signature) when the copyist realised that the low B-flat would have required a leger line.

The text may refer to Henry VIII's invasion of France in the summer of 1513, when he took the Chapel Royal with him and was plainly attempting to emulate Henry V's victory at Agincourt a century earlier. That the invasion resulted in only the capture of Théroutanne seems not to have discouraged anybody. Henry never again led an invasion in person; and he never again claimed that he was thereby protecting the church (Helms 1998: 47; Dumitrescu 2007: 13).

But it could equally celebrate the invasion of Aquitaine led by Edward Howard in the summer of 1512. This was after all the moment at which Henry at last reached his ambition of emulating Henry V. That the expedition was a miserable failure hardly diminishes the likelihood that it was preceded by a song like this.

Stevens (1961: 417; 1962: 109) called this a 'modified carol', by which he meant that there is apparently only a single stanza and only the second half of the refrain is repeated. But the rhyme-scheme is characteristic of the carol, namely *aa* for the burden and *bbbba* for the stanzas, all in ten-syllable lines.

The musical style is very much in the manner of what seems to be a 'freemen's song'—convivial and cheerful as well as warmongering.

**H97** f. 103  
*Pray we to God that all may gyde* [anonymous]

Ruling: 6, below which a horizontal rule the width of the staves. Horizontal rule at top. Top stave indented. (Facing verso is entirely blank apart from two vertical rules.)

Poetic form of eight-syllable lines rhyming *aabbcc*, with two lines per entry of the round, which functions

more or less according to the standard Tenor–Bassus–Discantus system and again resembles the style of a 'freemen's song' (just like H96).

This round, praying specifically for the king's victory, seems more directly to concern the French invasion of 1513. The blank page between the two songs needs explaining, and it could have been inserted to make it clear that the two are not directly related.

**H98** ff. 103<sup>v</sup>–104  
[Consort XXIII] The Kyng . H . viij

Ruling: 4 + 2 (4 not used) / 2 + 4 (2 and 6 not used). Full horizontal rules. Full indents despite absence of text.

As the last piece ascribed to the king in the manuscript, this may not seem the most auspicious curtain call. It is characteristic of that group of pieces in relatively short phrases that all end with a breve surmounted by a fermata and then a barline. The lengths of the phrases before the fermata are 6, 13 and 13 semibreves.

Signs of congruence in Discantus and Tenor direct that the last of these phrases must be repeated, though for some reason the sign of congruence in the Bassus is above the very first note.

**H99** ff. 104<sup>v</sup>–105  
*Ffors solemant* [Antoine de Fevin]

Ruling: 5 + 2 / 2 + 5. Full horizontal rules. No indents. No decorated initials. Text cue only to Bassus only.

Ockeghem's rondeau setting *Fors seulement l'attente que je meure* (c. 1460) gave rise to many later arrangements that borrowed one or other of its voices. But around 1500 a new set of pieces arose, with a different melody but perhaps the same text, as exemplified most prominently in a setting by Matheus Pipelare.

The present setting, by Antoine de Fevin (d. 1511–12) shares nothing musically with the original Ockeghem song, but draws heavily on Pipelare's. Almost the entire repertory of *Fors seulement* pieces was edited by Martin Picker (*Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance*, vol. xiv: Madison, WI, 1981); but to see the ways in which Fevin draws on Pipelare it is worth turning to Helen Hewitt's article, 'Fors seulement and the cantus firmus technique of the fifteenth century', in *Essays in musicology in honor of Dragan Plamenac*, ed. Gustave Reese and Robert J. Snow (Pittsburgh, 1969): 91–126, at p. 125.

H99 survives in over twenty sources today, thereby being the most widely distributed of the many pieces with that title. Just one source credits it to Antoine de Fevin, namely Pepys Library 1760, a chansonnier donated to Henry VIII shortly before he became king<sup>88</sup> but actually prepared in French royal circles, where Fevin worked. A much later imperial manuscript, now at Stonyhurst College, gives the piece to Antoine's

<sup>88</sup> See above fn. 40.

brother, Robert de Fevin, and a handwritten annotation in one of the copies of Formschneider's *Trium vocum carmina* (1538) ascribes it to Josquin. The best available summary of the sources is in Christoffersen 1994, vol. ii: 75–6.

**H100**

[Consort XXIV]

ff. 105<sup>v</sup>–106

[anonymous]

Ruling: 5 + 3 / 3 + 6 (the bottom stave ruled short and only half used, as if added at the last moment). Full horizontal rules. No indent.

Clefless, and therefore belonging with a group of clefless pieces known from continental sources but not otherwise in England.<sup>89</sup> While the full explanation of this group of clefless pieces has not yet been provided, a good performing solution can come from imagining the three voices with clefs C1, C3 and C4 (which is the solution adopted in Stevens 1962). Its copying technique matches that of H99; and the two pieces were presumably copied together. Warwick Edwards (1978: 282) noted this and added that its overall design suggests that it is continental and in the form of a virelai, though it is hard to see how text could be fitted: the articulation of the phrases is not at all that of a song with text. Even so, given how much more conclusive the cadence in the middle is, with barlines in all voices, perhaps a performance should have A B A form.<sup>90</sup>

This is one of the very few pieces in the Henry VIII Book marked specifically with a circle to denote the triple time of *tempus perfectum* (cf. H22 and—occupying an entirely different world—H32 and H53).

**H101**

*And I war a maydyn*

106<sup>v</sup>–107

[anonymous]

Ruling: 2 + 2 + 2 with small gaps / 2 + 2 plus text. Full horizontal rules. Full indents. No decorated initial for second voice (which seems to have been omitted in error).

This is the only five-voice piece in the book, and in some respects it looks as though it was intended to close the collection: the last eight pieces are far more substantial and more ambitious in style, as though added as an afterthought.

The poem has three stanzas of homorhyme couplets, all lines of six beats. But if we are to believe the signs of congruence, the second line of each stanza should be repeated.

<sup>89</sup> The most extensive recent statements on this topic are Stefano Mengozzi, “‘Clefless’ notation, counterpoint and the *fa*-degree”, *Early music* 36 (2008): 51–64, and Peter Woetmann Christoffersen, ‘*Prenez sur moy vostre exemple*: the “clefless” notation or the use of *fa*-clefs in chansons of the fifteenth century by Binchois, Barbingant, Ockeghem and Josquin’, *Danish yearbook of musicology* 37 (2009): 13–38.

<sup>90</sup> It is hard to support the suggestion of Helms (1998: 401) that the piece has a stylistic similarity with H8 and may therefore be by Cornysh.

As Raymond Siemens pointed out (1997a: 311), the poem seems to be incomplete. But the gentle homophonic style of the music surely intends a humorous contrast with the flippant poem; see the puzzled discussion in Stevens 1961: 334. The tune and the poem may be much older, since the early fifteenth-century poetry manuscript Bodleian Library, Eng. poet. e. 1, includes a carol with the heading ‘A song in the tune of And I were a mayd, etc.’ (Greene 1935/1977: no. 93): John Stevens assembled this text with the melody (1961: 47). On the other hand, the tune in the Tenor line of H101 looks very much in the style of Henry VIII’s time, not a hundred years earlier. Other references to the text are in the late fifteenth-century Harley MS 1317 (not 1517, as occasionally misprinted), where two songs are named on f. 94<sup>v</sup>; and it is quoted in the interlude *Thersites* (?1560); details in Stevens 1961: 419.

**H102**

*Why shall not I*

ff. 107<sup>v</sup>–108

[anonymous]

Ruling: 4 + 2 / 2 + 4. Full horizontal rules. Full indents. Here the staves are ruled rather further apart than usual, plainly to accommodate the double lines of text for the verse in all voices.

