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The
ETON
CHOIRBOOK

Facsimile
and introductory study

BY
MAGNUS WILLIAMSON

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PUBLISHED BY DIAMM PUBLICATIONS
FACULTY OF MUSIC, ST ALDATES, OXFORD OX1 1DB

ISSN 2043-8273
ISBN 978-1-907647-00-0
SERIES ISBN 978-1-907647-01-7

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Digital imaging, typesetting and page make-up by Julia Craig-McFeely
Image preparation by Giovanni Varelli & Julia Craig-McFeely
Specialist music fonts by Ronald Woodley

Typeset in Bembo and Bentivoglio

Printed in Great Britain by
Information Press
Eynsham
Oxfordshire

Bound by Green Street Bindery
Oxford

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List of Abbreviations

General

AMS	American Musicological Society
B	Bassus, Bass
BVM	Blessed Virgin Mary
Ctr	Contratenor, Countertenor
ECL	Eton College Library
ECR	Eton College Records
£ s. d.	<i>librum</i> (pound) = 20 s. <i>solidus</i> (shilling) = 12 d. <i>denarius</i> (penny) = 2 ob.: <i>obolus</i> (half-penny) = 2 qa.: <i>quarta</i> (farthing). The pound Sterling comprised 240 pennies until February 1971.
LH	left hand
M	Medius, Mean
NT	New Testament
OE	Old Etonian
OT	Old Testament
Q	Quatruplex; Quatreble
RH	right hand
RISM	Répertoire International des Sources Musicales
RMA	Royal Musical Association
T	Tenor
Tr	Triplex, Treble

Music Manuscripts and Library Sigla (see also Concordances)

ARUNDEL A340	Arundel Castle, Archives of the Duchy of Norfolk, A340
BALDWIN	London, British Library, MS R.M. 24.d.2
BUXTON 96	Cambridge, University Library, MS Buxton 96
CAIUS	Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 667/760
CAMBRIDGE UJ	Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.13.27, and Cambridge, St John's College, MS 234 (K.31)
CARVER	Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS Adv. 5.1.15
<i>Ch-SGs</i>	St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek
CHOIRBOOK 2a	Oxford, New College, [printed book] Ω .14.5 and [printed book] C.1.2; Oxford, All Souls College, MS 330, f. 18; and Chester, Cheshire and Chester Archives, ZCX/1, f. 17
CHOIRBOOK 2b	Oxford, All Souls College, MS 330, f. 19, and London, Royal College of Physicians, MS 734
DARTMOUTH	Exeter, Devon Record Office, SM 1981
EGERTON 3307	London, British Library, Egerton MS 3307
ETON	Eton College, MS 178
FAYRFAX MS	London, British Library, Additional MS 5465
<i>GB-AR</i>	Arundel Castle, Archives of the Duchy of Norfolk
<i>GB-Ckc</i>	Cambridge, King's College
<i>GB-Cu</i>	University Library
<i>GB-DRc</i>	Durham Cathedral, Chapter Library
<i>GB-Lbl</i>	London, British Library
<i>GB-Llp</i>	Lambeth Palace
<i>GB-Lna</i>	National Archives (<i>olim</i> Public Record Office), Kew
<i>GB-Lrcm</i>	Royal College of Music
<i>GB-Lrcp</i>	Royal College of Physicians
<i>GB-Lwa</i>	Westminster Abbey

GB-Oas	Oxford, All Souls College
GB-Ob	Bodleian Library
GB-Omc	Magdalen College
GB-Ome	Merton College
GB-Onc	New College
GB-Ot	Trinity College
GB-WCc	Winchester College
HARLEY 1709	London, British Library, Harley MS 1709
HENRY VIII	London, British Library, Additional MS 31922
I-Rvat	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
LAMBETH	London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 1
NEW COLLEGE FRAGMENTS	Oxford, New College, MSS 368/1-3
NOTTINGHAM 2169/1	Nottingham, Nottinghamshire Archives, CA/2169/1
NOTTINGHAM 20332	Nottingham, Nottinghamshire Archives, PR/20332
PEPYS 1236	Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepysian Library, MS 1236
PETERHOUSE	Cambridge, University Library, Peterhouse MSS 471-474
RIPON 20	Ripon, Cathedral Library, MS 20 (XVII.B.49) (now at Brotherton Library, Leeds University)
RITSON	London, British Library, Additional MS 5665
SADLER	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Mus. e. 1-5
TRENT 87	Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Monumenti e Collezioni Provinciali, MS 1374 (<i>olim</i> 87)
TRENT 88	MS 1375 (<i>olim</i> 88)
TRENT 89	MS 1376 (<i>olim</i> 89)
TRENT 90	MS 1377 (<i>olim</i> 90)
TRENT 91	MS 1378 (<i>olim</i> 91)
TRENT 92	MS 1379 (<i>olim</i> 92)
TRENT 93	Trento, Museo Diocesano, Archivio Capitolare, MS 'BL'
US-PRu	Princeton University
WELLS X4/34/2	Wells Cathedral, MS X4/34/2
WESTMINSTER ABBEY	London, Westminster Abbey, MS 103
WINDSOR MURAL	Windsor Castle, St George's Chapel, 25 The Cloisters (wall painting)
YORK	York, Borthwick Institute for Archives, MS 1
ZWICKAU 95b	Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek, MS 95b

Secondary Sources/Editions (full bibliographical details are given in the Bibliography)

AH	<i>Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi</i>
BDECM	<i>Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians</i>
CCM	<i>Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550</i>
CMM	Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae
EH	<i>The English Hymnal</i>
Harrison MMB	Frank Harrison, <i>Music in Medieval Britain</i>
HKW	<i>The History of the King's Works</i>
NG2	<i>The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</i> , 2 nd edn
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
PL	<i>Patrologia Latina</i>
PMFC	Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century
PMMS	Plainsong & Mediaeval Music Society
RH	<i>Repertorium Hymnologicum</i>
RRMR	Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance
STC	Alfred W. Pollard & Gilbert R. Redgrave, <i>A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640</i> , 3 vols (London, 1927; 2nd edn, prepared by W. A. Jordan, F. S. Ferguson & K. F. Pantzer, 1976-91)

Preface and Acknowledgements

The tolling of a bell, the stuttering of lighted candles, and the echoing click of a door-latch give notice of the ritual about to unfold. As the sun starts to sink below the roofs of houses nearby, fading light suffuses the west end of the chapel. From the opened doorway emerge the white-surpliced men and boys of the choir who process their way through the chapel; two-by-two they approach the wooden choir screen on which stand figures of the suffering Christ, his mother the Virgin Mary, and St John the Evangelist. Kneeling before this crucifix, the choir chant the Lord's Prayer and then, rising to their feet, they walk to a stone tabernacle containing an image of Our Lady, surrounded by murals depicting her miraculous interventions. A note is given, lungs are filled, then polyphonic music fills the evening air: 'Salve regina mater misericordie: Hail, queen, mother of mercy; our life, our sweetness, our hope: hail!'.

By 1500 this scene would have been familiar to the inhabitants of towns and cities throughout Catholic Christendom. Each evening a melodious trail of 'Salves' and 'Aves' shadowed the westwards course of the setting sun before it finally slipped below the Atlantic horizon. The *Salve* ceremony (or *lof* or *salut*) was both localised and universal. The ritual, and the wider devotional *habitus* to which it belonged, also traversed social distinctions: between laity and clergy, secular and monastic, collective and individual, metropolitan and provincial, austere and ostentatious, contemplative and demonstrative. Partly an act of prayer, the *Salve* was also a spiritual concert, directed to ears both divine and mortal. No other late-medieval musical repertory, perhaps not even the polyphonic mass, could quite match the cultural reach of the *Salve*.

The spiritual vitality and social currency of the pre-Reformation *Salve* can easily be gauged from the surviving historical documents: from the records of devotional confraternities set up to augment the cult of the Virgin Mary, for instance, such as the great Marian confraternities of France and Flanders or, more locally, the *Salve* guild at the church of St Magnus the Martyr by London Bridge. But the most eloquent testimony is to be found in the repertory of motets written for the *Salve*, and especially in the music manuscripts whose imposing physical presence served to dignify the *Salve* as an act of divine worship and communal affirmation. None of these manuscripts surpasses the Eton Choirbook, which is presented here for the first time in full colour facsimile.

The following pages are devoted to the history and genesis of this iconic manuscript. The choirbook is first considered as an outcome, albeit an unexpected one, of the early history of Eton College: why should this choirbook have been made at this college? And why did it survive when so many others have either vanished or been reduced to tantalising fragments? Chapters 2–7 are devoted to the choirbook as a physical artefact, how it came to assume its present form, and what might have been the factors behind its copying. The second, third and fourth chapters concern the physical state of the choirbook: how it was put together, and how its eventual use was anticipated. Chapter 5 is a first attempt to classify the illuminated initials which, by virtue of their high quality and pictorial inventiveness, are one of the chief attributes of this manuscript. After the painting of illuminations, the final step in the making of the choirbook was its binding; the present binding post-dates the main body of the choirbook by at least half a century, the implications of which are discussed in Chapter 7. Preceding this, Chapter 6 is a discussion of the likely costs incurred in the making of the choirbook, the identities of potential donors, and the chronology (which can be pin-pointed with some confidence to the first few years of the sixteenth century).

The focus in the remaining three chapters shifts beyond the manuscript itself towards its component repertory, towards some of the most widely distributed Marian texts, and towards those manuscripts with which the Eton Choirbook is most directly comparable and to which it is most closely related (Chapter 10). Many of these music manuscripts are cited in other chapters: for the sake of clarity, they are identified either by RISM sigla (see Abbreviations above) or by a short title in small capitals, such as 'ETON'. The Catalogue of Compositions (Chapter 8) gives essential information on each piece, including references to recent secondary sources. Synopses of motet texts are given in this chapter, while selected case studies are considered in greater detail in Chapter 9 (most notably the eponymous *Salve regina*), in which the apparently refined soundscape of the Eton Choirbook is placed within a wider 'popular' tradition.

This project could not have taken place without the kindness and collaboration of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College, and I am most grateful to them for permission to publish this facsimile. I should like to thank in particular: Penny Hatfield, College Archivist, who has provided expert advice and unstinting help over nearly twenty years, Michael Meredith, Paul Quarrie, Nick Baker and Rachel Bond. Ralph Allwood, precentor of Eton, has over many years lent a timely hand, most recently in helping to track down the origins of the present song school, with help from Philip Tilbury and Tim Woods (the present structure dates from 1921; the location of its precursor remains uncertain).

This project would have been impossible without help from my colleagues in the music department at Newcastle University: the year 2009–10 has been no less pressured and uncertain than any other, and I am very grateful for their willingness to share my responsibilities as head of department. In particular I should like to record my thanks to David Clarke, Ian Biddle, Peter Stone, Henrike Lähnemann, Robert Moles, and Olivia Cameron; my thanks also to Alex Murchie for sharing her botanical expertise.

Specialist advice and assistance have been received from many colleagues, not least Nicolas Barker, Margaret Bent, Timothy Day, Theodor Dumitrescu, Fabrice Fitch, Sally Harper, Andrew Kirkman, Beth Lee-de Amici, David Mateer, Erwin Rauner, David Skinner, Jonathan Wainwright and Ronald Woodley. I should like to record my thanks to them, and to Robin Darwall-Smith, archivist of Magdalen College, Oxford, Philippa Marks, Curator of Bindings at the British Library, Dawn Dyer of the Bristol Reference Library, Bruce Barker-Benfield of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and Dr John Cox, headmaster of Guildford Grammar School.

I should also like to thank my colleagues on the editorial committee of Early English Church Music, not least Peter Wright and John Harper, whose practical support is deeply appreciated. A tower of strength for EECM, Tim Symons has also proof-read most of the letter-press for this volume, which has benefited from David Hiley's shrewd scrutiny in its latter stages. I am not quite sure how to thank Nicolas Bell, *inter alia* Curator of Music Manuscripts at the British Library, who has read through the whole text of this edition at several stages, with good grace and unerring judgement. His guidance, from questions of graphic layout to the exact citation of Carmelite service books, has been indispensable.

A little over twelve months ago, a long-held ambition, to publish a full-colour facsimile of the Eton Choirbook, was transformed from a vague aspiration into an urgently realisable priority. Nearly all the credit for this happy reversal of fortunes is owed to DIAMM: very special thanks must therefore go to Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey, DIAMM's founders. No-one has done more than Julia Craig-McFeely to bring this volume to publication, however. From first discussions to final proofing, Julia has clear-sightedly masterminded the whole process; she has devoted her expertise unstintingly, always ready to accommodate requests, however pedantic or untimely, and heroically tactful in awaiting successive instalments of somewhat belated letter-press. For her extraordinary efforts I am profoundly grateful.

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NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE
JUNE 2010

INTRODUCTION

The Eton Choirbook in Context

The modern history of the Eton Choirbook can be traced to the late nineteenth century. It was brought into the public domain for the first time since the middle of the sixteenth century by Montague Rhodes James, the indefatigable Etonian philologist who had first laid eyes on the manuscript during his schooldays, and who included an imperfect, but formative, description of the choirbook in his *Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Eton College*, which was published in 1895.¹ Subsequent studies, by William Barclay Squire, Dom Anselm Hughes, Neil Ker, Frank Harrison and later generations of scholars and musicians, have all been built upon James's foundations to one extent or another.²

Before 1895, the manuscript appears to have been almost entirely ignored. Although two musicians made transcriptions from the choirbook towards the middle of the eighteenth century, neither the book nor its contents were mentioned by the music historians Charles Burney and Sir John Hawkins;³ the choirbook apparently escaped attention throughout the seventeenth century (which, given the religious politics of the time, may have contributed to its long-term survival).

Looking backwards, the trail picks up again in 1594, when John Baldwin of Windsor copied music direct from the choirbook which was then approaching its first centenary;⁴ the 'grete ledger of prick song secundo folio *tum cuncta*', which was listed in a chapel inventory of c. 1531 and which can certainly be identified with the Eton Choirbook, gives a securely verifiable sighting in the middle of Henry VIII's reign;⁵ before 1531, however, we must rely upon a combination of codicological and contextual evidence which, though circumstantial, places the genesis of the manuscript unambiguously at Eton College in the first years of the sixteenth century. The palaeographical evidence will be considered in the next chapter; here the choirbook will be considered as the product of circumstances prevailing at Eton College between 1440 and the Reformation.

A Royal Foundation: 1440–1461

The Eton Choirbook, henceforward *ETON*, was made at or for Eton College in the first years of the sixteenth century, between around 1500 and 1504.⁶ By the time of *ETON*'s compilation, the 60-year-old Eton College had experienced extreme swings of fortune: unequalled wealth during the 1440s and 1450s, dissolution and then a grudging restoration in the 1460s, followed by a long climb back to respectable (but not yet spectacular) affluence during the last quarter of the fifteenth century. The story begins with a decision made in the summer of 1440 by the 18-year-old Henry VI, the first and final heir of the Anglo-French dual monarchy, to found a collegiate church commemorating his assumption of majority rule. The college was to be located in the small Buckinghamshire town of Eton on the north side of the River Thames, at the southern tip of the large diocese of Lincoln; Eton lay in clear sight of the royal residence, Windsor Castle, which stood barely a mile away on the opposite bank of the Thames; the college was to take its dedication from that of the parish church around which it was constituted, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (BVM). Henry's plans were put on a formal footing in letters patent which he issued at Sheen Palace on 11 October 1440, providing for a community of 72 people.⁷ A few months later, in February 1441, Henry founded another college further afield, in the university town of Cambridge; to begin with, King's College and Eton College were separate entities.

Eton College was initially conceived as an 'ecclesiastical college' serving three functions: intercession, education and charity.⁸ The college was above all a chantry, intended to maintain an unceasing, and publicly conspicuous, round of prayer for the soul of its founder and his dynasty. The founder's father, Henry V, had proved a model ruler both in battle and at prayer: until his early death in 1422, the victor of Agincourt had fostered a dynastic culture of militant orthodoxy and pious largesse, manifested in his persecution of Lollardy and his patronage of the fashionably ascetic Bridgettine and Carthusian orders.⁹ Eton College originated as a conventional expression of this same Lancastrian orthodoxy, but during the decade following its foundation it developed in ways that would ultimately (if circuitously) prepare the ground for the making of its choirbook sixty years later.

In July 1441, Henry VI visited Winchester College, the large educational college which had been founded in the 1380s by William Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, and which was formally twinned with New College, Oxford. This visit evidently had a profound impact upon the king's plans. A few months later, in March 1442, Henry promoted William Waynflete at short notice from the headmastership of Winchester to the provostship of Eton. Henry Sever, Henry's first nominee as provost, had made little headway, and Waynflete brought experience and a renewed sense of purpose to the scheme. In September 1443, Eton and King's College, Cambridge, were formally conjoined in emulation of Winchester and New College, Oxford, allowing for the progression of scholars from Eton to King's, and of choristers from King's to Eton.¹⁰ The first set of statutes (ECL, MS 300), first drafted in December 1443 but incorporating subsequent piecemeal emendations,¹¹ clearly show Waynflete's influence upon the king's evolving project: the number of scholars was increased from 25 to 70 and choristers from six to 16, in both cases bringing Eton into line with Wykehamist precedent. Substantial parts of the 1443 statutes, and the *Liber Originalis* of 1449 which superseded them, were drawn directly and verbatim from Wykeham's exemplary statutes for Winchester College.¹²

But the chantry foundation remained central to Henry's plans as it had been at the outset: the school grew in size at the expense, not of the intercessory, but of the charitable function of the college. By 1449, the bedeshouse had morphed from a community of 25 broken old bachelors into a smaller group of 13 poor or lame youths whose duties were largely menial, but whose eventual destination might be the priesthood.¹³ During the 1440s, Henry's intentions became increasingly grandiose: with each revision of his plans, the imagined buildings grew in size, eventually encompassing a great cloister 200 feet in length, a free-standing belfry and a collegiate 'minster' church of cathedral dimensions, but similar in shape to the great parish church of St Botolph in Boston.¹⁴ A comparison of the original letters patent of 1440 with the two sets of statutes of 1443 and 1449 shows clearly how the number of ministers serving this church grew accordingly, and continued to grow even after the size of the school, following well-tried Wykehamist precedent, had settled at 70 scholars and 16 choristers:

⁸ Davis 1993, 35.

⁹ Selway 1994; Beckett 1992. Henry V himself had followed long-established Lancastrian models of pious foundation, in particular St Mary Newarke College, Leicester (Thompson 1937; Selway 1994, 35).

¹⁰ ECR 39/30 (15 September 1443: deed providing for preferential election of scholars from Eton to King's). The formal pact or *Amicabilis Concordia* of 1444 made between Eton, Winchester, King's and New Colleges implicitly acknowledged the conceptual debt of the king's plans to Wykeham's model.

