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***London, British Library, Egerton 3307: Passions, Patronage, Carols
and Music for Holy Week***

Geneviève Barbara Bazinet

Thesis submitted to the
Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
In partial fulfillment of the requirements
For the MA degree in Music

Department of Music
Faculty of Arts
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Abstract

The manuscript *Great Britain, London; British Library, Egerton 3307* has never been studied in its entirety. The majority of literature which pertains to the manuscript is primarily concerned with questions of original location of compilation and all but ignores the codicological aspects. Discussion of the music in the book has generally approached the constituent parts of the Egerton manuscript separately, dealing either with one or the other. This thesis revises the assessment of the source; following a complete codicological and palaeographic examination, undertaken here for the first time, the thesis addresses questions regarding the compilation of the MS, among them the physical similarities between the Holy Week music and the carol music, the original location of compilation, it re-examines the literature on the carol and it proposes for the first time that the two sections of the Egerton manuscript contain between them a repertory of liturgical music representative of a specific ceremonial.

A musical stylistic analysis, focused mainly on the two Passions, suggests a probable musical stylistic link between many of the pieces, which parallels the continuity in the physical aspects of this historically important manuscript and affirms the unity proposed on physical and thematic grounds.

The adherence to the lay rite of Sarum and the inclusion of the carols within the ceremonial point to a secular institution, for which St George's Chapel at Windsor Castle, during Lancastrian rule in the 15th century, seems eminently qualified both in situation as a royal institution and as a centre for musical innovation.

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Other professors among the University of Ottawa faculty to whom I wish to extend my thanks include Dr. Lora Matthews, whose suggestion of Passions as a possible thesis topic early in my degree led me to the MS Egerton 3307 and helped shape my research. She also provided invaluable advice for my in situ research in England. I also wish to thank Professors Andrew Taylor and Marie-Pierre Bussi res for their help with issues Lancastrian and paleographic.

My thanks to the staff of the Manuscripts Reading Room at the British Library for allowing me unrestricted access to the MS Egerton 3307, and to the Archivist and Chapter Librarian Dr. Eileen Scarff at St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle for granting me access to the Archives. Special thanks go to Miss Eleanor Cracknell, Assistant Archivist at St. George's Chapel Archives and Chapter Library for her assistance in arranging my visit and in procuring facsimiles of documents from the Archives.

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I would like to dedicate this thesis to my mother Anne Marie, and my sister Katrine, for their love and understanding during my numerous moments of “mental abstraction” throughout the final stages of this thesis. Their patience was nothing short of extraordinary, and their faith in me and love and encouragement in all my endeavors have sustained me throughout my education.

Statement of Thesis

The manuscript *Great Britain, London; British Library, Egerton 3307* contains 54 settings of liturgical music for Holy Week and carols, 48 of which are *unica*, yet has never been studied in great detail. The majority of literature that pertains to the manuscript is primarily concerned with questions of the original location of the compilation and all but ignores the manuscript itself. Recent literature divides the manuscript into two halves, separating the Holy Week music from the carols. This thesis proposes a revised assessment of the manuscript and the function and association of its constituent parts, based in part on a codicological and paleographic study of the entire manuscript, in part on comparisons with other coeval books, and in part on musical and textual (including considerations of text underlay, rhetoric, and ceremonial) analysis. The present study seeks to treat the manuscript as a cohesive whole, bound not only physically, but functionally and even liturgically. Particular emphasis is placed on the analysis of the two Passions as early English examples of this genre. The Passions, virtually ignored in scholarship pertaining to MS Egerton 3307, are here examined in detail, and from a musical and liturgical perspective, and in relation to the entire manuscript repertoire and issues of performance and interpretation, as well as their possible connection to relation to St. George's Chapel and the Lancastrians.

It is argued that the manuscript originated in St. George's Chapel at Windsor Castle, and was therefore associated with the Order of the Garter and the crown itself.

Possible connections with Lancastrian patronage are explored, and the role and liturgical goals of the compiler and supervisor of the manuscript are studied in detail.

After re-visiting older scholarship on the carol and considering the indications in the present manuscript, it is proposed that the carols are closely tied to the liturgical music, and that indeed the entire manuscript has one function for one institution.

Introduction

The manuscript *London, British Library, Egerton 3307* holds a place of distinction in the vast repertory of early music manuscripts. One of only a handful of English music manuscripts from the 15th century, the Egerton manuscript contains the earliest surviving examples of the musical setting of the Passion.

Although there remains some doubt regarding the origins of the manuscript, the argument in favour of St. George's Chapel at Windsor as the place of compilation currently has the strongest claim, and is widely accepted.¹ If this is indeed the case, the manuscript would then have been firmly within the ambit of royal patronage. As the Chapel of the royal Order of the Garter, St. George's would have reflected, it may be reasonably supposed, the repertorial and ceremonial taste, preferences and ideals of that chivalric company. Indeed, as an institution under the indirect control of the monarch, the Chapel would have reflected the King's ideals as well.

The contents of the manuscript are divided into two sections, the first containing liturgically ordered polyphonic music for Holy Week and the second containing a collection carols for various liturgical feasts. Both sections were copied by a single scribe, with the exception of the first and last piece, which were, in all probability, later additions. In addition to the Passions, the manuscript contains fifty anonymous compositions of which only six have known concordances in other manuscripts.

¹ The evidence is circumstantial, but preferable to any other arguments. See Chapter I for a review of the arguments for and against St George's Chapel, and alternative locations. See also Conclusions for my own thoughts on the origin of the manuscript and a more detailed review of previous arguments.

Chapter I is devoted to a codicological study of the manuscript and a paleographic analysis of the text and music scribes and includes a comparison with contemporary hands from other sources. These analyses clearly demonstrate that the MS was conceived of and executed as a whole, cohesive in both the copying of the music by a single scribe, and in the page preparation and the structure of the gatherings. Chapter II addresses the liturgical function of the music of the MS Egerton 3307, tracing the liturgical ties of the carol to the conductus and suggests that the manuscript was planned as a cohesive display of ceremonial, both physically and liturgically. Chapter III is devoted to the music itself, and centres on an analysis of the Passions, always at the cornerstone of this study. The issues of discant and faburden are discussed in depth before ascribing those techniques to the Passion music, and special attention is given over to an analysis of the stylistic trends of the music as well as the many levels of the text-music relationship (specifically, text-underlay). The analysis of the Passions extends to the rest of the Egerton compositions, and seeks to discover a musical link between the compositions of the first and second sections. Chapter IV addresses the claims of St. George's Chapel to be the place of origin of the Egerton MS, and examines the history of the Chapel and the music of that establishment. The Lancastrian presence at St. George's no doubt contributed to the music production of that Chapel, and the archival material from the Chapel reveals a repeated attempt to include polyphony into the ceremonial.

Although the surviving 15th-century records do not contain any specific reference to the Egerton manuscript, there are several entries in the archives of St. George's Chapel pertaining to other music manuscripts compiled by the Chapel scribes. These manuscripts conform in scale and content to the Egerton manuscript, a

circumstance that suggests that the Chapel was indeed a centre for musical innovation, and a prime location for the compilation of the MS Egerton 3307.

Literature Review

The Manuscript Egerton 3307

In the more than sixty years since the MS Egerton 3307 was purchased by the British Museum from a London bookseller, a mere four studies have examined the manuscript with more than idle curiosity. The initial study was performed by Bertram Schofield and published in *Musical Quarterly* in 1949.² Schofield's report was followed by Manfred Bukofzer's chapter in his *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music*³ in 1950, and Richard L. Greene's article "Two Medieval Musical Manuscripts: MS Egerton 3307 and Some University of Chicago Fragments" four years later. Gwynn McPeck's dissertation in 1950 was updated and published in 1963 as the first and only critical edition of MS Egerton 3307.⁴

The manuscript is divided into two sections, the first containing liturgically ordered polyphonic music for Holy Week and the second more than thirty carols and two additional, related pieces.⁵ The greatest challenge facing the above mentioned

² Bertram Schofield, "A Newly Discovered 15th -Century Manuscript of the English Chapel Royal—Part I", *Musical Quarterly* 32 (1946): 509-536.

³ Richard L. Greene, "Two Medieval Musical Manuscripts: Egerton 3307 and Some University of Chicago Fragments", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 7(1954): 1-34. Manfred F. Bukofzer, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music*, (New York: W.W. Norton , 1950).

⁴ Gwynn S. McPeck, and British Museum, *The British Museum Manuscript Egerton 3307. The Music, Except for the Carols*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1963).

⁵ The pieces are related liturgically to three pieces in the carol section and are discussed below in Conclusions.

scholars concerned date and time of compilation, a feat rendered more difficult by the lack of ascriptions or attributions, and the absence of any conclusive identifying emblems or badges of ownership.

The four studies mentioned above (and here I count the two McPeck studies as one) propose two conflicting locations for the place of origin of the manuscript. Schofield prefers St. George's Chapel at Windsor as the most likely place of origin, based on a textual reference to St. George, the prominence of that place as a musical centre in the 15th Century, and the similarities of the primary scribal hand in MS Egerton 3307 to one of the hands of its contemporary, the Old Hall manuscript (London, British Library - Add.57950), which he also assigned to the Chapel Royal.⁶ However, because the place of compilation of the Old Hall manuscript remains in dispute,⁷ Greene argues that Schofield's assignation of the MS Egerton 3307 to the Windsor Chapel is problematic and that no definitive place of origin can be determined conclusively through physical comparisons between the two manuscripts. Greene and Bukofzer favour Meaux Abbey as the place of origin for the MS. There are, to be sure, several attractive points in linking the manuscript to Meaux Abbey, among them the motto found in the initials on folios 15 and 20, which contain the motto "Mieulx en de cy" and "De cy en mieulx", arguably puns on the name Meaux Abbey. Greene also draws a link between the crosses on the two Passion folios to the cross of the founder of Meaux Abbey, William Le Gros, Earl of Albermarle.⁸ The meaning of the phrases "mieulx en de cy" and "de cy en mieulx" remains uncertain. Greene takes them as

⁶ Schofield, 514.

⁷ See Hughes and Bent.

⁸ Greene, 18. The crosses and 'mottos' are discussed below.

badges of ownership and puns on the word Meaux, and argues this as evidence of the manuscript's origins at Meaux Abbey. The ascription of this phrase to Meaux seems premature without further evidence, as the phrase could be interpreted in several ways, including a call for "better things from hereon" and not necessarily tied to Meaux Abbey. The lack of a coat of arms or contemporary insignia would however suggest that these were not necessarily family mottos. Greene also objects to St. George's Chapel as place of origin for the MS Egerton 3307 because of a textual reference in the carol *Seynt Thomas honowr we* (f. 62v-67), whose antipathy for the king, Greene argues, would preclude the inclusion of this carol in a manuscript intended for the monarch.⁹

However, McPeck builds a strong case for the argument in favour of St George's (and consequently against Meaux Abbey). He explains that there was during the reign of Henry VI no great animosity toward Thomas of Canterbury, who was indeed popular throughout England prior to the reign of Henry VIII. McPeck's study of the dialects of the English language pieces in the manuscript strongly indicated an East Midland (London) milieu for the manuscript, rather than the Northern (York) venue of Meaux Abbey, and the identification of the village of Hythe, with which Henry V and VI were connected (rather than Hyth as proposed by Greene and Bukofzer) as the village referred to in the carol *Ivy is good and glad to se* is another factor linking the MS Egerton 3307 to the Midlands rather than York.¹⁰

While there is as yet no conclusive evidence that the manuscript originated at (or at least was composed for) St George's Chapel at Windsor, the strength of

⁹ Greene, 8.

¹⁰ McPeck, 8-9.

McPeck's argument does make it the likeliest location for such a manuscript. There are physical aspects of the manuscript, as well as content issues, that support this conclusion, and these will be discussed below.¹¹

The most recent and less in-depth scholarship pertaining to the MS Egerton 3307 assigns the manuscript as a product of St. George's Chapel. For example, *The Romance of St. George's Chapel* unequivocally declares the MS a product of Windsor's lay Chapel.¹² The less detailed publications raise an additional issue concerning the manuscript. With the exception of the work done on the manuscript in the late 1940's up until McPeck's critical edition in 1963, the scattering of publications in recent years that mention the MS do so in passing, with only marginal interest in the manuscript as a rare example of early English polyphony.¹³ Of the pieces of liturgical music, the Passions are noted for their historical value, but few scholars (if any) have given them the attention they deserve. Even in the scholarship of Schofield, Greene, Bukofzer and McPeck, the Passions are all but glossed over. With respect to the Passions, Schofield remarks on the number of voice-parts (three) and the incomplete setting of the Gospel. The omission of the words of Christ and the Evangelist leads Schofield to conclude that in the 15th Century, in England at any rate, the words of Christ and the Evangelist were delivered in plainsong rather than polyphony. While Greene spends a great deal of time on the physical details of the Passion folios (the scroll work and mottos as mentioned above), on the whole, he says very little

¹¹ See Paleographic findings in Chapter I, and the discussion in Chapter IV.

¹² Harry Blackburne and Maurice F. Bond, *The Romance of St. George's Chapel : Windsor Castle*, Foreword by E.K.C. Hamilton, (Windsor: Oxley, 1958).

¹³ Most of the publications that mention the MS are encyclopaedic type volumes that note the MS in passing.

about the music itself, and nothing pertaining to the Passions. Only Bukofzer addressed the music of the Passions, noting the simple declamatory style, combination of discant and polyphony, and the lack of plainchant or Passion Tones.¹⁴

It will therefore be the principal object of this study to examine the historical, musical and liturgical aspects and importance of these two pieces, placing them in the context of this manuscript, considering details of paleography and notation alongside music stylistic points.

As concerns the date of compilation, each of the scholars above proposes their own possible date, the possibilities ranging from 1420 to 1450. An effort is made below to narrow that span of time, based on paleographic evidence as well as a review of the relationship of the Egerton to the Old Hall manuscript and the circumstances involved in the compilation of that other monument of English repertoire. This study takes into account the advances made in the study of the Old Hall manuscript since the publication of those earlier sources mentioned above.¹⁵

The Passions

The Passions contained within the MS Egerton 3307 are based on the Gospels according to St. Matthew and St. Luke and are in the so-called Dramatic (or Responsorial) Passion style. The music in these two settings is more elaborate than the

¹⁴ The music of the Passions and, to some extent, the rest of the manuscript is discussed in detail in Chapter III.

¹⁵ The Old Hall contains settings of mass movements, sequences, antiphones and isorhythmic motets by various composers of the late 14th century and 15th century including Dunstaple, Lionel Power, Damett and Sturgeon. It was the focus of a considerable study undertaken by Andrew Hughes and Margaret Bent after the publication of the initial and subsequent work on the Egerton Ms. Since there are many ties drawn between the two, not least concerning the approximate time of compilation, many factors will have changed somewhat over the course of the last half century.

original readings. The musical setting of the text for the turba (the crowd) is in three-part polyphony based on unknown Passion Tones.¹⁶ As is now generally known, these anonymous pieces are the earliest known examples of the Passion genre, yet have been, to a degree, relatively ignored in recent scholarship.

The Passion, the precursor to the Baroque oratorio, developed out of the liturgical Gospel readings for Holy Week and the tradition of mystery plays.¹⁷ The Christian Church celebrated Passiontide in two ways: dramatically and musically. The dramatic presentation, Passion plays, was presented in and outside of the church with elaborate theatrical effects much like the celebrations of the Nativity and Resurrection.¹⁸ The plays, originally sung solemnly in Latin by the clergy, grew more elaborate and were eventually moved from inside the chapel (before the altar) to the porch of the church, where laymen actors took over from the clergy. These mystery plays (or miracle plays) strengthened the church's position in the lives of the people by providing a venue for the plays. The musical presentation of the Passion, like that included in the MS Egerton 3307, has closer ties to the liturgy. During Holy Week in the fifth century, plainchant settings of the four Gospels replaced the normal Gospel readings within the Mass. Traditionally, St. Matthew's reading was for Palm Sunday, St Mark's and St. Luke's for Tuesday and Wednesday and St John's for Good Friday. These presentations were originally performed by one deacon, who altered his voice to distinguish between the words of Christ, the *turba* (crowd) and the Evangelist.¹⁹

¹⁶ Basil Smallman, *The Background of Passion Music*, (New York: Dover Publications, 1970): 21-22.

¹⁷ Smallman, 21-22.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Smallman, 22.

While the Passion Tones constrained the amount of characterization possible, Durandus, in his *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* reveals that there was a certain degree of realism in the readings: the words of Christ should sound sweet, the turba should sound harsh and the Evangelist should be read formally.²⁰ Manuscripts of liturgical plays also call for similar impersonations on the part of the actor. In the fifteenth century, the time of compilation of the Egerton, these parts were turned into a dialogue between three clergy who divided the words of the Gospel between them: a priest for the words of Christ, a deacon as narrator and a sub-deacon for the words of the turba. Guidetti's definitive version of the Passion Tones, upon which the text was recited, was published in 1586, and survives unaltered to this day.²¹

The Passion was soon given a more elaborate style and developed into the Dramatic Passion genre, to which the Egerton Passions belong. This genre may have been based on a "well-established" continental style which survives in the Egerton Passions. Two other anonymous Passions, of probable Italian origin, survive in the manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS Lat. 455 (M.1.12) of c. 1490. A third Passion from c. 1490 (a setting of the St Matthew Passion) is by the earliest identifiable Passion composer, Richard Davy. Davy used traditional Passion Tones for the parts of Christ and the Evangelist, and "grafted" the turba's choral version onto those same tones, a method that became the custom in the sixteenth century.²²

As concerns the Egerton Passions, their inclusion in a book of polyphony may suggest something about the institution, or patron, for whom they and the MS were

²⁰ Smallman, 22.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Smallman, 22.

composed. The state of the ceremonial of a patron was a direct reflection of his (or her) prestige and power. As has been demonstrated with the Motet, music was often used to enhance the splendor and standing of a patron. More specifically, “performance of music became an important element in displays of splendor used to establish legitimacy.”²³ The inclusion of the Passions in a book of polyphony, particularly a book of such quality as the MS Egerton 3307, might be such an attempt to make such a display. Certainly, they were part of the ceremonial of the institution for which they were composed, and in thinking of music as a means to establish legitimacy, Lancastrian England, and the Lancastrians themselves, are prime candidates for such effort. Indeed, attempts to legitimize the Lancastrian rule permeate the literature of the 15th Century. It is not unreasonable to suppose that music within the Lancastrian ambit would also venerate the rulers, especially if it was intended for those surrounding the king. The Passions and the entire Egerton might be such an act of veneration.

²³ Julie Cumming, *Concord out of discord: Occasional motets of the early quattrocento*. PhD dissertation, (University of California, Berkeley, 1987): 2.

Chapter I: The Manuscript

The physical aspects of the MS Egerton 3307 manuscript have never been studied in great detail. The purpose of this chapter is to provide as complete a codicological and paleographic study of the manuscript as is possible, in order to situate the Passions, pieces of the great historical and reportorial value, within the manuscript and the activities of the scribes who copied it. The division of the manuscript in to layers of activity, not necessarily of time, may point to a greater unity within the manuscript than has previously been noted in its liturgical ordering. An enhanced understanding of the physical compilation of the manuscript and of the inclusion of the Passions may bring us closer to a hypothesis concerning the performance and perhaps composition practices of the music.

Codicological Observations

All physical evidence points to a manuscript compiled with great care and planning. Although the manuscript is by no means uniform in its number of leaves per gathering, the contents appear to have been pre-arranged (see the discussion below on the Passions as well as the marginal content sub-section). Schofield's initial examination of the gatherings of this manuscript notwithstanding, the following discussion of the gatherings and other physical aspects of the manuscript are entirely my own work.²⁴

²⁴ The findings presented here are my own observations from careful on-site examination of the original manuscript. The manuscript has been beautifully reproduced online and may be viewed in its entirety on the Digital Images Archive of Medieval Music website at < <http://www.diamm.ac.uk> >.

Page preparation

The individual folio preparation of the manuscript reinforces the impression of strategic and careful preparation in the organisation and compilation of this manuscript. The writing surface dimensions are virtually uniform throughout the 88 folios, encompassing both the liturgical portion as well as the carol section of the manuscript. The prick holes along the outer edges of each folio are also, with few exceptions, uniform, totaling nine holes per page, and following the same spacing scheme throughout. One remarkable aspect of the page preparation, in addition to its virtual uniformity throughout the whole manuscript, is the position of the staff and text lines. Nowhere do the prick holes line up with either the nine staff lines or the text lines. There are several instances where a few of the staff or text lines align with the prick holes (see Appendix III), but there is not one folio of the manuscript that follows the prick holes consistently or accurately. Indeed, many folios contain additional prick marks at the ends of the lower staff lines. What then was the purpose of these outer, superfluous prick holes? In all probability, the outer prick holes were made during the initial page preparations, before it came into the possession of the scribes who drew the staff lines and text lines, and were found unsuitable by those scribes. One might wonder why the unused holes were ignored, especially when one considers that they totaled the final number of staff lines on the page, and that they were not visibly replaced. The most likely answer would seem to relate to aesthetics. The unused prick holes fall consistently below the writing surface. The prevailing aesthetic in page presentation demanded a well defined writing surface with large margins. The final writing surface ensured ample margins, particularly at the bottom of the page. The

original prick holes left (comparatively speaking) very little room below the last staff line.

The prick holes on the folios of the second Passion, the Passion According to Luke, merit some special attention. In addition to the lack of correlation between the location of the prick holes and the placement of the staff and text lines, the four folios of the Passion, and the two preceding it (folios 18-24) are marked with a deliberate sequence of double prick holes, unique in this MS to this gathering. One might suppose that the second set of holes aligns with the staff lines, and that no great mystery surrounds these additional holes, but the staff lines avoid any such alignment. Why then did this gathering, and this gathering alone, receive such a materially useless distinction? Might we not entertain the possibility that the holes served to distinguish these leaves, containing the Passion According to Luke, and in a hand exclusively reserved for the Passions? And that the holes were perhaps a proprietary mark, an indication to the main scribe, scribe B, to reserve these leaves for scribe C? If this was the case, why then were the folios of the Passion According to Matthew not prepared in the same manner? Could this indicate some special significance to the Luke Passion? There are some scribal differences between the two Passions, although they were to all evidence copied by the same hand, a hand apparently responsible only for the Passion texts. Could this indicate, similar to the marginal content discussion below, that these were the folios designated for the Luke Passion? Why not simply write the first words in the margin? Although we can do no more than speculate about the reasoning behind this unique page preparation, the fact remains that these leaves, the Passion leaves, were prepared in a different manner than the leaves of all of the other pieces in the manuscript.

Gatherings

The page preparation, as just discussed, indicates that this source was planned and copied as a cohesive whole. It may be asked whether the state of the gatherings tends to confirm or refute this.

MS Egerton 3307 is made up of 12 gatherings of a varying numbers of leaves and Appendix IV contains a diagram of each gathering. The first folio is made up of 8 leaves (or 4 bi-folios), with only the stubs remaining of the first five leaves. The second gathering consists of six leaves, all intact. With the exception of the third, ninth and last gatherings, the rest of the gatherings in the manuscript are made up of eight folios (or 4 bi-folios). The third is only a single bifolio and will be discussed in detail below, while the ninth gathering comprises ten leaves and the last is a gathering of six leaves. Thus, in total, the manuscript contains 88 leaves, with 1-5, 52, 56 and 85 as stubs only. The ninth and twelfth gatherings contain evidence of mistakes made in the binding of this manuscript. Through careful examination of the flesh/hair sequence, I was able to determine a possible explanation for the stubs found in these gatherings. In gathering 9, which starts on folio 49 (of the modern foliation), the flesh- hair sequence continues from the previous gathering without interruption until folio 52. The sequence resumes on folio 52v and is interrupted again on folio 56. These two interruptions coincide with the location of the stubs (folio 52 and 56). As has been noted elsewhere,²⁵ the presence of these stubs does not disrupt the flow of the music. In other words, no music was lost when these two folios were cut to stubs. The pieces on either side of folio 52, *Novo profusi gaudio* and *Novus sol de virgine*, are both intact. The same can

²⁵ Bukofzer, 115. Bukofzer argues that because the music is not interrupted, we may assume that the leaf was removed at the time of compilation and is therefore not a 'missing' leaf.

be said for *Ave Rex angelorum* which begins on folio 55v and finished on folio 57. It would appear then that the removal of these folios was not carried out to procure the music contained therein, but perhaps served a more practical purpose. For, by reducing these two folios to stubs, the flesh/hair sequence was restored. Is it not possible that these folios were cut down to the binding to correct a mistake? That in binding the gathering, folios 52 and 56 were placed in reverse, and that they were subsequently cut to preserve the sequence? The deliberate cutting of the folios could then have been done, prior to the work done by the text and music scribes.

Remarkably, the same seems to have been true of gathering twelve. In this case however, the sequence is interrupted by the third bifolio of the gathering, folios 85 and 86. In this gathering, this single bifolio was placed in reverse and the problem corrected by cutting folio 85 down. There is no evidence in the meticulous scribe work seen throughout the manuscript to suggest that this manuscript was compiled in a hurry, although this would account for such seemingly “rushed” errors in the binding of the leaves. However these mistakes came about, the manner of correcting the problem by simply cutting out the fine parchment leaves, the apparent waste of three leaves of fine vellum, might speak to the affluence of the centre for which it was compiled.

There exists another possible explanation for the removal of the two folios and must be entertained. The cutting of a section of a folio, or removal of a whole folio, in order to procure initials or miniatures has damaged countless manuscripts and ought to be considered as a plausible reason for the removal of folios 52 and 56 and perhaps 85. It does not seem inconceivable that a miniature of some kind would be included on one of these folios. The detailed miniatures on folios 72v and 73 indicate that the compilers of the manuscript had access to the resources necessary for the inclusion of such art

work. Therefore, the possibility that the missing folios (or at least one of the missing folios) were removed because they contained decorative art of some kind must be considered as a real one, although it has been ignored in other scholarship to date.

The Passion According to St. Matthew and the Third Gathering

The third gathering, starting on folio 15, is of particular codicological interest. Bukofzer's terse assertion that the bifolio leaf was part of a larger gathering must be considered as a possibility.²⁶ That the text ends in the midst of a sentence would seem to support this assumption. The absence of the beginning of the subsequent *Kyrie* would also support the suggestion that there was at one time one, or more, additional folios. However, there are alternative explanations for the incomplete state of the Passion According to St. Matthew that should be properly examined. Might it not be possible that the scribe copied the Passion as it appeared, and that the reason the piece is incomplete is because there was not further material available for the scribe to copy? This argument is however predicated on a missing exemplar and is highly speculative. Another possible explanation, examined in detail below, is that the music scribe was tied closely to, the composer, and that there was no further music to write, either because of time constraints or some other material complication (see discussion of scribe hand C in the paleography section below). Indeed, suggestions that there was at least the intent of more music can be seen in the music itself. The last bar of music is succeeded by a *custos* in all three parts, indicating to the singers that the music was to continue. Also, the text leaves off in the middle of a sentence, which strongly suggests

²⁶ Bukofzer, 120.

that this was not the end of the section, much less the end of the piece. So far, the content evidence would seem to suggest, as Bukofzer asserts, that there was another leaf (or leaves) to this singular gathering. Bukofzer declares that the missing gathering leaves, in all likelihood, contained only the end of the Passion and the beginning of the *Kyrie*. The reason for this lies in the supposed extensive length of the Passion, which would not have admitted space for any other pieces. There can be no certainty in this assertion.