Stevens (1961: 419; 1962: 109) called this a ‘modified carol’ in that the opening burden is very much curtailed at the end of each of the stanzas; but it is fairly distant from the carol style in its stanzas with the form *a8 b6 a8 b6* + *x4*. More to the point, it is an almost exact twin of H103, as noted in Helms 1998: 386, with more or less identical text form, the same tonality, roughly the same ranges and roughly the same length. It also matches the style and ranges of the ‘freemen’s songs’.

**H103**

*What remedy what remedy*

ff. 108<sup>v</sup>–110

[anonymous]

Ruling: 4 + 2 with slight gap / 2 + 4 with gap // 4 + 2 with gap / 1 + 3 with large gap and horizontal rule below the first stave. Full horizontal rules. Full indents on second opening (and decorated initials) but none at all on the first. That is to say that the first opening is ruled like H99 and H100, the second like H101 and H102.

There are two oddities in the copying here. The first is obviously that the copyist treated the first opening as a second opening and the second as a first; and the decorator of the initials followed suit. But the second is that the second opening contains exactly the same music as for the verse on the first opening, merely copying it again so that the second and third stanzas could be underlaid. Elsewhere in this manuscript (and nearly all others), the second and third stanzas would simply have been copied without music at the bottom of the first opening (which has just six staves on each page rather than the more standard seven and would therefore have plenty of space).

John Stevens (1961: 420; 1962: 109) called this a ‘modified carol’ in that each stanza ends with the words (but not the music) of the opening burden; but it seems more likely that it is a perfectly normal carol, namely in that the music of the burden should be sung after each stanza and again at the end. Dietrich Helms (1998: 386) proposed that this is a response to the closely similar H102; and, like H102, it may well belong to the category of ‘freemen’s song’.

Siemens (1999: 190, and 2009b: paragraph 15) saw the text’s multiple repetitions of the words ‘What remedy’ as reflecting ‘the devices employed by Anthony Browne and Henry VIII, and Browne’s motto as well, at the tournament of 2 March 1522 associated with the *Schatew vert* pageant’. But Browne’s motto was ‘Sanse remedy’, which is the opening of an entirely different song printed by John Rastell, recently discovered and given in modern edition in Milsom 1997: 271 (with reproduction, p. 248, and discussion, p. 245).

**H104***Wher be ye my love*ff. 110<sup>v</sup>–112

[anonymous]

Ruling: 3 + 2 with gap / 2 + 4 // 3 + 2 with gap containing text / 2 + 4. Full horizontal rules. Full indents.

Stevens (1961: 421; 1962: 109) called this, too, a ‘modified carol’ in that each stanza ends with the music and some of the words of the burden. Here the copying is more rational, with the burden on the first opening and the verse on the second opening. The slight eccentricity is that the poem seems not to be a carol: it is a simple strophic poem of five stanzas, all rhyming *aabcb* and all with roughly the same last line: the first stanza has its own music and the other five have the music of the verse.

**H105***Quid petis o fily?*ff. 112<sup>v</sup>–116

Pygott

Ruling: 3 + 3 with gap / 3 + 3 with gap // 3 + 5 / 4 + 4 // 5 + 1 / 1 + 5 with gap // 5 + 3 / 2 + 1 + 4. Full horizontal rules. Indents and decoration only for the first opening. On f. 114, below the bottom stave and above the word ‘said’, there is a small hole in the parchment, not repaired.

This is a pure carol, very much like some in the Fayrfax Book, namely with each stanza having its own music. John Stevens’s view (1962: 109) that it is not in Greene 1935 because the verses are through-set seems beside the point: Greene was concerned only with poetic form, and the poetic form here is precisely that of the carol as defined by Greene—after the burden, there are three stanzas, all rhyming *aaaa* in five-stress alliterative lines, all followed by a restatement of the burden. That it was not even included in Greene 1977 is hard to understand.

John Stevens (1961: 421) wrote that ‘the dog-Latin lines which compose the burden are found inside the cover of Peterhouse MS 195 (xiv century) without

music’. It is of course characteristic of the carol genre that the words of the burden are taken from some older outside source. Concerning the verses, their alliterative style looks back very much to well over a hundred years before the music was composed. This too is characteristic of the carol repertory: the assembly and juxtaposition of earlier materials for the text of a new song. In addition, Helms (1998: 241, fn. 34) noted that John Skelton’s *Phyllip Sparowe* (c. 1508) includes (l. 1091) the line ‘Quid petis filio, mater dulcissima? Ba Ba!’ (ed. Scattergood, 1983: 99).

Pygott, the composer of this truly marvellous carol, is one of the most unfortunate figures in Tudor music in that nothing else by him survives complete and with all voices: his works include a four-voice song *By by lullaby* known only from the Bassus voice printed in *XX songes* (1530), a tiny two-voice textless fragment printed in Morley 1597, a five-voice mass *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, and several motets, among which the *Salve regina* is one of the longest votive anthems in a generation that specialised in massive motets.

Stevens also noted that this is ‘the only vernacular religious song’ in the Henry VIII Book. It is also by far the longest work in the book. Pygott died in 1549 and is therefore the only composer named here known to have lived beyond 1523 apart from the king and Cooper. That his first appearance in the documents is as head of the children in Cardinal Wolsey’s chapel in 1517 may suggest that this is one of the latest pieces in the Henry VIII Book; but its musical style seems hard to distinguish from that of the larger carols in the Fayrfax Book of c. 1502, and the style itself is found again in works like Taverner’s *The bella*, printed in *XX songes* (1530), so dating is not at all easy.

**H106***My thought oppressed*ff. 116<sup>v</sup>–120

[anonymous]

Ruling: 5 + 3 / 3 + 5 // 6 + 2 / 4 + 5 // 6 + 2 / 4 + 4 // 6 + 2 / 3 + 5. After the first opening full horizontal rules are only for the top stave. Indents and decoration only for the first opening. The patch at the bottom right-hand corner of f. 117 is hard to explain: it may be water-damage.

The poem has four stanzas of rime-royal, each rhyming *abab acc*, very much in the high style, describing a mood of deep and suicidal despair. The second and fourth stanzas have the additional detail that the last syllables of each line are repeated as the start of the next, which is a fairly common procedure among the French *grand rhetoriqueur* poets of those years. Far different from any French poetry, though, is the irregularity of the lines, ranging from seven to eleven syllables, but basically of four stresses. Again unlike the French tradition is that the music is through-composed and most remarkable in style.

John Stevens (1962: 110) drew attention to substantial changes in the copying, particularly as concerns text-underlay, with lines from notes to syllables and with some



notes transferred from the end of one line to the beginning of the next (and *vice versa*), particularly on the penultimate stave of f. 116<sup>v</sup>, the first, third and last staves of f. 117, the bottom stave of f. 117<sup>v</sup>, the top three staves of f. 118, the penultimate stave of f. 118<sup>v</sup>, the top four staves of f. 119, staves 3–6 on f. 119<sup>v</sup>, and most staves on f. 120. Helms (1998: 43) and Siemens (1997a: 85) identified the later hand here as the same as the one that copied H109; but although the colour is roughly the same the hand seems quite different, particularly in its execution of the letter ‘w’; I believe it cannot be found elsewhere.

But even with these adjustments there is much that is lacking in this piece, as though copied from a poor exemplar that somebody else tried to improve.