¹¹ ECL, MS 300 (dating follows Davis 1993, 38–39).

¹² ECR 60/1/1. The finalised statutes (*Liber Originalis*) were drafted later than reckoned in *Ancient Laws* and accepted in Harrison 1953, 155. MS 300, containing the draft statutes, was returned to Eton College from St John's College, Cambridge, following its rediscovery in 1976. Noel Blakiston and Roger Bowers give a final date for the *Liber Originalis* of 1452–53 (ECR 58, ii; Bowers 1975, A029).

¹³ The statutes also imply a close relationship between the yeomen clerks and the 13 poor youths, with some overlap of their duties.

¹⁴ On the building of Eton: Willis/Clark 1886, 313–405; Knoop/Jones 1933; HKW 2, 279–92. The chapel as finally projected was to be 318 feet in length, while St Botolph's measures 282 feet; in January 1449, Roger Keys, sometime warden of All Souls College, Oxford, and supervisor of works at Eton, took measurements, almost certainly as comparative guidelines for the new chapel, from Salisbury and Winchester Cathedrals.

¹ James 1895, 108–12; in 1916 R. R. Terry asserted that the choirbook 'lay derelict till the present Provost [of Eton], then a schoolboy, discovered it' (Andrews 1948, 122); James was a king's scholar, 1876–82. For evaluations of M. R. James as schoolboy, provost, writer of ghost stories, and as author of a prolific stream of library catalogues, see Dennison 2001.

² See Squire 1898; Hughes/DomA 1926; Ker *MMLB* 2, 773–74; Harrison 1953, and *Discography* p. 84.

³ See below p. 12.

⁴ *E93*: see below, *Catalogue of Compositions* p. 53.

⁵ James 'Inventories' 1921, 447: see facsimile, opening a.2^r/f. 2

⁶ See *Structure and Compilation* p. 22.

⁷ *Bekynton Correspondence* 2, 279–85; land had already been purchased in Eton in August 1440. The following paragraphs are indebted to Lyte 1911; Davis 1993, 35–45 and 75–77; Selway 1994, 223–42; and Watts 1996.

Table 1.1. Constitutions of Eton College as projected in the 1440s (chapel ministers in bold), with an early Tudor sample year

Letters patent (1440)	MS 300 (1443–48)	<i>Liber Originalis</i> (1449)	Sample year: 1509–10 (ECR 61/NR/6)	Specific attributes (as in <i>Liber Originalis</i>) ¹⁵
provost	provost	provost	Roger Lupton	head of college and rector of Eton, having cure of souls for both college and parish; responsible for appointment of schoolmaster, usher and instructor of choristers; presided in chapel on principal feasts. Portion: £70. ¹⁶
10 fellows	10 fellows	10 fellows	7 fellows	'sufficient in letters'; skilled in reading and song; Bachelor or Master of Divinity, or Doctor of Canon Law; administered college (as vice-provost, bursars or precentor); recited Vespers in nave of chapel on ferias. Portion: £10.
schoolmaster	schoolmaster	schoolmaster	schoolmaster	<i>Informator scolorum</i> : Master of Arts; 'adequately learned in grammar' and able to teach it; taught and oversaw scholars, choristers learning grammar, commensals and others. Portion: 24 marks (£16).
	usher	usher	usher	Bachelor of Arts; 'sufficiently learned', unmarried, not ordained; assisted the schoolmaster. Portion: 10 marks (£6 13s. 4d.).
4 clerks	[6 chaplains]	10 chaplains	6 chaplains	graduates if possible; 'adequately instructed in song, suitably and well qualified in their voices to serving and singing daily in the choir there'; one of them to act as succentor. Stipend: 100s. (£5).
	4 gentlemen clerks ¹⁷	4 gentlemen clerks	4 clerks on upper table (incl. Robert Wylkynson)	skilled in reading and song, and also polyphony; at least one to be an organist (who was permitted to marry), and one to act as instructor of choristers (<i>Informator choristarum</i>); dined at gentlemen's table. Stipend: six marks (£4) or £6 for instructor.
	parish clerk	parish clerk	parish clerk	competent reader and singer, knowing the Sarum Ordinal and college customary; to perform duties expected of a parish clerk; dined with servants; preferably to be recruited from among the king's scholars. Stipend: five marks (£3 6s. 8d.) over and above parish collection. ¹⁸
	sub-sacrist	vestry clerk	2 clerks on lower table	competent in reading and song. Stipend: five marks (£3 6s. 8d.).
25 scholars	70 scholars	70 scholars	56 scholars	sufficient in reading and singing; two of them assisted the vestry clerk and two the parish clerk, 'principally in the ringing of bells'; might be recruited from among bedesmen. Stipends by negotiation with provost (but evidently lower than other clerks').
6 choristers	16 choristers	16 choristers	9 choristers	king's scholars to be competently instructed in reading, song and Donatus; ¹⁹ between eight and 12 years old on admission (or up to 17 if academically suitable); some to be elected from among choristers of Eton and King's; left Eton before 19 th birthday, unless awaiting admission to King's College, Cambridge.
25 bedesmen	13 bedesmen	13 bedesmen	?	capable of reading and song; 12 years or younger on admission; those who had reached the right stage of learning (grammar) were taught alongside the scholars by the schoolmaster.
	20 commensals	20 commensals	7 commensals	unmarried men: either old and broken ²⁰ or lame youths aged 16–20, but may be retained until 25 if either fit for instruction in the college's grammar school (preparatory for ordination to priesthood), or able to transcribe books for the fellows. Served fellows in their chambers; cleaned chapel and hall, gardened, helped with bell-ringing.
				sons of gentlemen; learned grammar alongside scholars.
72	146	154	95 approx.	

¹⁵ ECR 58, 3–5, 28, 39–41, 48–56, 63–64, 97–98 and 177.

¹⁶ Portions and stipends omit allowances for commons and doles at obits.

¹⁷ See below; the distinction between gentlemen and yeomen clerks mirrors the hierarchy of deacon/gentleman and subdeacon/yeoman clerks in the statutes of 1415 for Fotheringhay College (Fotheringhay Statutes, 273), which was maintained there until 1470 or later (Northampton, Northamptonshire Record Office, MS Westmoreland Apethorpe 5.V.I).

¹⁸ Taking both parish contributions and supplementary salary into account, the parish clerk's combined income would have exceeded those of his colleagues, perhaps including the instructor of the choristers (see Burgess 2002, 312–13; Christie 1893, 18–22). A specific example of this method of payment, from All

Saints', Bristol (where worked William Brygeman, composer of E16), can be found in Bristol All Saints 1, 2. Under thirteenth-century canon law, parish clerks (or holy water clerks) had been late teenagers currently in education and on the road towards ordination to priesthood (i.e. below 24 years old); shortly before the foundation of Eton, William Lyndwood had re-affirmed this principle in the Provinciale; the general trend towards the laicisation of the role, however, had proved insuperable by the end of the fifteenth century (Bede Roll, xiv–xvi; Clerk's Book, xli; Orme 2001).

¹⁹ Elementary Latin grammar (Orme 2006, 86f).

²⁰ The original intention, for a community of old men, was superseded, but not fully expunged from later drafts of the statutes.

If divine worship was central to Henry's plans, nowhere was this more clearly, or more clear-sightedly, expressed than in the contingency plans he made to ensure the college's survival in times of economic hardship. Should its endowments fail, Henry set out a 13-step programme of savings, salary cuts and redundancies, which was rehearsed in detail in Article 61, the concluding part of the *Liber Originalis* as first drafted.²¹ After all the economies had been implemented under Article 61, the college would be reduced to a rump of fellows and scholars. In one of three codicils added to the *Liber Originalis*, however, Henry made a characteristic, but revealing, change of mind. Here, written on a separate parchment membrane signed by the king himself, Article 64 envisaged an irreducible core, not of fellows and scholars, but of four chaplains, the four gentleman clerks (including the instructor of the choristers), and eight of the 16 choristers. In other words, even if collapsing revenues had put its future in doubt, the college's indispensable obligation was to maintain the full cycle of daily Masses and Office and the nightly *Salve*, complete with polyphonic music.

The composition and duties of Eton's choral foundation were defined in the mid-1440s, the first statutes of 1443 providing snapshots of a scheme in successive stages of formation. From the start, this foundation comprised a core of lay clerks and choristers: originally five lay clerks, three of them gentlemen clerks competent in singing polyphony (one of them to act as instructor of the choristers), plus a vestry clerk and a parish clerk (who was to be well instructed in chant and conversant with the Sarum Ordinal and the college's own customary).²² But the 1443 statutes include numerous emendations which evidently continued to be made until 1448: the number of polyphonists was increased from three to four ('tres' simply being over-written with 'quatuor'); at least one of these clerks was now to be expert in playing the organ; six chaplains, subordinate to the fellows and equivalent in status and role to vicars choral, were added after the first draft had been begun (the decision was effected in March 1448, when five chaplains were appointed simultaneously);²³ salary scales were revised upwards; and the description of the daily liturgical cycle was so extensively revised that the annotations completely fill the original margins of the manuscript.²⁴ Among the original contents, however, was a description, much amended but clearly recognisable, of the *Salve* ceremony for which ETON would be copied:²⁵

Preterea volumus et eciam ordinamus quod singulis diebus ad vesperam tempore congruenciori secundum quod preposito vel in eius absentia vicepreposito magis videbitur conveniens [.xv]. choriste nostri collegii...bini et bini superpellicis induti ordinati intrent ecclesiam, informatore choristarum eos comitante...genuflexi coram ymagyne crucifixi dixerunt Pater noster surgentes coram ymagyne beate virginis decantent in tempore quadragesimali in quo tempore simul cum eisdem omnes scolares nostri collegii similiter indutos in diebus pro festis presentes esse volumus antiphonam illam Salve regina cum suis versiculis extra vero xlam unam aliam antiphonam de eandem beate virgine meliori modo quo sciverint similiter decantent cum versiculo Ave maria etc. cum oracione]

We will and ordain moreover that, each day at Vespers, at a time deemed appropriate by the provost or, in his absence, the vice-

provost [the 16 choristers of our college... shall enter the church two-by-two, wearing surplices [and] accompanied by the instructor of the choristers...having knelt before the rood, they shall say *Pater noster* and, on rising, shall sing before the image of the BVM the antiphon *Salve regina* with its versicles during Lent (at which time, at least on the eves of feast days, all the scholars of our college should attend, wearing surplices); outside of Lent, they should likewise sing another antiphon to the BVM in the best manner which they know, with the versicle *Ave Maria* and prayer]²⁶

Here we see the outline of the *Salve* ceremony in its settled form: it took place nightly in front of the image of the BVM in the nave of the chapel, it involved the 16 choristers and their master (but no other lay clerks and no chaplains apparently);²⁷ it was sometimes attended by the scholars; and the antiphon *Salve regina* was specifically ear-marked for recitation during Lent.

There can be little doubt that the statutes as devised in the 1440s provided the ritual framework within which ETON was used 60 years later, even allowing for subsequent developments (including, most importantly, the attendance of adult singers at the *Salve*, something not envisaged in the 1440s but evidently enforced 50 years later). But the journey from the statutes of the 1440s to the choirbook of the 1500s was far from direct, its eventual destination unforeseeable. The first decade seemed to bode well: by 1450, building work was well advanced, the community had been recruited more or less to the numbers specified in the statutes, revenues were flowing in from the college's estates, the choir was evidently functioning as intended (indeed, the number of singers exceeded the founder's requirements), and polyphonic music was being sung and played, as indicated by the contents of an inventory made in 1465.²⁸ None of this polyphonic repertory survives, although the contents of EGERTON 3307, most probably copied c. 1450 for use at St George's, Windsor, gives a clear picture of the music sung at Eton's neighbouring and, at this time, broadly comparable choral foundation.²⁹

The college's nascent choral tradition was boosted with the appointment of Henry Abyndon as lay clerk in March 1447,³⁰ barely a month after his previous employer, the king's paternal uncle, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, had died while under arrest in Bury St Edmunds.³¹ Abyndon enjoyed a distinguished subsequent career: as a gentleman of the Chapel Royal (from 1451) and as a client of one of Eton's leading courtly sponsors, Thomas Beckington, bishop of Bath and Wells and erstwhile protégé of Duke Humphrey, who promulgated statutes for the governance of the choristers and vicars choral of Wells Cathedral in 1459/60.³² In 1464

²⁶ The text in brackets was over-written by the original scribe of MS 300 over a substantial erasure; the remainder of the rubric immediately following, which concerned the responses, psalm and benefactor's prayer that concluded the *Salve* (corresponding with *Ancient Laws*, 555–56 or ECR 58, 108–09), was added later.

²⁷ Also included in MS 300 is the requirement that the number 16 be maintained if necessary by the addition of scholars to the choristers' procession (see below), and that the bell be rung beforehand except on Maundy Thursday or Good Friday. Given the ambiguous and inconsistent drafting of this part of the statutes, it is likely that Eton followed the examples of Pleshey College, Essex (c. 1395), and St Mary's Abbey, York, where the *Salve* itself (and not just the preceding bell-ringing) was suspended during the *Triduum* (*GB-Lna* DL 41/10/44, f. 5, and Roper 1993, 151). Even in their finalised form, which remained nominally in force until 1871, the 1449 statutes contained numerous *lacunae* and ambiguities, evidently stemming from the difficulty of integrating, within an intricate *mille-feuille* of regulations, three separate but interdependent and continuously evolving entities (school, chapel, bedehouse). The rules governing each of these entities, moreover, were reliant upon different precedents; a parallel case, also involving William Waynflete (who left Eton in 1447, before the work of synthesis had been fully accomplished), can be seen at Tattershall College, whose mid-fifteenth-century statutes were a conflation from several exemplars: Manchester College; St Stephen's, Westminster; Fotheringhay College and, 'because of yordians for ye Almos hous & for ye pore men in especial', Whittington College in London (Maidstone, Kent Archives, U1475 Q/20).

²⁸ James, 'Inventories' 1921, 443 (inventory of goods transferred to St George's, Windsor, 1465): 'Item a boke of prykyd song [secundo folio] *illud et* ... Item a nother boke of prikked song [secundo folio] *beata dei* ... Item a boke for organys [secundo folio] *laris qui*'.

²⁹ See Antecedents ... p. 73, the setting of *Gaude flore virginali* in *GB-Lbl* 54324, if identifiable as E44 (Dunstable), had almost certainly been assimilated into the college's repertory around 1447 (see below, p. 9, n. 79).

³⁰ ECR 61/AR/A/2 (audit roll, 1446–47).

³¹ Bowers 1975, A027; Abyndon stayed at Eton until transferred to the Chapel Royal in 1451, but continued to receive salary until 1453x54.

³² NG2 (Abyndon); *ODNB* (Beckington); Bowers 1975, A041n (preferments granted by Beckington to Abyndon: in 1447 (succentor of Wells Cathedral), 1458 (canon of Wells) and 1464). Beckington had been consecrated bishop in the old church of Eton in October 1443. *Wells Cathedral Miscellanea*, 98–109 and 139–49. The statutes for the chorister school had been drafted by Robert Cator, instructor of choristers there, in the years preceding 1460.

²¹ ECR 58, 197–200. Henry's economies are a model of orderly and equitable retrenchment. As fully elaborated in Article 61, the easy economies came first: two progressive diminutions in the commons (or refectory) budget; next the provost's and fellows' salaries were cut to 75% and then 50% of their norm; the clothing allowance was then withdrawn, followed by a further reduction in commons. Only after the failure of these collectively distributable cuts were redundancies made: firstly the bedesmen; secondly the four gentlemen clerks; then the chaplains and the remaining clerks; then the 16 choristers, and finally the fellows and scholars in succession (seven scholars to each fellow). Article 64 amended, but did not entirely supersede, Article 61: the critical difference made by the emendations was the priority given to the choral foundation.

²² ECL, MS 300, f. xv (*Qui et quales sunt in clericos dicti nostri Collegii assumendi et de eorum stipendiis*).

²³ ECR 61/AR/A/3 (audit roll, 1447–48). One of the few failings of Winchester College as a model for Eton, no doubt familiar to Waynflete from his own experience, had been the unsustainable obligation upon college fellows both to be active administrators and to maintain the daily round of worship in chapel (Bowers 1975, 4014); on the domestic economy of Winchester College, see Harwood 2008.

²⁴ ECL, MS 300, ff. xv (ut supra), xxvj^v (*De modo et temporibus dicendi missas et horas canonicas in ecclesia dicti Collegii ac ordine standi in choro*), and xxvij (*De numero capellanorum, clericorum et choristarum ac de officii, serviciis et stipendiis eorundem*).

²⁵ ECL, MS 300, f. xxvj^v (*De precibus et oracionibus ac aliis suffragiis per prepositum, sacerdotes socios <capellanos>, clericos, scolares et choristas <ac .xiiij. juvenes> singulis diebus dicendis*). The text in question has no antecedent in the Winchester statutes (perhaps explaining its less-than-straightforward gestation in MS 300). Its nearest equivalents are in the statutes of more recent collegiate foundations such as Fotheringhay College, Northants (1415) and Stoke-by-Clare, Suffolk (1419) (Bowers 1975, 4059–64 and 5083–84).