Although the length of the Passion According to Luke could suggest that the possible length of the Matthew Passion was approximately five folios, there is no indication of how much music would have served for the first part of the *Kyrie*. We may suppose that there was at least one side of a folio devoted to the *Kyrie*. We know, from close examination of the parchment that the flesh/hair sequence is broken at this point in the manuscript (See Flesh/Hair Sequence in Appendix III). Close examination of the folios also revealed that they are conjugate leaves. It is not inconceivable that the compilers of the manuscript might have made an error with the orientation of the bifolio.²⁷ However, it seems more likely that the break in the parchment sequence is the result of at least one missing bifolio, or in any case, an odd number of missing folios.²⁸ Let us now compare the physical location of the Passion folios in comparison to the physical location of the St. Luke Passion folios. If we are to accept that this manuscript was compiled with care and consideration, as the physical evidence suggests, it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that the location of the Passions within gatherings

²⁷ See above discussion of the flesh/hair sequence in the Gathering section

²⁸ I say at the least with all due restraint, for there is no evidence that there was more than one. If there were several bifolios missing, the number would have to be an odd one in order to preserve the Flesh/Hair sequence established by the previous and subsequent gatherings.

might have been equally calculated. In gathering IV, which contains the Mass and Passion According to St. Luke, the Mass occupies the first three folios, and is succeeded by the Passion on folio 20 of the modern foliation. This places the St. Luke Passion on the recto side of the central bifolio of the gathering. The Passion continues for five folios, ending on the verso side of folio 24. Now, supposing the Passions were placed at identical locations within their respective gatherings, which seems likely given that the Passion According to Matthew also begins on the recto side of the first folio of a conjugate bifolio, and continues over the remaining sides of the bifolio, the Matthew Passion would then occupy the last five folios of a gathering. This number is reflective of the length of the Passion of Luke and based on the gathering containing 8 leaves.²⁹

That the Passion According to Matthew started the gathering seems to be Bukofzer's argument, which would neatly account for the missing Passion sections as well as leave room for the missing Mass music. This tidy idea is in fact refuted by the physical condition of the Passion leaves. They are conjugate, and would not have occupied the place of outer leaves in a gathering. They must have been the central leaf if combined with other folios.³⁰ However, this leaves us with two additional enigmas. First, to which there can be no answer, what could have filled the folios preceding the Passion? And second, where is the "missing" music from the mass? Again, here we have several possibly hypotheses. It could be that the folios containing that music were lost, or that the music was not available for copying, either because it was not in the

²⁹ Unless the Passion was shorter than the Passion of Luke, in which case the mass music may have been added on the last folio.

³⁰ There is no possibility of the Passion starting the gathering, as folio 15 and 16 are conjugate and the music on 15v is immediately succeeded by the music on 16.

exemplar (if indeed there was one), or because it had not yet been composed. Short of finding such an exemplar or a complete version of the Passion, these questions remain a source of some perplexity.

Marginal Content

The liturgical portion of the manuscript, most of which pertains to Holy Week (folios 6 to 48v) contains substantial marginalia.³¹ The marginalia appears to be written all in the same hand, although much less formally than the work by the five text hands. The hand itself is much more cursive with less uniformity than the text hands, but is approximately contemporary with it. The ink used is consistently a pale brown, the same used for one of the cotemporary foliation schemes. For the most part however, the content is illegible when viewed on microfilm, and little better in digital images. In several cases, the writing is badly worn, possibly erased. From close examination of the manuscript on-site, one can better differentiate the individual letters in the words, but the majority remains difficult to decipher, even under ultraviolet light.

Cold-light proved the most useful means of analyzing the content, although it was by no means universally successful. Of the 14 examples, 2 were dramatically rendered more legible by viewing them with cold light. As suspected, the content, for the most part, is abbreviated Latin, but the substance proved more intriguing. Examination of one of the more legible examples, on folio 46 revealed the writing to be an abbreviation for *Allehuya salve virgo*. This, far from being practical instructions, is

³¹ See below for a discussion of the liturgical aspects of the several of the pieces in the Egerton MS. See also Andrew Hughes, *Fifteenth-century Liturgical Music :I [Antiphons and Music for Holy Week and Easter]* (London: Stainer and Bell, 1967).

in fact the opening words to the piece on that folio.³² Close examination of the other marginal content uncovered a strong resemblance between the abbreviations of most of the content and the titles of the pieces on those folios. We therefore have the title of the piece situated next to the physical start of the piece on at least seven of the 14 folios. Someone, in a hand seemingly contemporary to that of the text and music, inscribed at the beginning of so many pieces, the first words of those pieces. But to what purpose? Could it represent some form of indexing? Someone may have gone through the manuscript, intent on writing the title of the piece in the margins either as a quick reference when turning the pages, or for some other reference purpose. And yet, the titles, in actuality the first words of the pieces, are much more legible in the text-scribe hand than in the margin hand. The ink is more distinct and the initials are of a size to be readily identified, and the process seems more than a little redundant.

Might we not consider another option, that the writing in the margins was placed there before the text? Is it not possible that the words were placed next to the first staff line of the piece as a guide to the text scribe, a means of indicating which text was intended with which music? Certainly, it seems more plausible that the informal hand wrote the first few words of the pieces before the text was there, rather than after. There is a third option that is no less intriguing. In several cases where the content has been erased, it is possible still to discern what the letters had been. In these cases, the content is found, not at the beginning of a piece, where additional content is found, but several staff lines above it, or on the previous page. Comparing the erased content to that placed next to the initial of the pieces, we find that they are the same. This is

³² I am here indebted to Dr. Justin Clegg of the British Library, who first noticed a similarity between the two words.

suggestive of a supervisory role of the marginal hand. Take for example the writing of folio 46v. The writing here appears next to a piece already in progress, as it were.

Turning to the following folio, we find the same abbreviation at the head of the piece *Audivi Me*. A comparison of the word on folio 46v and that on 47 revealed a striking, almost complete resemblance between the two. We may therefore conclude that these are the first words of a piece, erased and situated ahead of where the piece begins, and that the first words of the piece next to the first staff line were added, in all likelihood, afterwards. This is highly suggestive. It could be supposed that the content was written in before the music and the text. That the coordinator/supervisor of the manuscript, or perhaps the music scribe, prepared the manuscript with careful thought as to what piece was to go on which folio, and how many folios each piece should take, sometimes underestimating the length of the piece, and readjusting as he progressed.

Paleographic Observations

Uses of Ink

The use of various ink colours is consistent throughout the manuscript, with brown ink used for the writing surface guidelines and staff lines, red used for the text capitals, red and blue used alternately for the initials and various shades of black used for the bulk of the text (see Appendix III). There are of course exceptions to the uniformity suggested by this inventory. The use of black ink for the text is interrupted by the use of a brown ink for the Passions, and the change over to a similar brown for the text of the carols.

One striking use of the different ink colours occurs in the alternating pattern employed for the initials in the carols section (the initials styles and execution are further discussed below). The ink colour consistently alternates between blue and red in this section, rather than the blue of the liturgical section (excepting the Passions), which further supports this author's conviction that the layout of this manuscript was carefully thought out and deliberately executed.

The ink for the two Passions, like that used for the carols, differs when compared to the ink of the surrounding pages. This is true not only of the ink used for the text or the music, but also for the ink used in the page preparation. The writing surface guidelines are drawn in a light mauve ink, rather than in the brown ink used everywhere else in the manuscript. The red ink used for the capitals is likewise unique to the Passion folios, and is slightly richer in texture/colour. The most obvious features are the decorative scroll work and elaborate initials on the first page of each Passion. Nowhere else in the liturgical portion of the manuscript (and with only two examples of similarly elaborate work in the carol section) is a page thus decorated. Clearly, these Passions held great significance within the repertory preserved in the MS Egerton 3307, either by virtue of the text and genre themselves, and perhaps because of importance to someone involved in the compilation of the manuscript or the patron for whom the manuscript was compiled.

Scribal (Text) Hands

There are five distinct hands responsible for the texts throughout the manuscript.³³ The first hand, scribe A was responsible for the text of the first surviving piece. The second hand, scribe B, copied the remaining works of the liturgical portion, with the exception of the Passions. As previously mentioned in the codicological discussion above, scribe C's, the Passions hand, sole responsibility was for the Passions, the Mass that separates them having been left to scribe B. Scribe D copied the text of the entire carols section, with the exception of the incomplete, and heavily corrected/erased final piece.

The five hands exhibit certain traits suggestive of two main styles. Hands A and B for example use the same style of double lines in the initials, while hands C and D show a closer relationship in the execution of the 'h' and 'x', the 'd' and round 's', as well as in the general cursive style and sparse use of ligatures, particularly when compared to B: C uses very few ligatures, D even fewer, whereas the pieces copied by B show a prolific use of ligatures. It is necessary here to differentiate between notational ligatures in the music and textual ligatures in the text. Similar to ligatures in music, where two or more notes are "joined" in one stroke, text ligatures, simply put, occur when two letters are joined to form what in modern typography is referred to as a glyph. Essentially, the two letters share a common minim (stroke) resulting in a single character. For example, in hand B, a common ligature occurs between 'd' and 'e' (see the Hands Chart in Appendix V) Were it not for the continuity of the music copyist, the differences in the style of the hands could represent a compilation of hand styles

³³ My findings agree with Schofield, Bukofzer and McPeck. I have here adopted McPeck's designation for the scribes, but refer to the music copyists numerically rather than alphabetically.

from over the course of many years. The traits found in scribe A indicate an early 15th century book hand progressing to a more cursive articulation of letters through B and C, and a more cursive style in D. The differences in the execution of letters are clearly demonstrated in Appendix V.

Particular traits of the work of scribes C and D might suggest that they were written by the same scribe. In several of letters, (detailed in Appendix V), there exists a parallel style of execution and form. No surviving manuscript with both liturgical music and carols uses the same style of hand for both, and it has been suggested that the use of distinctive styles for liturgical music, Passion music and carols, with one music scribe may be more than coincidental.³⁴ It may be that two or all of the principal hands (B, C and D) were the work of a single scribe and that he changed writing styles to suite the genre of music and text. The close relationship between the hands of the Egerton manuscript, particularly between scribe C and D whose styles share some traits in common, would seem to suggest a closer lien between the Egerton hands than has previously been considered.³⁵

Text Hand Comparisons

A comparative study of the hands of the Egerton manuscript with examples from dated manuscripts failed to provide conclusive evidence in determining the date or place of compilation of the manuscript. There are however several examples of

³⁴ Margaret Bent, *The Old Hall Manuscript: A Paleographical Study*, Ph. D. dissertation, (Girton College, Cambridge University, 1968): 105. Bent notes that liturgical gothic, such as is used for the liturgical music by Scribe B, is never used for carols.

³⁵ I do not here affirm anything more than that there are striking similarities that could indicate a single hand responsible for the Passions and the carols, a possibility that has not been addressed in other scholarship.

English hands that suggest a link to the Egerton manuscript. The hand of scribe B bears remarkable similarities to the hand of a manuscript currently housed in St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle called the "Schorn Book of Hours".

The "Schorn Book of Hours" was presented to the Dean and Chapter of St. George's Chapel in the late 1940s by the Friends of St George's.³⁶ Bond proposes a date of compilation of 1430-1450, based on the festivals included in the Kalendar, but fails to elaborate further on his method of dating. The Schorn Book of Hours, which Bond calls an example of the less elaborate books owned by priests or poorer people (a conclusion drawn mostly from the lack of miniatures), possibly belonged to a Dominican friar, suggested by the addition of three leaves at the beginning of the book containing memorials written later in the 15th century.³⁷ The remaining, original contents of the "Schorn Book of Hours" are the abbreviated versions of the seven services said throughout the day (as opposed to the extended hours performed in monastic institutions) according to the Use of Sarum. Very little information pertaining to the compilation or history of the book exists, nor have any extensive studies of the book been undertaken. In the only literature available on the book of hours, (unfortunately a brief and sparse article), Bond offers scant information about the physical characteristics of the book, although he devotes great attention to the relation of the book to Master John Schorn, and the prayer dedicated to him located at the

³⁶ The comparison is a suggestion of this author; on the MS, see M. F. Bond, "The John Schorn Book of Hours", *Annual Report of the Society of the Friends of St. George's and the Descendants of the Knights of the Garter*, (1949) 19-27. The book previously belonged to a Captain R. G. Berkeley of Spetchley Park, Worcester (19).

³⁷ Bond fails to elaborate on what marks these memorials as Dominican. Without access to the pages of the Book or the contents of the memorials the ascription of these leaves to a Dominican seems untenable.

beginning of the book of hours.³⁸ However, the following facts about the book itself do present a sketch of the manuscript: the 177 leaves of vellum are approximately $8^{3/4}$ inches by $6^{1/8}$ inches and it was covered by the original oak boards.³⁹ The text is in a Gothic hand and written in red and blue ink. The initials, in various sizes, drawn using gold leaf, feature a floral border and multiple additional ink colours, including blue, salmon and green.

The lack of knowledge pertaining to the creation of the book of hours thwarts any attempt to use the manuscript as evidence in the establishment of a fixed location and time for the compilation of the MS Egerton 3307. Nevertheless, it may possible to draw several conclusions through a comparison of the two manuscripts. The paleographic similarities become apparent when the two hands are viewed side by side. Many of the letters in the Schorn book bear striking resemblance to those in the Egerton manuscript. Although both hands are bookhands, and conform to the uniformity of that style, there are conspicuous traits that draw the two sources closer together. As seen in Appendix V the Egerton hand B, in row 2 and the Schorn hand, in row 7 seem to conform to a distinct style within the greater book hand style. Hands that fall into the book hand category share a general similarity in the shape of letters. For example, the round 'r' or 's' at the end of a word, of the general shape of the minims used to make the 'u', 'm', 'n', or 'i'. Beyond the generic formulation of these letters, the Egerton and Schorn hands share similarities that would appear to stem from the same, or at least a related, scriptorium. The similarities extend to the overall style

³⁸ The book of hours is mentioned in N. R. Ker, *Medieval manuscripts in British libraries*, (Oxford, 1983) but in no great detail.

³⁹ Bond, 24.

and colours used in the initials of the book of hours and those found in the carol section of the MS Egerton 3307.

One other hand shares some stylistic traits with the hands in the Egerton manuscript.⁴⁰ There are certain similarities between scribes C and D of the MS Egerton 3307 and a later scribe in the Old Hall. Although an examination of the two main hands supports Margaret Bent's assertion that the main text hands of the MS Egerton 3307 and Old Hall manuscripts do not share more than general bookhand characteristics⁴¹, close scrutiny of a newer hand in the Old Hall and the hand responsible for the carol texts indicates a possible connection between the two manuscripts. The "newer" hand in the Old Hall, designated as scribe 'c' by Bent, exhibits similarities of style with the scribe D. The relationship is evident in the execution of the 'g', 'd', round 's', 'h' and 'b'. The possibility that this hand was the composer's own is suggested by Bent. The implications of this with respect to the MS Egerton 3307 are discussed below in the Conclusions.

⁴⁰ I searched through more than a dozen such catalogues. While there are a number of dated manuscripts from 15th -century England, no one manuscript conforms to the one or more hands in the Egerton. It should be noted that there are no surviving manuscripts from St. George's for the time period in question, and that the surviving music pages from Meaux Abbey are so dissimilar to the hands of the Egerton MS that it is with some confidence that I can assert that they were not by a hand related to the Egerton manuscript. It is not inconceivable that the Abbey employed more than one scribe, and that the scribes hand very distinct and unrelated styles, although there is at present no other surviving material from that location.

⁴¹ Bent, Old Hall. 104. Bent dismisses McPeck's argument tying the main hands of Egerton and Old Hall, but allows that the music hand on folio 9 of the Old Hall could be tied to the main music hand of the Egerton 3307. For a discussion of the connections between the Old Hall and the Egerton 3307 scribes and the history of both manuscripts, see Conclusions.

The Initials and Folio Decoration

The Egerton initials and illuminations fall into several styles. The first style of initials is the small square initials used on folios 6-7 and 72v-75. They are drawn within the confines of a single staff line (fitting for part-song writing) and feature a red letter inlaid with an oak leaf or occasionally, flower design. The second style, and the most prevalent, accompanies the work of text scribe B in both the first and second sections of the manuscript as seen on folios 8-14, 29 -37, 42-48, 50-72 and on 75v. These initials are drawn in blue ink for the letter and red ink for the inlaid oak leaves and surrounding borders. The remaining initials fall into two categories, the more elaborate initials in the style of the second group featured on the *Passion*, *Mass* and *O redemptor* folios, and the illuminated letters in the style of the miniatures in the second half of the manuscript found on folios 37v and 49 (the start of the carol section). These latter two initials are drawn in a more elaborate style, using gold leaf as background, red, blue, green and salmon for the letter and the more refined oak leaves that adorn it.⁴² These initials are also in a style similar to those of the “Schorn Book of Hours”. The blue and salmon coloured oak leaves on folio 37v resemble those found in the “Schorn Book of Hours” in both execution and use of colours. The floral borders of the “Schorn Book of Hours” and those of the MS Egerton 3307 are by no means identical, however, there are similarities in style and execution that might suggest a relationship between the two artists. The combination of stylistic similarities in script and initials might point to a connection between the two manuscripts.

⁴² See Appendix III for a complete list of initials and ink colours.

Without question, the miniatures on folio 72 and 72v are the most elaborate and striking decorative features of the Egerton manuscript. They depict two “tavern” scenes, with both women and men drawn in great detail and have survived for nearly five centuries in remarkably good condition.

Some of the initials of the Egerton manuscript imply an additional connection to the Old Hall MS.⁴³ The initials that bear similarities with the Old Hall initials are those in the more common blue and red styles. The detail in the oak leaf inlay of the Passion initial on folio 15 bears striking similarities to the initials in the Old Hall.⁴⁴ This may indicate an additional link between the two manuscripts and could support the argument that the manuscripts were products of a single (or related) scriptorium, although to declare that they are products of the same scribe without stronger evidence would be unfounded.

As mentioned above, the Passion initials are similar to the main style of initials, but are slightly more elaborate. They are larger than all the other initials (except the ‘O’ on the following folio, which is in the same style) and are nearly identical. The significant difference is in the inclusion of a scroll design within the initial of the Passion According to St. Luke where as a similar scroll is included above the initial on the first folio of the Passion According to St. Matthew. The scroll work at the top of the Matthew Passion folio held the words “Mieulx en de cy”, and although the writing has been severely eroded they are still legible enough to make the words out. The same combination of words, re-ordered is included in the initial ‘P’ of the Luke Passion (f. 20) and is much more legible. There are also two flory crosses on the first folio of each

⁴³ McPeck, 13.

⁴⁴ McPeck, 13.

Passion. The two crosses, drawn in red ink with coal outline, lack the sophistication of the other decorations and are not in the same hand that drew the other decorations. The bleedthrough to the pages preceding both Passions seems to indicate that the crosses were later additions.⁴⁵

Although the origins and meaning of the phrase remain unknown, the execution of the “motto,” as Greene refers to it,⁴⁶ and the scroll work may reveal something about the compilation of the gathering. The severe bleedthrough from the scroll work extends into the preceding and succeeding folios and gatherings and would seem to indicate that the folios and gatherings were attached together when the scroll was added to the folio. This suggests several possible scenarios. First, that the scroll work was a later addition to the manuscript, which seems unlikely given the inclusion of the words in the initial for the Passion of St. Luke and the similarities of the Passion initials to the initial on the following gathering, or second, that the gatherings were already sown together when the scroll work was added, during the original compilation. Given that the manuscript shows other signs of having been compiled as a whole the second option seems the more probable of the two. This is indeed supported by the indexing in the marginalia. Since, the marginalia, which indicate which pieces were to be set on which folio, would be unnecessary if the pieces were entered on loose leafs of vellum. There would be no need to pre-order the sequence of pieces on the folio if the folio could be inserted afterwards. It seems probable that the pieces were copied onto sown

⁴⁵ It seems unlikely, given the mediocre workmanship, that the crosses could serve to identify the original owner of the manuscript (refer to page 9).

⁴⁶ Greene, 18-19.

folios and the bleedthrough from the scroll work would seem to indicate that the gatherings were bound together prior to the copying of the text and music.

Music copyists

There are three distinct music hands in the Egerton manuscript, but the bulk of the compositions (excepting the first and last piece) were copied by a single music copyist, copyist 2.⁴⁷ Copyist 2's virtual dominance in the copying of the music immediately suggests several scenarios for the copying and compilation of the manuscript. A difference in copyist (and scribe) for the first and last piece of the manuscript could indicate that these pieces were later additions to the manuscript, having been inserted after the manuscript was complete, and therefore not part of the original whole. But this cannot be the case for the first gathering. As mentioned above, the first gathering contains eight folios (or four bifolios), although the first five leaves have been reduced to stubs. The first piece on folio 6 of the modern foliation, *Gloria laus*, is by copyist 1 and scribe A and is the only contribution of those to hands.⁴⁸ The gathering is intact, and there is no evidence that the leaves were added to the manuscript after the compilation. However, the possibility that the *Gloria laus* was originally part of the repertoire of the manuscript seems contradicted by the placement of the second piece, and copyist 2's first contribution, located on folio 8r, the last page of gathering I. *En rex venit*, a processional antiphon for Palm Sunday discussed in

⁴⁷ My findings agree with the previous studies on the Egerton manuscript. Copyist 2's output is highlighted in blue in the Manuscript Inventory in Appendix II.

⁴⁸ The piece differs further in having been set down in part form, rather than the almost uniform score format of the rest of the manuscript (the exceptions being *O potores* on folio 72v of the modern foliation, and *Cantus Domino* on folio 75r, which combines both score and part format and will be discussed below).

greater detail below, begins on folio 8r (modern foliation) and concludes on folio 10v, the second of six folios in gathering II. It is not unreasonable to suppose that a manuscript so carefully planned as MS Egerton 3307 could have placed the first piece of this collection in a separate gathering, if the music of the first was not connected in some way to the music in the succeeding gatherings.⁴⁹ The consistency of the page preparation in all the gatherings strengthens the possibility that the first gathering was indeed an original component of the manuscript.

Music Hand traits

Copyist 1

As mentioned in the previous section, the music on folios 6-7 was the sole work of copyist 1. The note stems appear quite uniform, all approximately the same length, and measuring close to three staff lines high. The note-heads themselves are slightly rounded, particularly the semi-breves and minims, as are the dots of division. The side bars on the breves are minute and rarely appear to be more than the end of a pen stroke.

The music is written in black, red and white (or black void) and some red is used for bar lines as well. The heavier red bar lines denoting a new section stand in stark contrast to the slight, black bar lines at the end of each voice part.⁵⁰ The final bar lines are marked by a triple bar line, using both red and black, which coincides with the practice of the Passion and Mass hands. The final *longa* is drawn using four blocks (see

⁴⁹ There is no way of determining what the contents of folios 1-5. It may be that they contained music, or perhaps they included an index, which is lacking in the surviving gatherings.

⁵⁰ This piece, like so many in the manuscript, alternates between three and two part writing. For a discussion of the performance of this piece, and the relationship to the other *Gloria laus*, see Chapter II.

Appendix V), and is virtually identical to those at the end of the *Qui tollis*, the final movement of the Mass.⁵¹

The custodes are given a flare at the end of the stroke and are somewhat longer than those of other pieces.⁵² Within the flare, the copyist places a dot to indicate a dotted breve in the next lines. This practice is singular to this piece within the contents of the Egerton manuscript.⁵³

There are no mistakes, and the music is set very carefully and with deliberate spacing between each note.

Copyist 2: The carols

The general characteristics of the music hand responsible for the music in the carol sections (f. 49 onward until the second last piece) and the bulk of the liturgical music in the first section of the manuscript are discussed at length below. There are differences of notation exhibited only in the carol section which merit special attention. The most prominent differences in the features of the music of the carol section, from a paleographic perspective, principally surround the delineation of the burdens and the execution of the bar lines. The changes in sections and *alternatim* in the first half of the manuscript, as discussed in the analysis below, are ordinarily notated by a long note value, a bar line, or a small vertical line placed after the final note of the section on the staff line. In the carol sections, the ends of sections are notated either by a full

⁵¹ These are the only two instances of this kind of longa. A comparison of the fermata of both pieces would have been interesting (the Mass uses red, instead of black used everywhere else), but the *Gloria laus* does not contain any fermatas.

⁵² See Appendix V.

⁵³ There are not many instances of a dotted breve at the head of a staff line, but those that do occur (19r) are not indicated in the custodes.

double or triple bar line either in black or black and red, or by a small symbol on the staff line (see the hands comparison chart in Appendix V). This symbol indicates that the text which succeeds it ought to be sung between each verse (in some cases, this text is the burden, but often, the text is different for each verse).

There are several other points of interest in the musical notation of the carol section. The first also occurs once in the first sections and concerns the of “hollow” clef blocs. The “white” blocs seem to be used to draw the singers’ attention to a change in vocal range or a textual change. In the carol *David ex progine* on folio 50v, the “white” clef blocs indicate those staff lines which hold the music of the verses, while the burden is indicated by the solid black clef blocs that dominate the rest of the music. It appears that the hollow clefs were employed here in place of the usual double bar lines because, unlike most carols, the burden concludes at the end of a staff line rather than in the middle of a staff where a double bar line would be obvious. The practicality that this implies is strengthened by the use of the white blocs on folio 28, the seventh page of *O redeptor*. A clef change occurs near the end of the fourth staff line. This is the only instance, in the first half of the manuscript, where a clef change takes place mid-staff, and it occurs in only one voice part in mid phrase, textually and musically speaking. This would seem to be an attempt to clearly note an irregular change in the music, and seems intended especially for performers.

A final notational issue, which occurs in both sections, but most frequently in the carol section, must be addressed. In several of the compositions, a symbol occurs on one or more staff lines. The symbol is not a flat or sharp, as is readily apparent when viewed next to copyist 2’s style of accidentals, but rather seems to be a ligatured gf. Closer examination of the symbol revealed it to be a clef mark, indicating g. This

notational symbol seems occurs only in the music copied by copyist 2 although not in the first, last or Passion folios. The most prolific use occurs on folio 75 where it appears on six of the nine staff lines but is used in both the carol music and non-carol music. Although a “g clef” is by no means an unusual occurrence, this particular clef is quite distinctive and may be considered one of copyist 2’s defining traits (see Appendix V).