## H107

*Sumwhat musing*

ff. 120<sup>v</sup>–122

[Robert Fayrfax]

Ruling: 5 + 3 / 3 + 5 // 4 + 3 / 3 + 4. Full horizontal rules only at tops of pages plus middle voice on f. 120<sup>v</sup>. Only top line of first opening indented, though all three voices have very simple coloured initials on the first opening. In the middle below the bottom stave of f. 121, there is a wormhole that continues on every page until the end of the volume.

This is one of the loveliest, most moving and most individual pieces in the entire book; but there is much to say about it, because it is a work of major historical importance and the available literature is confused.

1. The music also appears in the earlier Fayrfax Book (Add. MS 5465), ff. 33<sup>v</sup>–35, albeit written a fourth higher, where it is ascribed to ‘Roberd Fayrfax’ (ed. in Stevens 1975: no. 44). But the three further sources listed by Stevens (1961: 362) and several later writers are all in fact fragments from a single manuscript, scattered between the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, the Wells Cathedral Library, and the Drexel Fragments in the New York Public Library (ascribed at the end ‘finis quod magister doctor fayrf’), as explained in Fallows 1993a: 5–7. Between them, these three fragments contain the complete song apart from a single line of text.

In addition, a fragment of it at Ely Cathedral Library reported by J. A. Fuller-Maitland in the *Dictionary of national biography*, s.v. ‘Fayrfax’ (1888–9), is in fact the fragment at Wells: his description matches in all details the Wells fragment, which was discovered by his brother-in-law (and his future co-editor of the *Fitzwilliam virginal book*) William Barclay Squire in 1877, according to a letter from Squire to the authorities of Wells Cathedral (Fallows 1993a: 5–6). The Ely fragment is therefore a ghost.

So the unusually large number of six musical sources reported in the literature reduces to three—still a large number for this repertory, but not quite so spectacular. Of those three, the Henry VIII Book and the Drexel–Wells complex have the music at the same unusually low pitch; only the earlier Fayrfax Book has it a fourth higher. We can return to that.

2. The text is by Anthony Woodville (Wydeville), second earl Rivers (b. c. 1440; executed at Pontefract, 25 June 1483, on the instructions of Richard III). He had become prominent at the royal court from 1464, when his younger sister Elizabeth married Edward IV and became queen. He was famous particularly for two major international jousts, against Antoine the ‘grand bastard’ of Burgundy in 1467 and against Adolphe de Clèves in 1468, when Edward IV’s sister Margaret married duke Charles the Bold of Burgundy.

Mixed reporting in the twentieth century has made it seem that his authorship of the poem is only an unsubstantiated rumour. But the evidence is more or less unimpugnable: it is in the *Historia regum Angliae*, by John Rous (d. 24 January 1492), commissioned in 1480 to provide Edward IV with ‘information concerning kings and prelates who might be commemorated with statues in St George’s Chapel, Windsor’ (Nicholas Orme in the *Oxford dictionary of national biography*, s.v.) but not completed until 1486 and therefore dedicated to Henry VII. That is to say that Woodville, brother-in-law of Edward IV and uncle of Henry VII’s queen, perished while Rous was at work on the history.

Rous wrote as follows (from British Library, Cotton MS Vespasian A. xii, f. 134):

Sed dominus comes de Rivers Antonius Woodvyle morte instante cilicio ad nudam carnem, ut diu ante usus fuerat, indutus est repertus. In tempore tamen incarcerationis apud Pontem–fractum edidit unum Balet in Anglicis, ut mihi monstratum est, quod subsequitur sub hiis verbis:

And then follows the poem, lacking lines 13–20 of the forty lines given in all three musical sources. That the musical sources are correct is clear from the rhyme-scheme of the poem as they present it: five stanzas of (mainly) four-syllable lines rhyming *aaabaaab, bbbcbbbc, ccccdcd, dddeddde, eefeeef*.

That omission is part of the evidence that the three known manuscripts of Rous’s *Historia regum Angliae* are synoptic. The seventeenth-century copy in the Bodleian Library (MS Jones 2; Summary Catalogue no. 8909) and the sixteenth-century copy in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 110, pp. 3–127, were both evidently derived from British Library, Cotton MS Vespasian A. xii. This is a beautiful octavo manuscript of the *Historia* on parchment and looking very much as though from the fifteenth century. Briefly, there can hardly be a better witness that the poem is by Rivers and written in June 1483.

3. The history of that poem and its reception is worth outlining. Rous’s *Historia* was printed (from the Bodleian MS with variants from Corpus Christi) in *Joannis Rossi, antiquarii Warwicensis historia regum Angliae e codice MS in Bibliotheca Bodleijana*, ed. Thomas Hearne (Oxford, 1716; 2nd edition: Oxford, 1745), both editions having the poem on p. 214 and its description on p. 213. From there, Thomas Percy took it in his *Reliques of ancient English poetry* (London, 1765), vol. ii: 46. Bishop Percy added:

The amiable light, in which the character of Anthony Widville the gallant Earl Rivers has been placed by the elegant Author of the *Catal. of Noble Writers*,<sup>91</sup> interests us in whatever fell from his pen. It is presumed therefore that the insertion of this little Sonnet [*sic*] will be pardoned, tho' it should not be found to have much poetical merit. It is the only original Poem known of that nobleman's; his more voluminous works being only translations. And if we consider that it was written during his cruel confinement in Pomfret castle a short time before his execution in 1483, it gives us a fine picture of the composure and steadiness with which this stout earl beheld his approaching fate.

Percy's remarks can be glossed with the information that Rivers's literary reputation was substantial, because no less a figure than William Caxton had published his translations of *The dictes and sayings of the philosophers* (1477, one of the first books to be printed in England), *Morale proverbes of Cristyne de Pisan* (1478) and *The book named cordyal* (1479).

Percy noted that something was obviously lost in the second stanza of the poem. Interestingly, and correctly, he added that it is written in imitation of the poem *Alone walkyng In thought plainyng* (which also has five stanzas with precisely the same rhyme and metrical scheme), unique in the mid-fifteenth-century Cambridge, Trinity College, R.3.19 (599), f. 160, with Chaucer's name added later in the margin (perhaps by John Stow)<sup>92</sup> and as a result many times reprinted.<sup>93</sup>

Soon afterwards the young and energetic John Stafford Smith (b. 1750) published in *A collection of English songs* (London, 1779) a remarkable group of pieces transcribed from the Fayrfax Book, which was then already in the British Museum. The first of these was *Sumwhat musing*, and Smith of course knew (from Bishop Percy's *Reliques*) that the poem was by Rivers. Ten years later Joseph Ritson printed the poem in his *Ancient songs, from the time of king Henry III. to the revolution* (London, 1790), pp. 86–8, noting that it

is preserved by Rouse the historian (p. 214), and has been reprinted by Percy (*Reliques*, II. 44). But as the use of the Fairfax MS enabled the present editor to supply a considerable chasm in the printed copies, the curious reader will not be sorry to see it complete.