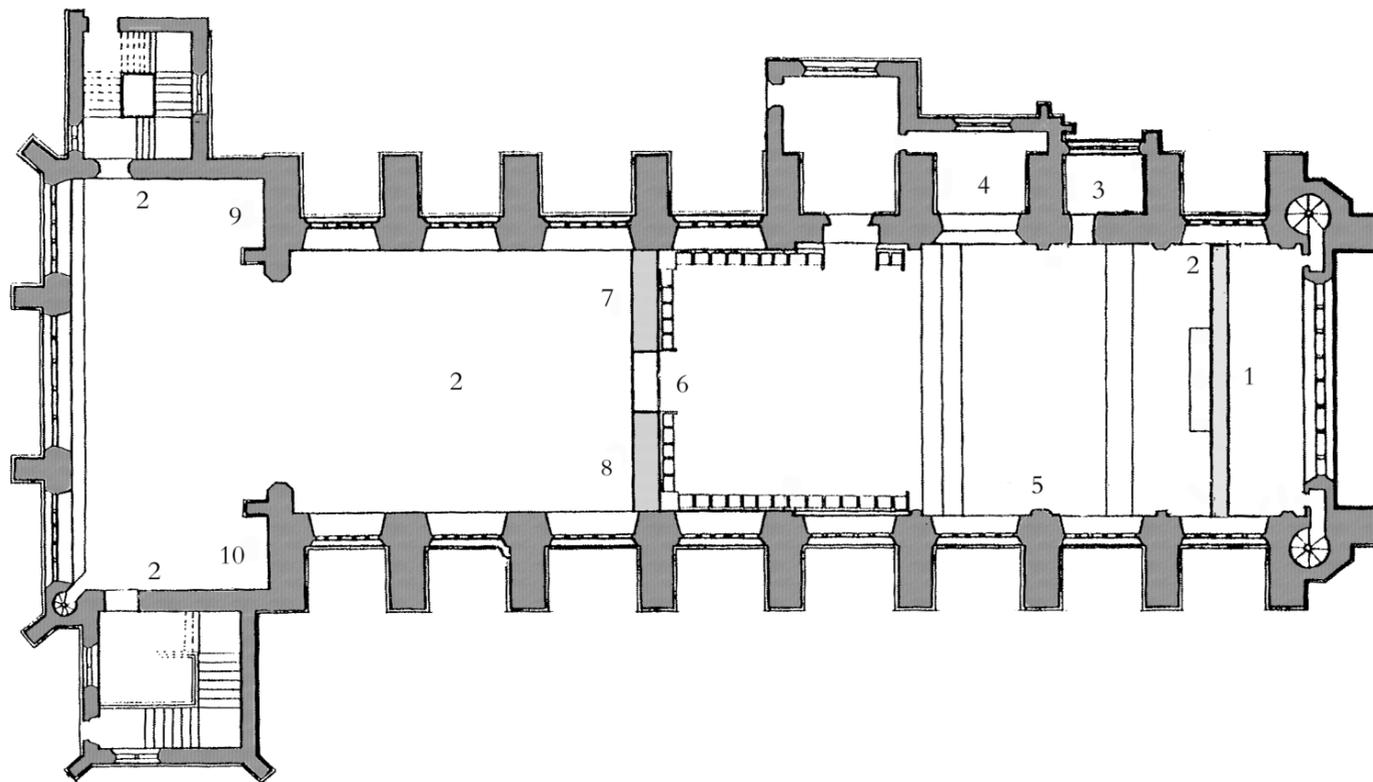


Plate 1.1. Eton College Chapel: early sixteenth-century floor-plan (adapted from a plan by Andrew Martindale based on an original plan by Willis/Clarke)

KEY

- 1 High altar (with reredos behind)
- 2 Images of the BVM: north of high altar; besides NW (college) and SW (parish) doors; and in the middle of the nave, where surrounded by wall paintings, in the space where the *Salve* took place
- 3 Vestry
- 4 Provost Roger Lupton's chantry chapel (after 1505)

- 5 Organ
- 6 Choir screen (with rood loft above, containing organ, reading desk and book chest)
- 7 Altar of the BVM
- 8 Altar of St Nicholas
- 9 Altar of St Peter
- 10 Altar of St Katherine

Abyndon received the MusB degree from Cambridge University (he is the first known holder of this degree), and was master of the boys of the Chapel Royal from 1455 until 1478 when he was succeeded by Gilbert Banaster (see E35). If he was a pioneer in the incorporation of trained boys' voices within choral polyphony, as has been suggested, Abyndon's secondment to Eton during its formative early years is suggestive.³³

Stalled progress on the collegiate building site gave concrete warning of future troubles, however. In the early stages, progress had been rapid and purposeful. The north and east ranges of the domestic buildings, begun in 1441, were complete as early as 1444; work began on the chapel in 1443 whose shell was largely complete by the time of Waynflete's departure in 1447, but in February and March 1448 new designs were drawn up, entirely superseding the existing ones. The 'King's Will' of 12 March 1448 projected buildings on a much greater scale;³⁴ but this was superseded in turn by the 'King's Avyse', drafted early in 1449, which established the ground-plan for a wholly new and, in the event, wholly unrealisable building complex, far exceeding the accommodation needs of the college even in its expanded form.³⁵ The 'King's Avyse' entailed demolition of much of the recently completed work and, although £3,666 was spent on works under the supervision of Roger Keys between 1448 and 1453, the ambitious 'Avisse' was never realised.

If Henry's vacillation caused the construction programme to stall, a wider political malaise, again largely his responsibility, was to bring the college to ruin. In 1449–50, just as the new college chapel started to rise above ground level, the crown was engulfed in a crisis of such severity that 'the authority of the king and lords momentarily, but entirely, collapsed'.³⁶ The sensational murder of William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, in May 1450 removed a leading royal counsellor and one of the college's most active patrons;³⁷ it also marked a turning-point towards dynastic conflict that was to culminate in the king's deposition in 1461 and Eton's dissolution a few years later. Building work continued during the 1450s, but at a slower pace and to less exacting specifications. The prevailing

ethos became one of making-do: the chapel's large east window was assembled from ill-fitting stonework originally carved for its smaller forerunner; wherever possible, brick and clunch were substituted in place of more expensive Taynton limestone; the great cloister and 140-foot belfry envisaged in the 'King's Avyse' were abandoned, and only the chancel of the 'minster' chapel built. Burdened by unfunded expectations, by the time of its founder's eventual deposition in March 1461, Eton had become a white elephant.

Dissolution and Recovery: 1463–1500

On 13 November 1463, Edward IV secured a Papal Bull annexing Eton to St George's, Windsor. Its impact was almost immediate: four of the six fellows departed the college at Christmas, leaving behind only the provost and the schoolmaster; as envisaged in the founder's revised attrition plan, a core of chapel ministers remained *in situ* until Michaelmas 1464 or later, but the better-paid singers had already flown the nest.³⁸ However, the year 1465–66 was to bring a dramatic reversal of fortunes. In September 1465, Provost William Westbury surrendered the college's chattels, deeds and seals to the dean of Windsor, John Faukes, at which point the college effectively ceased to exist.³⁹ For 12 months and more, the college remained closed until, in a seemingly inexplicable change of heart, Edward relented and Eton was restored. Late in the autumn of 1466 the community began to re-assemble.⁴⁰ There was no hope of a full-scale restoration, however: neither full restitution of the previous endowments nor an early return to royal favour could realistically be expected.

What were the factors that enabled Eton College, so apparently attenuated and precarious in 1466, to sustain a choral tradition which would attain the highest levels of virtuosity within three decades? However

³³ Abyndon's presence has its mirror image at Cambridge, with the near-simultaneous secondment of William Boston from the Chapel Royal to King's College (Bowers 1995, 2011).

³⁴ A parchment fragment has been ingeniously (and compellingly) identified by John Goodall as an intermediate sketch for this design (Goodall 2001b).

³⁵ Goodall 2002, 252–53.

³⁶ Watts 1996, 205.

³⁷ Suffolk's own chantry foundation at Ewelme shared several significant attributes with Eton, including an almshouse for 13 and a grammar school; but for his murder, Suffolk may have turned Ewelme into a feeder school for a university college, in the mould of Winchester or Eton (Goodall 2001, 28–31).

³⁸ ECR 61/BD/C/1; four chaplains reduced to three in the summer of 1464; of the four clerks present throughout 1463–64 (compared with eight in 1460–61), only one was paid anything approaching the former salary for a *clericus generosus* (as opposed to four, the statutory number, in 1460–61). Singers leaving Eton in the early 1460s included Adam Roke, who transferred to St George's, Windsor, in 1462 and briefly returned to Eton in 1467–68, probably as instructor of the choristers; also Richard Lessy, who left Eton in 1461 for the household of Cecily, Duchess of York (Bowers 1975, A043; Williamson 1997a, 482; Emden *BRUC*, 364).

³⁹ The contents of the indenture between Westbury and Faukes (dated 7 September 1465), which take the form of an inventory, are in James 'Inventories'.

⁴⁰ The chronology of Eton's temporary closure is elucidated in Bowers 1975, A042–43.

unlikely it might have seemed to those who joined the college in the late 1460s, the unusual circumstances of its foundation conferred upon the college several significant advantages during its decades of recovery: royal identity and courtly connections; a prime location near the royal residence of Windsor; a dynamic network of institutional and personal contacts with both universities; a tripartite constitution which combined the educational dynamism of Winchester with the elaborate ritual apparatus of more recent foundations; and cure of souls within the town of Eton which meant that, until the nineteenth century, the college chapel also served as parish church. Some of these factors were more obviously advantageous than others, but they would all define the circumstances in which ETON was copied and used.

The college's restoration raised two logistical problems, both of which compromised the founder's vision of the late 1440s. Shorn of many of its endowments, the college suffered a precipitate drop in income from £1,333 (1461) to £321 (1467); thereafter revenues gradually climbed upwards, reaching £626 in 1500.⁴¹ In order to complete the building works without substantial endowment income of its own, the college had to fall back on the goodwill of its erstwhile provost, William Waynflete, through whose measured munificence building work on the college chapel was brought to a completion of sorts. The abandoned nave was replaced by a cheaper, T-shaped ante-chapel; the rood screen, when built in 1476, was placed three bays east of its originally intended location, so as to leave enough room for worshipping parishioners; and a decorative scheme of wall paintings illustrating the miracles of the BVM, completed in 1487, turned this cobbled-together space into a seemly performance venue for the nightly *Salve*.⁴² The wall paintings survive (see overleaf), albeit mutilated, providing a valuable impression of the appearance of such devotionally-orientated spaces before the Reformation.

The college's stretched finances also limited the number and salaries of chapel ministers, whether chaplains or lay clerks. The college statutes, predicated upon an assumed income of over £1,000 per annum, had provided for ten chapel clerks, four of them trained singers, as well as ten chaplains. Between 1467 and 1520, significantly fewer—between five and seven lay clerks and a comparable number of chaplains—were in post at any given time.⁴³ The carefully graded distinction made in the 1449 statutes between gentlemen clerks and their lowlier colleagues, between well paid polyphonists and more modestly rewarded factotums, was now blurred.⁴⁴ By 1470, the 1449 model was in any case becoming obsolete: the polyphonic music of the second half of the century required not four soloists, as in the 1440s and before, but a larger pool of trained choral singers, with proportionately more broken than unbroken voices: normatively Triplex (boy soprano), Medius (boy alto), Contratenor (higher Tenor), Tenor (lower Tenor) and Bassus (Bass).⁴⁵

The statutory core of chapel ministers was insufficient on its own to match the resources available at Eton's competitor choral foundations: especially, from the late 1470s, the re-founded chapel of St George's, Windsor, whose well-paid singers numbered 26.⁴⁶ The copying of ETON, conversely, suggests that Eton's choral foundation was more than an effective match for its richer counterparts: the most ambitious motets contained in the choirbook were custom-written by composers working at or associated with Eton.⁴⁷ The explanation for this apparent mismatch must surely be found in the same complex constitution that had defied neat codification in the 1440s, and in particular Henry VI's provisions for the *Salve* ceremony, which were to be so germane to the copying of ETON in the 1500s.

Anticipating a potential shortfall in the number of available singers, Henry had mandated the attendance of scholars in place of the missing

choristers, such that there should always be 16—what we might call the '16 rule'.⁴⁸ Assuming it was invoked as required in the statutes, the '16 rule' would have been more or less permanently in effect between 1470 and 1540. Complete lists of choristers survive for nine scattered years, with a cluster in the 1490s:⁴⁹ in none of these years was the full number of 16 choristers maintained, the norm instead being 10–11. These persistent shortfalls, easily remediable, can be attributed neither to cost (which would have been minimal) nor to casual negligence.⁵⁰ Instead, over the course of several decades, experience taught that the college's ritual and musical requirements were best met by 10 or 11 choristers, not 16: the five or six 'missing' choristers were superfluous.⁵¹

In the 1440s the original purpose of the '16 rule' had been to ensure the ritual dignity of the *Salve* during periodic emergencies (for instance, when plague swept the neighbourhood).⁵² By the end of the century, however, the '16 rule' would also have fulfilled a more practical requirement, as witnessed by the contents of ETON (particularly E15 which was written at Eton), which required a greater number of broken voices than were notionally available.⁵³ Eton's modest core of 10–11 choristers plus five lay clerks could easily be expanded through the addition of any chaplains or fellows trained in singing polyphony,⁵⁴ and by scholars with broken voices who could be drafted in under the '16 rule'. By this simple expedient, and thanks to the flexibility inherent in the college's multifaceted constitution, a small choir could easily be transformed into a large one whenever the need arose.⁵⁵

Evidence, albeit oblique, for the operation of the '16 rule' can be found in the late 1460s, when straitened circumstances called for imaginative responses. Among those elected to king's scholarships in the late 1460s were three whose compositions were to account for 28 of the 93 compositions in ETON: Walter Lambe, Robert Hacomplaynt and, less certainly, John Browne. Walter Lambe of Salisbury, elected king's scholar in July 1467, participated in the first formal round of elections that followed the college's restoration. Nearly 16 years old when elected, he subsequently progressed not to King's but into a career as a singer, alternating between Arundel College, Sussex (1476–77 and 1490–91), and St George's, Windsor (1479–84 and 1492–1504).⁵⁶ Twelve of Lambe's compositions were copied into ETON of which five have been lost altogether:⁵⁷ the surviving pieces put him in the first rank of English composers at work in the last quarter of the century. His compositions circulated outside

⁴¹ E15 (Wylkynson), E22 (Sutton) and, arguably, E1 (Browne).

⁴² See above. In the working copy of the college statutes (ECR 60/2, f. 21^v) the relevant text of Article 30 is glossed in the margin, 'xvj'.

⁴³ ECR 61/NR/1–9: 'Nominal rolls', listing recipients of commons, one term to each side of the roll, two rolls for each year of account (asterisked years have complete sets): 1469–70, 1485–86, 1492–93*, 1493–94, 1494–95, 1509–10, 1527–28, 1536–37 and 1539–40*.

⁴⁴ Evidence for the sound administration of the college can be found in its own well-kept records, but also in the lack of serious issues raised during episcopal visitations (see Lincoln Visitations 2). Contrasting cases of maladministration can be found in the episcopal visitations of St Mary Newarke College, Leicester, in 1525 (Thompson 1937, 143–96) and of Fotheringhay College in 1530 (Lincoln Visitations 2, 147–51).

⁴⁵ The Wykehamist number of 16 choristers, replicated at Eton and Magdalen Colleges, probably began as a gesture against Lollard asceticism, but was then apparently maintained at some colleges where the number was deemed useful from an educational viewpoint (Bowers 1975, 4051–53). A laconic note made during an episcopal visitation of Eton in 1519, 'Memorandum pro numero choristarum', was not followed up: the visitor presumably spotted the shortfall but deemed it a justifiable deviation from the letter of the statutes (see below).

⁴⁶ Macklin 2010; see Texts, Books of Hours and Vernacular Piety p. 71.

⁴⁷ E93 requires at least 13 Tenor voices; E1, E8–E10 and E15 require six broken voices at a bare minimum, or twelve if the use of red underlay is taken to be-toned performance by soloists (in implicit contrast to black-texted tutti sections, sung by more than one singer to each voice-part) (see, for instance, Benham 2003, 37–44).

⁴⁸ Evidence of musical expertise among fellows and chaplains is, perhaps inevitably, sparse; John Sutton, fellow of Eton 1477–79, composed E22; Walter Smythe, fellow of Eton 1492–98 and 1501–25, bequeathed books of polyphony to Eton College in his will (see Logistics p. 50 below); John Kechyn, chaplain 1520–50, copied polyphony in 1528 and 1543; Roger Witworth, lay clerk 1525–29 and chaplain 1529–30 (a very unusual career progression at Eton), briefly acted as instructor of choristers (Williamson 1997a, 491 and 495).

⁴⁹ A striking aspect of this constitution is the vagueness of differentiation between the various collegiate categories (see above, Table 1.1): choristers versus scholars, poor youths v. yeomen clerks, yeomen clerks v. gentlemen clerks, for instance. In which case, the exact composition and size of the pre-Reformation choir at Eton cannot be determined with precision. We can see, beyond the core of paid singers, a much larger pool of competent potential participants, all of them the obligated recipients of their founder's largesse.

⁵⁰ NG2; ODNB; there seems little no reason to doubt the commonly accepted identification of Walter Lambe with the king's scholar elected in 1467 (see ODNB).

⁵¹ E3, E6, E21, E38–E40, E52, E58, E61–E63 and E73.

⁴¹ Williamson 1997a, 535–36. Although income was subject to significant year-on-year fluctuation, the long-term trajectory from 1467 to 1500 and beyond was upward.

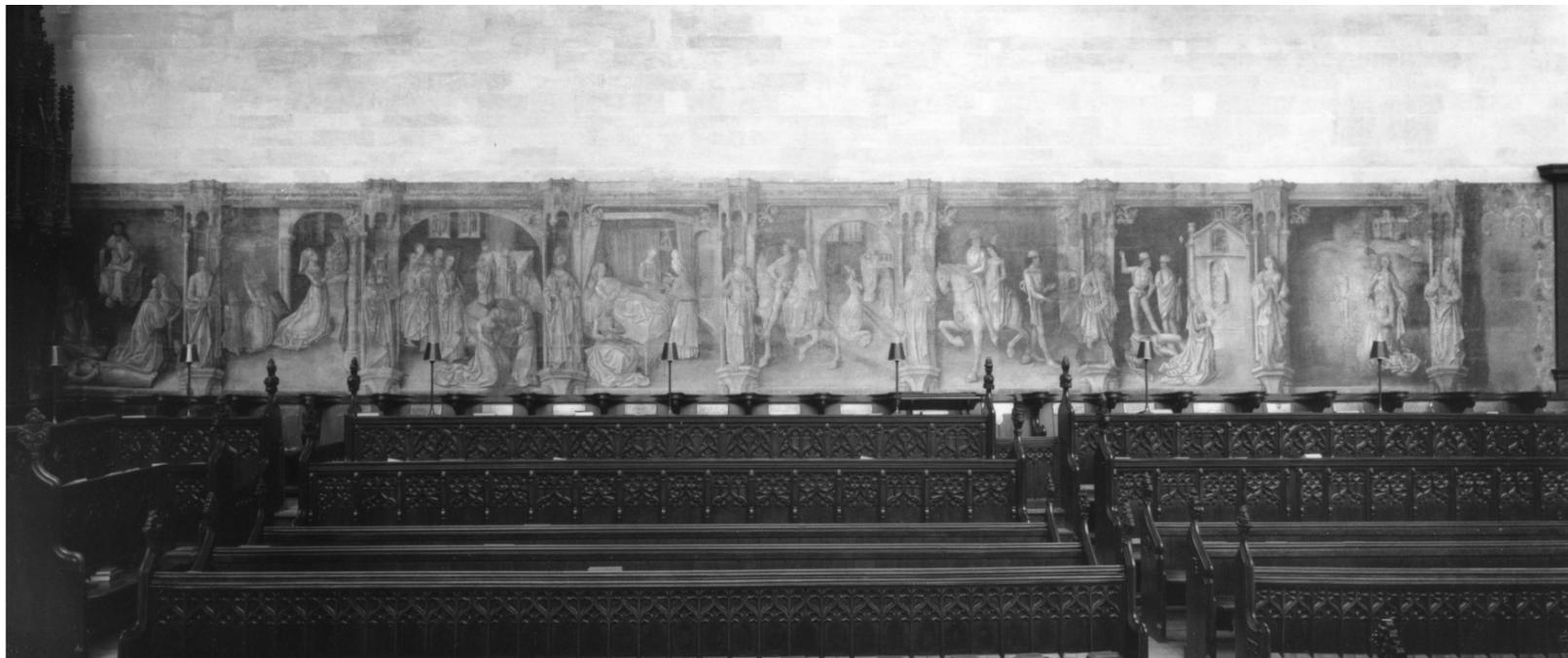
⁴² Martindale 1971; Martindale 1995; Williamson 2000a.