Copyist 3

The third copyist set the last two, incomplete items in the manuscript. The style follows that of the carols discussed above, and includes the indication for the burden (see Appendix V). There are however several factors that distinguish copyist 3. The flats, at the beginning of each staff line, are squarer than those in the carol section (i.e., folio 62) and the overall shapes of the notes is more square and refined, probably resulting from a smaller, sharper quill. The stem lines are uniformly straight and upright. The breves are drawn by a straight stroke of the quill and have pronounced side bars. The music seems a bit crowded, especially during the more florid passages, but without text it is difficult to deduce the degree of proximity between notes.

Copyist 2: The Liturgical Music

Copyist 2 set the greater majority of the pieces in the manuscript, both the liturgical ones and the carols. Within the 69 folios of work by copyist 2 there are naturally instances of inconsistency, where some notes may appear rounder than on the previous folio, or where a custos was drawn with a slightly different flare. The overall practice and variants within that practice are exemplified in a comparison of the music

of the first page of the Passion According to Matthew with that of the preceding folio, the final page of *Unus autem*.

Folio 14v and 15r

The dots of division on folio 14v are mostly square, resulting from a short stroke of the quill, while some others are actual dots. The notes are quite square as well and drawn in a dark black ink with stems in a lighter “brown” colour. The same brown ink served for the bar lines and the custodes, which are drawn in a simple, unornamented style (see the Appendix V). The side bars on the breves are deliberately drawn and quite pronounced and resemble the rests in terms of size.

The red used for the coloration is quite close to that used for the staff lines, and only the thicker texture of the notes distinguishes the two ink colours when the note is drawn over the staff lines. Neither text nor music appears crowded or misplaced, although the more florid passages in the upper voice-part are at times notated quite closely. The clefs at the head of each staff line are not consistently drawn; the first two staff line clefs are connected, while the remaining seven clefs are not.⁵⁴

The following page, the first page of the Passion According to Matthew, displays some consistently different traits. The dots of division, round and square on folio 14, are invariably square and compact on folio 15. The notes are less square for the music of the Passion -- though one might expect them, on account of the liturgical importance of the Passion, to be (in accordance with the other notation) more formalized -- and are notated in a slightly lighter ink than the previous folio, again with

⁵⁴ Throughout the manuscript, the practice seems to have been to connect only the first few clefs of a piece and leave the others unconnected, except in two cases, discussed just below.

“brown” stems. The custodes are likewise drawn in a lighter, in the same informal style and brown ink, although it seems less black than that of folio 14. The bar lines are markedly different; on this folio, in addition to the brown used for the stems and custos, the scribe employed red for the bar lines to mark in the end of the introduction: *Passio domini nostri jehsu cristi. Secum dum Matheum*. Various lengths of bar lines are also used, but this is more for performance reasons.⁵⁵ The side bar lines on the breves are not deliberately defined or pronounced when compared to those on folio 14. The red used for the coloration, like that used on the previous folio, closely matches the red of the staff lines. It does not seem impossible, based on the close match of the red of the staff lines and the red used by the main copyist, that the same ink, or ink from the same “manufacturer” was used for both the notes and the staff lines.⁵⁶ Like the underlay of the previous folio, the text of the Passion According to Matthew appears deliberately placed beneath the notes, without any crowding of text or music, suggestive of a close relationship between the scribe and the copyist. In a last point of comparison, the clefs of the Passion, quite apart from the clefs of the other pieces, are uniformly connected. This manner of drawing the clefs, while unique in the Egerton manuscript to the Passions (and another factor marking the Passions as inimitable within the manuscript), is methodically employed by the music copyist of the Old Hall.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ The shorter bar lines on folio 15 indicate a pause within a section of text, rather than a change to the alternate performer/celebrant. For a full discussion of the performance, see the musical analysis in Chapter III.

⁵⁶ The staff lines having been ruled as a whole for the entire manuscript, it seems likely that the work was done by the compilers of the manuscript, which is also indicated in by the red ink.

⁵⁷ Bent, Old Hall 104. Bent points out the regularity with which the Old Hall scribe connects the ‘clef blocks’, comparing it to the practice of only joining the first few clefs of a piece found in the majority of pieces in the Egerton. She fails to note that the Passion clefs are uniformly connected.

There are several instances of erasures within the work of copyist 2, but, on the whole, the music is set with deliberate care, staying within the staff lines and avoiding sloppy pitfalls such as crowding. Indeed, the general fit of the music to the words, with the clarity of neither sacrificed, would indicate a close working relationship between the text scribe of each piece and the music copyist. If the text scribes were reduced to one scribe, one might speculate that one individual was responsible for both the music and text.⁵⁸

The close relationship suggested between the music and text scribes by the lack of crowding of either music or text further demonstrates the deliberate and careful assemblage of the MS Egerton 3307. The pre-ordered sequence of pieces suggested by the marginalia and the uniformity of the page preparation all point to an artistic undertaking of great importance and forethought. The MS was evidently not the product of several unconnected scribes, but rather a manuscript compiled with the utmost care and with a specific purpose in mind. The evidence of wear and tear such as wax marks and page-turn marks would seem to indicate that the manuscript was used for performance rather than preserved as a presentation manuscript. The similarities between the text scribes and the virtually exclusive contributions of a single music copyist further suggest that the MS was compiled over a short period of time. The physical evidence (the single music copyist and same page preparation) points to a unity between the two halves of the MS Egerton 3307, despite the seemingly divergent musical genres. The following chapters examine the liturgical function of the music of the MS Egerton 3307 and explore the possibility that the codicological and

⁵⁸ However alluring such a theory might be, there is at this time no evidence to support such a claim.

paleographic cohesiveness of the manuscript extends first to a functional unity between the two sections, and second to a unity of musical styles.

Chapter II: The Liturgical Function of the Music of the Egerton Manuscript

The Liturgical Function of the Carol: The Carol As Part of the Ceremonial

A connection between the two sections of the Egerton manuscript, beyond that implied by the codicological evidence and the paleographic relationship of the textual hands of the two sections and the employment of a single music copyist for the various musical genres included in the MS Egerton 3307, may stem from the functional aspect of the music itself. John Stevens argues that the carol was an active musical form, used for dances or for processional music in the church. The majority of the music from the first half of the manuscript consists of mostly processional hymns and antiphons, that is, music sung in conjunction with movement. Given the great care and preparation evident in the presentation of the manuscript, one might wonder whether the Egerton manuscript was to some extent functionally unified. However, before a functional parallel may be sought between the first portion of the manuscript and the carols, the possibility of the liturgical function of the carol, stemming from its connection to the conductus, must first be scrutinized.

One of the earliest ties between the conductus and the carol appears in the epic poem *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*:

At þe soper and after, mony aþel songez,
As condutes of Krystmasse and carolez newe.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Greene, xxviii.

As Greene states, this links the conductus and the carol, describing one musical form that was “passing out of favour” alongside a new form. The implication that arises is that carols were slowly filling the gap left by the demise of the archaic conductus. This may become clear by comparing the two forms in greater detail.

According to Ellinwood, a conductus was “a Latin metrical poem set to music in from one to four parts during the 12th and 13th centuries, used for festive or processional purposes both within and without the church.”⁶⁰ Greene states that the conductus was

Originally a song accompanying a change of position by a liturgical celebrant, was a two-, three-, or four-part piece of which not all the parts were furnished with words. Its distinctive feature was that the melody of the tenor, if not an original theme, was taken from popular song and not from ecclesiastical music as in most other part-songs such as rotas or motet.⁶¹

We may add that in the 12th century, conducti were separated into two distinct styles; the embellished conductus and the strophic conductus, which included conducti in chanson form (aabc rhyme scheme) and hymn form (abcd scheme).⁶² Of the existing texts, fifteen are found in the *Carmina burana*, alongside Goliard songs. (See the discussion below concerning the so called “Goliard song” in the Egerton manuscript for more on this topic and the liturgical ties of several of the pieces in the carol section.)

Although the function of the conductus was originally processional, Ellinwood argues that the processions may have simply been sung without movement.

⁶⁰ Leonard Ellinwood, “The ‘Conductus’” *The Musical Quarterly*, 27, No.2 (1941:165-204), 165.

⁶¹ Greene, xxix.

⁶² Ellinwood, 166.

While the church liturgy could best interpolate such songs at points where a processional took place, it is likely that the actual procession did not always take place, and that, although the type persisted, its use may have become more general. Particularly would this be true for all uses outside the Church, and these must have been considered.⁶³

These other uses to which Ellinwood refers were as “occasions of royal splendour”, apparently not an infrequent use for the processional form.⁶⁴

As stated above, the conductus was usually a “metrical poem” set to music. There are however existing records of conducti in non-metrical form. The text of these embellished conducti, as Ellinwood calls them, dealt for the most part with the Nativity, although there were several clearly intended for Lent, Easter and Pentecost. These non-strophic conducti, as opposed to the simple conducti, featured a long *cauda* or tail that embellished the music, particularly at the beginning and end of stanzas.⁶⁵ According to Ellinwood, these conducti with a cauda, with their markedly non-secular text, held an important position within the service and were “intended for the most complicated point of the musical service...much as the anthem is used today.”⁶⁶

Musically, the conductus began with a chord followed by a rest, which was represented in the embellished conducti by the cauda. In the case of the cauda, the music was separate, and may have been performed by solo instrument or in combination with the singers. Where three-voice parts were concerned, two might move in parallel while the third moved in contrary motion, forming a triad through two

⁶³ Ellinwood, 168.

⁶⁴ Ellinwood, 169.

⁶⁵ Ellinwood, 179-180.

⁶⁶ Ellinwood, 180.

superimposed thirds, rather like descanting in triads. While parallel motion was not abundant, there are instances of successive thirds, fifths and octaves, and in a rare instance, as many as 10 successive triads.⁶⁷ Finally, one of the “basic traits of this music”, of conductus music, was its exclusive presentation in score format, which, as we shall see, was also a trait of many of the surviving carols, and of all the carols in the MS Egerton 3307 manuscript.

Let us now, having described the conductus, turn our attention to the carol. Greene defines the carol as “...a song on any subject, composed of uniform stanzas and provided with a burden.”⁶⁸ It was a lyric genre defined by form rather than sentiment and evolved from the dancing circle carol, from which it retained the regularly repeated burden.

The most prevalent poetic rhyme scheme found in the carols is aaab plus a *cauda*.⁶⁹ Several carols incorporate variant schemes (such as aab) but they are among the minority, and were the exception rather than the rule. The “hymn is that which presents the nearest likeness of form to the carol, being divided into stanzas, each of which is sung in repetition of the same musical setting... and... contributes the greatest number of Latin lines to the carol texts...”⁷⁰ However, Greene argues against any attempt to trace the evolution of the carol to the processional hymn. Drawing from Harrison’s well known *Music in Medieval Britain* he quotes: “...that carols were sung in ritual procession is untenable, since the ordinals laid down the chants to be sung for

⁶⁷ Ellinwood, 182. The extensive use of successive triads is discussed in Bukofzer’s *Geschichte des englischen Diskants und des Fauxboudons*.

⁶⁸ Greene, xxxii-xxxiii.

⁶⁹ Greene, ciii.

⁷⁰ Greene, lxxxv

procession throughout the year.”⁷¹ Greene further asserts that given the secular and feasting nature of the texts, coupled with the lack in any surviving source of directions for procession (like *ad processionem* or the like) English carols would not, under any circumstances have been suitable for performance within a church.

Musically, the carols of the Egerton manuscript are for two to three voice-parts. They feature a burden, a “...separate formal unit...”⁷² or an “...invariable line or group of lines which is to be sung before the first stanza and after all stanzas...”⁷³ Like the cauda of the conductus, the burden was set apart from the rest of the music, usually at the head of the piece. The music is quasi homo-rhythm with brief passages of melisma, particularly at the ends of stanzas, again resembling the conductus.

The ties between liturgical processions and carols are summarily set aside by Greene. Greene dismisses what he terms the “artificial association of procession and carol found in recent ‘carol services’” as a product of the 19th-century.⁷⁴ Even among the laity –and here one may include groups such as the Order of the Garter-, with processions playing a role in many feasts and festivals, records always indicate that the texts were in Latin. In addition, these feasts were most definitely apart from the liturgy. Greene’s arguments against the carol having any liturgical function may then be summarized as the following: First, that there existed strict guidelines for which chant should be sung on a given day, second, that the secular nature of the text precluded the carol within the service, third, that the English Latin hymn had certain fundamental

⁷¹ Greene, cvi. See also Frank L. Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958): 417.

⁷² John E. Stevens, *Medieval Carols*, (London: Stainer & Bell, 1952): xiii.

⁷³ Greene, clx.

⁷⁴ Greene, cvii. According to Greene, this was the result of an attempted revival resulting from a movement which occurred within the English Church.

characteristics not featured in the carols, and fourth, that there is no evidence that the carols were meant to be sung *ad processionem*, and last, that the Latin processional songs of the laity were not part of the liturgy and should not be confused with liturgical processional.

All this cannot rule out the possibility that there may have been carols that were used as processionals. There is no gainsaying that the ordinals provide chant for all the processions throughout the year, and that they would have been faithfully observed in a religious institution or establishment. However, it was not unheard of for powerful patrons, especially royal patrons, to make modifications to their services. Indeed, in the fifteenth century, this kind of modification can be seen to be an identifying mark of court artistic patronage and expression. The inclusion of the motet and of polyphony in lieu of spoken text is an example of this. Might not an establishment, such as the King's chapel, which was under the direct control of the monarch, have tailored the service to reflect the patron's taste and preference? Greene raises a second objection is this time against the secular, feast related, content of the texts. There is however a substantial number of carols with religious text included in the Egerton manuscript. The texts are mostly in Latin (with a few in English, Latin and English and some in a combination of Latin, English and French, see Appendix II) and all incorporate a religious element, whether it be a text in honour of St. George, or one relating to the nativity. We might therefore say that as far as the Egerton carols are concerned, there is a definite liturgical link, and that in some instances, the most appropriate place for the texts would have been as part of a service, if not implanted directly into the patron's liturgy.

Having thus associated the conductus and the carol we may conclude that in some respects, the liturgical function of carol was like function of conductus. Therefore, the polyphonic carol was part of the ceremonial because of its derivation in the polyphonic conductus. In short, what we have in the MS Egerton 3307 are not two unrelated sections which contain music for Holy Week and secular carols, respectively, but perhaps the ceremonial preferences of the institution and patron for which it was written. If indeed such a connection exists, as is suggested in the physical aspects of the manuscript as well as in the above summary, then the musical points of contact or similarity should be evident, and will be explored below.

Liturgical Function of the Music and Implications

The processional antiphon *En rex venit* is particular to uses of secular church. It was sung on Palm Sunday for the adoration of the Sacrament. The only known use of this antiphon in monastic use was in the Benedictine rite found at Norwich.⁷⁵ At the Salisbury Cathedral, the piece was divided between three groups: three clerics who sing the *En rex venit*, and later the *Hic est qui de Edom* and *Hic est ille*, the celebrant singing both the *Salve Jesum* and additional *Salve* between the *Hic est* of the clerics, and finally the choir, who sing *Testatur plebs* in the third section and join the officiant in the *Salve*. This antiphon is present in the Egerton manuscript, and is the first piece in the second layer of the manuscript, heralding both a new text scribe and music copyist. Interestingly, the Egerton setting of the *En rex venit* antiphon does not include the music for each section. Rather, it is a polyphonic setting of only those parts relegated

⁷⁵ Harrison, fn. 4, 92.

to the three clerics in the Salisbury rite. The correlation between the number of clerics and the number of voice -parts for this setting of the antiphon cannot be overstated. Here is a polyphonic setting of sections that were ordinarily sung by *soloists*, and that excludes both the part of the celebrant and the choir. If the venue for which this setting of the antiphon followed the Sarum Use, which is strongly suggested by the organization of the manuscript in accordance with that rite, this would seem to suggest that the piece was performed by three individuals (clerics according to the Sarum Missal) and that the sections for the celebrant and choir were sung from another source. It seems plausible that the celebrant used plainsong, but what of the choir? Were those sections of the antiphon also set polyphonically, but located in another source? Or was polyphony reserved for the three soloists? There is of course no definite answer to these musings, but the practice of setting only those sections for soloists to polyphony, as is suggested by this setting of *En rex venit*, may surface in other pieces in the MS Egerton 3307 and could have performance implications for the liturgical music of the first half of the manuscript.

Gloria laus et honor (on folio 10v of the modern foliation) is likewise a setting for the soloists. The refrain sung by the choir is not included in the polyphonic setting in the MS Egerton 3307. Another particularity of the piece is the absence of the fourth verse. There are some minor textual variants, such as *palma* versus *palmis*, but the most intriguing feature of the setting is the music. The music alternates between three- and two-part sections. The first two-part section, beginning with the first verse *Israel es tus Rex*, combines the upper voice part with the lower voice, which retains the text underlay. The next verse is sung by all three-voice parts and changes again to two part harmony after the choir's refrain *Gloria laus*. The physical setting of this verse differs

from the previous texture change. Where the first verse featured the two voice-parts in proximity to each other, the third verse, beginning with *Plebs hebreæ tibi* follows the three voice format, with the middle staff line left blank. That the middle staff lines lacks a custos prior to the shift to two part writing would seem to negate the possibility that the copyist intended to add music and text to the blank staff line. The change of vocal texture, in addition to following the changes in verse, alternates between C for the two-part sections and O for the three-part sections.

Interestingly, this version of the *Gloria laus et honor* is only one of two three- and two-part settings of the text in the Egerton manuscript. The first setting is actually on folio 6, the first item in the manuscript, and the sole responsibility of music copyist 1. The writing traits of this copyist having been discussed in Chapter I, it is possible to compare this musical setting with the version on folio 10v. Like the contextually later setting on folio 10, *Gloria laus 1* (for matters of simplicity) is set for three voices. The immediately perceptible difference between the two is the format in which they are set. *Gloria laus 2* (on folio 10v) is set in score format, matching the liturgical section of which it is part. *Gloria laus 1* is set in part book format. There are paleographic differences (discussed in Chapter I), but the greatest point of interest comes in the alternation between voice-parts. Like the *Gloria laus 2*, the first version alternates between three- and two-part harmony. The difference is that unlike the second version, the two-part sections do not alternate to the same two voice-parts. The first alternation from three to two voices features a “duet” between the tenor and superius, while the second combines the superius and contratenor. The two pieces likewise change between time signatures each time the voice parts alternate. *Gloria laus 1* contains no time signatures until folio 6v. It may be that the opening signature was notated on the

first page of the superius part, which must have preceded the music on folio 6.⁷⁶ The first time signature, on folio 6v indicates imperfect time and minor prolation, also indicated at concurrent places on the contratenor and tenor parts. Perfect time, and minor prolation return only after the superius/contratenor “duet” ends and the tenor rejoins for the final verse of the piece.

Gloria laus 2 also fluctuates between perfect and imperfect time. The first change to imperfect time is indicated, interestingly, at the same textual part as *Gloria laus 1*, the music likewise for three parts. The next time indicated is again imperfect time, on the word *Plebs* (the opening of the third verse) written for two part texture. The time signature changes again to perfect time mid-verse on the word *cum*, and is maintained until the end of the piece. Then same changes occur in *Gloria laus 1*, although imperfect time is not re-iterated for the third verse, but the change to perfect time on the word *Cum*, indicates that imperfect time should be maintained throughout the second and third verses.

There is one additional point of comparison worth mentioning. At the final change to perfect time, *Gloria laus 2* is without a c on for the word *cum*. Furthermore, a dash precedes the letter *u*, indicating that it is connected to the previous syllable. That would make the text *Plebs hebreā tibi, cum palma obvia venitum* prece... The text as it appears in the first version of the piece is *Plebs hebreā tibi cum palmis obvia venit. Cum prece...* It may be that ‘c’ was to be a capital (which would follow the pattern of the piece) and that the scribe intended to return and complete the text, but for

⁷⁶ Folio 5 is reduced to a stub, leaving no way to verify its contents, however, the missing opening music for superius part would have been placed before the first page of the contratenor and tenor, according to the subsequent order of the music.

some reason left it incomplete, or, the text should read as *venitum* and the text divisions were ignored. Given the change of time and general adherence to original text displayed throughout the manuscript, the first scenario seems more plausible.

The Liturgical Function of the Passions

As mentioned above, the Passions According to Luke and Matthew traditionally fell in to the services on Palm Sunday and Easter Wednesday, respectively. The Passions were originally sung or recited as part of the Mass by a single cleric and then by three clerics, each reading the text in a dramatic manner according to the prescripts set by Durandus. The recitations were based on the Passion Tones, specific notes on which the different texts were to be sung and even the manner in which they were to be expressed (sweetly for Christ, harshly for the turba) was prescribed. It is interesting, in light of the strict directions that existed for the recitation of the Passions that the music of the Egerton Passions contains none of the surviving Passion Tones. Indeed, given the traditional and archaic musical style of the Passions, as discussed in the following chapter, it seems likely that either the Passions make use of tones that have not survived, or that they were the product of an institution which could deviate from the liturgical norm with impunity, such as a court or royal chapel, or one that was blessed with royal patronage.

Chapter III: English Music Theory and Musical Analysis of the Egerton Repertoire

The music of the Egerton repertoire, especially the Passions, represents, after the Old Hall manuscript, the greatest collection of insular English music from the 15th Century. As just discussed, the manuscript appears to be liturgically unified, which is especially true of the first half of the MS. However, as discussed in the following, the manuscript may also be musically unified through compositional techniques and style. The pieces of greatest interest here are naturally the Passions, not only because they are the earliest surviving examples of that genre, but because of the apparent stylistic similarities that exist between the two compositions, the confusion surrounding the use of discant in the Passions, and the virtual neglect of the music itself in the manuscript literature. For this reason, the discussion of the musical style of the manuscript is focused primarily on the Passions and the issues of discant in fifteenth-century England.

The Music of the Passions According to Matthew and Luke

Although much has been discussed regarding the origins of the Egerton manuscript, very little has been written about the music. Schofield, Greene, Harrison and Strohm all mention the style of the Passions and other music, but do so only in passing. Bukofzer's and McPeck's studies alone discuss the music in any detail. Of the passing comments, Harrison and Strohm best exemplify the general attention to the musical style.

Harrison refers to the style of the Passions as a "simple and solemn descant style, without any use of the plainsong and without any of the melodic idioms of the

chanson style.”⁷⁷ This style was apparently the standard by which Passions were composed, as is suggested in the retention of the restrained and sombre characteristics of the somewhat later St. Matthew Passion by Richard Davy and an anonymous St. Matthew Passion setting in the Gyffard part-books.⁷⁸

Conversely, Strohm describes the style of the Egerton Passions as lacking any English discant or faburden, which he attributes to the absence of the Passion Tones. He describes the overall style as “chordal, declamatory” and “suitable for liturgical recitatives”.⁷⁹ Furthermore, the dramatic nature of the Passions reflects the ties to ceremonies and processions that permeate the manuscript.⁸⁰ Strohm stipulates that the prevailing “alternatim” suggested in the music probably involved boy trebles.⁸¹ Obviously, a divergence of views is expressed by Harrison’s characterization of the music as discant and Strohm’s assertion that the music is devoid of either discant or faburden.⁸² In a sense, both scholars are correct. However, in order to reveal ties to discant and faburden in the Passion music of the Egerton 3307, a proper understanding of the terms discant and faburden must be established. Indeed, the rules of discant and faburden may allow for a better understanding of the statements of both Strohm and Harrison. Since our focus in this case is the English MS Egerton 3307, the discussion

⁷⁷ Harrison, 402.

⁷⁸ Harrison, 403. The Gyffard part books are catalogued as British Museum Additional MSS. 17802-5. The Davy Passion is found in the Eton Choirbook (MS 178).

⁷⁹ Strohm, 383.

⁸⁰ Strohm, 384.

⁸¹ Strohm, 383. The suggestion of boy trebles is made as an off the_cuff_remark, and lacks any additional information as to what suggests this manner of performance and what suggests the participation of boy trebles. Although there are clearly moments of antiphonal singing, there is no evidence of particular passages intended for boy trebles.

⁸² I have chosen to use the term discant, derived from the Latin *discantus*, rather than the more vernacular descant, but the two terms are interchangeable.

of discant below is concerned with the definition of 15th-century English discant theory.

Ambiguity in Scholarship and Ties with Faburden

In the strictest definition, *discant* is simply two (or more) voices in note-against-note, contrary-motion counterpoint.⁸³ However, modern definitions of discant have become confused, and many scholars now interchange the term discant with *fauxbourdon* and *faburden*. As we shall see, there are ties between English discant, faburden, and fauxbourdon, but there are also significant differences between the English theories and those of the Continent.

The techniques and rules for 15th-century English discant share many of the same prescripts as faburden. Therefore, before turning to English discant, it is important to establish the rules and role of faburden.

Quite apart from the Continental fauxbourdon, faburden was an exclusively English phenomenon,⁸⁴ which was related to improvisation and the “sights”, and applied to what Silvia Kenney has termed the “folk like” music of the carol rather than the “art music” of the motet, a distinction that may not be valid.⁸⁵

⁸³ Silvia Kenney, *Walter Frye and the “Contenance Angloise”* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1964): 91.

⁸⁴ Kenney, 93.

⁸⁵ Kenney, 94. The liturgical ties between the carol and conductus discussed above would seem to indicate that the carol was more than mere folk art. Indeed, the discussion below on the liturgical ties of several of the carols would seem to contradict the label of ‘folk’ music for the carol.

Rules of Faburden and Implications for Discant

Faburden involved the transposition of a “discanting” voice to a fifth below the cantus firmus voice (the tenor) which would alternate from a third to a fifth below the original part, simultaneously forming octaves and sixths with the upper voice (in works containing three voice parts). This upper voice was confined to an interval of a fourth above the cantus firmus. Thus we can see that the faburden line did not duplicate the original part, but followed the line, avoiding parallel intervals, especially of fifths.⁸⁶ This fact is crucial to our understanding of discant because, as Kenney illustrates, 15th - century English discant was rooted in the tradition of discant theory from the previous centuries, which included treatises on faburden, and the rules of faburden became an integral part of discant. Therefore, we can understand that English discant was not a compositional style reliant on or characterized by parallelism, but rather, was founded in a tradition that strove against parallel sonorities.

15th C English discant

Misconceptions

Still, many scholars have characterized English discant as riddled with parallelism, where discant is simply a succession of chords analogous to first inversion triads (parallel motion).⁸⁷ However, according to Kenney, there is an underlying, fundamental difference in the meaning of discant and the theory of parallel

⁸⁶ Kenney, 104.

⁸⁷ Kenney, 91.

improvisation (which most modern scholars equate with English discant). Simply put, discant, as we have seen, means note-against-note counterpoint in contrary motion, rather the opposite of parallelism. Furthermore, the music of the 15th century shows no evidence of the parallelism that scholars have argued is propagated in the theoretical writings of the time (music of the Old Hall for example), and indeed, in those treatises, as we shall see below in the discussion of Lyonel Power's treatise, parallel motion was strictly prohibited, except in a few special cases.⁸⁸

Rules of Discant

In her extensive discussion of discant in *Walter Frye and the "Contenance Angloise"* Silvia Kenney traces the evolution of 15th-century English discant as an exclusively English development out of the 12th to 14th-century theory treatises. Kenny points out that English discant theory implied a familiarity with Continental writings on discant (in the formal organisation of the treatises) and adhered to the rules of Continental discant theory, but followed rules unique to English composers and theorists.