From then until Edward Arber's *The Dunbar anthology 1401–1508* (London, 1901), 180–81, the poem was regularly printed as one of the important English poems of the fifteenth century, usually with a reference to Rous. But then the thread seems to have been lost and not regained until Rossell Hope Robbins and John L. Cutler, *Supplement to the index of middle English verse* (Lexington KY, 1965): no. 3193.5, who listed it as 'a virelai [*sic*] by Earl Rivers on the eve of his execution', referring correctly to Hearne's edition of Rous, but giving the source as Cotton MS Vespasian A.xii, f. 170<sup>v</sup>. This last may have resulted in continued confusion. The reference recurs elsewhere, but Siemens (1997: 108, and in later writings) stated that the poem is not to be found there. Well, certainly not on f. 170<sup>v</sup>, since the foliation reaches only to 138. The poem is in fact on f. 134. The folio number 170<sup>v</sup> given by Robbins and Cutler is that in the much later Bodleian manuscript from which Hearne made his copy. It may be a small matter, but it does mean that for most of the twentieth century and beyond the manuscript evidence of the poem's authorship was lost.<sup>94</sup>

But the twenty-first century shows a different pattern. His poem has been printed several times since 2009 and appeared on many personal websites as an example of singular beauty;<sup>95</sup> and there has even been speculation that we may have portions of a further poem by Rivers.<sup>96</sup>

4. Slightly too late for his famous 1952 article on Robert Fayrfax and his music,<sup>97</sup> Dom Anselm Hughes discovered that there was a complete family tree of the Fayrfax family in the Bodleian Library,<sup>98</sup> stating clearly

<sup>91</sup> The reference is to Horace Walpole's *A catalogue of the royal and noble authors of England* (London, 1758).

<sup>92</sup> The most easily available modern edition is in Rossell Hope Robbins, *Secular lyrics of the XIVth and XVth centuries* (Oxford, 1952): no. 173.

<sup>93</sup> Other poems in a similar form, but without the interlocking rhymes between stanzas, include: the Ritson song *Alone alone, Mornyng alone* (6 stanzas, ed. Stevens 1961: R10; with music in Stevens 1975: no. 10); the Fayrfax Book song *Madam defrayne, Ye me retayne* (3 stanzas, ed. Stevens 1961: F25; with music in Stevens 1975: no. 45); the poem *What so men seyn, Love is no peyn* (4 stanzas) in the 'Findern' MS, Cambridge, University Library, Ff. 1.6, f. 56; and the poem *O mestres why Outcaste am I* (4 stanzas, ed. in Rossell Hope Robbins, *Secular lyrics of the XIVth and XVth centuries* (Oxford, 1952): no. 137) in British Library, Harley MS 2252, f. 85<sup>v</sup>. The two with musical settings happen to share with H107 the unusual feature of being through-composed; and they may well be the most relevant pieces for a study of the roots of the style Fayrfax employed in *Sumwhat musing*.

<sup>94</sup> The ascription for the poem to Rivers was so lost to literary historians that Rossell Hope Robbins produced it as though out of a hat in one of his last articles, 'The middle English court love lyric', in *The interpretation of medieval lyric poetry*, ed. W. T. H. Jackson (New York, 1980): 205–32, at pp. 219–24. It must be added, though, that the poem was printed, and correctly identified as by Rivers on the evidence of Rous, in Paul Murray Kendall, *Richard III* (London, 1955): 212 (and fn. 19 on p. 472).

<sup>95</sup> Apparently for the first time in Lynda Pigeon, 'Antony Wydevile, lord Scales and earl Rivers: family, friends and affinity, part 2', *The Ricardian* 16 (2006), 1–18, at p. 16 (without discussion or documentation); then in Philippa Gregory's historical novel *The white queen* (London, 2009); then in Susan Higginbottom, *The Woodvilles: the wars of the roses and England's most infamous family* (Stroud, 2013). At the time of writing, one website dated 2012, one dated 2013, one dated 2014 and one undated.

<sup>96</sup> Omar Khalaf, 'An unedited fragmentary poem by Anthony Woodville, earl Rivers in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 264', *Notes and queries* 58 (2011), 487–90.

<sup>97</sup> Anselm Hughes, 'An introduction to Fayrfax', *Musica disciplina* 6 (1952): 83–104.

<sup>98</sup> As reported in Edwin B. Warren, 'Life and works of Robert Fayrfax', *Musica disciplina* 11 (1957): 134–52, at 141–2.

that Robert Fayrfax, Doctor of Music, was born in 1464 (and died in 1521). That is to say that he was nineteen years old when Rivers died. Rivers was not just the most romantic and heroic of those executed by Richard III; he was also the eldest brother of Edward IV's queen, and therefore uncle of the new queen, Elizabeth of York. His fame certainly resounded in the court of the newly established Tudor dynasty.

There is no information about Fayrfax's professional activities before 1497, when he is reported as a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal. On the other hand, Nick Sandon (2004) explored the family a little further. He wrote:

The list of godparents and sponsors chosen by William [Robert Fayrfax's father] and his wives for their children includes local worthies such as an abbot of Peterborough, an archdeacon of Leicester, and members of one of the richest mercantile families in the district. It also reveals sustained relationships with their landlord, Margaret Beauchamp, dowager duchess of Somerset, her children, and her household, who frequently resided at Maxey Castle nearby. When Margaret Beauchamp died in 1482 Maxey passed to her daughter Margaret Beaufort, who had often stayed there as a child. Three years later Margaret Beaufort became the first lady of the kingdom through her son's victory at Bosworth and accession as Henry VII. It seems likely that Fayrfax's career prospered by means of the patronage of this extremely influential family.

To judge from the rest of the article (and his other writings) Sandon was unaware that the text of *Sumwhat musing* was by the new queen's uncle. Perhaps we can take that information no further beyond noting that it is therefore no great surprise that Robert Fayrfax should have chosen to set that text. Certainly the information cannot be used to date his composition, since Rivers remained a hero throughout the reign of Henry VII. On the other hand, the close connection between Fayrfax and Margaret Beaufort does mean that he could theoretically have composed it very soon after Rivers perished in 1483 or at least after Henry VII's accession in 1485. The only reasonably firm date we have is for the earliest surviving copy of the music in the Fayrfax Book, early in 1502.<sup>99</sup> On the other hand, we do have payments to Robert Fayrfax from the Lady Margaret Beaufort's household in 1504 and 1507 (Kisby 1997: 224).

5. Equally, though, the circumstance draws attention to some remarkable individual features of the song. First, the forty short lines are fully through-composed, with three eight-line stanzas in the *prima pars* and two more in the *secunda pars*. The result is a high proportion of almost syllabic setting, a clear division of the short lines of the poetry, and a fairly large proportion of writing in just two voices. Already then, we have a song unlike any other. (By and large the songs in the Fayrfax Book generation have two main forms: carols and through-composed ballade stanzas.)

There are also transmission problems. Perhaps the easiest place to start is the poetic text. The last couplet of the

*prima pars* reads in the Henry VIII Book and in the Drexel-Wells fragments 'Such is my chance, willyng to dye' but reads in the much earlier Fayrfax Book as well as in the Rous *Historia* 'Such is my dance, willyng to dye'. Plainly the 'dance' is a *difficilior lectio*; and it is easy enough to imagine a later copyist mistakenly writing 'chance'.<sup>100</sup>

Then there is the matter of the mensuration. The music is in a style of duple time that was common in the second half of the fifteenth century: that is, generally it seems to fall into groups of three semibreves, but no phrase or section can actually be barred consistently in triple time, and such pieces normally have a duple mensuration sign, if any. On the other hand, in this particular piece there is a coloration group of three breves in the *secunda pars* of the middle voice (in all three sources): normally this would be considered as a clear sign that the music is in triple time. So perhaps that is why the Drexel-Wells fragments have a *O* mensuration sign for *tempus imperfectum* in the Henry VIII Book and in one voice only of the Fayrfax Book.

But there is further evidence of contamination here: in the Henry VIII Book many of the breve rests must be read as 'perfect', namely worth three semibreves, in the Bassus (but not the Discantus) of the *prima pars* (but not the *secunda pars* or the last rests in the *prima pars*); and there is similar (but different) confusion in the rests in the Wells fragments, though much of the time the rests—like those in the Fayrfax Book—are written in units of a semibreve in order to avoid such ambiguity.