⁴³ Compare expenditure in chaplain's and clerks' salaries between 1449 and 1461 (in the range £57–£80) with the equivalent sums from 1467–1520 (£14–£41) (Williamson 1997a, 535–36).

⁴⁴ Annual stipends, as set out in the statutes, are given above in Table 1.1. The subordinate status of the yeomen clerks had also been reflected in their liveries and in their duties which included serving the provost's table alongside the 13 poor youths at the first mess, then dining with the servants at the second.

⁴⁵ Mid-fifteenth-century developments (the growing number of singers deployed in liturgical polyphony and the widening of the overall normative tessitura from two octaves to three) are considered in detail in Bowers 1987 and Bowers 1995c.

⁴⁶ Or 45 including vicars choral and ancillaries: 16 vicars choral (£10 each); deacon-gospeller (£6 13s. 4d.); 2 clerk-epistolers (£6 13s. 4d. each); 13 lay clerks (£10 each) and 13 boy choristers (Bowers 2001, 200). In the same sample year, 1482, Eton College retained five chaplains (£4 each) and five lay clerks at any given time (paid between 26s. 8d. and 40s. or £2 each) in addition to an unspecified number of choristers; total salaries for chapel ministers at each institution were £210 (Windsor) and £31 5s. 2d. (Eton).



Plates 1.2 & 1.3. Wall paintings illustrating miracle stories of the BVM (north side; opposite, south side). Painted during the 1480s in what was the nave

ETON, and he was evidently in demand as a composer, both at Windsor (in 1503–04) and for the chapel of Lady Margaret Beaufort in 1502.⁵⁸ Elected king's scholar in 1469 aged 13, Robert Hacomplaynt of London pursued a more conventional later career, proceeding to King's as a scholar (1472), then fellow (1475–93); he was elected to the provostship of King's in 1509 having served a Lancashire benefice in the intervening years. His *Salve regina* (E23), which was probably written before 1493, shows a firm grasp of the rhythmic and textural intricacies of the florid style. The identity of John Browne of Coventry, elected king's scholar aged 13 in July 1467 (that is, in the same cohort as Lambe), is more problematic.⁵⁹ There is no firm evidence that he was actually admitted, although his very high profile in ETON, in contrast to his near-total absence in other sources, cannot be convincingly explained except through some direct connection between Browne and Eton College.⁶⁰ Even regardless of Browne's identity, however, the number of one-time choristers receiving an education at Eton around 1470 gives a clear indication of how a viable choral tradition could be maintained without sole reliance upon expensive career singers.⁶¹

During the years of austerity, paradoxically (but not inexplicably), there passed through Eton College one of the most distinguished generations of musicians in its entire history. This was no flash in the pan: Eton's relationships with its partner institutions almost guaranteed that a continuous stream of well-trained musicians would pass through the college.⁶² Chief among these partners was King's College, Cambridge. The fruits of

the bilateral relationship between Eton and King's can be seen in the mutual transmission of repertory between the two colleges: music by Robert Hacomplaynt (E23), John Sygar (E82 and E87) and Richard Fawkyner (E13, E49 and E50) travelled from King's to Eton and at least one composition by Robert Wylkynson (E53) found its way from Eton to King's (Wylkynson's music is found in no other contemporary sources).⁶³ Opportunities for such exchange were abundant, particularly at election time, when members of King's travelled to Eton: fellows to elect scholars for admission to Cambridge, and choristers to be presented for election as scholars.

The benefits of Eton's formal relationship with King's were matched, if not eclipsed, by the college's less formalised relations with Oxford, from which the majority of Eton's fellows were recruited (the first Old Etonian fellow was not elected until 1477).⁶⁴ New College was probably the source of compositions by Edmund Turges (most probably E51, but possibly also E64, E84, E85 and E89).⁶⁵ More significant in relation to the transmission of repertory to ETON, however, was Magdalen College, founded by William Waynflete in 1458 and closely related to Eton College. John Sutton, composer of E22, had been a fellow there before his election to a fellowship at Eton in 1477;⁶⁶ in the early 1490s, Richard Davy worked as a lay clerk at Magdalen, where he wrote E30 in the space of one day.⁶⁷ The conduit for the transmission to Eton of Davy's ten works (and possibly Sutton's *Salve regina*) was Davy's Oxford colleague, Walter Smythe, who, having served as a chaplain at Magdalen, was elected fellow of Eton, serving as precentor for several years in succession (1492–98 and 1502–15).⁶⁸

⁵⁸ E3 can be found in both LAMBETH and CHOIRBOOK 2a; E73 is in CARVER; the lost E38 might be in the NEW COLLEGE FRAGMENTS and HARLEY 1709; see Antecedents p. 73 (Williamson 1997a, 500); the local contexts for Lambe's compositions are considered in *Lambeth 1* (Skinner) and Bowers 2001.

⁵⁹ Harrison *MMB*; Williamson 1997a, 497.

⁶⁰ One concordance, the Bassus part of E5, has been identified: BUXTON 96 (see Chapter 10 p. 73); Browne's 15 compositions outnumbered those of all other ETON composers: E1, E5, E7–E9, E20, E28, E45, E46, E55, E60, E68, E74, E81 and E83. On Browne's compositional range relative to those of other ETON composers, see Harrison *MMB*, Benham 1977, Fitch 2008 and Fitch 2009.

⁶¹ ECR 61/NR/1 (nominal roll, March–September 1470) has the names of 11 choristers, four of whom became king's scholars subsequently: John Porter of Canterbury; William Trende and William Michael, both of St Dunstan-in-the-East, London; and Lewis Palmer of Wells, who later remained at Eton as lay clerk (1476–1501). Among the scholars of 1470 were five ex-choristers, one of them from St George's, Windsor (William Tylle of St Magnus, London), and four from King's College, Cambridge (John Bramston of Cambridge, Clement Perchylde, Robert Ambrose of Kersey, Suffolk, and Brian Esthorpe of London) (Williamson 1997a, 497–503); in the same roll, Robert Hacomplaynt is listed 40th among the scholars. The pattern is repeated later: in 1509–10, for instance, no fewer than 12 (or approximately 20%) of the scholars had previously been choristers at King's College, Cambridge (ECR 61/NR/6); one of these (Guy Johnson) came from Fotheringhay, where King's habitually impressed boy choristers for its choir (for instance, in 1506–07) (*GB-Ckc* Mundum Book 9, 1503–04: *Custus ecclesie*, and 1506–07: *Exhibicio choristarum* and *Custus equitancium*). The impressment of choristers is considered in Bowers 1991, 189–91 (Cardinal Wolsey) and Bowers 2001, 204–06 (St George's, Windsor).

⁶² For instance, in addition to those named above, and Robert Wylkynson (see below): Robert Wydowe: king's scholar c. 1460–64; Oxford BMus by 1479 and career ecclesiastic; Richard Hampshire: chorister, St George's, Windsor (1474–79),

king's scholar (1479–83), and later lay clerk at King's College, Cambridge (1486–87) and St George's, Windsor (1489–1509x15; he was instructor of choristers, 1493–1504; and probably wrote 'Lett serch your myndis': *FAYRFAX*); Robert Cotterell: king's scholar (c. 1479–83), and later clerk and instructor of choristers, Fotheringhay College (1505–30), who composed a setting of the Nunc dimittis antiphon *O rex gloriose* (*GB-Ob* Ashmole 1527) and Mass *O quam glorifica* (*GB-Cu* H* 5.39), both fragmentary; John Buttery, king's scholar (c. 1499–1504), and later choirmaster at Ramsey Abbey; John Wickham: king's scholar (c. 1518–23), and later lay clerk at Fotheringhay College and King's College, Cambridge, and—apparently—one of the first recorded Old Etonians committing knife crime (Williamson 1997a, 498–99, 503; Bowers 2001, 203; Skinner 2008, 270).

⁶³ Harrison *MMB*, 432–33. Sygar was a chaplain-conduct at King's intermittently between 1499 and 1511; he copied music for King's in 1508–09 and 1510–11 (*GB-Ckc* Mundum Book 10: *Custus ecclesie*). Richard Fawkyner had been a chaplain-conduct at King's in 1482–84 (*NG2*). Two Magnificats by 'Baldwyn' (E86 and E88) might be attributable to either John Baldwyn, vicar choral of Wells Cathedral (c. 1486–1500) or John Baldwyn of Cheshunt, king's scholar at Eton (c. 1448–52) and fellow of King's in the 1450s (and perhaps the *Dominus* John Baudwyn awarded BMus at Cambridge in 1470–71) (*NG2*).

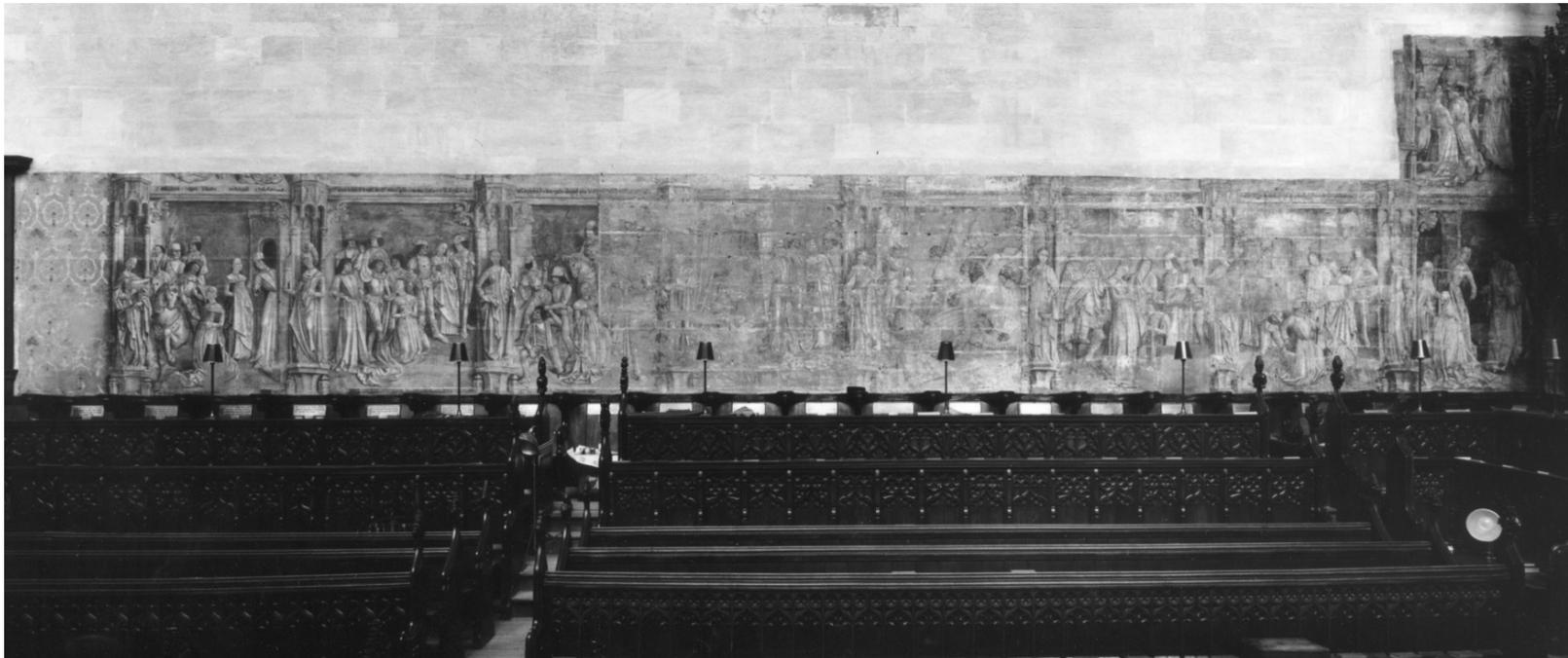
⁶⁴ Sterry 'Notes' (1934), 92.

⁶⁵ See Catalogue of Compositions p. 65: E51.

⁶⁶ Emden *BRUO*, 1822.

⁶⁷ E4, E18, E30–E34, E69, E90, E92; see Catalogue of Compositions, p. 54 ff.

⁶⁸ See below. Davy's compositions were widely circulated, and can be found in CAMBRIDGE UJ, HARLEY 1709 and *GB-Lbl* 34191 (see Antecedents p. 76); E30 was copied at Tattershall in 1498–99 (Watney 1988, 11), and an unspecified six-part motet (E4?) was in a set of partbooks at King's College, Cambridge, in 1529 (Harrison *MMB*, 432–33). Several indirect transmission routes could therefore account for the arrival of Davy's pieces at Eton, but the direct route personified by Walter Smythe is the most plausible.



(but is now the quire) of the chapel, the wall paintings acted as a backdrop to the nightly *Salve* ceremony, and hence as a visual counterpart to ETON.

Not least because of their geographical proximity, Eton College enjoyed a close if unequal relationship with St George's Chapel in Windsor Castle. St George's, founded by Edward III in 1352 as the spiritual headquarters for his chivalric Order of the Garter, was substantially re-modelled and re-endowed by Edward IV in the 1470s. Following the college's brief annexation to St George's, Eton's restoration provided the Dean and Canons of Windsor with an advantageous destination for choristers with breaking voices;⁶⁹ Eton College, in turn, benefited from another source of musical expertise in the form of highly trained choristers-turned-scholars.⁷⁰

More generally, the interpenetration of the two institutions' local economic interests perhaps inevitably brought members of Eton and St George's into close contact with each other. Eton College's deeds record property transactions by musicians working in or associated with St George's; these include the composers Nicholas Sturgeon and John Plummer, as well as Thomas Rolfe, lay clerk and (periodically) organ player and instructor of choristers.⁷¹ Plummer and Rolfe both chose to be commemorated in Eton College chapel. Plummer established an annual obit which took place each November from 1486;⁷² Rolfe's obit was held each May under the terms of his will of 1485 (whose witnesses included William Atwater, fellow of Eton and future bishop of Lincoln, and Lewis Palmer, lay clerk of Eton).⁷³ Given these evidently close personal and institutional relationships, it is hardly surprising that Windsor was one of the main sources of ETON compositions: principally by Walter Lambe, but also by John or Robert Mychelson (E78)⁷⁴ and, indirectly, Nicholas Huchyn of Arundel (E24 and E54).⁷⁵ Also noteworthy in the context of this bilateral relationship is the late fifteenth-century WINDSOR

MURAL, which was painted as a teaching aid on the wall of the song school at St George's.⁷⁶ This wall painting, now badly damaged, consists of black mensural notation with semibreve ligatures on black five-line staves; in terms of similarity of note-shapes and ligature forms, the WINDSOR MURAL is one of the closest relatives of ETON.

Eton's location near the Thames, its adjacency to Windsor, and its own continuing status as a royal college, even after the shipwreck of its founder's dynasty, ensured close connections with the royal household.⁷⁷ Henry VI had ensured that competent singers had been seconded to Eton and King's in the 1440s; Edward IV loaned five boys from the Chapel Royal in order to resuscitate the choral foundation.⁷⁸ However the longer-term impact of Eton's relationship with the Chapel Royal is more difficult to quantify. The earliest ETON piece, E44 (John Dunstaple), was composed within the milieu of the royal household; it is missing from ETON, although a fragment in *GB-Lbl* 54324 provides a possible concordance.⁷⁹ Another piece, E35, one of the earlier pieces in ETON, was composed by a gentleman of the Chapel Royal (and instructor of its choristers), Gilbert Banaster, probably in 1486;⁸⁰ a rather later composition, E10, can be tentatively attributed to William Stourton, gentleman of Henry VII's chapel (1503–10), rather than the spectral Edmund Sturton.⁸¹ Six compositions by the Chapel Royal composer Robert Fayrfax, of which only one complete piece and an incomplete vestige remain in ETON,⁸² may have been transmitted through royal networks, but might just as easily have reached Eton via Windsor, Cambridge or London (which was easily accessible by road or river).⁸³ William Cornysh, composer of eight ETON pieces, is now associated not with William Cornysh the Younger, Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, but William Cornysh the Elder, instructor of the singing-boys of Westminster Abbey's Lady chapel, 1480–1502.⁸⁴ Four other ETON composers can also be associated

⁶⁹ Roger Bowers has estimated that ten of the 60 Windsor choristers recorded between 1465 and 1490 proceeded to scholarships at Eton (Bowers 2001, 208n).

⁷⁰ The composer, Richard Hampshire (see above); John Watkins, chorister at Windsor in 1503–04 (*GB-Ob* Berkshire Roll 5, under *Choristis*) then scholar at Eton in 1509–10 (ECR 61/NR/6). He was a chapel minister at King's in 1518–19 by which time he had taken the Cambridge MusB (1516) (Bowers 2001, 208; Williamson 1997a, 387).

⁷¹ ECR 13/858–59, 13/866–67 and 13/872–73 (1477–85: Rolfe); ECR 13/782 and 13/794–95 (1446–52: Sturgeon); ECR 13/877–78 (1487: Plummer, late tenant of property in Peascod Street, Windsor). NG2 (Sturgeon); Bowers 2001, 195–97 and 214; Jeffries 2005).

⁷² Bowers 2001, 197; Plummer also established an obit at St George's.

⁷³ ECR 13/874 (will, dated 2 May 1485; probate is not recorded, although the witnessing of the will in an upper chamber of Rolfe's house suggests he was dying). The obit was to be held on 3 May, and 20s. distributed to the participants. From 1492 or earlier the Plummer and Rolfe obits were amalgamated and held on 4 November (ECR 61/AR/F/4–5: *Custus obituum*).

⁷⁴ E78 (Magnificat, attributed to 'Mychelson') is lost; it was composed by either John or Robert Mychelson, brothers who worked at St George's: John as vicar choral (1492–99), Robert as lay clerk (1492–1504) (Bowers 2001, 210).