One central rule concerned parallelism. Parallel motion was strictly prohibited, as stated by the axiom "when the cantus firmus rises, the discant falls",⁸⁹ but the use of similar motion was sometimes allowed. Similar motion was acceptable from an imperfect interval to a perfect interval, so long as one voice moved by step, and the other by leap.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Kenney, 92.

⁸⁹ Kenney, 97.

⁹⁰ Kenney, 98.

In practice, there is very little evidence of the so called characteristic parallelism of English discant in the music of the Renaissance. Indeed, Lyonel Power, whose treatise on music is cited by many scholars as a source supporting the propagation of parallelism theory, composed music almost entirely devoid of any parallel motion.⁹¹

Power's treatise survives in *London, British Library, Lansdowne Ms. 763* and was transcribed by Sanford Meech in 1935.⁹² Power observes the traditional elocution practices of the 15th Century by outlining the intervals that are available to the musicians. Interestingly, his opening remarks address singers and teachers in addition to composers. "This tretis is contriuid vpon þe gamme for hem þat will be syngers or makers or techers."⁹³ Power explains that historically there are nine intervals, but, for aesthetic reasons, the 15th should be avoided in proper singing and those nine intervals should be limited to eight.

For þe ferst thing of alle þei must knou hou many cordis of
discant þer be. As olde men seyen & as men syng nou-adayes,
ther be 9. But who-so wil syng manerli & musikili he may not
lepe to þe 15th in no maner of discant, for it longith to no
mannys voys, & so þer be but 8 acordis aftir þe discant nou_
jvsid.⁹⁴

The exception is in the "quadrible sight", where nine discant intervals are required, of which five are prefect and four are imperfect.

⁹¹ Kenney, 92, 108. Kenney clearly shows that the faulty ascription of parallelism as a defining characteristic of English discant arises from the misinterpretation of an example in Power's treatise. For the full discussion, see pg 107-109 of Kenney's chapter on discant theory in *Walter Frye and the "Contenance Angloise"*

⁹² Sanford B. Meech, "Three Musical Treatises in English from a Fifteenth-Century Manuscript," *Speculum*, 10 (1935): 235-269.

⁹³ Meech, 242.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

But for þe quatreble syghte, þer be 9 acordis of discant: the vnison, 3^{de}, 5^{te}, 6^{te}, 8^{te}, 10^{the}, 12^{the}, 13^{the}, & 15^{the}. Of þe whech 9 acordis 5 be perfite and 4 be inperfite. The 5 perfite be: the vnisoun, 5^{te}, 8^{te}, 12^{the}, & 15^{the}. The 4 inperfite be: þe 3^{de}, 6^{te}, 10^{the}, & 13^{the}.⁹⁵

Unsurprisingly, Power excludes the second from his list of intervals; however the fourth is noticeably absent. This does not however exclude the fourth in vertical sonorities, as we see in the succeeding passage wherein Power explains the method by which to teach a child how to sing according to the “sights”. In order to sing discant, the singer must visualise the intervals (listed above) as written an octave below the plainsong.

Under þe whech 9 acordis [listed above] 3 syghtis be conteynynd: the mene syght, the trebil sight, the qvatrebil syght. & oþir also of thi 9 acordis, how þu shalt hem ymageyn between þe playnsong & þi discant here foluy ensample. Ferst to enforme a childe in his counterpoynt, he most ymageyne his vnisoun þe 8^{te} note fro þe playnsong beneþe...his 5^{te} þe 4^{the} note benethe...⁹⁶

Power then proceeds to outline the consonances for each note within the three sights and gives a musical example for each rule. Kenney argues that some of the existing confusion surrounding parallelism springs from the misinterpretation of one of Power’s examples.

⁹⁵ Meech, 242.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

Imperfect Consonances

The sole point of incongruity between the Continental and English sets of theories concerned the use of imperfect consonances. Where Continental discant theory only embraced the use of 3rds and 6ths after the development of Ars Nova, English composers had long incorporated their use into their music.⁹⁷ The English treatises of the 15th century advocated frequent use of thirds and sixths, but warned against the “unlimited successions of imperfect consonances, or the simultaneous use” of thirds and sixths to produce 6/3 chords.⁹⁸

In Practice

In the written music, the discant (top voice) clef was a fifth higher than the tenor, corresponding to the sights while the contratenor (bottom voice), which shared a similar range with the tenor (which held the plainsong), was usually written on a slightly lower clef, or same clef as the tenor. It was not uncommon to see intervals of over two octaves between the lower voice and the upper voice.⁹⁹

Having thus illustrated the rules and characteristics of English discant, we may now turn our attention back to the Egerton Passions. Strictly speaking, there is no evidence of discant proper in the Passions, simply because the Passion music does not include the plainsong, or Passion Tones.¹⁰⁰ Nonetheless, the techniques of discant and

⁹⁷ Kenney, 112.

⁹⁸ Kenney, 111.

⁹⁹ Kenney, 119.

¹⁰⁰ As mentioned above, discant originally meant a voice *discanting* with a pre-existing plainsong melody.

faburden appear with some regularity in both the Passion According to Matthew and the Passion According to Luke.

Relation of the Music to the Rules of Discant and Faburden in the St. Matthew Passion

The intervallic relationship between the tenor and the contratenor (lower voice) in the Passion According to Matthew follows the prescripts of discant most faithfully. As seen in Appendix I, transcription C, the tenor and contratenor alternate between thirds, fifths and octaves in a ration of 3:2:1 respectively. The intervals between the tenor and superius are predominantly fourths, while the contra alternates between thirds, fifths, sixths and octaves below the superius. There are a few parallel fifths, although most of the occurrences appear at the end and beginning of sections. While there is no certainty as to what exactly would have been sung in between, the effect of the parallel intervals would have been considerably less remarkable than if the passages were sung without pause. The parallelism favoured by so many scholars as a trait of English discant is strikingly and abundantly present. It is not however a succession of parallel chords, but rather the parallel intervals in question occur between the top voice and the tenor, most notable at the beginning of sections. Each of the twelve surviving sections begins with an extended succession of parallel fourths, usually lasting between two and four bars (see transcription C in Appendix I).

Musical Analysis: The Passions

The incorporation of *discant* and *faburden* principles in the music of the two Passions naturally affected other components of the music. As just mentioned in the above discussion on the presence of discant and faburden elements in the Passions, the opening of each section featured a succession of vertical fourths between the upper voices and alternating fifths, thirds and octaves between the lower voices. However, in order to fully appreciate the music of the Passions a broader understanding of the music is necessary and may provide additional insights regarding the origins of these liturgical compositions.

The two musical settings of the Passion following the Passion According to Matthew and the Passion According to Luke are, as stated above, the two earliest examples of the words of the Gospels set to music, beyond the simple recitation style of the pre-15th Century. The musical style combines conservative, one might say archaic, musical styles like homorhythm (a style where all voice parts sing the same rhythm together) and discant, with simple polyphony (wherein the voice parts move independently of one another). The rules of homorhythm had been relaxed by English composers by the early 1420's,¹⁰¹ and its presence, to varying degrees, in the majority of the music contained in the Egerton manuscript could indicate the presence of a conservative creative influence or patron. The penchant for traditional and conservative styles of art favoured by the Lancastrians might have been incorporated into music in this manner and, if the MS Egerton 3307 were a product of St. George's Chapel as seems to be the case, the conservative nature of the music, seen in the Passions, would be in accordance to the Lancastrian aesthetic.

¹⁰¹ Margaret Bent, *Dunstable*, London: Oxford University Press, 1981.

Rhythm

A rhythmic “motif” and the variant of that motif permeate both Passions, especially at the beginning and end of the subsections. In the Passion According to St. Luke, 16 of the 30 sections contain this “motif”, either at the start of a section or at the close, and often within the section itself. In addition to the prolific use of this fragment within the two Passions, the use of the motif at the start of each Passion strengthens the stylistic ties between the St. Luke and St. Matthew Passions. The St. Matthew Passion begins with simple declamatory homorhythm, and may be seen in transcription A in Appendix I. The familiar rhythmic pattern stresses the word *domini*, while the strict homorhythm (which quickly dissolves into simple polyphony) sounds like a fanfare before an important declaration.

The St. Luke Passion begins in the same manner, strict homorhythm replaced by polyphony, yet with one audible and striking difference. As seen in the example that follows, the first two bars of the Luke Passion are those of the Matthew Passion, but reversed. While the harmony is not consistent, the rhythm of the second bar of the Matthew Passion appears in the first bar of the St. Luke, and the first bar of the former in the second bar of the latter.

Passion domini secundum Lukan

Passion domini secumdum Mattheum



Melodically, the three voice-parts of the two Passions lack a clear correlation, but the use of ligatures on the third bar of each piece may indicate another link between the Passions. (See the discussion below for a more detailed analysis of the voice-parts).

A second, equally significant parallel between the Passions also emanates from the beginning of each piece. The consistency of the composer, first seen in the use of the rhythmic “motif”, appears once again, this time in the continuous use of the open G chord at the start of each textual section.

This unrelenting use of a single “chord” may very likely be a result of the plainchant rather than a deliberate choice made by the composer. Indeed, in light of the *alternatim* that occurred between the choir (singing from the Egerton manuscript) and the celebrant (singing the plainchant), the repeated use of G/D/G could point to the Passion Tones used in the recitation of these Passions at the institution where they were composed. Since there is no evidence of the Passion Tones within the Passions themselves, such a possibility remains highly speculative, but perhaps not unreasonable. It would not seem unlikely that the opening notes of the choir were taken (or at least related to) those sung immediately before by the celebrant.

Range and Tessitura

The vocal ranges of the individual parts do not vary greatly from one Passion to the next. In the surviving music of the Matthew Passion, the upper voice-part, the superius has a range of over an octave, from a below middle c to c¹. The tessitura rests between middle ‘d’ and ‘b’ and most frequently on middle g. The range of the tenor, the middle voice-part, travels from ‘e’ below middle c up to middle f, with a tessitura between ‘b’ below middle c and middle ‘e’ with middle ‘d’ the most frequent note.

The contratenor, or lowest voice-part, sits just below the tenor, with a tessitura that fluctuates between the 'd' and 'b' below middle c. The full range of the contratenor part reaches from 'c' an octave below middle c up to middle 'e' but for the most part hovers between the 'g' and 'b' below middle c. Not surprisingly, the tessitura of each voice-part coincides with the first note of each section, g, d and g. Clearly then, the opening chord influences the melodic line.

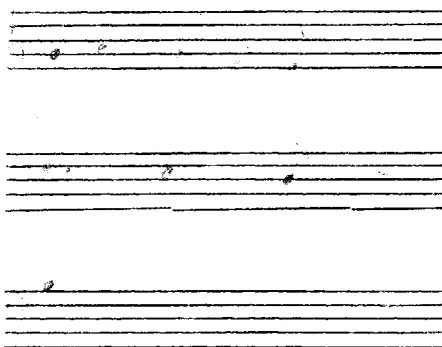
The vocal ranges of the Passion According to Luke follow those of the St. Matthew Passion quite closely. The superius range and tessitura are identical to that of the Matthew Passion, and also to gravitate towards middle 'g'. The range, from 'c' below middle c to middle 'g', of the tenor part exceeds that in the St. Matthew Passion, but the tessitura is slightly more restricted and hovers between middle 'd' and 'a' below middle c, and middle 'd' is likewise the central note. The melodic focus of the contratenor in the St. Luke Passion corresponds with that of the St. Matthew Passion and rests on 'g' and 'b' below middle c, although the range and tessitura vary minutely, those of the contratenor part in the Matthew Passion slightly exceeding those of the contratenor part in the Luke Passion.

Overall then, the voice-parts sit in mid-range, never rising above 'd' an octave above middle c and never below 'b' one octave below middle c. The range is suitable for men and boys, but not so extreme as to require singers with extended ranges.¹⁰²

¹⁰² The congruence between the two sets of vocal ranges might point to the same choir, although the generic ranges would be appropriate for a vast number of ensembles. However, the similarity of vocal ranges is one more point in common between the two Passions.

Melody

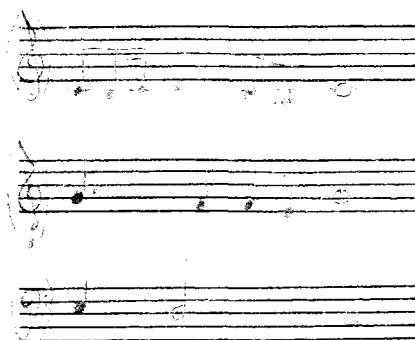
The use of the same opening notes for each section naturally leads to a restricted melodic vocabulary. This is true especially of the two lower voice-parts, which move in less “florid” passages. There are not points of imitation, the tenor and contra usually moving in homorhythm in breves and semibreves with some dotted rhythm (notably the “motif” discussed in the rhythm section above) while the superius moves through the limited tessitura in more melismatic phrases and with more complex rhythms. One remarkable musical exchange occurs between the upper voices. At many of the cadences, the superius and tenor engage in syncopated rhythm, creating *hemiola* (wherein two bars in simple triple time are articulated as if they were three bars in simple duple time). Interestingly, Bukofzer referred to carol music as “hemiola music pure and simple.”¹⁰³



The interchange occurs several times throughout both the St Luke Passion and in the St. Mathew Passion. What is truly noteworthy is the superius part during these passages.

¹⁰³ Julian Rushton, “Hemiola” *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy [Accessed January 12, 2007], [<http://proxy.bib.uottawa.ca:2111>] The musical ties between the carols and Passions are discussed below.

In several instances, the superius is identical to the previous cadence. This occurs not only in the St. Matthew Passion, but in the St. Luke Passion as well, where both the pattern and the notes are identical.



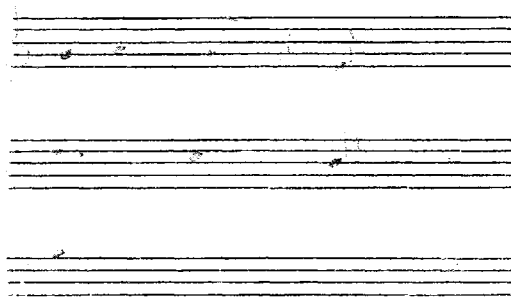
The “borrowing” of the material in the superius from one Passion to the other would seem to intensify the proposition that the Passions were composed by either a single individual or two closely related composers. Certainly, as demonstrated below, the cadences and cadential figures would seem to support such a supposition.

Cadences and Cadential formulas

The Passion According to Luke uses a remarkable succession of *cadential formula*¹⁰⁴ at the close of each textual section. Each of the thirty sections predictably concludes with a cadence, and often features internal cadences as well, which seem to be the equivalent of a comma in the text. What is remarkable about the cadences at the end of the sections is the virtually unfailing consistency by which the voice parts

¹⁰⁴ The term *cadential formula* refers to a recurring pattern which the composer used to approach each cadence. With respect to the music discussed here, the cadential figure occurs in more than one voice-part.

(especially the tenor and contratenor parts) approach the finale note of each section. Although the cadences are not harmonically identical, the melodic approaches to the final note by the tenor and contratenor voice-parts are nearly identical throughout the piece. In 29 instances, the tenor descends by a third in stepwise motion and then leaps up by a third, while the contratenor unvaryingly descends to the cadence in stepwise motion by a third. In addition, the rhythm in both voice-parts remains virtually unchanged throughout the piece and consists of a semibreve followed by a breve in the contratenor, and the now familiar dotted rhythm in the tenor.



The cadences which lack this *cadential formula* do so mostly for reasons pertaining to the text, and are discussed in the Text Underlay and Declamation section above.

The cadential formula, or rhythmic “motif”, is not restricted to the Passions. Indeed, it occurs frequently in all three-part compositions in the liturgical portion of the manuscript, though never to the extent employed in the Passions. In many of instances, the figure in the tenor is juxtaposed with a variant figure in the superius, causing hemiola. The less excessive use of the cadential formula in the music surrounding the Passions may possibly be attributed in part to the less divided nature of the other

pieces. While the Passion According to Luke contains thirty sections, most of the other liturgical pieces are divided into less than ten. Overall, the cadential formula appears between two and five times throughout a given piece rather than at every cadence.¹⁰⁵

Unsurprisingly, this particular cadential formula is not unique to the Egerton manuscript, but incorporates a “characteristically English” rhythmic figure found in the works of such 15th-century composers as Dunstable and Power.¹⁰⁶

The extremely repetitive use of the formula (especially in the Passions) is the exception rather than the rule for, as Peter Wright points out,¹⁰⁷ English composers tended to use a greater “cadential variety”. However, a parallel use of a single cadential formula occurs in Binchois’ *Virgo prefulgens*, which, interestingly, uses the same “motivic” element found in the tenor part of the Passions at every cadence. The argument in favour of attributing these Passions to Binchois has been raised on several occasions, and usually relies on the use of the dotted rhythm which, as just stated appears in both the Passions and many of Binchois’ works. The hypothesis is usually halted by the permeation of this rhythmic figure in the rest of the Egerton manuscript and in English music in general.¹⁰⁸ While the device was one favoured by Binchois and appears in many of his works,¹⁰⁹ it was not habitually employed in combination with the

¹⁰⁵ Bukofzer notes the prolific use of the tenor figure with the superius figure at the cadences of several pieces within the Egerton manuscript (*Studies*, 130), but fails to comment on the ever-present contratenor figure.

¹⁰⁶ Craig Monson. “Stylistic Inconsistencies in a Kyrie Attributed to Dufay”, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 28, No. 2 (1975): 252.

¹⁰⁷ Peter Wright, “Binchois and England: Some Questions of Style, Influence, and Attribution in his Sacred Works” in *Binchois Studies*, edited by Andrew Kirkman and Dennis Slavin, (New York: Oxford University Press Inc, 2000): 87-118.

¹⁰⁸ Andrew Kirkman (“Binchois the Borrower” in *Binchois Studies*)

¹⁰⁹ Wright, “Binchois and England”, 114. The opening of the Passions may suggest an additional similarity between the Passions and Binchois’ compositional style. Bars 2-3 of the counter tenor follow the same rhythmic combination as Binchois’ *Se j’eusse un seul peu d’esperance* as well as the same ligature over the second bar. However, as the rhythm is so common to English music, this remains an interesting, but inconclusive observation. Although it does not seem likely that these Passions were

rhythmic figures present in the upper and lower voices of the Egerton music, and certainly not with the regularity of the Passions composer.

The particular combination of the rhythmic and melodic aspects of the Egerton cadential formula does appear in the works of another 15th-century composer. A nearly identical cadential formula occurs in the works of Guillaume Dufay, as seen in his *Kyrie "Cunctipotens genitor"*. Although not precisely the formula that appears at each cadence in the Passions and in so many other pieces in the Egerton manuscript, the similarity of Dufay's "typical cadential figuration"¹¹⁰ would seem to suggest more than a mundane connection between the Egerton Passions (and to some extent the whole liturgical section) and the Flemish composer.

It is not the intention of this author to attribute these works to Dufay, (or Binchois), on the grounds of the use of a compositional technique favoured by both these composers. Nonetheless, the overwhelming use of the cadential formula in the Egerton Passions might have resulted from knowledge of the composer's style and works, and it does not seem unreasonable that the composer of our Passions may have been influenced by one of the most celebrated and prolific composers of the time.¹¹¹

composed by Binchois, he did receive payment for a volume of "*Passions en nouvelle maniere*" in on May 29 1438, which was to be placed in the court chapel of the Duke of Burgundy (See David Fallow, "Binchois, Gilles de Bins dit" *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy [Accessed January 12, 2007], [<http://proxy.bib.uottawa.ca:2111>])

¹¹⁰ J. Peter Burkholder, "Borrowing: Renaissance Mass Cycles" *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy [Accessed January 12, 2007], [<http://proxy.bib.uottawa.ca:2111>])

¹¹¹ The influence of French composers on the English style and vice versa has been the subject of much discussion in the last few decades. It seems likely that the composers of the Passions and other Egerton compositions were exposed to the music of the Continent either by visiting composers (who, like Dufay, traveled to England) or through the increase of cultural exchanges that occurred between France and England after the Hundred Years War and the marriage of Henry VI to Marguerite of Anjou. Given the musically rich court of René d'Anjou, Marguerite's father, it seems probable that she would have brought musicians with her to England and that her own tastes, and those of her retenue, would have influenced the English court to some degree.

With respect to the Passions, the abundant use of the cadential formula may suggest more than a coincidental similarity between the compositional techniques of the two Passions. Might not such a prolific use of this cadential formula, in tandem with the related opening measures of the two Passions, the similar tessitura in all voice-parts, the similar use of fermata and hemiola, indicate a single composer? Or at least two closely related composers?

Fermatas

The Passions in the Egerton manuscript rely on cadences to emphasise dramatic moments and syntactic expression (at the end of textual phrases and with certain pauses dictated by the punctuation of the text) but at several points within each composition the composer further accentuated these moments by adding fermatas at the cadence. The first four uses of a fermata in the Passion According to Luke occur on the first two folios of music, and all occur in conjunction with the vocative case and sung by one or more Apostles (three of the four times are utterances by Peter). The first of these punctuated cadences occurs on folio 20 when Simon addresses Christ with the words *Domine, tecum paratus sum et in carcerem et in mortem ire* (bar 22-35 in the transcription). On the word *Domine*, in the vocative case and punctuated textually by a coma, the three voices cadence to D/D/F# on a *longa*. A musical break is indicated in each voice-part by a small vertical line following the *longa*, to which is added a fermata placed above the final note in each voice part.¹¹² Clearly, the word *Domine* was a special moment, as is further suggested by the absence of the homorhythmic

¹¹² McPeck fails to include the mark after the word 'sum' in his transcription, although he does notate most of the indications throughout the composition.

declamation customarily present for several bars at the beginning of each section (or sub-section). The next fermata occurs two sections following Simon's address, when the Apostles utter *Domine, ecce gladii duo hic* (bar 41-51 in the transcription). The fermata is once again placed above the word *Domine*, in virtually the same musical situation. The vertical break on the staff line appears as it did several bars earlier, the three voices arrive at a brief cadence sung on a longa, and the single word preceding the cadence is in the vocative case. The same combination occurs when Peter directly addresses the woman in the high priest's house after she associates him with Jesus. The word *mulier* in *Mulier, non novi illum* (bar 66-72) receives the same musical treatment as the two *Domine* that precede this part of the Gospel text. The same combination of fermata, cadence, longa and break indicated on the staff line occurs when Peter denies Christ a second time with *O homo, non sum* (bar 78-85). In all these moments, the fermata reinforces the pause implied by the text and music, and creates a more dramatic quality to the passage.¹¹³ The subsequent uses of fermata are not so specialized. As illustrated by the placement of a fifth fermata at the top of folio 21v, the pauses do not distinguish a person-to-person address, but rather mark a syntactical pause. The words of this section belong to the *turba* who state *Quid adhuc desideramus testimonium? Ipsi enim audivimus de ore ejus* (bar 128-143). The fermata falls over the last syllable of the word *testimonium* and coincides with the same phrase ending featured with the four previous fermatas (namely the longa, cadence and

¹¹³ Once again, McPeck fails to include the vertical line in his transcription.

vertical line on the staves of each voice part).¹¹⁴ The remaining ten fermatas punctuate the textual pauses, in addition to the other musical devices that reoccur without fail at each one of these dramatic pauses.

The fermatas in the Passion According to St. Matthew serve the same two functions mentioned in the above discussion of the Passion According to St. Luke. Of the four cadences which include a fermata, two punctuate textual pauses, and two coincide with the use of the vocative case. These last two examples are of particular interest and are discussed below in the text-underlay discussion. Like the fermatas in the St. Luke Passion, the four fermatas in the St. Matthew Passion are placed over longas and are followed by vertical lines in the staves of each voice-part, further articulating the musical and textual pauses.

The numerous fermatas in both Passions do not occur systematically, that is, they do not punctuate the words of a specific group, or follow a particular musical gesture, nor do they coincide with a specific kind of textual punctuation, such as a question mark or semi-colon. In order to understand the seemingly arbitrary use of the fermata in the Passions According to St. Luke and St. Matthew, various aspects of the text-underlay (or text-placement) must first be understood.

¹¹⁴ For the third time, McPeck fails to notate this in his transcription, an omission that does not seem to follow a defined criteria, but might in fact be a mistake resulting from his use of a microfilm. This would not be the first such error. McPeck (pg 12) devotes a significant section of his critical edition to two drawn markings on folio 64 which he takes as evidence of scribal corrections, but which are in fact nowhere to be seen on the original manuscript.

Text Underlay

The placement of the text under the music (or conversely the placement of music over text) has served many editors of early music and has been the subject of a great body of literature.¹¹⁵ However, it can also prove invaluable in the analysis and study of a composition, specifically in the analysis of the various aspects of the text-music relationship. Although there are many facets to explore in the text-music relationship, the following analysis of the text underlay of the Egerton Passions will focus on a selection of the “levels of text-music relations” based to some degree on the categories delineated by Leeman Perkins, namely the declamatory and the syntactic, the rhetorical and the effective, and the affective.¹¹⁶ Because each of these facets of text-underlay analysis affects the other, discussion of one component will invariably include reference to another. Likewise, the examples used to demonstrate one level of study will often feature several aspects of the other levels of text-music relations at once.

The first level of text-underlay discussed here is the *declamatory*, which in the case of the Passions will be examined primarily through analysis of the use and placement of syllabic and melismatic declamation, and the relationship of the musical stresses to the natural accents of the Latin text (which includes rhythmic, melodic and metrical aspects of the music). As mentioned above, the music of the Passions is somewhat conservative, especially when compared to other sacred music composed in the mid-15th century. The Passion music is presented in short, formal sections which

¹¹⁵ Particularly, see Don Harrán *Word-Tone Relation in Musical Thought: From Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century*. Germany: Hänssler-Verlag, 1986.

¹¹⁶ Leeman L. Perkins, “Towards a Theory of Text-Music Relations in the Music of the Renaissance” in *Binchois Studies* edited by Andrew Kirkman and Dennis Slavin, (New York: Oxford University Press Inc, 2000) 313-329.

typically begin in simple, syllabic homorhythm, lasting no more than two bars before a break in homorhythm is introduced, usually by the upper two voices. Unvaryingly, the sections close with the three voice-parts coming together for a cadence. This is true even when the close of a section is a result of punctuation of the text rather than a break from choir to celebrant. For example, in the Passion According to Matthew the line *Ut quid perditio hec potuit enim unguentum istud venundari multo et dari pauperibus* (bar 23-41 of the transcription) is given as a straight line of text in the Latin Vulgate Bible. The Egerton text on the other hand is punctuated, textually and musically. There are musical pauses, of varying rhythmical value where the text pauses or breaks. After the melisma on the word *hec* the three voice-parts pause on sustained notes. The pauses are indicated by fermatta over each voice-part. The musical phrase continues and pauses again on the word *multo*, the pause indicated here by a short vertical line through the staff lines of each part. The section closes with a musical cadence on the word *pauperibus* and a lightly drawn vertical line through the staff line for each voice part, indicating a change from choir to celebrant. Musically, weak cadences distinguish the pauses within a section from those at the end of a section. The text also differentiates between internal phrases (sub-sections) and larger sections, in the use of solid caroline script capital letters drawn in red for the start of a new text section, and a two-tone capital letter (in red and brown) for the smaller internal phrase.