And that in its turn brings us to the matter of the two written pitches of the piece, the lowish voices in the Fayrfax Book and the even lower voices, a fourth lower, in both the Henry VIII Book and the Drexel-Wells fragments. Normally one would perhaps be inclined to view the more extreme clefs as correct and the more moderate clefs of the Fayrfax Book as a simplification. But the Fayrfax Book has the advantage of looking very much as though it were a court manuscript and having certainly been in the hands of a branch of the Fayrfax family (though not Robert's branch) in the early seventeenth century. This is really likely to be the most authoritative source.

What remains true is that Robert Fayrfax knew that he was writing music for perhaps the most iconic poem of his generation, the generation that seemed to have survived the Wars of the Roses.

H108 ff. 122<sup>v</sup>–124  
*I love unloved suche is myn adventure* [anonymous]

Ruling: 6 + 2 / 4 + 5 // 4 + 2 with gap / 2 + 4 with gap. Full horizontal rules except for Bassus on f. 123 (though the Tenor on f. 122<sup>v</sup> has the extensions written in freehand). Only top line of first opening indented,

<sup>100</sup> In his earliest report on the Henry VIII Book, William Chappell (1867: 372) drew attention to this and reached the opposite conclusion, though without mentioning the reading in Rous.

<sup>99</sup> As reported in fn. 2 above.

though all three voices have very simple coloured initials on the first opening.

A single stanza of rime-royal rhyming *abab baa*, with a return to the original words in the last line and with the (possibly unique) eccentricity that the odd-numbered lines have ten syllables (with a caesura after the fourth) but the even-numbered lines have only eight syllables. Like so many ballade and rime-royal settings in the Fayrfax Book (and unlike any on the continental mainland), it is through-composed. The enormous melismas between the lines, and the particularly enormous one at the end of the *prima pars*, contribute to the general sense that this is more the musical style of the Fayrfax Book.

There is a reference to a sermon by the royal almoner including the lines 'Passe tyme wyth goode cumpanye' (H7) and 'I love unlovydde' (H108) in a letter from Richard Pace to Cardinal Wolsey (5 March 1521), ed. in *Letters and papers, foreign and domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII*, vol. iii, pt. 1 (London 1867): 447 (no. 1188).

### H109

*Hey trolly lolly lo*

ff. 124<sup>v</sup>–128

[anonymous]

Ruling: 4 + 2 with gap / 2 + 4 with gap // 6 + 3 / 3 + 6 // 6 + 3 / 3 + 6 // 4 + 3 with gap / 2 + 6 (2 not used). Horizontal rules only for top staves. No indent.

Added in a different hand but probably not much later. The writer was less elegant but quite as competent as the main copyist, similarly using the top frame-rule of the page as the top line of his first stave, and adopting

a similar policy in respect of stems pointing upwards or downwards. This piece also has an odd use of triple time in the burden: signed  $\text{♩}$ , it works mainly in units of three minims ( $3/8$  in Stevens 1962, with quartered note-values), with rests expressed entirely in minim values but in groups of two, not three. The verses all begin in duple time (with rests expressed in more orthodox fashion), with a return to triple time expressed by the intrusion of a single dotted semibreve.

John Stevens (1961: 425; 1962: 110) called this a 'modified carol', saying (1962: 110) that 'the verses are through-set, and the burden is repeated in a slightly altered form between the verses'. Poetically speaking, it is irregular in that the burden does indeed keep changing and is much longer than the verses. Musically speaking, the burden is always identical whereas the verses are always different. In those respects, it may be unique.

The flirtatious exchange between the suitor and the maiden is quite unlike anything else in this book. But the music and the text do resemble those of several pieces in the Fayrfax Book (Add. MS 5465), probably of 1502. Even so, with Pygott (H105) not documented before 1517 and with the quantity of such music printed in the collection of *XX songes* (1530), it is hard to judge date purely on style. This is a reminder of the evidence presented in Fallows 1993a that the florid style of around 1500 in the Fayrfax Book was to remain in favour for the next few decades alongside the slighter style of most of the music in the Henry VIII Book. The Henry VIII Book is a snapshot of a particular part of the repertory, by no means an anthology representing the best of its time.



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## General index

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H3	5 <sup>v</sup> -6	A4 <sup>v</sup> -5	[Hayne]	Alles regret vuidez de ma presence		many
H4	6 <sup>v</sup> -7	A5 <sup>v</sup> -6	[?Jacobus Barbireau]	En frolyk weson		many
H5	7 <sup>v</sup> -9	A6 <sup>v</sup> -8	[Henricus Isaac]	La my [as heading]		many
H6	9 <sup>v</sup> -14	A8 <sup>v</sup> -B5	[William Cornysh]	Ffa la sol [as heading]		XX <i>songes</i> Add. 5665
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H9	17 <sup>v</sup> -18	B8 <sup>v</sup> -C1	The Kyng . H . viij	Adieu madam[e] et ma mastres[se]		one print
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H25	30 <sup>v</sup> -31	D5 <sup>v</sup> -6	Cornysch	My love she morneth for me		
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H84	89 <sup>v</sup>	L8 <sup>v</sup>	[anon.]	[Consort XVII]		
H85	90	M1	[? Pierre Moulu]	[Amy souffrez]	Script M3	many
H86	90 <sup>v</sup>	M1 <sup>v</sup>	[anon.]	[Consort XVIII]		
H87	91	M2	[anon.]	[Puzzle-canon V]		
H88	91	M2	[anon.]	Duas partes in unum		
H89	91 <sup>v</sup> -92	M2 <sup>v</sup> -3	[anon.]	[Consort XIX]		
H90	92 <sup>v</sup> -93	M3 <sup>v</sup> -4	[anon.]	[Consort XX]		
H91	93 <sup>v</sup> -94	M4 <sup>v</sup> -5	[anon.]	[The base of Spayne]		
H92	94 <sup>v</sup> -97	M5 <sup>v</sup> -8	The Kyng . H . viij	Lusti yough shuld us ensue		
	97 <sup>v</sup>	M8 <sup>v</sup>	[anon.]	[f. 97v 7 empty staves]		
H93	98	N1	[anon.]	Now		
H94	98 <sup>v</sup> -99	N1 <sup>v</sup> -2	The Kynge . H . viij	[Consort XXII]		
H95	99 <sup>v</sup> -100	N2 <sup>v</sup> -3	[Alexander Agricola]	[B]elle sur tantes/ Tota pulcra es		six
H96	100 <sup>v</sup> -102	N3 <sup>v</sup> -5	[anon.]	Englond be glad pluk up thy	?1512	
				[f. 102v blank]		
H97	103	N6	[anon.]	Pray we to God	?1513	
H98	103 <sup>v</sup> -104	N6 <sup>v</sup> -7	The Kynge . H . viij	[Consort XXIII]		
H99	104 <sup>v</sup> -105	N7 <sup>v</sup> -8	[Antoine de Fevin]	Ffors solemant		many
H100	105 <sup>v</sup> -106	N8 <sup>v</sup> -O1	[anon.]	[Consort XXIV]		
H101	106 <sup>v</sup> -107	O1 <sup>v</sup> -2	[anon.]	And I war a maydyn		
H102	107 <sup>v</sup> -108	O2 <sup>v</sup> -3	[anon.]	Why shall not I		
H103	108 <sup>v</sup> -110	O3 <sup>v</sup> -5	[anon.]	What remedy what remedy		
H104	110 <sup>v</sup> -112	O5 <sup>v</sup> -7	[anon.]	Wher be ye my love		
H105	112 <sup>v</sup> -116	O7 <sup>v</sup> -P3	Pygott	Quid petis o fily?		
H106	116 <sup>v</sup> -120	P3 <sup>v</sup> -7	[anon.]	My thought oppressed	Emendations	
H107	120 <sup>v</sup> -122	P7 <sup>v</sup> -Q2	[Robert Fayrfax]	Sumwhat musing		two
H108	122 <sup>v</sup> -124	Q2 <sup>v</sup> -4	[anon.]	I love unloved		
H109	124 <sup>v</sup> -128	Q4 <sup>v</sup> -R1	[anon.]	Hey trolly loly lo	Script M4/T4	