⁷⁵ Lambe worked at both Windsor and Arundel College, Sussex (see above); Nicholas Huchyn spent most or all of his working life at Arundel, as chorister (1476–77), lay clerk (1484–1509), and instructor of choristers in 1490–91 (*Lambeth 1* (Skinner), 8). Eton may also have had its own contacts at Arundel: William Tussey, lay clerk at Eton (and probably instructor of choristers) in 1497–98, was appointed lay clerk and instructor at Arundel College by Michaelmas 1499 (Williamson 1997a, 485).

⁷⁶ See Antecedents p. 73; illustrated in Bowers 2001, 205.

⁷⁷ Edward IV's nomination of Henry Bost as provost in 1483 established the precedent for royal nomination to the provostship. Eton's relationship with the early Tudor royal household is considered in Williamson 1997b.

⁷⁸ ECR 61/AR/C/2 (1466–67): *Custus choristarum domini regis*: 40s. 5d. was spent on shoes (five pairs), paper, books, and general provisions.

⁷⁹ See Antecedents pp. 75–76; Bent/Bent 1969. Both Dunstaple and Henry Abyndon (see above, pp. 5–6) worked in the household of Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester, thereby providing the likeliest transmission route to ETON of E44.

⁸⁰ Williamson 2000b.

⁸¹ *BDECM*, 1065; Stourton also composed a setting of *Ave maria ancilla trinitatis* (LAMBETH). The attribution 'Edmundus' is tenuous: see Catalogue of Compositions p. 57.

⁸² E26 (*Salve regina*: complete), E41–E43 (all lost), E57 (incomplete), and E75 (lost from ETON, but supplied from several concordances).

⁸³ Surviving sources of Fayrfax's liturgical music mostly transmit later compositions (see Antecedents, Contemporaries and Concordances p. 73): *GB-Oas* SR 59.b.13 (post-1511), HARLEY 1709, *GB-Lbl* 34191 (includes E75), PETERHOUSE (includes E75); the early concordance, *GB-Ob* Lat. liturg. a. 9, contains E75. Fayrfax's Masses *Regali* and *O bone Jesu*, and Magnificats 'Regale' (E75) and *O bone Jesu* were perhaps the most widely disseminated compositions, for instance in the following lost sources: All Saints', Bristol, 1524/1536 (Harrison 1969); King's College, Cambridge, 1503–04 and 1515–16 (*GB-Ckc* Mundum Book 10); London, St Paul's, 1514–15 (Mateer/New 2000).

⁸⁴ E14, E19, E47, E48, E56, E65, E66 and E80. See Skinner 1997b; Bowers 2003, 52 and 54–55.

with monastic communities, whether as monks or lay singers: John Hampton (E29) and John Nesbett (E70), who worked in the almonry chapels of cathedral priories;⁸⁵ Robert Holyngborne, monk, of Canterbury College, Oxford;⁸⁶ and William, monk of Stratford (E93).⁸⁷

In this context, the Chapel Royal emerges as one of a number of sources of polyphony for ETON—arguably not even *primus inter pares*, and certainly not the dominant arbiter of musical practices that it was to become between the Reformation and the Civil Wars.⁸⁸ Instead ETON bespeaks a more dispersed model of transmission, centred upon a series of intersecting networks of cultural and intellectual exchange. By virtue of its geographical location, its early history and its constitutional make-up, Eton College was well placed to benefit from this traffic.⁸⁹

Zenith: 1496–1515

Favourable location, advantageous institutional partnerships and an adaptable collegiate constitution: these three factors provided the prerequisites for the copying of ETON. But personalities, and perhaps two people in particular, provided the catalyst. The first of these, Robert Wylkynson, is demonstrably central to the whole story of ETON, as the leading choir member at the time ETON was copied, and as the composer of nine pieces in the choirbook;⁹⁰ the role of the second person, precentor Walter Smythe, is less certainly documented, but can be inferred from the surviving evidence. Under the guidance of these two dynamic and unusual people, the choir of Eton College entered a period of exceptional stability: for a generation, the membership of the choir, at other times in periodic flux as singers came and went, remained largely stable.⁹¹

Happy circumstances did not arise *ex vacuo*: the completion of the chapel in the 1470s and long years of toil paved the way for early Tudor stability. Chief among the precursor generation was John Boraston, instructor of choristers, who recruited four of the long-serving singers of the early Tudor choir (including Lewis Palmer OE), and who bequeathed ‘all my pricksong books’ to the chapel in his will of 1493.⁹² Repertory from these books, accumulated since Boraston’s appointment in 1473, most probably provided the core of ETON a decade later.⁹³

If Boraston’s bequest sowed the seeds for ETON, the choirbook came into flower under Robert Wylkynson, who was eventually to succeed him in 1500. The first unambiguous record of Wylkynson is his appointment to the relatively junior post of parish clerk at Michaelmas 1496. He remained in this office until January 1499, when he was accorded full lay clerk status; a year later, in January or February 1500, he became instructor of choristers.⁹⁴ His rapid promotion bears the hallmarks of a talented but inexperienced singer, whose increasing expertise and confidence

were reflected in each of his steps up the career ladder. Eton College was a provident employer, but not miserly:⁹⁵ had Wylkynson been a seasoned practitioner at the time of his appointment in 1496, his salary would have reflected this from the outset.

He was probably an Old Etonian, in his late teens when appointed in 1496, although the evidence for this is circumstantial.⁹⁶ He may also have been related to Robert Wylkynson, citizen and ironmonger of London and ward of orphans in 1465–66, who surrendered the lease on a college property in Windsor in November 1469 and who was given a 40s. annuity as a royal servant in 1484 (at which time the composer would have been in early childhood).⁹⁷ The association of the singer with either the king’s scholar or the prosperous ironmonger, although plausible, is hypothetical; the probability that the composer had been a king’s scholar is stronger, and would accord well with the character of his compositions. These are evidently the work of a well-trained and inquisitive mind: pedagogically self-conscious, and attuned to the possibilities for the symbolic representation of doctrinal topoi within musical materials (E15 and E93). He evidently mastered the craft of composition quickly and early, and was able to trump the most ambitious composition in the choir’s current repertory (E1) in terms of vocal scoring and audacious part-writing. We can assume that Wylkynson’s composing career began not much earlier than 1500.

For the next fifteen years Wylkynson served as instructor of choristers, until his departure in 1515 for an unknown destination.⁹⁸ The clearest record of Wylkynson’s capability as a choir trainer is ETON itself; copied at an early stage in his term of office, the choirbook has his compositions in all its layers, and these compositions are among the most complex in the manuscript. We can therefore assume both that Wylkynson played a role in the compilation of ETON and that he trained the choir to an impressive level of virtuosity. This choir included, alongside the established team of lay clerks and the naturally cyclical cohorts of boy choristers, a small number of career singers for whom Eton was a staging post toward their final destinations. Most notable among these was the composer William Brygeman (E16 and E76), who ended his career at All Saints, Bristol.⁹⁹ Brygeman arrived at Eton around, or slightly before, September 1503 and left in the summer of 1504; his *Salve regina* (E16) was one of the last pieces to be copied into ETON.

Robert Wylkynson’s compositions reveal a dynamic and unconventional personality; the impact of his personality can also be seen by implication in the copying of ETON, both as an enterprise in itself, and as the product of favourable circumstances for which he could take credit. Wylkynson was also fortunate to work alongside a supportive and like-minded precentor. Walter Smythe, elected a fellow of Eton in 1492, had previously been a chaplain at Magdalen College, Oxford, where he worked alongside the composer Richard Davy (see above). He remained at Eton until his death in 1525, apart from a short stint (1498–1502) as rector of St Alban, Wood Street, London.¹⁰⁰

Smythe’s career as a fellow of Eton is distinguished by his long, continuous service as precentor, responsible for overseeing the daily cycle of Masses and Offices in chapel: he was Eton’s longest-serving pre-Reformation precentor.¹⁰¹ Beyond his general commitment to the worshipping life of the college community, however, Smythe had a specific

⁸⁵ Nesbett at Canterbury (Bowers 1975, A053), and Hampton at Worcester, having previously worked at Westbury-on-Trym College in 1474 (*Orphan Book*, 151; NG2).

⁸⁶ Bowers 1995b, 424–26.

⁸⁷ Probably the Cistercian abbey of Stratford Langthorne, rather than the nunnery at Stratford-atte-Bow (MB 12³). On the cultivation of choral polyphony in late-medieval monasteries, see Bowers 2007.

⁸⁸ Le Huray 1967, 31–89; Harley 1997, 38–40 (where the circumstances of William Byrd’s departure from Lincoln Cathedral in the early 1570s exemplify the reasons for the pre-eminence of Elizabeth’s Chapel Royal); Payne 1993, 50–58.

⁸⁹ A small number of ETON pieces can also be traced to two provincial secular cathedrals: Lincoln Cathedral (William Horwood: E17, E36, E37 and E71); and Wells Cathedral (Richard Hygons: E27 and, possibly, John Baldwyn: E86 and E88; see above).

⁹⁰ E11, E12, E11, E15, E25, E53, E59, E77 and E79.

⁹¹ Among long-serving lay clerks at this time: Lewis Palmer (1476–1501), William Ketyll (1492–1528), William Yong (1489–1517), Thomas Kendall (1492–1525), Robert Wylkynson (1496–1515) and the parish clerk, John Serchefeld (1504–33) (Williamson 1997a, 348–56). The wills of three of them were notarised in Eton College Register (ECR 60/14, pp. 143, 146 and 161: 18/04/1524: Kendall; 23/04/1526: Yong; 30/06/1528: Ketyll). Ketyll evidently put down roots locally, as seen in his involvement in numerous property transactions, whether on his own account or as a proxy or agent for the college (e.g. ECR 33/191–93; ECR 35/23–26 and 35/82; ECR 36/94). A ‘Ketyll’, presumably his son, was listed among the ten choristers in 1509–10 (ECR 61/NR/6).

⁹² ECR 60/14, p.124 (16 January 1493; proved 28 May 1493): ‘Item lego omnes libros meos de canticis fractis beate marie ad serviendum eius honori in ecclesia predicta’; he requested burial in the south-west corner of the ante-chapel. Bequests also included a woollen blanket to a lame youth living in the almshouse, an old sword to a college servant, and a brass candlestick to his fellow lay clerk William Ketyll (Williamson 2010).

⁹³ This seed-corn repertory was probably centred on the compositions by John Dunstaple (d. 1453), William Horwood (d. 1484) and Gilbert Banaster (d. 1487). Rather surprisingly, ETON has no music by John Plummer (d. 1486), whose connection with Eton College must surely have been close (see above concerning his obit).

⁹⁴ Williamson 1997a, 357–58.

⁹⁵ In contrast with penny-pinching at Magdalen College, Oxford (Bowers 1975, 6075–80).

⁹⁶ A ‘Wylkynson major’, probably Richard Wilkinson (Emden *BRUC*, 639), received commons during 1494, when he was listed fourth among the scholars (ECR 61/NR/4); the roll recording this is damaged, however, and the last membrane (which presumably included the name of the corresponding [Robert] Wylkynson *minor*) is missing. The founder’s statutes expressed a preference for king’s scholars to act as parish clerk, in accordance with Canon Law tradition (see above).

⁹⁷ ECR 11/837–838 (7 November 1469); Myers 1984, 310.

⁹⁸ His salary was paid until the middle of the fourth term, when he was given 10s. ‘in reward’ (his salary at this time was 66s. 8d. p.a.; ECR 62/1, pp. 194 and 200). Perhaps he took holy orders: a Robert Wylkynson was instituted vicar of Haddenham in the archdeaconry of Buckingham in June 1519 (Lincolnshire Archives, DIOC/REG/25 (Wolsey/Atwater, 1514–21), f. 42^v); in doing so, he would merely have deferred for 15 years the traditional, but now increasingly outmoded, career path of a parish clerk.

⁹⁹ Harrison 1969; Bristol All Saints 2 and 3; see below, Catalogue of Compositions p. 53. Henry Rysby, composer of the secular song ‘Whoso that wyll hymselff applye’ (HENRY VIII, ff. 127^v–128: see Antecedents, Contemporaries and Concordances p. 75) was a lay clerk, 1506–08 (Williamson 1997a, 359–60).

¹⁰⁰ Emden *BRUCO*, 1720; ECR 61/AR/F/4: *Porciones* and *Remuneraciones officiariorum*. The college had the advowson of the living, and usually nominated fellows as rector.

¹⁰¹ The precentor’s duties, cursorily outlined in the statutes (ECR 58, 59–61), were based upon those assigned to the precentor in the Sarum Customary (see *Use of Sarum*). Smythe was precentor 1492–98 and from 1502 until 1515, when he became vice-provost (Williamson 1997a, 502 and 531–32; ECR 62/1, p. 39).

interest in polyphonic music. This interest was recorded in his funerary epitaph;¹⁰² but it is also evident in his will of 1525, in which he bequeathed 'to the Church of Eton all my song books with a Chyst to kepe them yn and the Chawnter [precentor] to have oversight of them'.¹⁰³ Having been precentor for most of the period during which ETON was copied and then used, and himself a singer of polyphony, Walter Smythe almost certainly played a role in the copying of ETON—most likely in its funding.¹⁰⁴

Smythe and Wylkynson must have made an intriguing pair: Wylkynson the self-conscious pedagogue with a highly-developed veneration for angels, and an acute sensitivity to musical symbolism;¹⁰⁵ Smythe the modest, charitable, chess-playing vegetarian, who established a lending library at his Lincolnshire birthplace under the terms of his will.¹⁰⁶ It was most probably through Smythe that Richard Davy's compositions travelled to Eton; and Smythe's Magdalen connections may also account for the rapid transmission to Eton of Angelo Poliziano's *Opera Omnia*, from which Robert Wylkynson drew the text for E11.¹⁰⁷

Obsolescence: 1528–1559

The year 1515 marks a watershed in the history of ETON: at this time the two principal actors, precentor Walter Smythe and Robert Wylkynson, quit the stage. As senior fellow, it was Smythe's turn to assume the vice-provostship, whose administrative load was incompatible with the day-to-day management of chapel worship. A few months after Smythe stepped aside, in August 1515, Wylkynson left Eton altogether.

It took until 1530 to find a long-term successor to Wylkynson.¹⁰⁸ There is no evidence of a steep falling away in standards as a direct consequence of this hiatus, although an episcopal visitation of 1519, carried out by William Atwater, Bishop of Lincoln, hints at problems, with absenteeism affecting the *Salve* ceremony.¹⁰⁹ Atwater had been precentor of Eton in 1485–86, when the attendance of lay clerks at the *Salve* was still a recent, innovatory departure from Henry VI's statutes. His visitation injunction, that three or four lay clerks attend the antiphon each evening, carried the weight of both his episcopal authority and his personal knowledge of the college and its *Salve*.¹¹⁰

Of greater long-term consequence, the contents of ETON were becoming old-fashioned by the late 1520s.¹¹¹ Although motets by Robert Fayrfax, Richard Davy, Walter Lambe and William Cornysh continued to circulate in manuscripts of the 1520s, the oldest layers of ETON were now

between 50 and (in the case of E44) more than 70 years old.¹¹² Signs of changing musical fashions can be found at Eton College in 1528–29 when, for the first time, a substantial quantity of music was copied at the college's expense.¹¹³ The payment made (40s.), set alongside rates typically paid to early Tudor music copyists (4d., 6d. and 12d. for Magnificats, motets and Masses respectively), would suggest a very crude estimate of 120 Magnificat settings, or 80 motets or 40 Masses.¹¹⁴ It is difficult to escape the conclusion that ETON was mothballed in the late 1520s.

The inventory of chapel books, drafted in c. 1531, shows that ETON was still kept in the college chapel, although there was now little need for it to be removed from the chest provided for the storage of song books. Outmoded and ignored, it quietly survived the first phases of the Reformation (1534–53). Although it lost nearly a third of its leaves (78 out of 224) during the middle of the sixteenth century, no systematic attempt was made to efface texts that offended against Henrician legislation or the more far-reaching reforms of Edward VI,¹¹⁵ and lost leaves attest to the physical deterioration of ETON rather than to doctrinal hostility.¹¹⁶ Neither the formal abolition of *Salve* ceremonies in 1547 and the entire Latin liturgy at Whitsun 1549, nor the gradual (but never completed) elimination of Eton College's choral foundation in the early 1550s, is likely to have impinged directly upon ETON.¹¹⁷

Here the story of ETON might end but for the binding which, though restored c. 1900, dates from the third quarter of the sixteenth century (no trace remains of the original binding). Throughout most of these years, ETON was unusable in public worship; its contents were stylistically obsolete and therefore of limited interest to Elizabethan collectors; by the 1570s, moreover, the arrival of a large early Tudor choirbook at the binder's workshop normally presaged its destruction rather than its restoration. The implications of this re-binding are considered below: whether ETON was re-bound in the 1550s for use in the revived Sarum liturgy, or whether the re-binding took place around 1570, when ETON was found among the books stored on top of the rood loft (the circumstances of the mid-1550s would seem to favour the former).¹¹⁸ Whichever is the case, the *Salve* ceremony came to a final end in England during 1558–59; at Eton, the canopy under which the statue of the BVM had stood, and before which the *Salve* had been sung, was demolished in

¹¹² See Antecedents, Contemporaries and Concordances pp. 75–76 below: HARLEY 1709, GB-Lbl 34191, CAMBRIDGE UJ and LAMBETH. The last 'active' (as opposed to retrospective) concordance is PETERHOUSE (c. 1540: E75).

¹¹³ ECR 62/1, p. 436: *Custus templi*: 'Domino Johanni Kechyn pro le prickynge diversorum canticorum in libris ad templum, xl s.'. Kechyn was chaplain at Eton College (1520–21 and then 1523–50). The years 1526–37 witnessed a spurt of copying activity (Williamson 1997a, 408–10).

¹¹⁴ See below, Logistics p. 47–49.

¹¹⁵ For instance, E7, whose paired cantus firmi both pertain to the feast of St Thomas Becket, abolished in 1538. The feast of Becket's translation (7 July) was a milestone in the college's ritual year: on this day, on which disputations were held, the season of elections to King's and Eton commenced (it ended on 15 August). In the working copy of the statutes, references to Becket were deleted, but then subsequently re-entered during the Marian restoration (e.g., ECR 60/2, f. 23).

¹¹⁶ Williamson 1997a, 435–37: the original binding appears to have weakened towards the back of the manuscript, causing disproportionate losses of leaves from gatherings n.–p. and aa.–dd.: most of these gatherings are entirely lost.