In general, in the Passion According to St. Luke, the syllabic declamation coincides with the passages of homorhythm while the melismatic declamation occurs in conjunction with the more polyphonic segments. The use of syllabic declamation at the beginning of the phrase and the melisma at the end of the phrase follows the common 15th-century practice of juxtaposing syllabic declamation and melismatic

declamation within a phrase.¹¹⁷ As seen in the transcriptions in Appendix I, this practice appears within sub-sections in both Passions (the term sub-section refers to the internal musical and textual phrases in the Passions that occur within a section of text spoken by a single group, such as a musical phrase between two cadences and two comas). Several moments of melismatic declamation occur outside the traditionally guided use of melisma discussed above, and are discussed below.

The natural accents in Latin pronunciation followed three strict rules; in a word of two syllables the accent always falls on the first syllable, in a word of three or more syllables, the accent falls on the next to last syllable, if that syllable is long, if the syllable is short, the accent falls on the antepenult syllable.¹¹⁸ The following text from the St. Luke Passion outlines on which syllable the “natural” accents should fall (right hand column) and where the accents actually occur in the musical presentation of the Passion (left hand column).¹¹⁹

Passio domini nostri- Jhesu cri-sti.

Secun-dum Ma-the-um.

Non in **di-e** festo Ut quid perditio hec

Potuit **enim** unguentu[m] istud-
venumdari **mul-to**.

Et **dari** pau-**peri-bus**.

Quid nultis mihi da-re. Et ego eum
vobis tra-**dam**.

Ubi vis paremus tibi comedere pas-**cha-**

Passio domini nostri- Jhesu cri-sti.

Secun-dum Ma-the-um.

Non in **di-e** festo Ut quid perditio hec

Potuit **enim** unguentu[m] istud-
venumdari **mul-to**.

Et **dari** pau-**peri-bus**.

Quid **nultis mihi da-re**. Et ego eum vobis
tra-**dam**.

Ubi vis paremus tibi comedere pas-**cha-**

¹¹⁷ Perkins, 316. See also the discussion of the Carol style and function in the previous chapter.

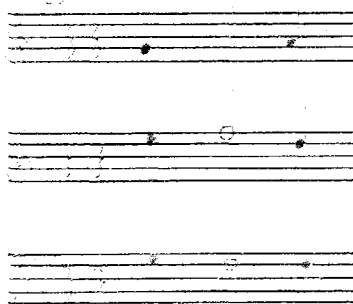
¹¹⁸ Wheelock's Laint Online, [Accessed Jan 28 2007].

¹¹⁹ The dashes included between syllables represent melismatic declamation.

Numquid ego sum- Do-mi-ne-.
 Numquid ego sum Ra-bi.
 Et sim omnes scandalizati fue-runt in-
 te
 Ego nunquam- scandaliza-bor.
 Etiam si oportuerit- me mori te-cum.
 Non te ne-ga-bo.
 Quemcumque osculatus fue-ro.
 Ipse est tenete e-um.
 A-ve- Ra-

Numquid ego sum- Do-mi-ne-.
 Numquid ego sum Ra-bi.
 Et sim omnes scandalizati fue-runt in- te
 Ego nunquam- scandaliza-bor.
 Etiam si oportuerit- me mori te-cum.
 Non te ne-ga-bo.
 Quemcumque osculatus fue-ro.
 Ipse est tenete e-um.
 A-ve- Ra-

Evidently, the accents in the Egerton Passion do not always adhere to the dictates of the language or poetic meter. The added accents on the word “Ave” for example is particularly strong, especially with the added melismas, and will be discussed below. While the above reveals a disregard for the “natural” sounds of Latin (whether quantitative or stresses of accentuation) and a deviation from what later theorists called the correct way to set a text, there remain instances within the Passion where the composer made a deliberate effort to maintain the natural declamation of the text, resulting, like the glaring deviations, in a specific reading (or interpretation) of the text. The most evident of these efforts appear in the Passion According to Matthew, and result from the use of rests.





The three examples above show a “weak” syllable word (*et, quid, et*) followed by an accented syllable (according to the rules of Latin pronunciation). The composer stressed the accented syllable of *dari, vultis* and *ego* by setting the words to a breve and a minim, in each instance musically elongating the aural duration of the accented syllable. He also arranged for the accented syllable to fall on what would be the first beat of the bar. It seems fairly clear that this was deliberately arranged, given that were it not for the two rests at the beginning of the three sections, the three words *dari, vultis* and *ego* would fall on the second beat of the bar and, as concerns the second example, there seems to be no other reason for the placement of two rests at the beginning of a section following a recitation by the celebrant. With respect to the first and last examples, the presence of the rests is also somewhat puzzling. The preceding subsection ends with a cadence, sustained longa and an indicated break on the staff line (the standard conclusion in these Passions for a section or sub-section), but is then followed by two rests. It may be that the rests permitted an extra-musical gesture. It is certain that the rests result in the “correct” accentuation of the words which succeed them, and that without the rests, the word “*et*” would have received the strongest metrical accent of the phrase.

The *rhetorical* and *effective* levels of text-music relation refer to instances where a specific word or phrase stands out by means of musical emphasis, whether lyrical, harmonic or rhythmic. The smaller divisions of text (sub-sections) naturally emphasize certain words and phrases. Words that might seem less important when read as part of a longer phrase are rendered more audible through deliberate musical pauses. Changes in the musical texture also emphasize key words. As mentioned above, the single line: *ut quid perditio haec potuit enim unguentum istud venundari multo et dari pauperibus* reads as a single line in the Gospel, and the structure of the phrase does not emphasize the first few words. Yet, in the musical reading, *ut quid perditio haec* is given special attention. The syllabic singing changes to a short burst of melisma for the word *haec*, effectively elongating the audible duration of the word, while the three voices arrive at the cadence together, and a fermata above the final note in each voice-part sustains the pause beyond the note value indicated.¹²⁰ This kind of textual emphasis was evidently a conscious choice to draw out certain parts of the text.

The use of melisma discussed above, and word painting are two methods of musical manipulation used to create textual emphasis effects. These two techniques also increase the theatrical, or dramatic quality of the Passion. A clear example of this is found in the Passion According to Luke. The point of interest occurs early on in the Passion. Christ asks the disciples: *quando misi vos sine sacco et pera et calciamentis numquid aliquid defuit vobis* the disciples answer *nihil*¹²¹. In the performance of the Passion, the celebrant would recite *at illi dixerunt* and the choir (or singers) would

¹²⁰ There is no certain indication of what the tempo would have been, but given the presence of semi-minims, the tempo cannot have been too quick.

¹²¹ The spelling in the Egerton manuscript is *nichil*. See bar 36-40 in the transcription.

answer “nihil”. Musically, much more is made of the single word than is implied in simply reading or reciting the text. The composer expanded the word with melisma, rather than writing it syllabically. The melismatic (and at this time polyphonic) music, for a moment sung on a single vowel, heightens the response and affirms that the disciples lacked *nothing*.

Word painting (that is, a device that to some extent reflects the textual meaning of the word) occurs more sparingly than melisma as a musical effect. One example occurs in the Passion According to Luke, when the elders and chief priests say: *quid adhuc desideramus testimonium ipsi enim audivimus de ore eius*. The word *ore* is sung melodically rather than syllabically, the result in part of the stylistic juxtaposition of syllabic declamation with melismatic declamation discussed above. Nonetheless, in addition to drawing the ear to the word by increasing the audible “life” of the word, the composer subtly appealed to the intellectual side of the audience, playing with the word *ore*, and rendering it more audible.

Three passages of particular rhetorical significance coincide with the use of fermatas. Two of these passages occur in the Passion According to St. Luke. The first passage, discussed above as well, occurs when Peter denies Christ for the second time. The word *non* in *O homo, non sum* receives special musical treatment. Set melodically, the single syllable extends for four bars before the cadence on *sum*. What is most interesting is the lack of homorhythm in this subsection. This is the only section where the music following a cadence, fermata and break does not resume in homorhythm for several bars. The fermata on the last syllable of *homo* creates an even greater emphasis on the word *non*, and also allows for a strong and coordinated articulation of the word *non*, subsequently resulting in a more dramatic reading of the

text. Peter's denial of Christ is therefore resolutely given and resounds in the ear of the listener. With the melismatic and polyphonic treatment, and the preceding pause that creates a clear break before the word is articulated, *non* clearly stands out, both aurally and visually as a special musical and textual moment. Clearly, the composer intended for this to be a dramatic moment in the Passion.

In the Passion According to St. Matthew, the melismatic passage of interest concerns the disciples' reaction to Christ's revelation that one of them will betray him. The text *Numquid ego sum Domine?* (bar 63-70 in the transcription) is set syllabically and in homorhythm, but dissolves into melismatic polyphony for the word *Domine*. The single word extends over six bars, with two fermatas over the last two notes.

The melisma at the end of the passage emphasises the three syllables. The use of ligatures on the last two notes of each voice part further distinguishes the word *Domine* and represents the only moment in the Passion where all three parts contain ligatures at the same time. The leap up by an octave in the tenor part is also quite remarkable, not simply as the only such leap at a cadence throughout the Passions, but also as an expressive device. The leap up is certainly audible and simulates the rising inflection that occurs in speech in an interrogative sentence. The fermatas increase the audible "life" of *Domine* and in a hall with even minimal acoustic reverberations, the final three notes would have resounded quite markedly. If, as seems reasonable, the Passion was sung in a church or chapel, the aural effect of this passage would have been quite pronounced and the rhetorical significance of the all Disciples asking sorrowfully "Lord, is it I [who will betray you]?" could not have gone unnoticed by the listeners, nor it may be argued, unfelt.

The final aspects of text-underlay that concern this discussion of the Passions fall under the category of the *affective*, wherein the music expresses the emotions and concepts of the text.¹²² Gaffurrius gave instructions that concern this aspect of the music, stating that “a composer of a melody should strive in particular to adjust to the words the sweetness of the music, so that when they concern love, a petition of death, or lamentation, the setting should be as doleful as possible.”¹²³ Some references to this aspect of the text-music relationship have already been included in the above discussion, particularly in the exclamations by the Apostles to the words “*Numquid ego sum, Domine?*.” Generally speaking, the more animated sections of text spoken by the turba are set to quicker rhythms (semi-breves and minims) while the words of the Apostles use longer note values. The quicker rhythms coincide with moments of emotional arousal and may be to some degree a result of the incorporation of the tradition that the words of the crowd should be sung “in a loud and harsh manner.”¹²⁴ But two affective moments in the Passion According to Luke remain that, through a combination of musical declamation and rhetorical emphasis, reflect the emotional content of the text. The first of these occurs when the turba call for the crucifixion of Christ (bar 268-274 in the transcription). The three words of text, *Crusifige, crusifige eum*, are set syllabically with melismatic declamation on the last word, *eum*. The melodic line in each voice part descends and then ascends. In the tenor and the contratenor, the lines ascend almost to the top of the ranges. As seen in the transcription, the two *crusifige* are sung to a particular rhythm that repeats, in part, for

¹²² Perkins, 328.

¹²³ Perkins, 323.

¹²⁴ Smallman, 22.

the second utterance of the word. The resulting emphasis is on the first and penultimate syllables. The combination of homorhythm, rhythm and intervallic leap (particularly in the contratenor) results in a musical passage that would seem to reflect the unified passion of the crowd.

The final section of the Passion According to Luke conveys a radically different subtext. The words are those spoken by the Centurion, and read as *Vere hic homo justus erat* (bar 365-373 of the transcription). The musical setting of the words reads quite differently. The syllables are elongated by the rhythm and use of melisma at the end of the line on *erat*, but the pause and cadence on *homo* is the moment of affective expression that stands out. The succession of fourths and fifths leading to the pause belie the jarring harmony of the cadence. The hard (sharp) ‘c’ and ‘g’ of the E/C#/G# (from the contratenor up) would seem to reflect the wrongness of the situation and perhaps the pain of Christ as well. The audible rending of the sonorities, made even more audible still by the fermata above each note, is an affective musical moment that is not entirely dispelled by the end of the phrase, and that stays within the ear of the listener long after the final cadence.

These examples represent a recurring musical manipulation of text for dramatic purposes. It seems likely that the composer followed the prescripts (and possibly the proscriptions) of a liturgical supervisor, or held a position of some influence where the Passions were composed. It might not be unreasonable to suppose that the theatrical quality given to the Passions through text-painting and word emphasis was in agreement with the wishes of a significant patron. The theatrical element could perhaps suggest that the Passions were more than an exchange between celebrant and choir, and that some additional theatricality was involved in presenting the Passion.

Passion plays were commonly performed in and outside the church, with great pageantry and often featured professional actors. The records of St. George's Chapel at Windsor reveal the presence of performers at the Chapel in the mid- 15th century.¹²⁵ It is not unreasonable therefore to suppose that the Egerton Passions, wherever they were performed, may have had an additional aspect that tied into the dramatic element suggested by the music and text.

Musica Ficta and the Passions

Issues of *musica ficta* arise in the Passions. There are several occurrences of *causa necessitatis* where a flat is placed in from of a b in order to avoid the prohibited vertical or linear tritones.¹²⁶ In all cases, the accidental is negated by the use of a sharp placed before the next intonation of the same note (for example, see bars 72-79 of the Matthew Passion in Appendix I. As the transcriptions are diplomatic transcriptions, the accidentals are placed in the order in which they appear in the manuscript and not necessarily directly before the note they are intended to modify). Several accidentals fall outside of the rules of necessity, and appear to be used for the sake of beauty, *causa pulchritudinis*. These are outside of the accidentals placed at cadences in order to create a “major” or “minor” chord, which occurs quite frequently in both Passions (as seen in the transcriptions in Appendix I). Two particular points of interest occur later in the Passion According to Luke. On folio 24, a b-flat is places at the beginning of the staff line of the tenor part. According to Tinctoris, who we may accept as an authority

¹²⁵ See Chapter IV for further discussion of performers at St. George's Chapel.

¹²⁶ The rules of Tinctoris, as prescribed in his *Liber de natura et proprietate tonorum*, although written several decades after the compositions of the Passions, would seem to be the best authority, even for early 15th century music.

in this case, this would affect all note on that staff until the next staff. In this instance, there is no necessity for a b-flat, as there is no tritone to correct. A tritone does occur in the superius line one bar later, but is corrected by a flat in inserted mid-line. The absence of a sharp in front of the following b-flat, as seems to be the practice of this music copyist, would seem to suggest that the b-flat should continue, and indeed, if would create a dissonance with the b-flat in the tenor part if the note was raised (see Appendix I, bar 330-340). The passage becomes even more intriguing when considered along side a later passage in the Passion. Bars 355-364 feature a similar application of accidentals, this time, with a b-flat in both the tenor and superius parts. Interestingly, the music of all three voice-parts in both passages, although rhythmically varied, follows the same melodic contour. The resulting melodies and harmonies would seem to be deliberate, aesthetic choices, like those achieved in the above discussion of text underlay, made by the composer not out of necessity, but for the sake of beauty.

The Text: From the Gospels to the Manuscript

The texts of the two Passions in the Egerton manuscript are taken almost exclusively from the Gospels of the same name, and recount the events leading up to the betrayal of Christ and his subsequent crucifixion. The Egerton Passions contain the responsorial text (that is, the words of the crowd, the disciples etc.) as it is found in the Bible. In other words, these are polyphonic settings of the part of the Gospels spoken by all the characters except the Evangelist and Christ. There are several instances where the texts differ from that found in the Bible, either through an addition to the Passion text, or by an omission. In the Luke setting however, there is an

insertion of text from the Gospel according to Matthew. The phrase *Prophetiza quis est qui te percussit* (in English: “Prophesy, who is it that smote thee? “) is replaced by the slightly longer version found in the Matthew Gospel, which reads as *Prophetiza nobis criste quis est qui te percussit*. Either this was present in the Bible from which the author-- let us call him composer for the sake of simplicity-- copied the text, or it was a conscious, calculated modification to the Biblical text for this occasion. Admittedly, the textual impact of these two words does not significantly affect the literal meaning of the text. However, the effect on the music is quite striking. The musical and textual phrase is divided into two parts where the first reads as *Prophetiza, nobis criste*. The music begins in syllabic homorhythm, but quickly divides into separate melodic lines, with a greater use of melisma in the upper voice, especially on the words *nobis criste*. There is a marked pause after these two words (indicated by a long note value and now familiar slash through the staff line) which, in addition to the melisma, emphasises the words *nobis criste*. The second part of the phrase, *quis est qui te percussit* incorporates less melisma, but does not return to the simple homorhythm found at the beginning of the phrase. So, while the textual phrase is not greatly affected by the addition of *nobis criste*, the musical phrase becomes significantly more elaborate and is expanded as a result of that small addition.

The second textual discrepancy between the Gospel texts and those set in the Egerton manuscript occurs at the beginning of the Passion According to St. Matthew. The Passion text, divided into sections as it is sung, reads as follows:

Non in die festo (break to
celebrant)
Ut quid perditio hec[?]

Potuit enim unguent istud
venumdari multo.
Et dari pauperibus.

However, the Gospel text contains one important phrase that is omitted in the Egerton text. The line *Non in die festo* in the Passion is followed by text recited by the celebrant (which we may suppose is the text of the Evangelist and reads as *cum autem esset Iesus in Bethania in domo Simonis leprosi accessit ad eum mulier habens alabastrum unguenti pretiosi et effudit super caput ipsius recumbentis videntes autem discipuli indignati sunt dicentes* before the second line *ut quid perdition hec* is sung by the choir). In the Gospel According to Matthew, the line *Non in die festo* continues as *ne forte tumultus fieret in populo*. The entire line should read as “Not on the feast day, lest there be an uproar among the people.”¹²⁷ If, as all sources seem to agree, the Egerton manuscript was a product of the mid-fifteenth century and, as might be supposed, was tied to a royal institution, the exclusion of a phrase that speaks of civil unrest, during the tumultuous Lancastrian rule, might be explained as a politically driven editorial decision on the part of the composer, or perhaps more likely by supervisor of the manuscript. This type of editorial decision may be more admissible if one considers the multiple levels of interpretation involved in the performance of early music, especially in the intellectual circles found in monastic or court life.

The interpretation of the text through musical means as discussed above would not have been the only “reading” (or interpretation) of the text available to the audience who heard the Passions at the time of the compilation of the manuscript. The emphasis

¹²⁷ <<http://philologic.uchicago.edu>>

on certain words, resulting from musical gestures, would have been heard in addition to the individual interpretation of the text made by each listener. The reference is of course to four-fold interpretation. Each phrase would have been carefully weighed, and its meaning contemplated according to the literal, allegorical, moral and eschatological significance of the text. The literal meaning of the text is evident: it recounts the events leading up to Christ's crucifixion. The allegorical meaning however is of particular interest. If we accept that the manuscript was a product of St. George's Chapel, it may be supposed that the Passions were sung for the Knights of the Garter and probably the King. The ceremonial for Easter and Holy Week was particularly significant, as it was the only time of the year that all the members of the Order of the Garter, including the King, congregated together.¹²⁸ Therefore, the Passions would have been heard by those closest to the King. The allegorical meaning of the text might then be considered in this light. In many instances, the sacrality of Christ is tied allegorically to the sacrality of the king. The practice of a monarch washing the feet of the poor serves as allegory for Christ's own actions. Might not the retelling of the betrayal of Christ, in such a theatrical way as the Passions suggest, be interpreted as a similar allegory? The betrayal of Christ by his disciples, his closest friends, could easily be understood as an allegory for the King and those of his closest circle, which would include the Knights of the Garter. Continuing with the interpretation of the text, the moral meaning would be one of caution, a message to the supporters of the king, telling them not to betray him, as Christ was betrayed. Interpreted in this light, the omission of a reference to an uprising might seem a matter of course. The eschatology

¹²⁸ The specific time was the Feast of St. George, which fell close enough to Easter to suppose that the celebrations for Easter would have been attended by the majority, if not all, of the Knights.

of the allegorical interpretation could have been that the end of Christ's "reign" could represent the end of the house of Lancaster. In a time of political unrest, this message could have served as a potent reminder to all who heard the Passions to serve the rightful king, in this case, Henry VI.

The Carols

The possibility that the two sections of the manuscript are unified by more than paleographic ties is set forth in the discussion of the liturgical function of the carol, discussed above and below. Naturally, the possibility of similar musical styles and points of contact between the two sections of the Egerton manuscript could lend credence to this assertion. The above discussion of the Passions revealed a consistent use of alternating homorhythm and polyphony and of a distinct cadential formula, which extends beyond the Passions into the music of the first half of the manuscript. If, as is posited here, this manuscript contains a unified collection reflecting the ceremonial and liturgical preferences of an individual or institution, then it would seem reasonable that this unity would be manifest in the carol music, perhaps in the use of the cadential formula or in a reflection of the style exhibited in the first half of the manuscript. And indeed this does appear to be the case, at least in a selection of the carols. A survey of the carol music revealed the same style of homorhythmic declamation followed by more melismatic polyphonic passages in a number of the carols. This could simply indicate a stylistic similarity, one that results from pieces being composed in temporal and geographic proximity. The repeated use of the cadential formula, used so prolifically in the Passions, and in a large number of the carols, however especially in those carols

unique to the Egerton manuscript, might indicate a closer relationship. At the least, both of these stylistic and musical points of contact elevate the carol to a style closer to the liturgical music of the first half of the book, and suggest more than simply rustic “folk music”.

Chapter IV: The History of St. George's Chapel and the Order of the Garter

The Founding of Chapel and Most Noble Order of the Garter

Founded by Edward III to ensure the stability of his reign and steeped in the tradition of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table, the Order of the Knights of the Garter was intended to “restore the prestige of England”.¹²⁹ The now familiar story behind the Order's mottoe “Honi soit qui mal y pense” revolves around Edward III's gallantry. The Countess of Salisbury is said to have dropped a garter in front of the court. Admonishing the court's ridicule of the Countess, Edward took up the garter, declaring that it would be the symbol of his order and “shame be to he who thinks ill of it”. While certainly a courtly tale, this should perhaps not be taken as the only meaning for the motto. In more recent literature, Hugh Collins proposed that the motto “Honi soit qui mal y pense” may instead have served as a “defiant retort to those doubting the legitimacy of Edward's claim...” to the French throne, rather than a reference to a dropped garter.¹³⁰

St. George's Chapel has served as the chapel for the Order of the Garter since its founding. Within the Chapel are several chantries, some of which are dedicated to various Saints. Among them, the Oxenbridge Chapel is dedicated to St. John the Baptist, and the Hastings Chapel is dedicated to St. Stephen.¹³¹ In addition, one of the

¹²⁹ Harry Blackburne, *The Romance of St. George's Chapel*, 8.

¹³⁰ Hugh Collins, “The Order of the Garter, 1348-1461: Chivalry and Politics in Later Medieval England”, in *Courts, Counties and the Capital in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. by Dianna Dunn (New York: Saint Martin Press, 1996): 155-180.

¹³¹ A full, descriptive list of the chantries is given in *The Romance of St. George's Chapel*. In addition to those dedicated to the saints, there are several commemorating great figures in British history.

altars in the ante-chapel was dedicated to the Virgin Mary.¹³² The reconstruction of the Chapel by Edward the IV in 1475 transformed the Chapel into the present day monument, and has left very little beyond speculation as to the original layout of the Chapel. It is known however, that the old St. George's Chapel (prior to the reconstruction and expansion initiated by Edward IV) was a modest size building of approximately 70 feet in length and 28 feet in width.¹³³

Ceremonial, Liturgy and Music in St. George's Chapel

In the recent literature concerning St. George's Chapel, Roger Bowers presents St. George's Chapel as an active musical centre, with "an early impetus for the cultivation of polyphony" and the "potential to be among the finest choirs in the country."¹³⁴

Statutes of the Chapel show that the use of the Salisbury Rite (or Sarum) was to be observed as the sole liturgical use, and that the components of the liturgy were three-fold: the "verbal texts, the monophonic plainsong chant to which they were sung, and the elaborate ceremonial of vestments, artefact and *movement* by which all was accompanied."¹³⁵ The original singers of the Chapel numbered 23, with 13 priests (vicars choral), 4 clerks, deacons, sub deacons or minor orders, and 6 choristers (young boys).¹³⁶ The records of St. George's note that the Chapel possessed a number of

¹³² Roger Bowers, "The Music and Musical Establishment of St. George's Chapel in the 15th Century" in *St. George's Chapel, Windsor, in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Collin Richmond and Eileen Scarff (Windsor Maney Publishing, 2001): 172.

¹³³ Bowers, 172. The height of the building is unknown.

¹³⁴ Bowers, 171-214.

¹³⁵ Bowers, 172. Italics are mine. The link of movement and the contents of the Egerton manuscript having been discussed above, will be reiterated below in connection to the ceremonial of St. George's.

¹³⁶ Bowers, 172, 174.

polyphonic volumes, and that the Chapel was engaged in producing more polyphonic music in the year 1415-1416.¹³⁷

Bowers proposes that at this time there was an increase in the musical establishment at St. George's particularly at the time of the investiture of Emperor Sigismund into the Order of the Garter. The same period saw the construction of new accommodations for the vicars choral and an aggressive campaign to recruit new singers.¹³⁸ The organization of the choir and compensation available to singers was such that might well have tempted singers to come to St. George's Chapel. The annual income of 8£ os(shilling) od (pence) (given in a lump sum, rather than in increments) and the free accommodations did indeed prove tempting, and succeeded on several occasions in drawing some singers away from the cathedral at Wells and the collegiate church at Warwick.¹³⁹

The choir itself was open to a membership of 23, and the records indicate that the Chapel succeeded in keeping the full count of choristers (six) and at least 11 vicars choral at all times.¹⁴⁰ The records also suggest that the Chapel acquired a new organ, and lists several payments made, "...for having enhanced the divine service with organ-playing."¹⁴¹

By the 1430s, the choir of St. George's Chapel was counted equivalent to the second rank professional choirs of the day. The thirties also saw some changes in the celebration of the liturgy at St. George's. The early 15th century gave rise to the

¹³⁷ Bowers, 179-180. Bowers cites an entry in the SCG XV. 56.22 roll that a vellum was procured for the making of "libris organ[icis]".

¹³⁸ Bowers, 182-184.

¹³⁹ Bowers, 187.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid. This does not include the period of 1415-1420 during which time the Chapel experienced serious financial problems. See Bowers for a full discussion of this period.