## 2: Differences between body of volume and original index (table of contents)

Stevens no.	Modern ff.	Title	MS no.	Index no.	Index entry
H1	3 <sup>v</sup> -4	B[enedictus]	j	1	Benedictus
H2	4 <sup>v</sup> -5	Fortune esperee	ij	2	Ffortune esperee
H3	5 <sup>v</sup> -6	Alles regret vuidez de ma presence	iiij	3	Alese regrett
H4	6 <sup>v</sup> -7	En frolyk weson	iiiij	4	En frolyk weson
H5	7 <sup>v</sup> -9	La my [as heading]	v	5	La my iiiij partes
H6	9 <sup>v</sup> -14	Ffa la sol [as heading]	vj	6	Ffala soll
H7	14 <sup>v</sup> -15	Pastyme with good companye	vij	7	Pastyme with gode company
H8	15 <sup>v</sup> -17	Adew mes amours	viiij	8	Adew mese amours
			ix	ix	Pardon amoy
H9	17 <sup>v</sup> -18	Adieu madam[e] et ma mastres[se]	x	10	Adew madame
H10	18 <sup>v</sup> -19	Helas madam cel que j'eme tant	xj	11	Elas madame
H12	20 <sup>v</sup> -21	Alas what shall I do for love	xij	12	Alas what shall I do
H13	21 <sup>v</sup>	Hey nowe nowe	xiiij	13	Hey now of Kempes
H14	22	Alone I leffe alone	xiiiij	14	Alone I lyve alone
H15	22 <sup>v</sup> -23	O my hart and o my hart	xv	15	O my hart
H16	23 <sup>v</sup> -24	Adew adew my hartis lust	xvj	16	Adew my hartis lust
H17	24 <sup>v</sup>	Aboffe all thyng now let us syng	xvij	17	Above all thyng
H18	25	Downbery down now am I	xviiiij	18	Down bery down
H19	25 <sup>v</sup>	Hey now now hey now	[none]		
H20	26	In May that lusty sesonn	xix	19	In may that lusty seasonn
H22	27 <sup>v</sup> -28	Who so that wyll hym selff applye	xx	20	Who so that wyll hym selfe aplye
H23	28 <sup>v</sup> -29	The tyme of youthe is to be spent	xxj	21	The tyme of youth
H24	29 <sup>v</sup> -30	The thoughtes with in my brest	xxij	22	The thowghtes with in my brest
H25	30 <sup>v</sup> -31	My love she morneth for me	xxiiij	23	My love she mornyth for me
H27	32 <sup>v</sup> -33	A the syghs that cum fro my hart	xxiiiij	24	A the syghs that come frome my hart
H28	33 <sup>v</sup> -34	With sorowfull syghs and gryvos payne	xxv	25	With sorowfull syghs
H29	34 <sup>v</sup> -35	Iff I had wytt for to endyght	xxvj	26	Iff I hadd wytt
H30	35 <sup>v</sup>	Alac alac what shall I do	[none]	27	Alac alac what shall I do
H31	36	Hey nony nony no	xxvij		
H33	37 <sup>v</sup> -38	Grene growith the holy	xxviiiij	28	Grene growth the holy
H34	38 <sup>v</sup> -39	Who so that wyll all feattes optayne	xxix	29	Who so that wyll all feates optayne
H35	39 <sup>v</sup> -40	Blow thi hornne hunter	xxx	30	Blow thy horne hunter
H36	40 <sup>v</sup> -41	De tous bien plane	xxxj	31	De tous bien playne
H37	41 <sup>v</sup> -42	J'ay pryse amours	xxxij	32	Jay prys amours
H38	42 <sup>v</sup>	Adew corage adew	xxxiiij	33	Adew corage
H39	43 <sup>v</sup> -44	Trolly lolly loly lo	xxxiiiij	34	Trolly lolly loly lo
H40	44 <sup>v</sup> -45	I love trewly without feyning	xxxv	35	I love trewly
H41	45 <sup>v</sup> -46	Yow and I and Amyas	xxxvj	36	Yow and I and amyas
H42	46 <sup>v</sup> -47	Ough warder mount	xxxvij	27	Owgh warder mont
H43	47 <sup>v</sup> -48	La season	xxxviiiij	38	La season
H44	48 <sup>v</sup> -49	If love now reynyd (I)	xxxix	39	Iff love now reynyd
H45	49 <sup>v</sup> -50	Gentyll prince de renom	xl	40	Gentyll prince
H46	50 <sup>v</sup> -51	Sy Fortune m'a ce bien purchasé	xlj	41	Si fortonne
H47	51 <sup>v</sup> -52	Wher to shuld I expresse	xljij	42	Wher to shulde I expresse
H49	53 <sup>v</sup> -54	A Robyn gentyll Robyn	xljiiij	43	A Robyn gentyll Robyn
H50	54 <sup>v</sup> -55	Whilles lyffe or breth	xljiiiij	44	Whilles lyffe or breth
H51	55 <sup>v</sup> -56	Thow that men do call it dotage	xliv	45	Thou that men do call it dotaage
H56	60 <sup>v</sup>	Departure is my chef payne	[none]	46	De parture
H57	61	It is to me a ryght gret joy	xlvj		
H62	65 <sup>v</sup> -66	I have bene a foster	xlviij	47	I have bene a foster
H63	66 <sup>v</sup> -68	Fare well my joy and my swete hart	xlviij, xlix	48	Ffare well my joye
					<i>From here numbers are one behind</i>
H64	68 <sup>v</sup> -69	With owt discord	l	49	With owte discord
H65	69 <sup>v</sup> -71	I am a joly foster	lj	50	I am a joly foster
H66	71 <sup>v</sup> -73	Though sum saith	lij, liij	51	Though sum serth that youth
					<i>From here numbers are two behind</i>
H67	73 <sup>v</sup> -74	Madame d'amours all tymes or ours	liij	52	Madame damours