¹¹⁷ *Visitation Articles* 2, xxv (injunctions for Winchester College, December 1547: 'Item, That all graces to be said or sung at meals, within the said College, and other prayers, which the said scholars or children are bound to use, shall be henceforth said or sung evermore in English; that they shall henceforth omit to sing or say *Regina celi*, *Salve regina* and any suchlike untrue or superstitious anthem.') and xxix (Lincoln Minster, April 1548: 25. Item, They shall from henceforth sing or say no anthems of our Lady or other Saints, but only of our Lord, and them not in Latin; but choosing out the best and most sounding to Christian religion they shall turn the same into English, setting thereunto a plain and distinct note for every syllable one: they shall sing them and none other.') The impact of Edwardian reform at Eton is considered in Lyte 1911 and in Williamson 1997a, 411–28. By 1553, the number of choristers had been allowed to dwindle to four (probably through natural wastage) and, although singing clerks continued to be employed, their duties were largely secularised under Edward VI; compare with the survival of Magdalen College's choral foundation (Skinner 2002) and the simultaneous abolition of the choirs at King's College, Cambridge, and New College, Oxford, following publication of the second Book of Common Prayer (Bowers 2002).

¹¹⁸ See Binding pp. 51–52 below. Soon after Mary's accession in July 1553 a batch of Lady Mass propers was copied as part of the first wave of Catholic restoration (ECR 62/3, p. 214 (1553–54): *Templum*: 2s. 8d.); thereafter, no new polyphony was copied until 1556–57, when a total of 34s. 10d. was spent on various batches of music, mostly unspecified (ECR 62/3 (1556–57), pp. 341–42. The marginal annotations, 'bonus cantus' (f. a.1) and 'This key In a re' (opening z.2^b/f. 112) were most probably made during the 1550s when a later generation of musicians, unfamiliar with this long-neglected manuscript, attempted to make practical and aesthetic sense of its contents.

¹⁰² Sterry 'Notes' (1935), 143: 'Perpetuus socius vitam transegit honestam / Etonae; modicus cui faba victus erat / Inter virtutes quibus enituit, relevavit / Pauperium miserum, musica percoluit' ('This perpetual fellow led an honest life at Eton; a modest man, whose food was beans; among the virtues in which he shone, he relieved the plight of the poor, and he cultivated music').

¹⁰³ ECR 60/14, p. 144: will dated 14 February 1525. These, his most prized possessions, were placed first among the material legacies itemised in the will.

¹⁰⁴ This is considered below in relation to the cost of ETON (Logistics p. 47).

¹⁰⁵ See below, Catalogue of Compositions p. 57 ff. (E11, E15 and E93).

¹⁰⁶ ECR 60/14, p. 144: bequeathed books to Saltfleetby church, so that 'every lerned man' within a seven-mile radius could borrow the books from the churchwardens for a year; the 'Chesse borde and all the Chessemen' were bequeathed to the vice-provost (in the first instance the Humanist scholar William Horman, who took over as vice-provost on Smythe's death).

¹⁰⁷ See Catalogue of Compositions p. 53 (E11) regarding Smythe's relationship with William Grocyn, who travelled to Florence to study with Poliziano and who was a friend of Poliziano's publisher, Aldus Manutius.

¹⁰⁸ Robert Norese (1517–22) was inexperienced, and paid below the going rate of 53s. 4d.; the remainder were all short-term: John Darlyngton (1522–23), John Smyth (1523–25), Nicholas Bartlett and Roger Witworth (1525–26), Robert Rowland (1525–27; see Harrison *MMB*, 457) and Robert Alexander (1527–30) (Williamson 1997a, 370–71). Eventually Walter Ditty, a singer from Exeter Cathedral (Orme 1978, 409), assumed the role, remaining in post from 1530 until 1540.

¹⁰⁹ Lincoln Visitations 2 (23 May 1519): 'Provideatur quod sint plures clerici psalentes antiphonam beate Marie singulis diebus post vespas. Sunt aliquando ibidem iii et iiii dumtaxat presentes aliis interim ludentibus. Memorandum pro numero choristarum (Note that more clerks should be present to sing the anthem of the Blessed [Virgin] Mary every day after Vespers, such that there are always at least three or four of them present on any given occasion. Memo: concerning the number of choristers).'

¹¹⁰ Three or four would be a bare minimum: in normative five-part scoring, three or four lay clerks would be spread rather thinly over the three lower voice-parts (Ctr-T-B); Atwater either assumed that other broken voices would be available (chaplains, fellows, or scholars drafted under the '16 rule') or he expected a more soloistic rendition of the lower voice-parts than is usually assumed.

¹¹¹ Pre-Reformation polyphony generally remained in circulation no longer than 30 years (Bowers 1981, 13).

1560–61.¹¹⁹ Even so the *Salve* cast a long shadow, whether in the provisions for quasi-intercessory at an Elizabethan grammar school,¹²⁰ or in the still-continuing Elizabethan tradition of singing English anthems after Morning and Evening Prayer.¹²¹

Afterlife: 1559–1895

Although its obscurity helped it survive the full rigours of Reformation iconoclasm, ETON nevertheless endured in the consciousness of local musicians, as is indicated by John Baldwin's *Commonplace Book*, which includes the only known concordance for E93.¹²² An industrious music scribe and Tenor lay clerk of St George's, Windsor, Baldwin copied this piece directly from ETON in 1594, taking pains to replicate the notation, layout and scribal formality of the exemplar. This was not to be the last occasion on which ETON's distinctive orthography impressed itself upon an outside observer (although Baldwin was at most a half-outsider, given the close association between the post-Reformation choirs of Eton and St George's).¹²³

We do not know where in college ETON was kept when Baldwin saw it, although its location must have been sufficiently out-of-the-way for it to have escaped largely unnoticed and undamaged throughout the next three centuries (only 20 leaves were lost between the late sixteenth and the late nineteenth centuries). The strongest likelihood is that the choirbook was transferred to the College Library and that it stayed there, shelved separately from the main collection of books on account of its unusual dimensions, and hence ignored by early cataloguers.¹²⁴ Stored in a dark corner of the library, ETON escaped the attention of both Charles Burney and Sir John Hawkins, and so remained off the beaten historiographical track much longer than other, less important, Tudor music manuscripts.¹²⁵ Only those who were aware of ETON through word of mouth and who were able to gain access to the College Library appear to have come into contact with it.

Two copyists came into direct contact with ETON during an otherwise obscure chapter in its history. Henry Needler was an amateur violinist and music copyist but, by profession, a civil servant in the Excise Office.¹²⁶ His access to Eton College Library was most probably gained through a well-connected colleague in the Academy of Ancient Music, of which he was a member from 1728 until his death in August 1760. Needler compiled some 27 manuscript volumes, largely containing transcriptions of Renaissance polyphony, one of which has copies of E57 and E65 (the latter without its textual underlay).¹²⁷ ETON is the only sixteenth-century source for each of these pieces, and there can be little doubt that Needler transcribed direct from ETON, whose full black notation and red coloration (plus black void for *minor color*), and alternating red/black text underlay he reproduced. Although not wholly accurate (he struggled to decipher notation in *tempus perfectum*),¹²⁸ Needler's incomplete transcription of Robert Fayrfax's *Ave lumen gracie* (E57) suggests that the choirbook had reached its current state by the 1750s.¹²⁹

Like Henry Needler, John Travers, organist of the Chapel Royal (1737–58), was a member of the Academy of Ancient Music and, again like Needler, he made a pair of transcriptions from ETON (an extract of E17, and E65 complete).¹³⁰ But Travers evidently knew about ETON through the circumstances of his early life as the son of a Windsor shoemaker, chorister of St George's chapel and, in 1720, chorister of Eton College itself.¹³¹ Like Needler, Travers copied pieces unique to ETON, which was now kept in the College Library.¹³² Travers also emulated ETON's distinctive triangular note-heads and rest placement; although copying in monochrome black ink he recorded instances of red coloration (marked 'Red'), and he used the existing vocal designations (except for the Triplex part, undesignated in ETON, which he called 'Superius').¹³³ Travers's transcription therefore locates ETON within the College Library nearly 150 years before M. R. James discovered it there, 'derelict', in the late nineteenth century.

¹¹⁹ ECR 62/3, p. 553: *Custus templi*: 'To filde the mason for pullynge downe a tabernacle of stone in ye bodie of the churche, 5s.'

¹²⁰ Simpson 1874, 234 (letters patent for Lord Thomas Wharton to found Kirkby Stephen grammar school, 1566): 'Every morning and evening at six of the clock, which are days for learning of scholars and keeping of school, the scholars by two and two and the schoolmaster shall go from the schoolhouse into the parish church and there devoutly upon their knees before they do enter the quire say some devout prayer, and after the same they shall repair together into the chapel or quire where I have made and set up my tomb, and there sing together one of the psalms hereafter instituted; such a one as the schoolmaster shall appoint, so as every of the said psalms be sung within fifteen days together, *videlicet*: 103, 130, 145, 45, 3, 61, 24, 30, 90, 96, 100, 51, 84, 86, 45; and, that done, repair to the schoolhouse, and in the evening go quietly to their lodgings, and if any of the scholars be about at any time of the said prayers or psalms, then the schoolmaster to do correction for his or their absence.'

¹²¹ The 1559 settlement in general, and Elizabeth's support of music in particular, are considered in Bowers 2000 (see also Bowers 2002).

¹²² BALDWIN, f. 188^v (see Antecedents, Contemporaries and Concordances p. 76); Bray 1974, 148.

¹²³ The relationship between Eton and St George's, especially in the seventeenth century, is considered in Dexter 1993.

¹²⁴ John Travers's annotations in *GB-Lrcm* 660 militate against Robert Birley's inference that ETON did not reach the College Library until 1895 (Birley 1956, 243n); see below.

¹²⁵ Hawkins 1776; Burney 1776–89.

¹²⁶ NG2.

¹²⁷ *GB-Lbl* 5054, ff. 89–92^v and 93–96.

¹²⁸ Warren 1969, 122.

¹²⁹ Needler ceased copying at the mid-point of E57, i.e. the end of its first opening (t.4 or f. 104 by the sixteenth-century foliation); both of the component leaves of the following opening, t.5 (t.4^v and t.5) had still been present when the sixteenth-century foliation was made, but the RH leaf ('f. 105', or opening t.5^R) rendered the opening incomplete by the 1750s, its fragmentary contents ignored by Needler, see pp. 19 (Inventory) and 63 (Catalogue of Compositions).

¹³⁰ NG2; *GB-Lrcm* 660, pp. 236–45, includes diplomatic copies of individual voice-parts in black notation (pp. 236–39, 244) and transcriptions in score (pp. 240–43 and 245); in 1798 *GB-Lrcm* 660 belonged to the composer Dr Samuel Arnold (organist of the Chapel Royal, 1783–1803).

¹³¹ Dexter 2002, 327 (as Travis or Travish).

¹³² Hence Travers's annotation, 'From an old manuscript in the library at Eaton Colledge' (*GB-Lrcm* 660, p. 240).

¹³³ Travers also copied the quire signature 'x.4' in its medieval Arabic form, and followed the spelling 'Horwud' given on opening g.2^R/f. 31 of ETON.

Codicological Structure and Inventory

Introduction

ETON towers above all other Tudor music manuscripts, as both a musical source and a physical artefact. It is not the largest choirbook to have been copied in early Tudor England;¹ nor do its surviving contents outnumber those of some other sixteenth-century sources;² nor indeed was it the most sumptuous of pre-Reformation music manuscripts.³ But, in its combination of scale, splendour, musical significance and strong institutional association, ETON has no match. Few music manuscripts capture the spirit of an age as completely as does ETON, which synonymises the reign of Henry VII, and whose contents convey the most elevated speech patterns of English Marian piety at its late-medieval zenith.⁴ In more concrete terms, ETON preserves a whole repertory which would otherwise have been lost to posterity: it transmits complete readings of 43 of an original 93 contents; for the remaining 50 pieces, 21 of which survive in an incomplete or fragmentary state, ETON's concordances supply just three complete readings.⁵

The following pages are devoted to the genesis of this manuscript: how it was conceived, copied, decorated, assembled, funded, and used. Particular attention will be paid to the order in which it was copied, with some discussion of the evidence for both continuity and discontinuity. At first sight the viewer is struck by ETON's consistent appearance, in terms of page layout, scribal hand, embellishment and annotation. At the basic structural level—in its almost unvarying organisation into eight-folio gatherings—ETON reinforces this first impression of an almost serene regularity of design.

ETON was the work of practised hands, but it was also the brainchild of a meticulous and knowledgeable amateur under whose direction the choirbook proceeded from inception to completion. Evidence for this can be found in the various changes that ETON underwent as copying progressed, in terms of page layout, scribal methods, and graphic design. The design principles were consistent, but not uniform. Minor modifications were made at nearly every stage, from the preparation of the first vellum quire to the indexing of the completed contents. As each phase of copying reached completion, lessons were learned and then applied to the next batch of gatherings: at all points, opportunities were taken to modify design specifications or scribal methods, with a view to improving the visual coherence of the manuscript or to facilitate its efficient copying.

There is little doubt that ETON originated in Eton College, and that it was copied in the first years of the sixteenth century: the main body of the manuscript was complete in or around 1504, having been begun no earlier than 1500. This can already be inferred from the biographies of those closely associated with the choirbook.⁶ But the manuscript itself corroborates this dating: reconstructing the sequence in which it was copied enables us to pinpoint its *terminus ante quem* with near precision. The same copying sequence also places the choirbook securely within the context of Eton College and nowhere else. Compositions by Robert Wylkynson, the college's *informator choristarum*, are found in all chronological layers of ETON, and cannot have been added as an afterthought or in an effort to customise for local use a manuscript that had originated elsewhere.

ETON discloses some of its secrets more willingly than others. Given its high level of workmanship and the high quality of materials used in its making, it is most unlikely to have been accomplished without expense. The financial records of Eton College make no mention of such costs, however, raising the likelihood that it was commissioned at private expense. In terms of potential donors, the case for Walter Smythe, precentor of Eton, has been considered briefly in the previous chapter; his candidacy will be considered again below (Logistics p. 50).

¹ See Antecedents, Contemporaries and Concordances p. 76: LAMBETH and CAIUS.

² For instance, PETERHOUSE (71 compositions).

³ GB-Lna E 163/22/1/3 would have exceeded ETON in richness of illumination and GB-Cu Nn.6.46 in pictorial élan.

⁴ See below, Texts pp. 67–71.

⁵ For E3 (= LAMBETH), E70 (= CARVER) and E75 (various: see Antecedents, Contemporaries and Concordances p. 76). As Harrison noted ETON preserves the only known complete motets of Browne and Davy, and the only music in any state of preservation by ten other composers (Harrison 1953, 165).

⁶ See Choirbook in Context pp. 10–11 above.

The organisation of repertory

Three ritual genres dominated the polyphonic repertories of church choirs in early Tudor England: Mass, Magnificat and motet (or votive antiphon: the two terms are used interchangeably here). The principal constitutive genres of ETON belonged to rites which were performed in the college chapel around sunset: 24 settings of the Magnificat, recited at the late afternoon Office of Vespers; and 67 polyphonic motets of prayer and praise to the BVM, which were sung as part of the evening *Salve* ceremony as laid down in the college statutes. Unlike its two sister choirbooks, LAMBETH and CAIUS, ETON contains no polyphonic settings of the Mass Ordinary.⁷

The aggregation of votive antiphons and Magnificat settings in ETON reflected the vespertine proximity of the two genres. At Eton College, however, the two repertories were spatially as well as temporally related. The *Salve* ceremony, at Eton as elsewhere, was sung in the nave of the chapel; more unusually, and perhaps reflecting the chapel's original role as a parish church, Vespers itself was sung in the parochial nave rather than the collegiate quire on most days of the year.⁸ The two principal repertories of ETON, therefore, accounting for 91 of its 93 contents, were sung in the same architectural space and probably from the same lectern, obviating the need for this large and heavy manuscript to be moved frequently from one reading desk to another.

The choirbook was almost certainly in use throughout the year except at the end of Holy Week.⁹ At least by the time of an episcopal visitation of the college in May 1519, there was a presumption that three or four adult lay clerks, as well as children, should attend the *Salve* ceremony on a daily basis;¹⁰ these lay clerks attended in order to supply the full complement of voices necessary for the singing of polyphonic motets.

ETON therefore met the needs of a mixed ensemble and served as a repository of polyphony suitable for all feasts, seasons and circumstances. Circumstantial variations might include days on which large numbers of people attended the *Salve*, as well as other occasions when attendance was more sparse. For this purpose ETON includes motets and Magnificat settings tailored to a range of different vocal combinations.

The two main categories are internally subdivided, each subdivision arranged in the same way, with richly scored pieces at the front of each section and more modestly scored pieces later on; a layer of *Salve regina* settings, suitable for performance during Lent, forms a distinct sub-category within the motets (see Table 2.1 overleaf).

Each of the main categories included examples for men and boys (full compass) or for men only (narrow compass), the latter being aggregated at the end of each category. 'Mean-compass' pieces, requiring only the lower of the two boys' voices (Mean, not Treble), were interspersed less systematically among the full-compass compositions; these pieces were presumably intended to serve on occasions when some but not all of the choristers were available.¹¹ Two indexes further clarified this logical layering and, at some point, parchment tags were pasted onto the edges of selected leaves which, like bookmarks, indicated the major structural breaks in the choirbook—at the beginnings of E15 (*Salve regina* settings), E30 (five-part motets), and E57 (four-part motets).¹² Even without these finding aids, however, the logical ordering of the manuscript enabled the precentor or the instructor of choristers to locate suitable repertory with relative ease.

⁷ See Catalogue of Compositions p. 53. The two final items are ritually discrete: E92, Richard Davy's setting of the St Matthew Passion for High Mass on Palm Sunday, and E93, Robert Wylkynson's thirteen-part canon on the Apostles' Creed, *Ihesus autem transiens/Credo in Deum*.

⁸ ECR 58, 114.

⁹ See above, Choirbook in Context p. 5.

¹⁰ See above, Choirbook in Context p. 11. Injunctions issued in 1543 by Bishop Nicholas Heath for Rochester Cathedral, conversely, show a gradation in observance between ferias (when only the choristers attended the *Salve*) and feast days and their vigils (when both choristers and clerks attended, singing an 'Anteme in prycksong' immediately after Compline) (*Use of Sarum* 2, 235).

¹¹ E55 (Browne) was placed, as logic dictated, at what was then the end of the block of five-part motets. Both of William Brygeman's compositions were of mean compass (E16 and E76).

¹² See below, Finding Aids p. 32. Evidence for a tag marking the beginning of the Magnificat layer (E68; opening y.2^B) has been lost along with the whole of its parent gathering.