¹⁴¹ Bowers, 185.

tradition whereby the boys of a liturgical choir (such as was found at St. George's) served a vital role in the singing of the chant for the Lady Mass.¹⁴² Coinciding with concurrent practices though out England, the boys of the choir, as noted in the Treasurer's Accounts, were in regular attendance for the Lady Mass and, it may be supposed, participated actively in the performance of the liturgy.¹⁴³

In addition to the inclusion of the boys of the choir, the 1435 records indicate that the occasional inclusion of the organ in the service became a regular feature, and that during this time, the position of "designated organist" was first established and organ playing became a fixed component of the liturgy.¹⁴⁴

On the promoting of polyphony at this point in time, Bowers draws upon the Precentor's records noting the payment of 6s 3d for skins of vellum for the making of a 60 folio book of polyphony. Bowers affirms that

Into a book of this size it would have been possible to copy a very substantial repertory of polyphonic settings; it is clear that the performance of this style of music enjoyed a high priority among the duties of the St. George's singers¹⁴⁵

The Chapel experienced financial difficulties during the late 1420s until the 1440s, during which time the most able of the music copyists and singers relocated to less distraught institutions.¹⁴⁶ The mid-15th century saw a renewal of activity and

¹⁴² Bowers, 186.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Bowers, 187

¹⁴⁵ Bowers, 185.

¹⁴⁶ Bowers, 186-188.

prosperity at the Chapel. Two renowned composers, Thomas Damett and Nicholas Sturgeon, joined the Chapel, and new volumes of polyphony were ordered. In particular, the Chapel invested 24s for a 72 folio book of polyphony. “Payment of 2*d* per page suggests workmanship of a high order: this was a substantial and handsome volume.”¹⁴⁷ This volume, executed by chapel copyist Richard Prideaux, has since been lost, but does point to a conscious effort to produce polyphony for the choir.

In addition to Damett and Sturgeon in the later 15th Century, the Chapel also boasted the composer John Plummer among its ranks. Plummer, a lay Gentleman of Henry VI’s Chapel Royal from 1438 and Master of the Choristers, appears in the records of St. George’s Chapel in the office of the virger, a position that was commonly used at many institutions (including St. George’s sister institution St Stephens) as a “vehicle for the employment of a principal musician.”¹⁴⁸ The proximity of the two choirs (the Chapel Royal and St. George’s) and the likelihood of at least one member belonging to both choirs at the same time, may prompt the question of how much one choir was influenced by the other, and whether or not composers of one ensemble contributed to the other. There is nothing to indicate that Plummer was involved in the composition of music for the choir of St. George’s, nonetheless, it is an intriguing line of thought. Only seven of Plummer’s works survive, in a number of different sources. As Brian Trowell notes, these works do reveal a “progressively minded composer” and a fascination with imitation and invertible counterpoint.¹⁴⁹ Similarly, nine

¹⁴⁷ Bowers, 189.

¹⁴⁸ Bowers, 195. Bowers describes this practice at several institutions, and the various musicians who held that office, including John Bedyngham at St. Stephens.

¹⁴⁹ Brian Trowell, “Plummer, John”, *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed [28/04/2007]), <<http://proxy.bib.uottawa.ca:2447>>

compositions by Damett and seven by Sturgeon survive, all preserved in the later layers of the Old Hall MS. Indeed, McPeck astutely observes that the Egerton pieces echo the “progressive styles” of both Damett and Sturgeon in the Old Hall manuscript.¹⁵⁰

Damett’s music in particular resembles that found in the MS Egerton 3307, especially as concerns the lower vocal ranges, the ornamented plainchant in the upper voice-part, the alternating two-part and three-part writing and Damett’s use of cadential approaches and formula all resembles that of the Egerton compositions (except the Passions, which rely on stricter discant techniques).¹⁵¹ As stated above, no direct link between these composers and the MS Egerton 3007 exists, but the stylistic similarities between the works by Damett and Sturgeon in particular, and their affiliation with St. George’s Chapel (as indicated in the Chapel archives) might suggest that these two men, and their works, influenced some of the composers of the Egerton music.

The archive records also show that the Passions were sung, at least on occasion, at St. George’s Chapel. In recent literature about the Chapel, Bowers lists an entry in the precentor’s roll for the 1457-58 year detailing, according to Bowers “a payment of 7d for food and wine given specifically as a reward to those singing the Passion.”¹⁵² This is not strictly the case. Bowers translates the entry as “et solut’ pro pane et vino datis cantoribus passionis vijd.” However, the entry should be read as “Et solut pro pane et vino dato cantando passionem vijd.” The key difference lies in the words *cantando* and *passionem*. Read this way, the entry notes a payment “for the singing of the Passion”, rather than to “those singing the Passion”.

¹⁵⁰ McPeck, 16.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Bowers, 192.

This seems to imply that there was in the mid-fifteenth century an established practice of *singing* the Passion at St. George's Chapel, and that it was considered prominent and important enough to warrant special payment for its performance.

There is an additional mention of the choir in this entry that should be noted. The record shows that the choir received a payment of 6£ and a payment for the collection in addition to the payment made for the singing of the Passion. Clearly then, the payment for the singing of the Passion came in addition to the regular payments made to the choir members. The payment is noted in proximity to those of the choir. The sum of 7*d* for bread and wine would also indicate that this was a special presentation, one worthy of reward. It might suggest that this was complex singing, even polyphonic singing. That this is noted in the Precentor's roll, along with the mundane payment records of the year, might imply that this was not an extraordinary event in the ceremonial of the Chapel. With the majority of the records for previous and successive years lost or destroyed, there is no certain way to determine that this was a yearly event. The possibility of a tradition of *singing* the Passion is however implied.

Conclusions

The Origins of the Manuscript, Revisited

The debate regarding the origin of the Egerton manuscript began in 1949, when Bertram Schofield declared the manuscript a product of the “Chapel Royal” at Windsor Castle by which he referred to St. George’s Chapel (Bukofzer correctly points out that the Chapel Royal and St. George’s were two distinct chapels). His argument in favour of St. George’s Chapel relies on the identification of the main scribe of the Egerton manuscript with a scribe of the Old Hall and that manuscript as a product of Windsor musicians. Bukofzer and Greene counter Schofield’s assertions and both support the idea of Meaux Abbey, a Cistercian monastery in York, as the likeliest place of origin for the Egerton manuscript.

McPeck also favours St. George’s Chapel for the place of origin. He argues that the presence of a devotional text to St. George, the use of the Sarum Rite, and the presence of carols all point to a secularized institution rather than to a monastic one. Meaux Abbey, a Cistercian monastery, did not follow the Sarum Use, for which the Egerton manuscript is ordered.

Harrison offers serious objections to Meaux Abbey as the place of compilation for the manuscript on liturgical grounds. As he states in *Music in Medieval Britain*

The Cistercian rite was a twice “reformed” version and conflation of those [rites] of Metz and Rome, first under the direction of Stephen Harding and then under that of St. Bernard. The uniformity of its texts and music was rigorously imposed, and while some monasteries may have allowed secular rites and customs in the votive services sung out of

choir, it is difficult to believe that in a Cistercian abbey the ritual of Holy Week could have been carried out according to a secular Ordinal.¹⁵³

The arguments in favour of Meaux Abbey and St. George's Chapel centre on one piece in the MS Egerton 3307 in particular, *Comedentes convenite*. The text includes an invitation addressed to women, asking them to join a celebration.

Bukofzer, Greene and McPeck all use this invitation as evidence in their respective theories. Bukofzer and Greene argue that Meaux Abbey had a reputation for going against the grain of Cistercian rule, and Green, following a long passage detailing the presence of women at Meaux Abbey, states that *Comedentes convenite* could "...be visualized as being sung by way of welcome to a group of women pilgrims, enjoying the hospitality of the abbey."¹⁵⁴

McPeck counters this by drawing attention to the presence of women in the Order of the Garter and the classification of the Order as a *lay* order, which, as opposed to Meaux Abbey, would not excluded the presence of *O potores exquisites*, which he calls a drinking song. However, Strohm points out that the text of *Comedentes convenite*, in which ladies are invited to join in the celebration, ought not to be taken in a purely literal sense.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵³ Harrison, 275.

¹⁵⁴ Greene, 27. Although women of good reputation were permitted to enter the church to view a crucifix in the choir (and only during certain times of day), they were not to be granted access to other parts of the church. The prevailing attitude against women, the fact that Meaux was a house for monks, and the restriction of the women permitted to enter the church to one room during certain hours of the day do not suggest a house where women would have been greeted by and made to feel welcome with music sung by the abbey choir.

¹⁵⁵ Strohm, 383.

The meaning of the texts of *Comedentes convenite*, *O potores exquisiti* and *Cantus Domino*, used by Greene, Bukofzer and McPeck to strengthen the rival arguments concerning the place of origin, are further examined and elucidated by Strohm. In *The Rise of European Music*, Strohm correctly cautions against the use of these texts as factual evidence in favour of, or against, a particular venue (Meaux Abbey or St. George's). To return to the original arguments, Greene and then Bukofzer rely on literal interpretations of the texts and treat the pieces, particularly the so called "Golliard drinking song", as an actual example of that genre. However, Strohm offers an alternative meaning to these pieces and a logical reason for their inclusion in a book of liturgical music. *Comedentes convenite* (used as proof of the presence of women at the establishment/institutions by both Greene for Meaux Abbey and McPeck for St. George's) and the other pieces are polyphonic music and that "music, particularly polyphonic art-music, is far more often figurative in its applications. It is hardly likely that drinkers in a tavern would stop to perform an isorhythmic motet describing their meriment."¹⁵⁶ The three pieces, when taken together, claim a liturgical tie with the rest of the contents in the manuscript. They are located among carols predominantly intended for the feasts surrounding Christmas.¹⁵⁷ With this in mind, Strohm argues that the texts of the three pieces mentioned above, *Comedentes convenite*, *O potores exquisiti* and *Cantus Domino*, may be more readily understood.

The motet *Cantus Domino* contains the tenor *Gaudet in celis*, an antiphon for All Saints, and relates to a vision of St. Dunstan watching the Holy Virgins, who are

¹⁵⁶ Strohm, 384.

¹⁵⁷ The liturgical association of many of the carols are indicated in Appendix II, the MS Inventory.

said to be singing the text of the piece.¹⁵⁸ What Strohm notes is that this story of St. Dunstan is related to the story of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, remembered particularly on All Saints. Furthermore, on that feast day the Use of Sarum indicates that a performance of the Wise and Foolish Virgins was performed at Matins with five boys representing the Virgins and singing *Audivi vocem*, the eighth respond. The solo sections of this respond include the verse *Media nocte clamor* which, interestingly, is twice set polyphonically at the end of the liturgical portion of the Egerton manuscript.¹⁵⁹ Strohm posits that the text of *Comedentes convenite* serves as an invitation to “spend the night at the dinner-table” which would be most appropriate as part of the Foolish Virgin play.¹⁶⁰ The Golliard “drinking song”¹⁶¹ may in turn be seen as dramatic and moralizing, suggested by the miniatures depicting a drinking scene. The inclusion of details of sinful life in mystery plays (to which the play of the Foolish and Wise Virgins belongs) enforces, according to Strohm, ties between the three pieces.¹⁶² The close proximity of *Comedentes convenite*, *Opotores exquisiti* and *Cantus Domino* to one another, especially the *Opotores exquisiti* and *Cantus Domino* which are placed one after another at the end of the carols section, might indeed strengthen the hypothesis asserted by Strohm. The inclusion of sections of a mystery play would also agree with the dramatic nature of the Passions and many other pieces, like *En rex venit*, which suggest a certain dramaticism in the antiphonal presentation, and the carols.

¹⁵⁸ Strohm 384. Greene also mentions this content.

¹⁵⁹ Strohm, 384-85.

¹⁶⁰ Strohm, 385.

¹⁶¹ The term “drinking song” is inappropriate for such a composition, as it implies a faulty functionality to the piece, which is clearly more than one might find in a tavern.

¹⁶² Strohm, 385.

Ties to the Old Hall

Schofield and McPeck rely on the resemblance of the main scribe (scribe B) of the Egerton manuscript to the main scribe of the Old Hall¹⁶³ in their arguments in favour of St. George's Chapel as a place of origin. Schofield, as has been repeatedly pointed out, confuses the Chapel Royal with St Georges, probably due in part to the presence of several prominent singer/composers in both chapels at various times.¹⁶⁴ The paleographic similarities between the two principal scribes are summarily dismissed by Bent in her dissertation. She correctly affirms that McPeck's comparison, drawn solely from microfilms, lacks the authority which an "on site" comparison of the two manuscripts would provide. The case made by McPeck, that any differences remaining between the two hands result from one being more compressed than the other, is countered by Bent who affirms that enlarging one facsimile to a comparable size with the other cannot provide accurate circumstances for paleographic comparison. A re-examination of the two hands (as discussed above in Chapter II) found very little in common by way of personal traits. This does not however negate the claim that the Egerton manuscript was a product of St. George's. At the time of publication of Schofield's and McPeck's studies of the MS Egerton 3307, the Old Hall manuscript was dated approximately 1415 and was believed to be a product of the Chapel Royal. More recent scholarship¹⁶⁵ established to almost a certainty that work on the Old Hall began between 1415 and 1421 at the chapel of Thomas Duke of Clarence, brother of

¹⁶³ GB-London, British Library- 57950. For a thorough discussion of the manuscript, see Bent, *The Old Hall Manuscript*, and Hughes and Bent.

¹⁶⁴ Margaret Bent, "The Old Hall" *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy [Accessed January 12, 2007], [<http://proxy.bib.uottawa.ca:2111>]

¹⁶⁵ That is dated after 1963, the date of publication of McPeck's second study.

Henry V, and only later moved to the Chapel Royal for completion during the last years of Henry V's life and the early years of Henry VI's infancy.¹⁶⁶ No possibility of connecting the main hand of the Old Hall with scribes from St. George's Chapel remains. A paleographic comparison between the two manuscripts does not therefore substantiate the arguments in favour of St. George's, simply because the first layer of the Old Hall was not a product of that institution. Conversely, the lack of similarity does not rule out the possibility of St. George's Chapel as a possible place of origin. It cannot be denied that attaching the two manuscripts would solidify any attempt to situate the MS Egerton 3307. However, that the Old Hall and the Egerton were not written by the same scribe (at least the main scribes were not the same person) does not signify that the MS Egerton 3307 was *not* a product of St. George's, but only that the two manuscripts were not a product of the same group, and that the main scribe of the MS Egerton 3307 was in all probability not a product of the chapel of Thomas Duke of Clarence.

Despite the lack of correlation between the main scribes of the two manuscripts, a possible resemblance has been suggested (albeit in passing) between scribe D of the Egerton manuscript and a later scribe of the Old Hall.¹⁶⁷ The main layer of activity was not a product of the Chapel Royal, but the second layer of activity (post 1421) seems irrevocably tied to the Chapel Royal, and Bent suggests that the pieces by Dammet, Sturgeon and other second layer scribes were very likely autographs. The similarities of one of these scribes to scribe D of the Egerton manuscript could suggest a relationship between the two manuscripts. The presence of Dammet and Sturgeon in

¹⁶⁶ Bent, Grove.

¹⁶⁷ See my own comparison of the two hands in Chapter II.

the Royal Chapel (which originated the second layer of the Old Hall), and in St. George's Chapel naturally invites speculation about their activities while at St. George's. There is no concrete evidence that places the MS Egerton 3307 in St. George's Chapel, however, the circumstance of two composers, who almost certainly contributed to the Old Hall while part of the Chapel Royal, engaged by St. George's at a time when the Chapel was producing books of polyphony, and the suggestion of a scribal relationship between a second layer scribe and a main scribe in the MS Egerton 3307, ought at least to prevent the dismissal of St. George's Chapel as a place of origin for the MS Egerton 3307. If this is indeed the case, then the date of compilation would be nearer the mid-fifteenth century.

The Manuscript Egerton 3307

The physical evidence of the manuscript suggests a manuscript compiled and organised with great care and forethought. The residue of wax and wear and tear would indicate use in performance, and perhaps at night, as at Vespers. The music itself, ordered liturgically for the Use of Sarum, is unified by an underlying dramatic idiom suggested by the frequent *alternatim* between voice-parts, and by a liturgical unity that may be inferred between the processional music, the Passions and many of the carols.

The older or conservative stylistic characteristics of the music might suggest an earlier date for the manuscript, or may indicate a locale where the simple discant and faburden styles were preferred and retained as a sign of solemnity.

It may be that the text of the liturgical music (excepting the first item) was written by the same hand responsible for the Passions and carols, and that the

perceptible differences are the result of a conscious change of style, in accordance with a change of genre. That the Passions and carols were the work of a single scribe ought perhaps to be considered, with the understanding that one style of writing would not have been appropriate for all the musical genres.

The actual date of compilation of the manuscript, as well as the locale of compilation, remains uncertain. The location of compilation cannot at present be firmly ascertained, but the likelihood of Meaux Abbey as a place of origin seems more unlikely and must be questioned, on liturgical grounds at the very least.

Given the above circumstances, the situation of St. George's Chapel makes it at least a favourable location for the compilation of such a volume of polyphony. The musical history of that institution, the commitment to producing new volumes of polyphony in the mid-15th century, and the active singing of polyphony and Passion music all point to a centre in which the MS Egerton 3007 could very likely have been compiled.

The *terminus post quem* of 1430 (suggested by McPeck) might also be re-evaluated. A substantial part of the reasoning is dependent on a literal interpretation of the carols that refer to Agincourt and Henry V. The emphasis on the description of the story of the Battle of Agincourt as an "olde cronicle" should perhaps not be taken so literally. On the other hand, Bukofzer suggests a date of ca. 1450, and the music does stylistically resemble the later layers of the Old Hall which were compiled in the mid-15th Century.¹⁶⁸ The later date would also coincide with the presence of Dammet and Sturgeon in St. George's Chapel.

¹⁶⁸ Bukofzer, 114. The musical stylistic similarities between the later layers of Old Hall and the Egerton suggest a later date to Bukofzer, hence the mid-15th-century date.

The MS Egerton 3307 preserves the ceremonial preferences of an institution or patron and the only liturgically ordered English polyphonic music known to date. The physical evidence points to a manuscript pre-conceived as a cohesive unit: the uniformity of the page preparation, the pre-planned ordering of the contents as indicated by the marginalia, and the probability that the book was bound before the music and text were copied, suggested again by the marginalia, and the bleedthrough from the scroll work. The similarities of the text scribe hands, and the possibility of a single scribe for the Passions and carols, suggest a compilation over a short period of time. The liturgical unity between the two sections, implied by the liturgical function of the carol and the musical stylistic trends and techniques that permeate the manuscript also point to a unified book, a unified ceremonial. The quality of the workmanship and the suggested filial relationship between the hands of the Old Hall and Egerton manuscripts might suggest that the later was a product of a chapel within the ambit of royal patronage, and St. George's Chapel, with royal singers and composers, with a history of polyphonic production, and an existing practice of *singing* the Passion, would certainly have had the means and inclination to produce such a volume, which should and must be counted as one of the most valuable manuscripts of English polyphonic music along with the Old Hall.

The image displays a handwritten musical score for a Latin liturgical text, organized into three systems of staves. Each system consists of three staves: a top staff for the vocal line (treble clef), a middle staff for a secondary vocal or instrumental line (treble clef), and a bottom staff for the basso continuo or organ (bass clef). The notation is in a historical style, with various note values and rests. The lyrics are written below the staves, with some words underlined. The first system begins with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). The text includes "Pa-si-o do-mi-ni no-stri" and "He-sti-on". The second system includes "Cri-ste. Se-cun-dum". The third system includes "Ma-the-us, Non in-di-c-fe" and "sto. Ut quid per-di-t-o hec".

Pa-si-o do-mi-ni no-stri He-sti-on

Cri-ste. Se-cun-dum

Ma-the-us, Non in-di-c-fe

sto. Ut quid per-di-t-o hec

Handwritten musical score for three staves (Soprano, Alto, Bass) with lyrics in French. The score is divided into four systems, each starting with a measure number (27, 31, 35, 39).

System 1 (Measures 27-30): The lyrics are "Po-tu-it e-nim un-qua-m ho-mi-ni-bus sal-ve-mu-da-ri mu-l-". A handwritten note "(f. 15v)" is above the first staff.

System 2 (Measures 31-34): The lyrics are "to. Et da-ri pau-pe-ri-".

System 3 (Measures 35-38): The lyrics are "lous. Qui sal-utis in da-ri-".

System 4 (Measures 39-42): The lyrics are "Et e-go e-un vo-lis tra-dam-".

55 (P.16)
 62 *
 69
 76

U — bi vis pa-re — mus ti — bi co — me — de — re pas — cha —
 . Nun quid e — go sum — bo — ni
 ne . Nun quid e — go sum — Ra —
 bi. Et si om-nis scan-da-li — za-ti. tu — e

* Bars 60-62 contain an anomaly. The number of notes do not, as written, fit into three bars. I have reproduced the notes in modern notation as they are found in the MS. For an alternative transcription, the reader is referred to McPeck's transcription in *The British Museum Manuscript Egerton 3307. The Music, Except for the Carols*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1963): 49.

85

runt m te. E go non quam san da ti sa

90

(p. lbr)

bor. E li am di o por tu rit me mo ri

95

te am. bon te ne ga

104

bor. Qui cum que vo ca tus fu e ro. Ip se est te



Handwritten musical score for a three-part setting of a Latin hymn. The score is written on four systems of three staves each. The lyrics are written below the staves.

System 1:
Va - si - o do - mi - ni so - sti ihe - su cri -

System 2:
sti. Se - cur - da -

System 3:
13
le - cam. U - bi vis - pa - re

System 4:
20
mas. No - mi - ne, te - cum pa -

27

fa-tus sum, et in car-ce-rem et in mor-tu

31

re. Ni-chil.

33

Do-mi-ne, ec-ce gla-di-o du-

37 (1. 20)

o hic Do-mi-ne si per-cu-ti

Handwritten musical score for four systems, each consisting of three staves (treble, alto, and bass clef). The lyrics are in Latin and are written below the staves.

System 1 (Measures 55-61):
 Lyrics: *...no in ga di o Et hic cin*

System 2 (Measures 62-68):
 Lyrics: *...lo e met. plu u et non*

System 3 (Measures 69-75):
 Lyrics: *...u u hum. Et tu de u*

System 4 (Measures 76-82):
 Lyrics: *...lis es, o ho mo non*

83

sum. Ve-re et hic cum il-lo e-rat.

91 (F. 21)

A-ni-ma et ge-ni-ti-us est Ho-

98

mo, nes-ci-o qui-di-cis. Pro-phe-ti-a

105

vo-lis cri-ste, quis es qui te per-ous

111

— sit. — Sc' tu es cri-stus die — no —

113

— bis. — Tu er-go es fi-li-us de —

115

— c' — quid ad hoc de-si-de-ra-mus ; toe — ti — mo — ni —

117

— u. — Ip-se e-nim au-di-vi — mus. — De —

140

re e cus. Hanc in re-ni-vos sub-ver-ten-ten

147

gen-tem no-dum, et pro-hi-lan-tem tri-bu-

154

ta da-vi ce-ra-re. Et di-con-tem se cri-stum

161

re-gen-es-se. Tu es rex ju-de-o

Handwritten musical score for a choir, featuring four systems of three staves each. The lyrics are in Latin and Portuguese. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and bar lines.

166 rum, nich-il h-ve-ni-o cau-se

175 in hoc ho-mi-ne. Co-mo-vel po-pu-lum de

182 Cens per u-ni-ver-sam lu-de

191 am. in-ci-pi-ens a ga-b-le-a us-que

196

huc. Op-er-tis-tis mi-hi hunc homi-nem, que-si-a-ver-

204

(F, 20)

tex-tum po-pu-lum, et ex-e-e-g-co-rum

211

vo-las in-ter-ro-gas nul-lam cau-sam in-ven-i-ra

218

ho-mi-ne is-to ex his in quibus e-um ad-er-

225

se-tis, et ne-gue he-ro

des. Nam re-mi-si vos ad il-lum.

et ex-ce-ni-chil dig-num no-bis ac-tum est

e-i, em-on da-tum

253

ce - po il - l'un - di - mi - tun : Tol - le hunc

260

et di - mi - te no - bis ha - ra

267

ben. Cru - ci - fi - ge ... cru - ci - fi - ge e

274

um. Quil e - non ma - li - fe - cit.

281

nec lae cae-se mor-tis in-ne ni-a o, car

287

ri-pi-am er-go il-lum, et di-mi

293

tam. A-li-os sal-vo-te car. Se ip-sam sal-va-mus

301

ci-et. Si hic est cris-tus fi-li-us de-i

Handwritten musical score for three staves (Treble, Alto, and Bass clefs) with Latin lyrics. The score is divided into four systems, each starting with a measure number (309, 316, 323, 330). The lyrics are written below the staves, with some words spanning across measures.

System 1 (Measures 309-315):

309 e — lec — tus. Si tu es rex tu — de — a

System 2 (Measures 316-322):

316 — rum Sal — uum te — fac Si tu es

System 3 (Measures 323-329):

323 cris — tus sal — uum fac te — met ip — sam et nos

System 4 (Measures 330-336):

330 Ne — que tu ti — mus De — um, qui in e

The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and accidentals. The lyrics are written in a cursive, handwritten style.

337

351

Handwritten musical score for three staves. The first system (measures 365-372) includes the lyrics: "um. Ve-re hic ho-mo us-tes". The second system (measures 373-378) includes the lyrics: "e rat.".

365

um. Ve-re hic ho-mo us-tes

373

e rat.

Handwritten musical score for a Mass, likely by Joseph Haydn, featuring vocal parts and piano accompaniment. The score is written on multiple staves, with the vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and the piano accompaniment (Piano) clearly delineated. The lyrics are in Latin, including "Gloria in excelsis Deo", "Et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis", "Et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis", "Et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis", and "Et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis". The score is written in a clear, legible hand, with the vocal parts and piano accompaniment clearly delineated. The lyrics are in Latin, including "Gloria in excelsis Deo", "Et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis", "Et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis", "Et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis", and "Et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis".

Handwritten musical score for "Ave Maria" by Franz Schubert. The score is written on ten staves, with the first six staves containing the vocal melody and the last four staves containing the piano accompaniment. The lyrics are written below the vocal staves.

Lyrics:

Ave - ma - ri - am, con - ce - pit in vir - gi - ne, et ex - ce - pit in vir - gi -
 no. Et da - vi - pau - pe - ri -
 bus, Qui val - de in - da - vi -
 Et ex - ce - pit in vir - gi - no, et ex - ce - pit in vir - gi - no.

Handwritten musical score for "Gloria in excelsis Deo" by J. S. Bach. The score is written on ten systems of staves, each containing a vocal line (soprano, alto, and tenor/bass) and a keyboard line. The lyrics are in French and are written below the vocal staves. The music is in G major and 3/4 time. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and bar lines. The lyrics are: "Il - bi us pa - re - mus ti - bi co - me - de - re pas - cha -", "Don - quid e - go sum - bo - ni", "ne - Don - quid e - go sum - Pa -", and "bi. Et ti - bi om - nis san - ctus sa - ti - de -".