H68	74 <sup>v</sup> -75	Adeu adeu le company	lv	53	Adeu le company
H74	79 <sup>v</sup>	Deme the best of every dowl	lvj	54	Deme the best off every doute
H75	80	Hey trolly loly loly	lvij	55	Hey how trolly loly
H78	82 <sup>v</sup> -84	Tannder naken	[none]		
H79	84 <sup>v</sup> -85	Who so that wyll for grace sew	lvij	56	Who so that wyll force sewe
H81	86 <sup>v</sup> -87	[E]n vray amoure	[none]		
H82	87 <sup>v</sup> -88	Let not us that yong men be	lix	57	Let nott us that yong men be
H83	88 <sup>v</sup> -89	Dulcis amica	lx	58	Dulcis amica
H92	94 <sup>v</sup> -97	Lusti yough shuld us ensue	lxj, lxij	59	Lusty yowth shuld us ensue
				60	With goode order cancell & equite
H93	98	Now	[none]		
H95	99 <sup>v</sup> -100	[B]elle sur tantes/ Tota pulcra es	[none]		
H96	100 <sup>v</sup> -102	Englond be glad pluk up thy	lxij	61	England be glad pull up thi
H97	103	Pray we to God	lxiiij	62	Pray we to god
H99	104 <sup>v</sup> -105	Ffors solemant	[none]		
H101	106 <sup>v</sup> -107	And I war a maydyn	lxv	63	And I war a maydyn
H102	107 <sup>v</sup> -108	Why shall not I	lxvj	64	Why shall nott I
H103	108 <sup>v</sup> -110	What remedy what remedy	lxvij	65	What remedy
H104	110 <sup>v</sup> -112	Wher be ye my love	lxviiij	66	Wher be ye my love
H105	112 <sup>v</sup> -116	Quid petis o fily?	lxix	67	Quid petis o fili
H106	116 <sup>v</sup> -120	My thought oppressed	lxx	68	My thought oppressid
H107	120 <sup>v</sup> -122	Sumwhat musing	lxxj	69	Sum what musyng
H108	122 <sup>v</sup> -124	I love unloved	lxxij	70	I love unlovid
H109	124 <sup>v</sup> -128	Hey trolly loly lo	[none]		

### 3: Scoring, texting and clefs

Stevens no.	Modern ff.	Ascription or [composer]	Title	Voices & text	Clefs
H1	3 <sup>v</sup> -4	[Henricus Isaac]	B[enedictus]	3vv	C2, C3, F4
H2	4 <sup>v</sup> -5	[Felice or Busnoys]	Fortune esperee	3vv + new Ct	C1, C3, C3, C4
H3	5 <sup>v</sup> -6	[Hayne]	Alles regret	3vv	C2, C4, F4
H4	6 <sup>v</sup> -7	[?]Jacobus Barbireau]	En frolyk weson	3vv	C1, C3, F3
H5	7 <sup>v</sup> -9	[Henricus Isaac]	La my [as heading]	4vv	C1, C3, C4, F4
H6	9 <sup>v</sup> -14	[William Cornysh]	Ffa la sol [as heading]	3vv	C1/G2, C4, F4
H7	14 <sup>v</sup> -15	The Kyng . H . viij	Pastyme with good companye	3×3vv + stanzas	C2, C4, F4
H8	15 <sup>v</sup> -17	Cornysch	Adeu mes amours	4×4vv	C1, C3, C3, C4
H9	17 <sup>v</sup> -18	The Kyng . H . viij	Adieu madame et ma mastresse	4×4vv	C1, C3, C4, F4
H10	18 <sup>v</sup> -19	The Kyng . H . viij	Helas madam cel que j'eme tant	4×4vv	G2, C3, C4, F4
H11	19 <sup>v</sup> -20	[anon.]	[Consort I]	4vv	C2, C3, C4, C5
H12	20 <sup>v</sup> -21	The Kyng . H . viij	Alas what shall I do for love	4×4vv	C2, C2, C4, F4
H13	21 <sup>v</sup>	Kempe	Hey nowe nowe	3vv ex 1 round	C4/C3
H14	22	Doctor Cooper	Alone I leffe alone	3vv ex 1 round	C4/C3
H15	22 <sup>v</sup> -23	The Kyng . H . viij	O my hart and o my hart	3×3vv	C1, C4, F4
H16	23 <sup>v</sup> -24	Cornysch	Adeu adeu my hartis lust	3×3vv	C2, C4, F4
H17	24 <sup>v</sup>	Ffaredyng	Aboffe all thyng	3vv ex 1 round	C4/C3
H18	25	Wylliam . Daggere	Downbery down now am I	3vv ex 1 round	C4/C3
H19	25 <sup>v</sup>	Thomas . Ffaredyng	Hey now now hey now	3vv ex 1 round	C4/C3
H20	26	T Ffaredyng	In May that lusty sesonn	3vv ex 1 round	C5/C4
H21	26 <sup>v</sup> -27	Fflude	[Puzzle-canon I]	3vv + canonic voice	C1, C2, C4, F4
H22	27 <sup>v</sup> -28	Rysbye	Who so that wyll hym selff	4×4vv	C1, C3, C3, C5
H23	28 <sup>v</sup> -29	The Kyng . H . viij	The tyme of youthe	3×3vv + stanzas	G2, C4/C3, C5
H24	29 <sup>v</sup> -30	T Ffardyng	The thoughtes with in my brest	3×3vv	C1, C4, C5
H25	30 <sup>v</sup> -31	Cornysch	My love she morneth for me	3vv ex 2 round + stanzas	C2, C5, C5
H26	31 <sup>v</sup> -32	Fflud	[Puzzle-canon II]	3vv + canonic voice	C2/C3, C4, C4, F4
H27	32 <sup>v</sup> -33	W. Cornysche.	A the syghs that cum fro my hart	3×3vv + stanzas	C1/G2, C4/C3, C4/C5
H28	33 <sup>v</sup> -34	T Ffardyng	With sorowfull syghs	3×3vv	C1, C4, C5
H29	34 <sup>v</sup> -35	[anon.]	Iff I had wytt for to endyght	3×3vv + stanzas	C4, C4, F4
H30	35 <sup>v</sup>	The Kyng . H . viij	Alac alac what shall I do	3×3vv	C2, C4, F4
H31	36	[anon.]	Hey nony nony no	3×3vv + stanzas	C3, C4, D4 (=F5)
H32	36 <sup>v</sup> -37	Dunstable	[Puzzle-canon III]	2vv + canonic voice	C2/C1, C5, C5/C4
H33	37 <sup>v</sup> -38	The Kyng . H . viij	Grene growith the holy	3×3vv + stanzas	C2, C3, C4
H34	38 <sup>v</sup> -39	The Kyng . H . viij	Who so that wyll all feattes	3vv + stanzas	C1/C2, C3, F4
H35	39 <sup>v</sup> -40	W Cornysch	Blow thi hornne hunter	3×3vv + stanzas	C2, C4, F4
H36	40 <sup>v</sup> -41	[Hayne]	De tous bien plane	3vv	C2, C4, F4
H37	41 <sup>v</sup> -42	[anon.]	J'ay pryse amours	2vv + unique Ct	C2, C4, F4
H38	42 <sup>v</sup>	W. Cornyshe	Adeu corage adeu	3×3vv	C2, C4, F4
H39	43 <sup>v</sup> -44	William . Cornyshe	Trolly lolly loly lo	3×3vv	C1/G2, C3, C4
H40	44 <sup>v</sup> -45	T Ffardyng	I love trewly without feyning	3×3vv	C2, C4, C5
H41	45 <sup>v</sup> -46	Cornysch	Yow and I and Amyas	3×3vv + stanzas	C3, C5, F4
H42	46 <sup>v</sup> -47	[anon.]	Ough warder mount	4vv	C2, C4, C4, F4
H43	47 <sup>v</sup> -48	[Loyset Compere]	La season	3vv	C2, C3, C5
H44	48 <sup>v</sup> -49	The Kyng . H . viij	If love now reynyd (I)	3vv + stanzas	C2, C4, F4
H45	49 <sup>v</sup> -50	The Kyng . H . viij	Gentyl prince de renom	3vv + unique Ct	C2/C1, C3, C4, F4
H46	50 <sup>v</sup> -51	[anon.]	Sy Fortune m'a ce bien purchasé	3×3vv	G2, C3, F4
H47	51 <sup>v</sup> -52	The Kyng . H . viij	Wher to shuld I expresse	3×3vv + stanzas	C1, C4, F4
H48	52 <sup>v</sup> -53	The Kyng . H . viij	[If love now reynyd (II)]	3vv	C2, C4, F4
H49	53 <sup>v</sup> -54	Cornysch	A Robyn gentyl Robyn	3×3vv?	C3/C4, C4, C4
H50	54 <sup>v</sup> -55	W. Cornyshe	Whilles lyffe or breth	3×3vv + stanzas	C1, C4, F4
H51	55 <sup>v</sup> -56	The Kyng . H . viij	Thow that men	3×3vv + stanzas	C1, C4, C5
H52	56 <sup>v</sup> -57	The Kyng . H . viij	[Consort II]	3vv	C1, C4, C5
H53	57 <sup>v</sup> -58	Ffayrfax	Paramese Tenor [Puzzle-canon IV]	3vv + canonic T	G2, C3, C4 + canon
H54	58 <sup>v</sup> -59	The Kyng . H . viij	[Consort III]	3vv	C2, C4, F4
H55	59 <sup>v</sup> -60	The Kyng . H . viij	[Consort IV]	3vv	C1, C4, F4
H56	60 <sup>v</sup>	The Kyng . H . viij	Departure is my chef payne	3vv ex 1 round + free Ct	C3/C4/C5, C4
H57	61	The Kyng . H . viij	It is to me a ryght gret joy	3vv ex 1 round	C2/C4
H58	61 <sup>v</sup> -62	The Kyng . H . viij	[Consort V]	3vv	C2/C1, C4, F4