Table 2.1. Repertory layers and types (late addenda in italics)

Genre	Piece(s)	Voices	Compass	Requiring men/boys
MOTETS				
E1-E67	E1	8	22	men & boys
	E2	7	23	men & boys
	E3-7	6	21	men & boys
	E8-E10	6	14-15	men
	<i>E11-E14</i>	6	22-23	men & boys
	<i>E15 (Salve)</i>	9	23	men & boys
	<i>E16 (Salve)</i>	5	19	men & boys
	<i>E17-27 (Salve)</i> ¹³	5	21-23	men & boys
	<i>E28 (Salve)</i>	5	15	men
	<i>E29 (Salve)</i>	5	22	men & boys
	<i>E30-E54</i>	5	21-23 ¹⁴	men & boys
	<i>E55</i>	5	18	men & boys
	<i>E56</i>	5	22	men & boys
	<i>E57-E58</i>	4	14	men
	<i>E59-E67</i>	4	14-15	men
MAGNIFICAT SETTINGS				
(E68-E91)	E68	7	22	men & boys
	E69-81	5 ¹⁵	21-23 (+ 19)	men & boys
	E82-E88	4	21-22 (+ 17) ¹⁶	men & boys
	E89-E91	4	14	men
MISCELLANEA				
(E92-E93)	E92	4	22	men & boys
	E93	13	13	men?

Within the broad layers determined by these organising principles, pieces were also aggregated into sub-groups. The most conspicuous of these is composer groupings: **E30-E34** (five-part motets by Richard Davy), **E38-E40** (five-part motets by Walter Lambe), **E41-E43** (five-part motets by Robert Fayrfax), and **E61-E63** (four-part motets by Lambe). These groupings may have arisen through the simultaneous transmission to Eton of several compositions from one point of origin.

The impact of other organising principles, now no longer apparent, upon the ordering of repertory is suggested by three groupings: the first is a cluster, albeit non-contiguous, of six-part motets (**E4** and **E6-E7**) which share the unusual structural device of paired cantus firmi; the second is a group of three *Salve regina* settings in which cantus firmi appear not to have been used (**E17-E19**: the first three of the original layer). The third set of kinships can be found between the cluster of Magnificat settings in gathering z. (**E43-E47** and **E62**) which are all in Tone VIII and/or have G as their *finalis*; the other (more numerous) lost settings in this badly-depleted part of ETON were probably based on various canticle tones appropriate to a range of feasts and seasons, as is suggested by the scattered remnants in ensuing gatherings (**E63** and **E64**), which are in different tones and have different *finales*.

Inventory

The full contents of ETON are listed in the inventory (Table 2.2), which combines a collation of the manuscript structure with summaries of related data, discussed in detail elsewhere. The codicological structure of ETON is so simple and consistent that a separate quiring diagram is unnecessary. Full descriptions of the 93 compositions are given in the Catalogue of Compositions (pp. 53-66). Information is given in the following order:

Original gatherings: alphabetical signatures assigned by the original scribe to each of the 28 quires, a.→z. + aa.→ee. The physical structure of each folio is indicated with braces and lines, each line representing one of the constituent folios; continuous lines indicate extant folios; dashed lines indicate lost folios (whose existence can safely be deduced from the indexes: see below). See Structure and Compilation I (p. 22).

Quire signatures: the component folios in each quire, identified by the alphabetical quire signature and the number of each folio within the quire. These signatures give rise to two potential systems of

identification: by folio (i.e., recto and verso of one folio), and by opening (left and right hand sides of two adjacent folios: verso of the first, recto of the second). In general, quire signatures are used here to refer to openings^{r-v}, and the modern foliation (see below) to refer to folios^{r-v}. Where printed in grey, quire signatures belong to lost folios. The structure of the lost gathering s. is conjectured from the surviving evidence and by analogy with other gatherings and layers of the manuscript.

Later sixteenth-century foliation: the first of two foliations, this was made in the second half of the sixteenth century, after ETON's original period of use; arabic numerals were written in ink, with a fine-nibbed pen, in the top RH corner of each recto (endorsed at a much later date in pencil). Some 78 folios had been lost by the time of this foliation; the folio numbers for these and the remaining 20 folios lost subsequently are printed in grey.

Modern foliation: a pencil foliation made on the bottom RH corner of each recto. This shows that a further 20 folios were lost between c. 1600 and c. 1900. The modern pencil foliation is used for reference throughout this edition in conjunction with the original quire signatures.

r / v: indicates the recto and verso of each folio.

Pricking traces: the various pricking patterns used in ETON, and the traces they have left, are discussed below; the five standard patterns identified there, and indicated with roman numerals, broadly correlate with the sequence of scribal phases A-D. See Structure and Compilation (pp. 22-24).

Staves: the number of staves originally ruled on each side is specified. Where batch-ruled, there are 14 staves on each side; custom-ruled staves vary in number. Where additional staves have been ruled, this is shown thus: '14+1' (for example: fourteen pre-ruled staves plus one added staff). A plus sign on its own indicates where a lower frame-ruling has been made (and not incorporated into a staff). See Structure and Compilation (p. 25).

Indentation method: the terms used here are defined in Structure and Compilation p. 25 below. Like the pricking traces, indentation methods parallel developments in scribal method.

Illumination types: are discussed below in Illuminated Initials and Marginalia (pp. 28-31).

Scribal phase: the four main scribal phases, A, B-Bi-Bii, C and D, are discussed in Structure and Compilation (pp. 28-31).

Piece number: the original position of each piece in the complete ETON, notionally c. 1515, is indicated in **bold** (except for lost pieces which are in roman type). Below this E-number is given an H-number, referring to the location of each piece in the sequence of Frank Harrison's edition (MB 10-12).

Incipit: the opening text of each piece is given in the form in which it appears in ETON: **bold italics** for extant pieces (even if fragmentary), *italics* for lost pieces.

Voice-parts are given in summary here: vocal compasses and clef combinations are given in the Catalogue of Compositions (pp. 53-66).

Indexes. ETON has two **indexes**: the 'partial' index on f. ee.9^v (which omits **E13-E15**, **E56-E58** and **E68-E93**); and the 'complete' index on f. a.1 (which includes all items except the late addenda, **E15** and **E93**). The internal order of the indexes varies, and the position of each piece within each index is given here, the partial (and slightly earlier) index first. See Finding Aids (p. 32).

Folio marks: parchment tags pasted in as structural markers, now cut off, but their stubs (or traces) remaining. See Finding Aids (p. 32).

¹³ An anomalous seven-part setting was included in this group (**E22**).

¹⁴ Includes one setting for 'mean' scoring (**E47**: now lost).

¹⁵ One six-part Magnificat was included (**E79**: based on paired Tenors), and one mean-compass setting (**E76**, now lost, which had a compass of 19 notes).

¹⁶ Included one mean-range setting (**E85**). The layer **E82-E88** included settings of the Magnificat using full compass but only four voices (a type of scoring otherwise found only in **E92**); of these pieces, whose scoring broadly corresponded with modern SATB, only one fragment remains (**E82**, by Sygar: f. bb.8^{r-v}/f. 120^{r-v}).

Table 2.2
Inventory

Gathering	Original quire signatures	Later 16th-century foliation	Modern pencil foliation	Pricking traces	Staves	Indentation method	Illumination types	Scribal phase	Piece number (E); Harrison Edition (H)	Incipit	Voice-parts Attribution; compass; <i>corrigitur</i> letter (c) and other marginal annotations	Position in partial index (f. cc.9 ^v)	Position in complete index (f. a.1)
	v	r	fly-leaf: Bible fragment (c. 1100.); second bifolium: inside: ff. 2 ^v /7 (1 Corinthians 7:6 to 9:5; 2 Corinthians 11:3 to 13:1)										
	v		outside: ff. 2/7 ^v (1 Corinthians 3:22 to 7:5; 2 Corinthians 13:2-end and Galatians, <i>capitula</i> and 1:1 to 2:4)										
	vi	r	fly-leaf: Bible fragment (c. 1100): first, outer bifolium: inside: ff. 1 ^v /8 (1 Corinthians 1:7 to 3:21; Galatians 2:4 to 4:14)										
	v		outside: ff. 1/8 ^v (1 Corinthians, <i>capitula</i> and 1:1-7; Galatians 4:14-end and Ephesians, <i>capitula</i>)										
	a.1	1	1	r	i					[Complete index]			
				v	15	none	mixed	B	E1	<i>O maria salvatoris mater</i>	8	25	29
	a.2	2	2	r	i	15	none	B	H1		Browne – 22 notarum		
				v	14	full	flourished	B					
	a.3	3	3	r	i	13	full	B					
				v	14	selective	flourished	B					
	a.4	4	4	r	i	14	selective	B					
				v	14	selective	mixed	B	E2	<i>Gaude flore virginali</i>	7	6	8
	a.5	5	5	r	i	14+1	selective	B	H2		Kellyk – 23 notarum		
				v	14	selective	flourished	B					
	a.6	6	6	r	i	13+	selective	B					
				v	13	selective	flourished	B					
	a.7	7	7	r	i	13	selective	B					
				v	10+	selective	flourished	B					
	b.1	8	8	r	iii	14	full	C					
				v	15	full	mixed	B	E3	<i>O maria plena gracia</i>	6	26	30
	b.2	9	9	r	iii	14	full	B	H3		Lambe – 21 notarum		
				v	14	full	flourished	B					
	b.3	10											
	b.4	11											
	b.5	12											
									E4	<i>Gaude flore virginali</i>	6	7	9
	b.6	13							H51		[Davy – 22 notarum]		
	b.7	14	10	r	iii	14	full	B					
				v	14	full	flourished	B					
	b.8	15	11	r	iii	14	full	B			c		
				v	14	full	painted	B	E5	<i>Stabat mater dolorosa</i>	6	51	56
	c.1	16	12	r	iii?	14	full	B	H4		Browne – 22 notarum		
				v	14	full	flourished	B					
	c.2	17	13	r	iii?	14	full	B					
				v	14+1	full	flourished	B					
	c.3	18	14	r	iii?	14+1	full	B					
				v	14+1	full	painted	B	E6	<i>O regina celestis glorie</i>	6	27	31
	c.4	19							H56		[Lambe – 23 notarum]		
	c.5	20											
									E7	<i>Stabat virgo mater cristi</i>	6	56	62
	c.6	21	15	r	iii	14	full	B	H5		Browne – 23 notarum		
				v	14	full	flourished	B					
	c.7	22	16	r	iii	14	full	B					
				v	14	full	flourished	B					
	c.8	23	17	r	iii	14	full	B					
				v	14+1	none	painted	C	E8	<i>Stabat iuxta cristi crucem</i>	6	55	61
	d.1	24	18	r	iv	14+1	none	C	H6		Browne – 14 notarum		
				v	14+1	top left	flourished	C					
	d.2	25	19	r	iv	14+1	none	C					
				v	14+1	top left	painted	C	E9	<i>O regina mundi clara</i>	6	29	33
	d.3	26	20	r	iv	14+1	none	C	H7		Browne – 15 notarum		
				v	14	top left	mixed	C					
	d.4	27	21	r	iv	14	none	C					
				v	14	top left	plain	C					
	d.5	28	22	r	iv	14	none	C					
				v	14	top left	painted	C	E10	<i>Gaude virgo mater cristi</i>	6	15	19
	d.6	29	23	r	iv	14+1	none	C	H8		Edmundus (added later) Sturton – 15 notarum		
				v	14	top left	plain	C					
	d.7	30	24	r	iv	14	none	C					
				v	14	top left	plain	C					
	d.8	31	25	r	iv	14	none	C					
				v	14	top left	painted	D	E11	<i>O virgo prudentissima</i>	6	32	36
									H57				

Gathering	Original quire signatures	Later 16th-century foliation	Modern pencil foliation	Pricking traces Staves	Indentation method	Illumination types	Scribal phase	Piece number (E); Harrison Edition (H)	Incipit	Voice-parts Attribution; compass; <i>corrigitur</i> letter (c) and other marginal annotations	Position in partial index (f. ec.9 ^v)	Position in complete index (f. a.1)	
e.	e.1									[Wylkynson – 22 notarum]			
	e.2												
	e.3							E12	<i>Gaude flore virginali</i>	6	8	10	
	e.4									[Wylkynson – 22 notarum]			
	e.5												
	e.6												
	e.7							E13	<i>Salve regina vas mundicie</i>	6			39
	e.8									[Fawkyner – 23 notarum]			
f.	f.1												
	f.2							E14 H58	<i>Gaude flore virginali</i>			11	
	f.3	33	26	r iv v 14	14 14	none full	none X	D X	E15 H9	<i>Salve regina</i>	9	Antiphona hec cristi laudem sonat atque marie / Et decus angelicis concinit ordinibus // Qui sunt Angeli erunt Archangeli. et ordo sequetur / Virtutum: que potestatum: tunc principat alter // Post dominaqueones adde tronos cherubynque/ Et Seraphyn iunges que loca summa tenent. (at foot)	
	f.4	34	27	r iv? v 14	14 14	none none	X cadels	X X				[TAG]	
	f.5	35	28	r iv v 14+1	14 none	none cadels	cadels cadels	X X			Robertus Wylkynson (Medius initial); Ave maria gracia plena (Inferior Contratenor initial) disci mori (Triplex initial) Robertus Wylkynson cuius anime propicietur deus (Secundus Bassus initial); <i>Wylkynson</i> (Secundus Bassus <i>finalis</i>)		
	f.6	36	29	r iv? v 14	14 14	full full	cadels painted	X D	E16 H59	<i>Salve regina</i>	5	Willimus	48 55
	f.7	37									[Brygeman – 19 notarum]		
	f.8	38											
g.	g.1	39	30	r i v 13	13 13	1–10 only selective	none mixed	D A	E17 H10	<i>Salve regina</i>	5	36	43
	g.2	40	31	r i v 14	12 14	selective none	mixed plain	A A			Horwud – 21 notarum		
	g.3	41	32	r i v 14	14 14	none selective	plain mixed	A A	E18 H11	<i>Salve regina</i>	5	c	37 44
	g.4	42	33	r i v 14	14 14	selective none	mixed plain	A A			Davy – 21 notarum		
	g.5	43	34	r i v 14	13+ 14	none selective	plain mixed	A A	E19 H12	<i>Salve regina</i>	5	Wilhelmus	38 45
	g.6	44	35	r i v 14	14+ 14	selective none	mixed plain	A A			Cornysch – 22 notarum		
	g.7	45	36	r i v 13	14 13	none selective	plain mixed	A A	E20 H13	<i>Salve regina</i>	5	Johannes Browne – 21 notarum	39 47
	g.8	46	37	r i v 14	13 14	selective none	mixed plain	A A					
h.	h.1	47	38	r ii v 14	14 14	none none	plain pen	A A	E21 H14	<i>Salve regina</i>	5	Walterus Lambe – 22 notarum	40 46
	h.2	48	39	r ii v 14	14 14	none none	pen plain	A A					
	h.3	49	40	r ii v 14+1	14 14+1	none none	plain mixed	A A	E22 H15	<i>Salve regina</i>	7	Johannes Sutton – 23 notarum	35 42
	h.4	50	41	r ii v 14	14+1 14	none none	mixed plain	A A					
	h.5	50A	42	r ii v 14	14 14	none none	plain mixed	A A	E23 H16	<i>Salve regina</i>	5	c	46 49
	h.6	51	43	r ii v 14	14 14	none none	mixed plain	A A			Hacomplaynt – 22 notarum		
	h.7	52	44	r ii v 14	14 14	none none	plain mixed	A A	E24 H17	<i>Salve regina</i>	5	c Nicholaus Howchyn – 22 notarum	45 51
	h.8	53	45	r ii v 14	14 14	none none	mixed plain	A A					

Gathering	Original quire signatures	Later 16th-century foliation	Modern pencil foliation	Pricking traces Staves	Indentation method	Illumination types	Scribal phase	Piece number (E); Harrison Edition (H)	Incipit	Voice-parts Attribution; compass; <i>corrig-</i> <i>itur</i> letter (c) and other marginal annotations	Position in partial index (f. ee.9 ^v)	Position in complete index (f. a.1)	
i.	i.1	54	46	r iii 14	none	plain	A						
				v 14	none	painted	A	E25	<i>Salve regina</i>	5	43	53	
	i.2	55	47	r iii 14	none	painted	A	H18		Robertus Wylkynson – 22 <i>notarum</i>			
				v 14	none	plain	A			c			
	i.3	56	48	r iii 14	none	plain	A						
				v 14	none	mixed	A	E26	<i>Salve regina</i>	5	Robertus Feyrfax – 22 <i>notarum</i>	41	54
	i.4	57	49	r iii 14	none	mixed	A	H19					
				v 14	none	plain	A				c		
			r iii 14	none	plain	A							
			v 14	none	painted	A	E27	<i>Salve regina</i>	5	Ricardus Hygons – 22 <i>notarum</i>	42	50	
			r iii 14+	none	painted	A	H20						
			v 14	none	plain	A				c			
			r iii 14	none	plain	A							
			v 14	none	painted	A	E28	<i>Salve regina</i>	5	Johannes Browne – 15 <i>notarum</i>	44	48	
			r iii 14	none	painted	A	H21						
			v 14	none	plain	A							
k.	k.1	62	54	r iii 13+	none	plain	A			15 <i>notarum</i> (below stave 13)			
				v 12+	selective	mixed	A	E29	<i>Salve regina</i>	5	Johannes Hampton – 22 <i>notarum</i>	47	52
				r iii 11+	selective	painted	A	H22					
				v 15	none	flourished	Bi				c		
	k.3	64	56	r iii 15	none	flourished	Bi						
				v 15	none	painted (arms)	Bi	E30	<i>O domine celi terreque</i>	5		33	28
	k.4	65	57	r iii 15	none	painted (arms)	Bi	H23			Davy – 22 <i>notarum</i>		
				v 14	full	flourished	Bi						
			r iii 14	full	flourished	Bi							
			v 14	none	flourished	Bi							
			r iii 14	none	flourished	Bi				c; <i>Hanc antiphonam composuit Ricardus Davy / vno die collegio magdalene Oxonijs</i>			
			v 14+1	full	painted	Bi	E31	<i>Salve ihesu mater vera</i>	5		49	41	
			r iii 14+1	full	painted	Bi	H24			Davy – 22 <i>notarum</i>			
			v 14	none	flourished	Bi							
			r iii 14	none	flourished	Bi							
			v 14	full	flourished	Bi							
			r 14	full	flourished	Bi							
l.	l.1	70	62	r 14	full	flourished	Bi						
				v 14	full	painted	Bi	E32	<i>Stabat mater dolorosa</i>		59	60	
				r iii 14	full	painted	Bi	H25			Davy – 21 <i>notarum</i>		
				v 14	none	flourished	Bi						
				r iii 14	none	flourished	Bi						
				v 14	full	flourished	Bi				c		
				r iii 14	full	flourished	Bi						
				v 14+1	full	painted	Bi	E33	<i>Virgo templum trinitatis</i>	5		61	65
			r iii 14+1	full	painted	Bi	H26			Davy – 22 <i>notarum</i>			
			v 14	full	flourished	Bi							
			r iii 14	full	flourished	Bi							
			v 14+1	full	flourished	Bi							
			r iii 14+1	full	flourished	Bi							
			v 14	full	painted	Bi	E34	<i>In honore summe matris</i>	5		23	26	
			r iii 14	full	painted	Bi	H27			Davy – 22 <i>notarum</i>			
			v 14	full	flourished	Bi							
			r iii 14	full	flourished	Bi							
m.	m.1	78	70	r iii 14	full	flourished	Bi						
				v 14	full	flourished	Bi						
				r iii 14	full	flourished	Bi						
				v 14	full	painted	Bi	E35	<i>O maria et elizabeth</i>	5	Gilbertus Banester – 21 <i>notarum</i>	30	34
				r iii 14	full	painted	Bi	H28					
				v 14+1	full	flourished	Bi						
				r iii 14+1	full	flourished	Bi						
				v 14	full	flourished	Bi						
			r iii 14	full	flourished	Bi							
			v 14+1	full	painted	Bi	E36	<i>Gaude flore virginali</i>	5		13	16	
			r iii 14+1	full	painted	Bi	H29			Horwud – 21 <i>notarum</i>			
			v 14+1	full	flourished	Bi							
			r iii 14+1	full	flourished	Bi							
			v 14	full	painted	Bi	E37	<i>Gaude virgo mater cristi</i>	5		16	20	
			r iii 14	full	painted	Bi	H52			Horwud – 21 <i>notarum</i>			
			v 14	full	flourished	Bi							