Handwritten musical score for a three-part setting, likely of a Mass. The score is written on six systems of three staves each. The notation is in a historical style, possibly 16th or 17th century. The lyrics are in Latin and are written below the bottom staff of each system.

Lyrics (from top to bottom systems):

...ant m... te... E... go... an... quam... scan... da... li... ro...
 ...ba... E... li... am... o... por... ta... ex... if... me... mo... ri...
 ...to... am... an... de... me... ga...
 ...non... quon... que... o... cu... ta... b... lu... e... ro... Ip... se... est... de...



Piece number	Title/ Text Incipit	Folio No.	Music scribe 1 2 3	Text scribe a b c d e	Liturgical function or association	Concordances	Comments
	Cut	1-5v					
1	Gloria Laus Cetus in excelsis	6 6v-7		a	Palm Sunday, 2nd processional hymn	N/A	Liturgically out of order
	Blank	7v					
2	En Rex venit	8-10v	2	b	Palm Sunday, 1st processional hymn	N/A	Latin text from Sarum Ordinal
3	Gloria Laus	10v-13	2	b	Palm Sunday, 2nd processional hymn	N/A	Latin text from Sarum Ordinal
4	Unus autem	13-14v	2	b	Palm Sunday, 2nd processional hymn	N/A	Latin text from Sarum Ordinal
5	Passio secundum Matteum	15-16v	2		Palm Sunday, during Mass	N/A	Latin text from Bible, see Ch. 3 and App. 1
6	Mass Kyrie	17-19 17	2	b	Mass	N/A	Latin text
7	Sanctus	17v-18	2			N/A	
8	Benedictus	18	2			N/A	
9	Agnus Dei	18v-19	2			N/A	
	Blank	19v					
10	Passio secundum Luke	20-24v	2		Holy Week, Wednesday	N/A	Latin text from Bible, see Ch. 3 and App. 1
11	O redemptor	25-28v	2	b	Maundy Thursday, Mass, processional hymn	N/A	Latin text from Sarum Ordinal
12	Inventor rutili	29-33	2	b	Holy Saturday, processional hymn	Cambridge, Madgelene Coll., Pepys MS 1236; f 62-63 (stanza 1 only)	Text under voice 2 during rests in voice 3.
13	Rex sanctorum	33-36	2	b	Holy Saturday, processional hymn	N/A	Latin text from Sarum Ordinal
14	Alleluya: Confit emini	36v-37	2	b	Holy Saturday, Mass	N/A	Latin text from Sarum Ordinal

15	Salve festa dies	37v-42	2	b	Easter Day, processional hymn before Mass	Oxford, Bodleian MS lat. Lit. e 7(stanza V only)	Refers to King Henry V and St George Latin text from Sarum Ordinal
16	Crucifixum in carne	42v-43v	2	b	Easter Day, processional hymn	N/A	Latin text from Sarum Ordinal
17	Alleluya: Lause pueri	43v-44	2	b	Easter Day, processional at Vespers	N/A	Latin text from Sarum Ordinal
18	Dicant nunc Judei	44v-45v	2	b	Easter Day, processional hymn, at dawn	N/A	Latin text from Sarum Ordinal
19	Alleluya: Salve virgo	46-47	2	b	Purification-Septuagesima and Trinity -Advent, part of Lady-Mass.	Oxford, Madgalene, Coll., B II#. 16 Fragment C; f 89	End of Holy Week music
20	Audivi: Media nocte	47v-48	2	b	All Saints, Matins	N/A	Discussed in <u>Conclusions</u> .
21	Audivi: Media nocte	48v	2	b	All Saints, Matins	N/A	Discussed in <u>Conclusions</u> .
22	Tibi laus tibi gloria	49	2		Trinity (anthem)	N/A	Carol Section begins
23	Princep pacis	49v-50	2		Christ (Isaiah 9)	N/A	Latin text
24	David ex progenie	50v-51	2		N/A	Selden B 26; f 24v-25	Latin text
25	Novo profusi gaudio	51v	2		Nativity	N/A	Latin text
	Cut	52-52v					
26	Novus sol de virgine	53	2		To the Virgin	Selden B 26; f 25v	Latin/English text
27	Sol occasum nesciens	53v-54	2		N/A	N/A	Latin text
28	The holy martyr Steven	54v	2		St. Stephen	Richard Kele Book -1550	English text
29	Qui natus est	55	2		Trinity	Oxford, Bodleian MS. Ashmole 189	Latin/English text
30	Ave Rex angelorum	55v-57	2		Epiphany	N/A	Latin/English text Folio 56 is cut
31	Cum virtus magnifica	57v-58	2		N/A	N/A	Latin text
32	Illuminare Jherusalem	58v-59	2		Epiphany	N/A	English/ Latin/ French text

33	Ivy is good and glad to se	59-60	2	Candlemas	N/A	English text
34	Anglia tibi turbidas	60v-61	2	N/A	N/A	Latin text
35	Benedicte Deo	61v	2	N/A	N/A	Latin text
36	Johannes Jhesu care	62	2	N/A	N/A	Latin text
37	Seynt Thomas honowr we	62v-63	2	New year	N/A	English text
38	Enfors we us	63v	2	St. George Day	N/A	English text
39	Exultavit cor	64	2	N/A	N/A	Latin text.
40	Princeps seremissi	64v	2	N/A	N/A	Latin text.
41	Ecce quod natura	65	2	Nativity	Selden B 26; f 27 Bodleian MS. Ashmole 1393; f69	Latin text.
42	Almyghty Jhesu	65v-66	2	Nativity	Brit. Mus. MS, Horley 275 Edinberg, Nat. Lib. MS 19.3.1	English/Latin/French text
43	I pray yow all	66v	2	Religious council	Selden B 26; f 5 Brut. Mus. Add MS 5665	English text
44	Ave plena gracia	67	2	To the Virgin	N/A	Latin/English text.
45	Verbum patris hodie	67v	2	Nativity	N/A	Latin text.
46	Illuxit Leticia dona	68	2	N/A	N/A	Latin text.
47	Qui natus es	68v	2	Trinity	N/A	Latin text.
48	Alleluya pro virgine	69	2	To the Virgin	Selden B 26; f 16	Latin text.
49	Omnis caterva fidelium	69v-70	2	N/A	N/A	Latin text.
50	Comendentes convenite	70v-71	2	All Saints, see <u>Conclusions.</u>	N/A	Discussed in <u>Conclusions.</u> Latin text.
51	Gaudeamus paritur	71v	2	N/A	N/A	Latin text.
52	Parit virgo filium	72	2	To the Virgin	N/A	Latin text.
53	O potores exquisiti	72v-75	2	All Saints, see <u>Conclusions.</u>	Oxford, Bodleian MS Add A44(30151) Carmina Burana;Schmeller, 240	Discussed in <u>Conclusions.</u> Latin text.

54	Cantus Domino	75v-77	2		Plainsong from Office	Migne, Patrologia...Latina XIX 753, col. 2. Chevalier, Repertorium, 2596 Analecta Hymnica; 50, 53	Discussed in <u>Conclusions</u> . Latin text.
	Untexted	77v-78	3	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	Blank	78v					
	Lauda salvatorum	79	3		N/A	N/A	Latin text.
	Blank	79v-100?					Folio 85 ls cut

- * Red lettering indicates a concordance for the text only
- ** A blue row indicates a piece with purely English text
- *** A grey shaded box indicates a cut folio
- **** A turquoise shaded box indicates a blank folios

Folio/ Gathering	Title/Text incipit Format	Initials	Marginalia	Ink	Foliation/ Signatures	# of staff lines #voice- parts	Writing surface/ Comments	Flesh/ Hair sequence
1-5v G:I	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
6	Gloria Laus Part form	Red with coal outline and oak leaves	N/A	Text: red (I and 1st word) and black Music: red and black	N/A	9 lines 3 parts	Initial is drawn over staff line.	Flesh
6v	“ “	Red with coal outline and oak leaves	N/A	Text: black w red P Music: black	N/A	9 lines	Initial is drawn over staff line.	Hair
7	“ ”	Red with coal outline and oak leaves. Upper initial contains flower, not leaf.	N/A	Text: black w/ red P. Music: black	N/A	9 lines	Initial is drawn over staff line.	Hair
7v	Blank	N/A	N/A	Red staff lines	N/A	9 lines	N/A	Flesh
8	En Rex venit Score format	Blue with red outline and oak leaves	N/A	Text: brown/black Music: black, bl vd. and red	N/A	9 lines 3 parts		Flesh
8v	“ ”	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black w red H Music: black, bl. vd, and red, red vd.	N/A	9 lines	Mensuration change.	Hair
9 G:II	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black Music: black, bl. Vd and red, red vd.	N/A	9 lines	Mensuration change.	Hair

9v	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black w red H. Music: black, bl vd, and red.	N/A	9 lines	Mensuration change.	Flesh
10	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black Music: black, and red, red vd.	Gathering mark: l	9 lines	Mensuration change.	Flesh
10v	Gloria Laus Score format	Blue with red outline and oak leaves	N/A	Text: brown/black Music: black, bl. vd. and red.	N/A	9 lines 3 parts	Initial drawn over the staff lines	Hair
11	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black, w red ‘I’ Music: black, bl vd, and red, red vd.	Gathering number at bottom? II?	9 lines		Hair
11v	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text:brown/black w red C Music: black, bl vd, and red.	N/A	9 lines	Mensuration change.	Flesh
12	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black Music: black and bl vd.	N/A	9 lines		Flesh
12v	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black w red P. Music:black, bl vd and red.	N/A	9 lines	Mensuration changes. Lines 2, 5 are blank.	Hair

13	Unus autem Score format	Blue with red outline and oak leaves. Over stems	In outer margin, in line with initial. Erased/worn.	Text: brown/black Music: black, bl vd, and red, red vd.	N/A	9 lines 3 parts	Initial is drawn over the staff lines.	Hair
13v	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black Music: black, bl vd.	N/A	9 lines		Flesh
14	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black Music: black, bl vd, and red.	N/A	9 lines		Flesh
14v	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black w red l. 1 st word on 6 and 9 bolder black. Music: black, bl vd, and red.	N/A	9 lines		Hair
15 G:III	Passio seccundum Matteum Score format	Blue with red decoration and oak leaves. Scroll: bleu, green.	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter). Black-red S and P, red N and A. Music: black and bl vs.	N/A	9 lines 3 parts	Scroll work is badly worn.	Flesh
15v	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black, (lighter). w red Q, A and black/red E and S? Music: black, bl vd, and red, red vd. Black is browner ink.	N/A	9 lines		Hair

16	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter). w red E's and N's Music: black, bl vd.	N/A	9 lines		Hair
16v	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter). w red E,Q,A. black/red M, F, R Music: black, bl vd and red, red vd	N/A	9 lines		Flesh
17 G:IV	Missa Ferias: Kyrie Score format	N/A	N/A	Text: black w red X and K. black/red y and 'christe' Music: black, bl vd, and red, red vd.	N/A	9 lines 3-4 parts	End of a section, missing beginning of movement	Hair
17v	Sanctus	Red with coal outline and oak leaves. Red notes letter.	N/A	Text: black, w black/red capitals. Music: black and red, red fermatas bar lines brown/black	N/A	9 lines	Initial is drawn over the staff lines. Erasures in staff line 3. Initial style and colours match those in carol section.	Flesh
18	Benedictus	Red with coal outline and oak leaves. Red benedict's over Q of Qui venit	N/A	Text: black w red capitals. Music: black, bl vd red.	Gathering # IIII	9 lines	Initial is drawn over the staff lines. Red Benedictus in same style as text. Initial style and colours match those in carol section but larger in size.	Flesh

18v	Agnus Dei	Red with coal outline, oak leaves and text. Red notes in letter.	N/A	Text: black, red A Music: black, red (notes and fermatas)	N/A	9 lines	Initial is drawn over the staff lines. Black agnus dei in same style as text. Initial style and colours match those in carol section, but larger in size.	Hair
19	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: black, red A Music: black, red (notes and fermatas)	N/A	9 lines		Hair
19v	Blank	N/A	N/A	N/A red staff lines	N/A	9 lines	Space for initial	Flesh
20	Passio ... Luke Score format	Blue with red decoration and oak leaves. Inscription in scroll work in P	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter). Black Red Capitals. Music: black and red	Gathering # II	9 lines 3 parts	Space left for initial. Triple bar line at end	Flesh
20v	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter). Black Red Capitals. Music: black and red.	N/A	9 lines		Hair
21	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter). Red capitals. Music: black and red.	N/A	9 lines		Hair
21v	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter). Black and red, red capitals. Music: black, bl vd, red vd	N/A	9 lines		Flesh
22	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter). Red capitals. Music: black and red.	N/A	9 lines	Blurred red notes on last staff line	Flesh
22v	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter). Black and red, red capitals. Music: black, bl vd, red .	N/A	9 lines		Hair
23	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter). red capitals. Music: black, red vd, and red.	N/A	9 lines		Hair

23v	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter). Black and red, red capitals. Music: black.	N/A	9 lines		Flesh
24	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter). red capitals. Music: black, red vd	N/A	9 lines		Flesh
24v	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter). Black and red, red capitals. Music: black, red vd	N/A	9 lines	Faded notes at top, contra, triple bar lines at end.	Hair
25 G:V	O redemptor Score format	Blue with red outline and oak leaves, style like f. 20 and 15	Above modern foliation 'o /// ' maybe 'o redemptor' ?	Text: brown/black (lighter). red capitals. Music: black, bl vd, red vd, red.	N/A	9 lines 3 parts	Space left for the initial.	Hair
25v	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter). red capitals. Music: black, bl vd	N/A	9 lines	Line 8 is blank.	Flesh
26	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter). red capitals. Music: black, bl vd	Gathering signature on bottom corner	9 lines	Line 2 is blank.	Flesh
26v	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter). red capitals. Music: black, bl vd	N/A	9 lines	'Hollow' clef blocks in line 9.	Hair
27	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter). red capitals. Music: black, bl vd	New gathering signature (III) brown ink.	9 lines	Mensuration change	Hair
27v	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter). red capitals. Music: black, bl vd	N/A	9 lines	Line 9 is blank	Flesh
28	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter). red capitals. Music: black, bl vd	N/A	9 lines	'hollow' clef blocks in line 4. Line 9 is blank	Flesh
28v	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter). Music: black, bl vd	N/A	9 lines	Bleu ink from initial on f.29. Line 9 is blank	Hair
29	Inventor rutili Score format	Blue with red outline. Over text	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter). Music: black, bl vd, red	N/A	9 lines 3 parts	Nota bene finger pointing to l	Hair

29v	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter). red capitals. Music: black, bl vd, red	N/A	9 lines		Flesh
30	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter). Music: black, bl vd, red	N/A	9 lines	gf mid-staff on line 7	Flesh
30v	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter). red capitals. Music: black, bl vd, red	N/A	9 lines		Hair
31	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter). Black and red capital Music: black, bl vd	N/A	9 lines		Hair
31v	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter). Black and red, red capitals. Music: black, bl vd, red	N/A	9 lines		Flesh
32	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter). red capitals. Music: black, bl vd	N/A	9 lines		Flesh
32v	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter). Music: black, bl vd, red	N/A	9 lines		Hair
33 G:VI	Rex sanctorum Score format	Blue with red outline. Over note steams	In outer margin, in line with initial. rex s [anc] to[ru]m (abbreviated0	Text: brown/black (lighter). Music: black, bl vd, red	N/A	9 lines 3 parts	Initial is drawn over staff lines	Hair
33v	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter). red capitals. Music: black, bl vd, red vd.	New in top centre Foliation: I	9 lines		Flesh
34	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter). red capitals. Music: black, bl vd, red	Gathering signature Foliation: II	9 lines	Capital S on last line. g like Passion hand	Flesh
34v	“ “	N/A	Top outer margin, imprint from f.35.	Text: brown/black (lighter). Music: black, bl vd, red	Foliation: III	9 lines		Hair

35	“ “	N/A	Above modern foliation /odom[y?]/	Text: brown/black (lighter). red capitals. Music: black, bl vd, red vd, red.	Foliation: IIII	9 lines	Last words in darker ink	Hair
35v	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter). Music: black, bl vd.	Foliation: V	9 lines		Flesh
36	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter). red capitals. Music: black, bl vd, red	Foliation: VI	9 lines		Flesh
36v	Alleluya: Confit emini Score format	Blue initial with red outline, space left for initial	Next to initial, 1) erased. 2) al [e] l [uy] a [con]fite	Text: brown/black (lighter). red capitals. Music: black, bl vd, red vd, red.	N/A	9 lines 2 parts	Space left for initial during page preparation.	Hair
37	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter). Music: black, bl vd, red	N/A	9 lines	Triple bar lines	Hair
37v	Salve festa dies Score format	Gold back, green and salmon letter, red, blue, green salmon oakleaves	Next to initial. Salwo fefa =salve festa	Text: brown/black (lighter)., red, bleu Music: black, bl vd, red vd, red.	N/A	6 lines 3 parts	Three ink colours for text. Space left for the initial during page prep.	Flesh
38	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter)., red, bleu Music: black, bl vd, red vd, red.	New foliation top centre: a	6 lines	No erasures, space left for text during page preparation. Secondary prick hole aligns with bottom text line in mid page	Flesh
38v	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter)., red, bleu Music: black, bl vd, red vd, red.	Foliation: b	6 lines	No erasures, space left for text during page preparation	Hair
39	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter)., red, bleu Music: black, bl vd, red vd.	Foliation: c	6 lines	Red leggier line similar style to carol symbols	Hair
39v	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter)., red, bleu Music: black, bl vd, red vd, red	Foliation: d	6 lines	Capitals in alternate colours (bleu with red, red with bleu)	Flesh

40	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter)., red, bleu Music: black, bl vd, red vd,	Foliation: 2 Gathering signature?	6 lines		Flesh
40v	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter)., red, bleu Music: black, bl vd,	Foliation: 2	6 lines	Capitals in alternate colours (bleu with red ect) mensuration change	Hair
41 G:VII	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter)., red, bleu Music: black, bl vd, red vd,	Foliation: 2 Gathering signature?	6 lines		Hair
41v	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter)., red, bleu Music: black, bl vd,	Foliation: 2	6 lines	Triple bar lines at end.	Flesh
42	“ “	Blue with red outline, over staff lines	Under modern foliation illegible, arrow pointing to text, like f.35	Text: brown/black (lighter)., red, bleu Music: black, red	Foliation: 2	6 lines	Text written over note stems	Flesh
42v	Crucifixum in carne Score format	Blue with red outline and oakleaves	Next to initial. Crucifix[u]m	Text: brown/black (lighter). Music: black, bl vd, red vd.	N/A	9 lines 3 parts	Space left for the initial	Hair
43	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter). Music: black, bl vd,	Foliation: 2 Gathering signature?	9 lines	Mensuration change, music is more crowded	Hair
43v	Alleluya: Lause pueri Score format	Blue with red outline. Over stems.	Next to initial. alla lauda/ pue (rest is under initial)	Text: brown/black (lighter). red capitals. Music: black, bl vd, red .	N/A	9 lines 3 parts	Initial is drawn over staff lines. Triple bar lines.	Flesh
44	“ “	Blue with red oakleaves, over staff lines	Under modern foliation, crossed out Dicant nnc (with macron over nnc)	Text: brown/black (lighter). Music: black, bl vd, red vd, red.	Foliation: 2 Gathering signature?	9 lines	Triple bar lines. No outline on initial	Flesh
44v	Dicant nunc Judei Score format	Blue with red oak leaves.	In margin next to initial. Di[s]ca[n]t n[u]nc	Text: brown/black (lighter). Music: black, bl vd, red.	N/A	9 lines 3 parts	Initial is drawn over staff lines. No external decoration on D	Hair

45	“ “		N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter). Music: black, bl vd, red.	Foliation: p.47	9 lines		Hair
45v	“ “		N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter). Music: black, bl vd, red.	N/A	9 lines	Double bar line	Flesh
46	Alleluya: Salve virgo Score format	Blue with red outline, and oak leaves. Over stems.	Under modern foliation. alla Salve virgo	Text: brown/black (lighter). red capitals. Music: black, bl vd, red .	Foliation: 1 (badly worn)	9 lines 3 parts	Initial is drawn over staff lines. Yellow marks on folio -yellow wax?	Flesh
46v	“ “		Midway in outer margin audi me crossed out twice [audivi media]	Text: brown/black (lighter). Music: black, bl vd, red vd, red.	N/A	9 lines		Hair
47	“ “		N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter). Music: black, bl vd, red vd, red.	foliation: 4? Like p on f. 45?	9 lines	Staff lines 7-9 are blank. Double bar line at end.	Hair
47v	Audivi: Media nocte Score format	Blue with red outline and oak leaves. Over stems.	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter). red capitals. Music: black, bl vd, red .	N/A	9 lines 3 parts	Initial is drawn over staff lines.	Flesh
48	“ “		Midway down outer margin: illegible ////	Text: brown/black (lighter). Music: black, bl vd	N/A	9 lines	Triple bar lines, end mid staff. Mensuration change,	Flesh
48v	Audivi: Media nocte Score format	Blue with red outline and oak leaves. Over stems.	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter). Music: black, bl vd, red vd, red.	N/A	9 lines 3 parts	Initial is drawn over staff lines. Two-part, last staff line blank.	Hair
49 G:VIII	Tibi laus tibi gloria Score format	Gold back and leaves, fine letter in blue, leaves and decoration in bleu, green and salmon	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) and red. Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd, red .	N/A	8 lines 2 parts	Space left for initial Smaller quill from here to end of MS. Initial similar to f. 37v., and finer than previous initials.	Flesh

49v	Princep pacis Score format	Red with coal outline and oakleaves	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) and red. Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd, red vd and red.	N/A	8 lines 2 parts	Space left for initial. Section bar lines filled with red	Hair
50	“ “	Red with coal outline and oakleaves	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) and red. Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd, red vd and red.	Gathering signature: II(brown)	9 lines 3 parts	Space left for initial	Hair
50v	David ex progenie Score format	Red with coal outline and oakleaves	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) and red. Black and red capitals. Music: black and red.	N/A	8 lines 2 parts	Space left for initial	Flesh
51	“ “	Red with coal outline and oakleaves	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) and red. Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd and red.	N/A	9 lines 3 parts	Space left for initial Four bars in bar line, red and brown.	Flesh
51v	Novo profusi gaudio Score format	Red with coal outline and oak leaves. Designs in red of letter.	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) and red. Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd and red. vd	N/A	8 lines 2 parts	Space left for initial Four bars in bar line, red and brown.	Hair
52	Cut	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Flesh
52v	Cut	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Hair
53	Novus sol de virgine Score format	Red with coal outline and oak leaves.	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) and red. Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd and red. vd	N/A	8 lines 2 parts	Space left for initial Staff line 7-9 covered in text. Hollow clef blocs in staff line 5.	Hair
53v	Sol occasum nesciens Score format	Red with coal outline and oak leaves.	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) and red. Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd	N/A	8 lines 2 parts	Space left for initial	Flesh
54	“ “	Red with coal outline and oak leaves.	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) and red. Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd and red	N/A	9 lines 3 parts	Space left for initial Four bars in bar line, red and brown.	Flesh

54v	The holy martyr Steven Score format	Red with coal outline and oak leaves.	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) and red. Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd and red. vd	N/A	8 lines 2 parts	Space left for initial. Staff line 7-9 covered in text.	Hair
55	Qui natus est Score format	Black with red outline and oak leaves.	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) and red. Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd	Gathering signature: IIII? (brown or red)	8 lines 2 parts	Space left for initial. Chorus part indicated.	Hair
55v	Ave Rex angelorum Score format	Black with red outline and oak leaves.	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd, red	N/A	9 lines 3 parts	Space left for initial.	Flesh
56	Cut	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Hair
56v	Cut	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Flesh
57	“ “ (Ave rex...)	Red with coal outline and oak leaves.	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd, red	N/A	9 lines 3 parts	Space left for initial. Erasures in staff line 1.	Flesh
57v	Cum virtus magnifica Score format	Red with coal outline and oak leaves.	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) and red. Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd, red	N/A	8 lines 2 parts	Space left for initial. Double bar lines filled with red.	Hair
58	“ “	Red with coal outline and oak leaves.	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) and red. Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd, red	N/A	9 lines 3 parts	Space left for initial. Four bar lines filled with red. Middle text line at bottom of page aligns with prick holes.	Hair
58v	Illuminare Jherusalem Score format	Red with coal outline and oak leaves.	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) Music: black, bl vd	N/A	8 lines 2 parts	Space left for initial. Four bar lines filled with red. Notes copied on top of text.	Flesh
59 G:IX	“ “	Black with red outline and oak leaves.	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) Music: black, bl vd	N/A	9 lines 3 parts	Space left for initial. Triple bar lines.	Flesh

59v	Ivy is good and glad to se Score format	Red with coal outline and oak leaves.	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) and red. Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd.	N/A	8 lines 2 parts	Space left for initial. Three bar lines filled with red.	Hair
60	“ “	Black with red outline and oak leaves.	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd.	N/A	9 lines 3 parts	Space left for initial. Double bar lines filled with red.	Hair
60v	Anglia tibi turbid as Score format	Red with coal outline and oak leaves.	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) and red. Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd, red.	N/A	8 lines 2 parts	Space left for initial. Double bar lines filled with red.	Flesh
61	“ “	Black with red outline and oak leaves.	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) and red. Black and red capitals. Music: black, red vd, red.	N/A	9 lines 3 parts	Space left for initial. Double bar lines filled with red. Text on lines 7-8.	Flesh
61v	Benedicte Deo Score format	Red with coal outline and oak leaves.	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) and red. Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd, red.	N/A	8 lines 2 parts	Space left for initial. Triple bar lines filled with red.	Hair
62	Johannes Jhesu care Score format	Black with red outline and oak leaves.	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) and red. Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd, red vd, red.	N/A	8 lines 2 parts	Space left for initial. Triple bar lines filled with red.	Hair
62v	Seynt Thomas honowr we Score format	Red with coal outline and oak leaves.	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) and red. Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd, red vd, red.	N/A	8 lines 2 parts	Space left for initial. Triple bar lines filled with red. Secondary prick holes lines up with top line of text under staff 8	Flesh
63	“ “	Black with red outline and oak leaves.	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) Black and red capitals. Music: black, red vd, red.	N/A	9 lines 3 parts	Space left for initial. Double bar lines filled with red.	Flesh
63v	Enfors we us Score format	Red with coal outline and oak leaves.	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) and red. Black and red capitals. Music: black, red.	N/A	8 lines 2 parts	Space left for initial. Double bar lines filled with red.	Hair