H59	62 <sup>v</sup> -63	T Ffardyng	[Consort VI]	3vv	C2, C4, C4
H60	63 <sup>v</sup> -64	W Cornysse	[Consort VII]	3vv	C2, C4, C5
H61	64 <sup>v</sup> -65	The Kyng . H . viij	[Consort VIII]	3vv	G2, C4, F4
H62	65 <sup>v</sup> -66	D. Cooper	I have bene a foster	3×3vv + stanzas	C3, C4, F4
H63	66 <sup>v</sup> -68	D. Cooper.	Fare well my joy	3×3vv	C4, C4, F4
H64	68 <sup>v</sup> -69	The Kynge . H . viij	With owt dyscord	3×3vv + stanza	C2, C4, F4
H65	69 <sup>v</sup> -71	[anon.]	I am a joly foster	3×3vv + stanzas	C4, C5, F4
H66	71 <sup>v</sup> -73	[?Henry VIII]	Though sum saith	3×3vv + stanzas	G2, C2, C4
H67	73 <sup>v</sup> -74	[anon.]	Madame d'amours	4×4vv + stanza	C1, C3, C4, C5
H68	74 <sup>v</sup> -75	[anon.]	Adeu adeu le company	3×3vv + lost bassus	C3, C3, C3
H69	75 <sup>v</sup> -76	[anon.]	[Consort IX]	3vv	C2, C4, F4
H70	76 <sup>v</sup>	[anon.]	[Consort X]	3vv	C1, C4, C4
H71	77	[anon.]	[Consort XI]	3vv	C2, C4, F4
H72	77 <sup>v</sup> -78	The Kynge . H . viij	[Consort XII]	3vv	G2, C2, F4
H73	78 <sup>v</sup> -79	The Kynge . H . viij	[Consort XIII]	3vv	C1, C3, F4
H74	79 <sup>v</sup>	J. Ffluyd	Deme the best of every dowt	3vv ex 1 round	C3/C4
H75	80	[anon.]	Hey trolly lolly lolly	3vv ex 1 round	C4/C3
H76	80 <sup>v</sup> -81	The Kynge . H . viij	[Consort XIV]	3vv	C2/C1, C4, F4
H77	81 <sup>v</sup> -82	The Kynge . H . viij	[Consort XV]	3vv	C1, C4, F4
H78	82 <sup>v</sup> -84	The Kynge . H . viij	Tannder naken	3vv	C1, C4, F4
H79	84 <sup>v</sup> -85	The Kynge . H . viij	Who so that wyll for grace sew	3×3vv + stanza	C3, C4, F4
H80	85 <sup>v</sup> -86	The Kyng . H . viij	[Consort XVI]	3vv	C2, C4, F4
H81	86 <sup>v</sup> -87	The Kyng . H . viij	[E]n vray amoure	4vv	C2, C3, C4, F4
H82	87 <sup>v</sup> -88	[anon.]	Let not us that yong men be	4vv + stanza	C2, C4, C4, F4
H83	88 <sup>v</sup> -89	[Denis Prioris]	Dulcis amica	3vv	C1, C3, C5
H84	89 <sup>v</sup>	[anon.]	[Consort XVII]	3vv	C2, C4, F4
H85	90	[? Pierre Moulu]	[Amy souffrez]	3vv	C1, C3, F3
H86	90 <sup>v</sup>	[anon.]	[Consort XVIII]	3vv ex 1 round	C4/C3
H87	91	[anon.]	[Puzzle-canon V]	3vv ex 1	C4/C3
H88	91	[anon.]	Duas partes in unum	2vv ex 1	C4
H89	91 <sup>v</sup> -92	[anon.]	[Consort XIX]	3vv	C2, C4, F4
H90	92 <sup>v</sup> -93	[anon.]	[Consort XX]	4vv	C2, C3, C5, C5
H91	93 <sup>v</sup> -94	[anon.]	[The base of Spayne]	4vv	C2/C1, C4, C4, F5
H92	94 <sup>v</sup> -97	The Kyng . H . viij	Lusti yough shuld us ensue	4vv	C2, C4, C4, F4
H93	98	[anon.]	Now	3vv ex 1 round	C4/C3
H94	98 <sup>v</sup> -99	The Kynge . H . viij	[Consort XXII]	4vv	C2, C4, C4, F4
H95	99 <sup>v</sup> -100	[Alexander Agricola]	[B]elle sur tantes/Tota pulcra es	3vv + new bassus	C2, C4, F3, F4
H96	100 <sup>v</sup> -102	[anon.]	Englond be glad	3×3vv	C3, C4, F4
H97	103	[anon.]	Pray we to God	3vv ex 1 round	C4/C5/C3
H98	103 <sup>v</sup> -104	The Kynge . H . viij	[Consort XXIII]	3vv	C2, C4, F4
H99	104 <sup>v</sup> -105	[Antoine de Fevin]	Ffors solemant	3vv	G2, C2, C4
H100	105 <sup>v</sup> -106	[anon.]	[Consort XXIV]	3vv	clefless
H101	106 <sup>v</sup> -107	[anon.]	And I war a maydyn	5×5vv + stanzas	C2, C2, C3, C4, F4
H102	107 <sup>v</sup> -108	[anon.]	Why shall not I	3×3vv carol	C2, C4, F4
H103	108 <sup>v</sup> -110	[anon.]	What remedy what remedy	3×3vv carol	C2, C4, F4
H104	110 <sup>v</sup> -112	[anon.]	Wher be ye my love	3×3vv + stanzas	C1, C2, C5
H105	112 <sup>v</sup> -116	Pygott	Quid petis o fily?	4×4vv carol	C1, C3/C2, C4, C4/C5
H106	116 <sup>v</sup> -120	[anon.]	My thought oppressed	3×3vv	C2, C4, F4
H107	120 <sup>v</sup> -122	[Robert Fayrfax]	Sumwhat musing	3×3vv	C4, F4, F4/F5
H108	122 <sup>v</sup> -124	[anon.]	I love unloved	3×3vv	C2, C4, C5
H109	124 <sup>v</sup> -128	[anon.]	Hey trolly lolly lo	3×3vv carol	C1/C2, C2, C4