64	Exultavit cor Score format	Black with red outline and oak leaves. Over stems	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) and red. Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd, red.	N/A	8 lines 2 parts	Space left for initial. Triple bar lines filled with red.	Hair
64v	Princeps seremissi	Red with coal outline and oak leaves. Over stems.	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) and red. Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd, red.	N/A	8 lines 2 parts	Space left for initial. Double bar lines filled with red. Text between staff lines	Flesh
65	Ecce quod natura Score format	Black with red outline and oak leaves.	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) and red. Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd.	N/A	8 lines 2 parts	Space left for initial. Double bar lines filled with red. Text between staff lines	Flesh
65v	Almyghty Jhesu Score format	Red with coal outline and oak leaves. Over stems.	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) and red. Music: black, bl vd, red.	N/A	8 lines 2 parts	Space left for initial. Triple bar lines filled with red.	Hair
66	“ “	Black with red outline and oak leaves. Over stems and text.	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) and red. Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd, red.	N/A	8 lines 2 parts	Space left for initial. Double bar lines filled with red. Text over stafflines 7-8	Hair
66v	I pray yow all Score format	Red with coal outline and oak leaves. Over stems.	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) and red. Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd, red.	N/A	8 lines 2 parts	Space left for initial. Double bar lines filled with red. Text over stafflines 7-8	Flesh
67 G:X	Ave plena gracia Score format	Black with red outline and oak leaves. Over stems.	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) and red. Music: black, bl vd, red.	N/A	8 lines 2 parts	Space left for initial. Triple bar lines filled with red.	Flesh
67v	Verbum patris hodie Score format	Red with coal outline and oak leaves. Over stems.	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) and red. Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd, red.	N/A	8 lines 2 parts	Space left for initial. Double bar lines one black one red.	Hair
68	Illuxit Leticia dona Score format	Black with red outline and oak leaves. Over stems.	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) and red. Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd, red.	N/A	8 lines 2 parts	Space left for initial. Some text above staff lines 7 and 8.	Hair

68v	Qui natus es Score format	Red with coal outline and oak leaves.	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) and red. Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd, red.	N/A	8 lines 2 parts	Space left for initial. Triple bar lines filled with red. Ln 7-8 blank	Flesh
69	Alleluya pro virgine Score format	Red with coal outline and oak leaves. Over stems.	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) and red. Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd, red vd, red.	N/A	8 lines 2 parts	Space left for initial. Triple bar lines filled with red. Ln 7-8 blank	Flesh
69v	Omnis caterva fidelium Score format	Red with coal outline and oak leaves. Over stems.	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) and red. Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd, red.	N/A	8 lines 2 parts	Space left for initial. Initial is more elaborate, compare to f. 25	Hair
70	“ “	Black with red outline and oak leaves. Over stems.	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd,.	N/A	9 lines 3 parts	Space left for initial.	Hair
70v	Comendentes convenite Score format	Red with coal outline and oak leaves.	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) and red. Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd, red.	N/A	8 lines 2 parts	Space left for initial. Triple bar lines filled with red.	Flesh
71	“ “	Black with red outline and oak leaves. Over stems.	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) and red. Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd.	N/A	9 lines 3 parts	Space left for initial. Triple bar lines filled with red.	Flesh
71v	Gaudeamus paritur Score format	Red with coal outline and oak leaves.	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) and red. Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd.	N/A	8 lines 2 parts	Space left for initial in top two staff lines, but not third from top.	Hair
72	Parit virgo filium Score format	Black with red outline and oak leaves. Over stems and text.	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) and red. Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd., red vd	N/A	8 lines 2 parts	Space left for initial. Double bar lines filled with red.	Hair

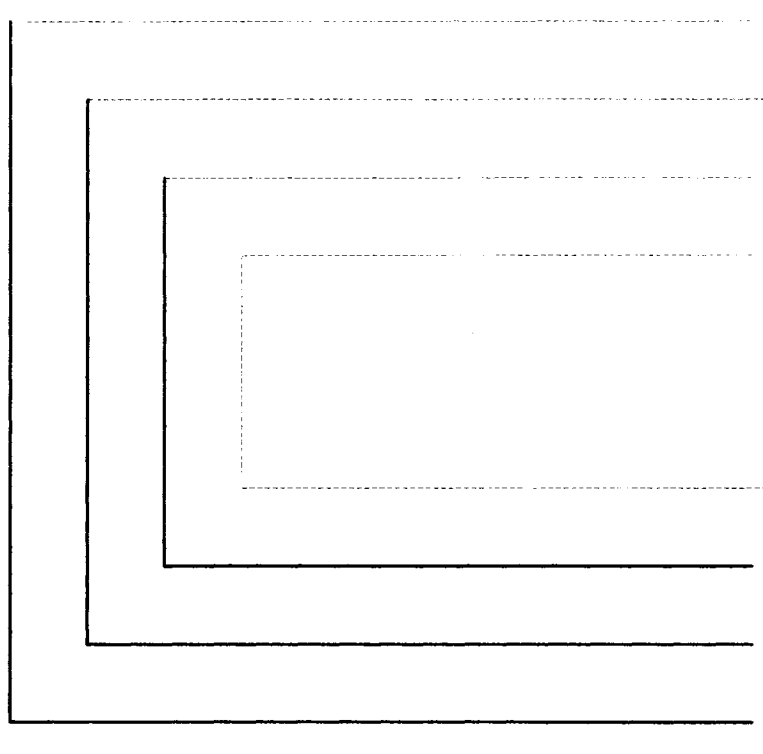
72v	O potores exquisiti Part form	Miniature: tavern scene, leaves like f. 49. Exquisite detail and colours	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd.	Possible foliation at top, to left: ii	9 lines 3 parts	Space left for the miniature, covers stems. Staff line 9 is blank	Flesh
73	“ “	Miniature: tavern scene like f. 72v. Initial T: Red with coal outline and oak leaves.	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) and red. Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd.	N/A	9 lines	Space left for the initial. Initial covers stems. Staff line 6 is blank	Flesh
73v	“ “	Red with coal outline and oak leaves.	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd.	N/A	9 lines	Space left for the initial. Initial covers stems. Lns 6 -9 are blank	Hair
74	“ “	1)Black with red outline and oak leaves. Over stems. 2)Red with coal outline and oak leaves.	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd.	N/A	9 lines	Space left for the first initial. Initial 2 over staff line Staff line 6 is blank	Hair
74v	“ “	Red with coal outline and oak leaves. Over stems	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd.	N/A	9 lines	Space left for the first initial. Ln 9 is blank. Text over note stems.	Flesh
75 G:XI	“ “	1)Black with red outline and oak leaves. Over stems. 2)Red with coal outline and oak leaves.	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd.	N/A	9 lines	Space left for the first initial. Initial 2 over staff line	Flesh
75v	Cantus Domino Score and Part format	Red with coal outline and oak leaves. Over stems. (style like f. 69)	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) and red. Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd, red vd.	N/A	9 lines 2x2 parts	Initials covers staff ln 2. Stems over text.	Hair

76	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) and red. Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd, red vd, red.	N/A	9 lines	Erasures on bottom staff line. Extended staff line on line 4. <i>Nota bene</i> finger under last staff line	Flesh
76v	“ “	Red with coal outline and oak leaves, like 75v Over stems	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) and red. Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd.	N/A	9 lines	Space left for the initial.	Hair
77	“ “	N/A	N/A	Text: brown/black (lighter) and red. Black and red capitals. Music: black, bl vd.	N/A	8 lines	Contra and tenor parts. Extended staff line on line 4.	Flesh
77v	Untexted Score format	N/A, space provided	N/A	Music: black, bl vd.	N/A	8 lines	Carols text division symbols	Hair
78	“ “	N/A, space provided	N/A	Music: black, bl vd.	N/A	8 lines	Carols text division symbols. Lns 7-8 are blank.	Hair
78v	Blank	N/A, space provided	N/A	N/A	N/A	8 lines	N/A	Flesh
79	Lauda salvatorum Score format	N/A, space provided	N/A	Text: black Music: black (darker), bl vd.	N/A	8 lines 3 parts	Text is badly worn/erased. Carol symbols included.	Flesh
79v	Blank Score format (to end)	N/A, space provided	N/A	N/A	N/A	8 lines	N/A	Hair
80	Blank	N/A, space provided	N/A	N/A	N/A	8 lines	N/A	Hair
80v	Blank	N/A, space provided	N/A	N/A	N/A	8 lines	N/A	Flesh
81	Blank	N/A, space provided	N/A	N/A	N/A	8 lines	N/A	Hair
81v	Blank	N/A, space provided	N/A	N/A	N/A	8 lines	N/A	Flesh
82	Blank	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	9 lines	N/A	Hair

82v	Blank	N/A, space provided	N/A	N/A	N/A	9 lines	N/A	Flesh
83 G-XII	Blank	N/A, space provided	N/A	N/A	N/A	8 lines	N/A	Flesh
83v	Blank	N/A, space provided	N/A	N/A	N/A	8 lines	N/A	Hair
84	Blank	N/A, space provided	N/A	N/A	N/A	8 lines	N/A	Hair
84v	Blank	N/A, space provided	N/A	N/A	N/A	8 lines	N/A	Flesh
85	Cut	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Hair
85v	Cut	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Flesh
86	Blank	N/A, space provided	N/A	N/A	N/A	8 lines	N/A	Flesh
86v	Blank	N/A, space provided	N/A	N/A	N/A	8 lines	N/A	Hair
87	Blank	N/A, space provided	N/A	N/A	N/A	8 lines	N/A	Flesh
87v	Blank	N/A, space provided	N/A	N/A	N/A	8 lines	N/A	Hair
88	Blank	N/A, space provided	N/A	N/A	N/A	8 lines	N/A	Hair
88v	Blank	N/A, space provided	N/A	N/A	N/A	8 lines	N/A	Flesh

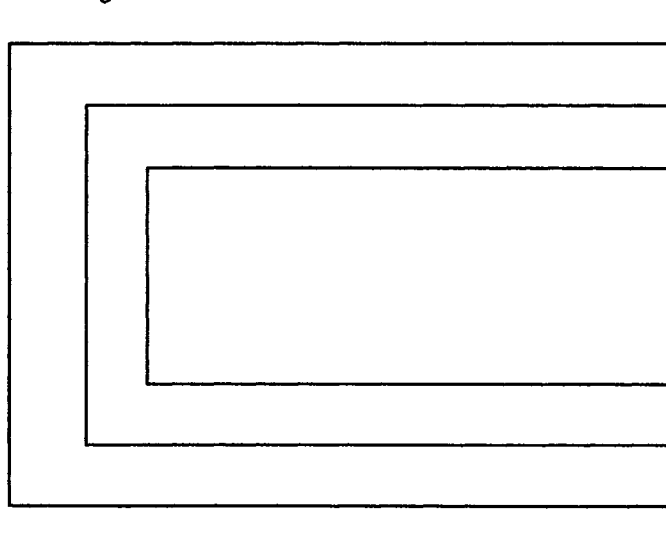
Gathering	Number of leaves	Missing or damaged folios	Number of holes for binding (examined at centre of each gathering)	Condition of thread	Codicological Unities
I	4: folio 1-8	Folios 1-5 are stubs (not clean cuts, torn)	Impossible to see without damaging the leaves.	New thread (British Museum)	Piece 2 (En rex venit) of MS
II	3: folio 9-14	Intact	10 holes	New thread (British Museum)	crosses into gathering II
III	2: folio 15-16	At least two folios missing (1 bifolio).	Holes are tapped over. 2 discernable holes in line with holes in gathering II	New thread (British Museum)	Probable unity: the Kyrie of the Mass
IV	4: folio 17-24	Intact	10 holes match previous pattern. 6 additional holes (mostly off centre, to the left)	New thread (British Museum)	probably started in gathering III (and finishes in VI)
V	4: folio 25-32	Intact	10 holes match previous pattern. (2 additional holes off centre, to the left of ditch, like pattern of VI)	New thread (British Museum)	Independent gathering
VI	4: folio 33-40	Intact	9 holes, match position of previous holes. One hole missing in middle of ditch. (three sets of two holes on either side of thread ditch).	New thread (British Museum)	Piece 12 (Salve festa die)
VII	4: folio 41-48	Intact	11 holes, one additional hole at top and bottom of previous pattern.	New thread (British Museum)	of MS crosses into gathering VII
VIII	5: folio 49-58	Folios 52 and 56 are cut. (Clean cut, even)	10 holes, like pattern of VII, but missing hole at bottom.	New thread (British Museum)	Piece 29 (Illuminare Jheusalem) crosses
IX	4: folio 59-66	Intact	11 holes, follow pattern of VII	New thread (British Museum)	into gathering IX
X	4: folio 67-74	Intact	15 holes, 5 holes containing old thread. (holes match those of previous pattern, with holes in close proximity for old thread)	Old thread at bottom of binding (under new thread)	Piece 49 (O potores) crosses
XI	4: folio 75-82	Intact	11 holes, like VII and IX. 2 more holes off centre, to the left and next to other holes)	New thread (British Museum)	into gathering XI
XII	3: folio 83-88	Folio 85 is cut. (Clean cut, even)	16 holes, 11 match VII, IX and XI, (five off centre next to other holes)	New thread (British Museum)	Blank (as is end of gathering XI)

Gathering I



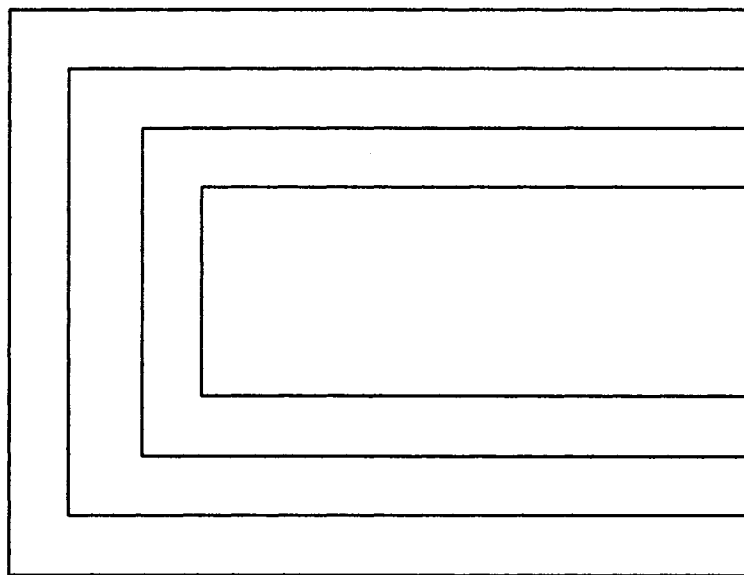
1
2
3
4
5
6 r Gloria laus
v Cestus in excelsis
7 r " " "
v blank " "
8 r En Rex venit
v " " "

Gathering II



9 r En Rex venit (cont.)
v " " "
10 r " " "
v " " " Gloria Laus
11 r Gloria Laus (cont.)
v " "
12 r " "
v " "
13 r " "
v Unus autem
14 r " "
v " "

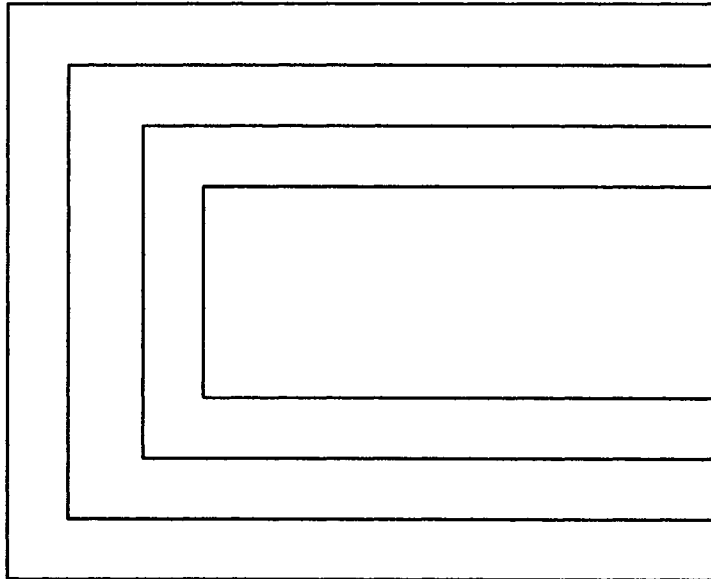
Gathering V (first independent gathering)



	r	O redemptor
25	v	" "
	r	" "
26	v	" "
	r	" "
27	v	" "
	r	" "
28	v	" "

	r	Inventor rutili
29	v	" "
	r	" "
30	v	" "
	r	" "
31	v	" "
	r	" "
32	v	" "

Gathering VI

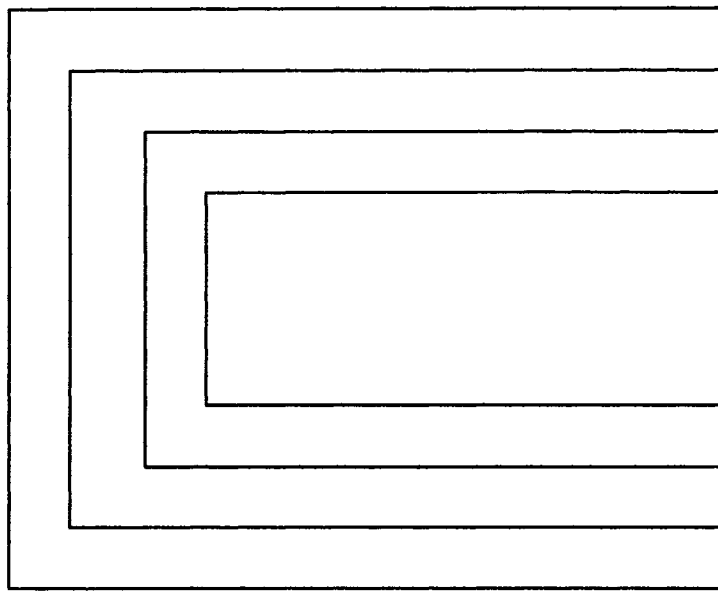


33	r	Rex sanctorum
	v	" " "
34	r	" " "
	v	" " "
35	r	" " "
	v	" " "
36	r	" " "
	v	" " "

Alleluya: Confit emini

37	r	" " "
	v	Salve festa dies
38	r	" " "
	v	" " "
39	r	" " "
	v	" " "
40	r	" " "
	v	" " "

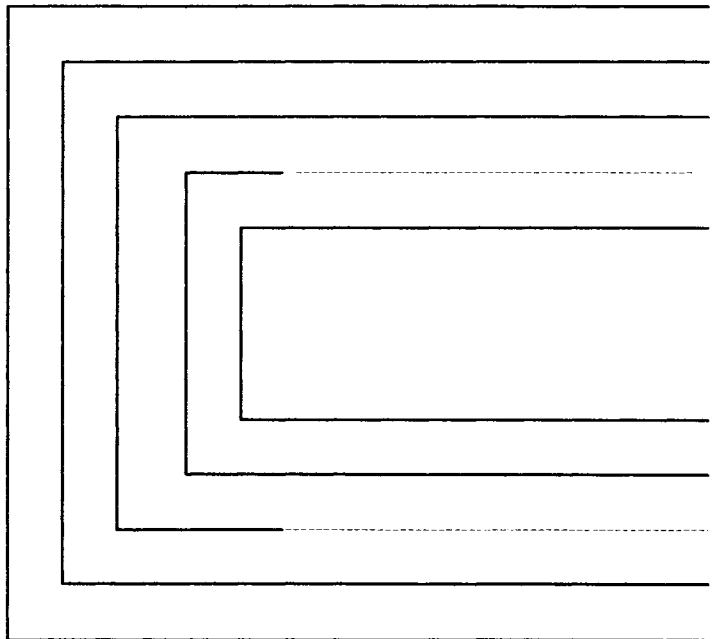
Gathering VII



41 r Salve festa die (cont.)
v " " "
42 r " " "
v Crucifixum in carne
43 r " " "
v Allelya: Lause pueri
44 r " " "
v Discant nunc Judei

45 r " " "
v " " "
46 r Alleluya: Salve virgo
v " " "
47 r " " "
v Audivi: Media nocte
48 r " " "
v Audivi: Media nocte

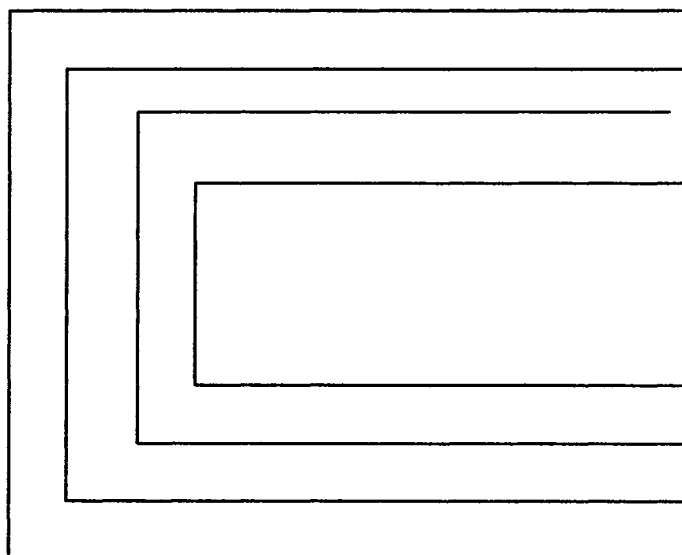
Gathering VIII (second independent gathering)



49 r Tibi laus tibi gloria
v Princep pacis
50 r " " "
v David ex progenie
51 r Novo profusi gaudio
v Ave Rex angelorum
52 r stub
v
53 r Novus sol de virgine
v Sol occasum nesciens

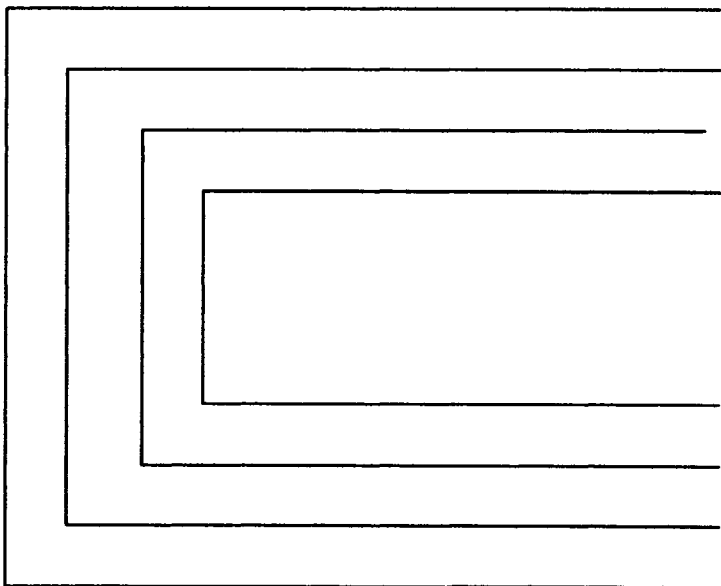
54 r " " "
v The holy martyr Steven
Qui natus est
55 r Ave rex angelorum
v
56 r " " "
v " " "
57 r " " "
v Cum virtus magnifica
58 r " " "
v Illuminare Jherusalem

Gathering IX (third independent gathering)



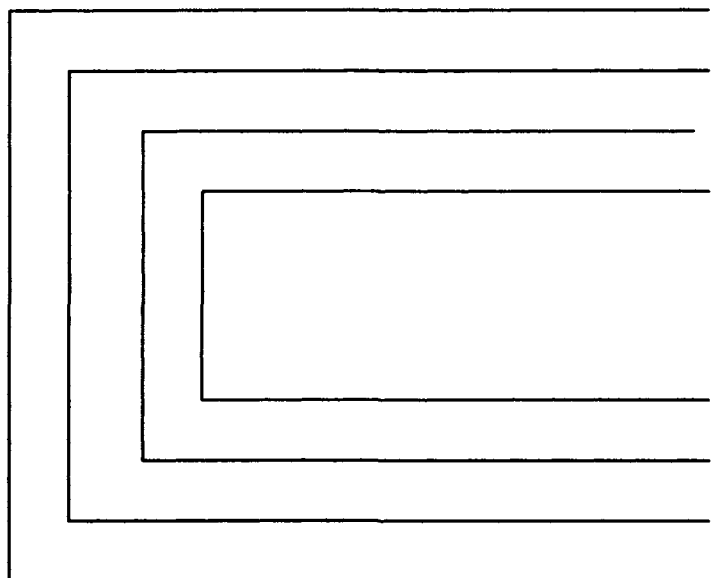
- 59 r Ivy is good and glad to se
v " " "
- 60 r " " "
v Anglia tibi turbidas
- 61 r " " "
v Benedicto deo
- 62 r Iohannes Jhesu care
v Seynt Thomas we honowr we
- 63 r " " "
v Enfors we us
- 64 r Exultavit cor
v Princeps seremissi
- 65 r Ecce quod natura
v Almyghty Jhesu
- 66 r " " "
v I pray yow all

Gathering X



- 67 r Ave plena gracia
v Verbum patris hodie
- 68 r Illuxit leticia dona
v Qui natus est
- 69 r Alleluya pro virgine
v Omnis caterva fidelium
- 70 r " " "
v Comendentes convenite
- 71 r " " "
v Gaudeamus paritur
- 72 r Parit virgo fillium
v O potores exquisiti
- 73 r " " "
v " " "
- 74 r " " "
v " " "

Gathering XI



75 r O potores exquisiti (cont.)
v Cantus domini

76 r " " "
v " " "

77 r " " "
v untexted piece

78 r " " "
v blank

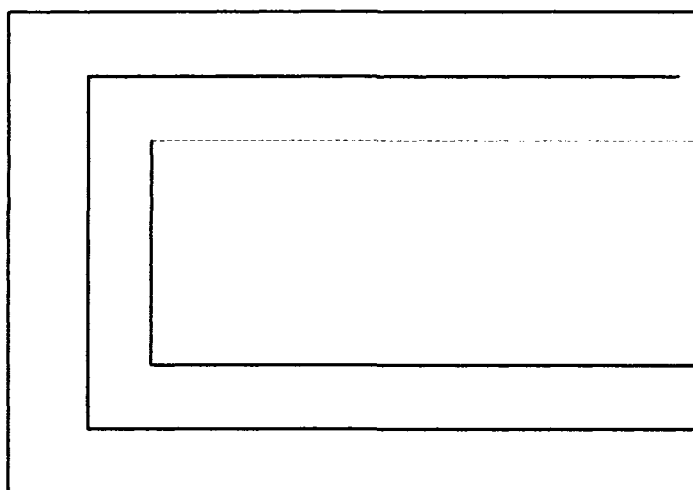
79 r Lauda salvatorum
v blank

80 r " " "
v " " "

81 r " " "
v " " "

82 r " " "
v " " "

Gathering XII



83 r " " "
v " " "

84 r " " "
v " " "

85 r " " "
v " " "

86 r " " "
v " " "

87 r " " "
v " " "

88 r " " "
v " " "

A

ē e a s l d p h t t z x p e

B

ē e a s l d p g h b t t z x p o t

C

ē e a s l d p g h b x t z x p e t

D

e a s l d p g h b x x p e t

E

e a s l d p h t

Old Hall hand

e d g h b t

'Schorn' hand

e a s l d g h t t

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