Gathering	Original quire signatures	Later 16th-century foliation	Modern pencil foliation	Pricking traces Staves	Indentation method	Illumination types	Scribal phase	Piece number (E); Harrison Edition (H)	Incipit	Voice-parts Attribution; compass; <i>corrig-</i> <i>itur</i> letter (c) and other marginal annotations	Position in partial index (f. ee.9 ^v)	Position in complete index (f. a.1)
n.	n.1							E38	<i>O regina celestis glorie</i>	5	28	32
	n.2									[Lambe – 20 notarum]		
	n.3											
	n.4							E39	<i>Gaude flore virginali</i>	5	12	15
	n.5									[Lambe – 21 notarum]		
	n.6											
	n.7							E40	<i>Virgo gaude gloriosa</i>	5	60	66
	n.8									[Lambe – 21 notarum]		
o.	o.1							E41	<i>Stabat mater dolorosa</i>	5	52	57
	o.2									[Fayrfax – 21 notarum]		
	o.3							E42	<i>Ave cuius concepicio</i>	5	5	4
	o.4									[Fayrfax – 22 notarum]		
	o.5							E43	<i>Quid cantemus innocentes</i>	5	34	38
	o.6									[Fayrfax – 21 notarum]		
	o.7											
	o.8							E44	<i>Gaude flore virginali</i>	5	9	12
p.	p.1							E45	<i>Ave lux tocius mundi</i>	5	4	6
	p.2									[Browne – 21 notarum]		
	p.3											
	p.4							E46	<i>Gaude flore virginali</i>	5	11	17
	p.5									[Browne – 22 notarum]		
	p.6											
	p.7							E47	<i>Stabat mater dolorosa</i>	5	54	59
	p.8									[Cornysh – 18 notarum]		
q.	q.1	88	78	r iv 15	top left	painted	Bii	E48	<i>Stabat mater dolorosa</i>	5	53	58
	q.2	89	79	r iv 15	top left	plain	Bii	H30		Cornysch – 23 notarum		
	q.3	90	80	r iv 14	top left	one red capital	Bii					
	q.4	91	81	r iv 17	top left	painting	Bii	E49	<i>Gaude virgo salutata</i>	5	18	25
	q.5	92	82	r iv 16	top left	plain	Bii	H31		Fawkyner – 22 notarum		
	q.6	93	83	r iv 14+1	top left	painting	Bii	E50	<i>Gaude rosa sine spina</i>	5	19	23
	q.7	94	84	r iv 14	top left	plain	Bii	H32		Fawkyner – 22 notarum		
	q.8	95	85	r iv 14	top left	painting	Bii					
				v 14	top left	painting	Bii	E51	<i>Gaude flore virginali</i>	5	10	13
				v 14	top left	painting	Bii	H33		Edmundus		

Gathering	Original quire signatures	Later 16th-century foliation	Modern pencil foliation	Pricking traces Staves	Indentation method	Illumination types	Scribal phase	Piece number (E); Harrison Edition (H)	Incipit	Voice-parts Attribution; compass; <i>corrigitur</i> letter (c) and other marginal annotations	Position in partial index (f. ee.9 ^v)	Position in complete index (f. a.1)
r.	r.1	96	86	r iii? 14	top left	painted	Bii			Turges – 22 <i>notarum</i>		
				v 14	top left	plain	Bii					
	r.2	97	87	r iii? 14	top left	plain	Bii					
				v 14	top left	painted	D	E52	<i>Nesciens mater</i>	5	24	27
	r.3	98	88	r iii? 14	top left	painted	D	H34		Lambe – 22 <i>notarum</i>		
				v 14+1	top left	painted	D	E53	<i>Salve decus castitatis</i>	5	50	40
								H60		[Wylkynson – 22 <i>notarum</i>]		
								E54	<i>Ascendit cristus</i>	5	1	7
								H61		[Huchyn – 21 <i>notarum</i>]		
		r.6	99	89	r iii 14	top left	one flourished	D				
				v 14+1	top left	painted	D	E55	<i>O mater venerabilis</i>	5	31	35
	r.7	100	90	r iii? 14+1	top left	painted (arms)	D	H35		Browne – 18 [<i>notarum</i>]		
				v 14+1	top left	none	D					
	r.8	101	91	r iii? 14+	top left	none	D					
				v 14	top left	none	D					
s.	s.1							E56	<i>Ad te purissima virgo</i>	5		2
										[Cornysh – 22 <i>notarum</i>]		
	s.2											
	s.3											
	s.4								blank?			
	s.5								blank?			
	s.6								blank?			
	s.7								blank?			
	s.8								blank?			
		t.1	102 ?	n.6								
t.	t.2											
	t.3											
	t.4	103	92	r iii? 14	top left		D		blank: ruled staves only			
				v 14	top left	painted	D	E57	<i>Ave lumen gracie</i>	4	Robertus	1
	t.5	104	93	r iii? 14	top left	painted	D	H53		Fayrefax – 14 <i>notarum</i>		
				v 14+1	top left	none	D					
	t.6	105										
								E58	<i>O virgo virginum preclara</i>	4		37
										[Lambe – 14 <i>notarum</i>]		
		t.8	107	94	r iii? 14	top left	painted	D	E59	<i>Gaude virgo mater cristi</i>	4	17
				v 14	top left	none	D	H54		Wylkynson – 14 <i>notarum</i>		
v.	v.1	108	95	r iii? 14	top left	none	D					
				v 15	top left	painted	D	E60	<i>Stabat virgo mater cristi</i>	4	57	63
	v.2	109	96	r iii? 15	top left	painted	D	H36		Browne – 14 <i>notarum</i>		
				v 14	top left	one red capital	D					
	v.3	110	97	r iii? 14	top left	none	D					
				v 14	top left	painted	D	E61	<i>Stella celi</i>	4	58	64
	v.4	111	98	r iii? 14	top left	painted	D	H37		Lambe – 15 <i>notarum</i>		
				v 14	top left	none	D					
	v.5	112	99	r iii? 14	top left	none	D					
				v 14	top left	painted	D	E62	<i>Ascendit cristus</i>	4	2	3
v.6	113	100	r iii? 14	top left	painted	D	H38		Lambe – 14 <i>notarum</i>			
			v 14	top left	one red capital	D						
v.7	114	101	r iii? 14	top left	none	D						
			v 14	top left	painted	D	E63	<i>Gaude flore virginali</i>	4	21	18	
v.8	115	102	r iii? 14	top left	painted	D	H39		Walterus Lambe – 13 [<i>notarum</i>]			
			v 14	top left	plain	D						

Gathering	Original quire signatures	Later 16th-century foliation	Modern pencil foliation	Pricking traces Staves	Indentation method	Illumination types	Scribal phase	Piece number (E); Harrison Edition (H)	Incipit	Voice-parts Attribution; compass; <i>corrig-</i> <i>itur</i> letter (c) and other marginal annotations	Position in partial index (f. ec.9 ^v)	Position in complete index (f. a.1)	
x.	x.1	116	103 r	iii? 14+1	top left	plain	D						
			v	14+1	top left	painted	D	E64	<i>Gaude flore virginali</i>	4	14	14	
	x.2	117	104 r	iii? 14+1	top left	painted	D	H40		Turges – 14 <i>notarum</i>			
			v	14+1	top left	plain	D						
	x.3	118	105 r	iii? 14+1	top left	plain	D			c			
			v	14	top left	painted	D	E65	<i>Ave maria mater dei</i>	4	3	5	
	x.4	119	106 r	iii? 14	top left	painted	D	H41		Cornysch – 15 [<i>notarum</i>]			
			v	14	top left	painted	D	E66	<i>Gaude virgo mater cristi</i>	4	22	22	
x.5	120	107 r	iii? 14	top left	painted	D	H42		Cornysch – 14 [<i>notarum</i>]				
		v	14	top left	plain	D							
x.6	121	108 r	iii? 14	top left	plain	D							
		v	14	top left	painted	D	E67	<i>Gaude virgo salutata</i>	4	20	24		
x.7	122	109 r	iii? 14	top left	painted	D	H55		Holyngborne – 15 <i>notarum</i>				
		v	14	top left	plain	D							
x.8	123	110 r	iii? 14	top left	plain	D							
		v	14	top left	plain	D							
y.	y.1							E68	<i>Et exultavit</i>	7		67	
										[Browne – 22 <i>notarum</i>]			
	y.2												
	y.3												
	y.4												
	y.5							E69	<i>Et exultavit</i>	5		69	
										[Davy – 22 <i>notarum</i>]			
	y.6												
y.7													
y.8								E70 H43	<i>Et exultavit</i>	5		68	
										[Nesbett – 22 <i>notarum</i>]			
z.	z.1	124	111 r	iii? 15	full	plain	C						
			v	14	full	painted	C	E71	<i>Et exultavit</i>	5		71	
	z.2	125	112 r	iii? 14	full	painted	C	H44		Horewud – 23 <i>notarum</i>			
			v	14	full	plain	C						
	z.3	126	113 r	iii 14	full	plain	C						
			v	14	full	painted	C	E72	<i>Et exultavit</i>	5	Hugo Kellyk – 22 <i>notarum</i>		70
	z.4	127	114 r	iii? 14	full	painted	C	H45					
			v	14	full	plain	C						
z.5	128	115 r	iii 14	full	plain	C							
		v	14	full	plain	C							
z.6	129	116 r	iii? 14	full	plain	C							
		v	14	full	painted	C	E73	<i>Et exultavit</i>	5	Walterus Lambe – 21 <i>notarum</i>		73	
z.7	130	117 r	iii? 14	full	painted	C	H46						
		v	14	full	plain	C							
z.8	131	118 r	iii? 14	full	plain	C							
		v	14	full	painted	C	E74 H62	<i>Et exultavit</i>	5	Joannes [Browne – 22 <i>notarum</i>]		75	
aa.	aa.1												
	aa.2												
	aa.3							E75 H47	<i>Et exultavit</i> [‘Regale’ (f. a.1 ^r)]	5	[Fayrfax – 22 <i>notarum</i>]		72
	aa.4												
	aa.5							E76	<i>Et exultavit</i>	5	[Brygeman – 19 <i>notarum</i>]		80
	aa.6												
	aa.7							E77	<i>Et exultavit</i>	5	[Wylkynson – 22 <i>notarum</i>]		78
	aa.8							E78	<i>Et exultavit</i>	5	[Mychelson – 22 <i>notarum</i>]		79
							E79 H63	<i>Et exultavit</i>	6			77	

Gathering	Original quire signatures	Later 16th-century foliation	Modern pencil foliation	Pricking traces Staves	Indentation method	Illumination types	Scribal phase	Piece number (E); Harrison Edition (H)	Incipit	Voice-parts Attribution; compass; <i>orig-</i> <i>itur</i> letter (c) and other marginal annotations	Position in partial index (f. ee.9 ^v) Position in complete index (f. a.1)
bb.	bb.1	134	119 r v	iii? 14 14+1	top left top left	painted plain	D D			Wylkynson – 22 <i>notarum</i>	
	bb.2							E80	<i>Et exultavit</i>	5	74
	bb.3									[Cornysh – 23 <i>notarum</i>]	
	bb.4										
	bb.5							E81	<i>Et exultavit</i>	5	76
	bb.6									[Browne – 22 <i>notarum</i>]	
	bb.7										
	bb.8	135	120 r v	iii? 14+1 14	top left top left	painted painted	D D	E82 H64	<i>Et exultavit</i>	4	Sygar – 21 [<i>notarum</i>]
cc.	cc.1							E83	<i>Et exultavit</i>	4	82
	cc.2									[Browne – 22 <i>notarum</i>]	
	cc.3							E84	<i>Et exultavit</i>	4	83
	cc.4									[Turges – 21 <i>notarum</i>]	
	cc.5										
	cc.6							E85	<i>Et exultavit</i>	4	84
	cc.7									[Turges – 17 <i>notarum</i>]	
	cc.8							E86	<i>Et exultavit</i>	4	85
dd.	dd.1							E87	<i>Et exultavit</i>	4	86
	dd.2									[Sygar – 22 <i>notarum</i>]	
	dd.3										
	dd.4							E88	<i>Et exultavit</i>	4	87
	dd.5									[Baldwyn – 22 <i>notarum</i>]	
	dd.6							E89	<i>Et exultavit</i>	4	88
	dd.7									[Turges – 14 <i>notarum</i>]	
	dd.8							E90 H65	<i>Et exultavit</i>	4	[Davy – 14 <i>notarum</i>]
ee.	ee.1	138	121 r v	iii? 14 14+1	top left top left	plain painted	D D			c	
	ee.2	139	122 r v	iii? 14 14	top left top left	painted plain	D D	E91 H48	<i>Et exultavit</i>	4	89
	ee.3	140	123 r v	iii? 14 14	top left top left	plain	D			(Stratford) – 14 <i>notarum</i> <i>dompnus wyllimus stratford monachus stratfordie</i> (over stave 14)	
	ee.4								blank: ruled staffs only blank?		
	ee.5							E92 H49	<i>Passio domini</i> (8)	4	91
	ee.6									[Davy – 22 <i>notarum</i>]	
	ee.7	143	124 r v	iii? 14 14	top left top left	plain plain	D D				
	ee.8	144	125 r v	iii? 14 14	top left top left	plain plain	D D				
	ee.9	145	126 r v	iii? 14 14	top left top left	plain crude red I	D Y	E93 H50	<i>Ihesus autem transiens</i>	13 xiiij partium Huius distinctas muse toties sumito partes / Margine quoties parvo nomina scripta vides // <i>Robertus Wylkynson</i> (over partially erased stave 8)	
Partial index (over erased staves 11–14)											
	127 r	fly-leaf: Bible fragment (c. 1100): fourth, inner bifolium: inside (centre): ff. 4 ^v –5 (1 Corinthians 15:17 to 16:21; 2 Corinthians, <i>capitula</i> and 1:1 to 2:2). Outside: ff. 4/5 ^v (1 Corinthians 13:4 to 15:15; 2 Corinthians 2:3 to 5:8)									
	128 r	fly-leaf: Bible fragment (c. 1100): third bifolium: inside: ff. 3 ^v /6 (1 Corinthians 11:5 to 13:3; 2 Corinthians 5:9 to 8:7)									
	v	outside: ff. 3/6 ^v (1 Corinthians 9:12 to 11:6; 2 Corinthians 8:11 to 11:3)									

Structure and Compilation

ETON is not a very complicated manuscript: it was assembled over a relatively short time, not over several decades; it was principally the work of a single scribe with broadly consistent working methods; it followed a design brief which, though adaptable in its details, was consistent in its principles; and its provenance can be established without difficulty.¹

ETON is not entirely straightforward, however. Although broadly consistent, the scribe's mannerisms developed as copying progressed, leaving a series of snapshots of his style in transition as he moved from one phase of copying to the next. The sequence of these phases can be reconstructed with some confidence, even though the loss of nearly half of the original number of folios has opened up large gaps in the trail of evidence. We can certainly discount the possibility that the order in which ETON was physically bound (i.e. gatherings a.→b.→c.→...→dd.→ee.) mirrors the sequence in which it was copied.

The reconstructed copying sequence can be set alongside the chronology of historical data available within the college's archival records. As a result, the dating of ETON, ranging from 1490–1502 (Harrison) to 1500–10 (James), can be narrowed down to 1500–05 at the outside or, more likely, 1502–04.² A securely-established chronology enables us to identify potential donors and amateurs for ETON, and to clarify its interrelationships with its concordances and its comparators from elsewhere.

The following pages will therefore be devoted primarily to an evaluation of the sequence of the principal scribal activities: preparation of quires, ruling of staves, copying of notation and insertion of text (although they impinge upon these activities, illuminations are considered separately, as is the binding).

1. Folios and quires

When complete ETON comprised 224 vellum folios (of which 126 survive) divided into 28 quires or gatherings.³ Each gathering comprised four bifolia, with two exceptions: the first gathering, a., has seven folios (the eighth was removed as ETON neared completion); and the final gathering, ee., has nine (an additional leaf was added when the gathering was prepared). The average folio measurement is 595 × 425 mm, although it was originally larger, 600 × 430 mm or more, to judge from the extent of ornamental pen-work lost through the trimming of leaves at several points in the manuscript.⁴ These dimensions were among the largest of all pre-Reformation books, but not quite as gargantuan as those evident in LAMBETH and CAIUS (although several pre-Reformation choirbooks have folio sizes comparable with ETON's).⁵ Given a folio size of approximately 600 × 430 mm, ETON would have

required the skins of 112 average-sized calves.⁶

The physical size of ETON, one of its most striking features, reflects the optimal size that could be derived without wastage from the chosen writing surface: ETON was one of several early Tudor choirbooks of comparable dimensions (see Table 3.1). The prevailing ethos of ETON tended towards excellence, but not extravagance: perfect vellum sheets were selected wherever possible, but blemished or texturally inconsistent ones were not entirely eliminated. Sheets with insect bites were patched rather than discarded,⁷ or the offending holes were skirted around by the scribe;⁸ ugly discoloration in the last opening of gathering a., probably the result of a spillage, was solved by the removal of the worst affected folio and the re-copying of its contents onto the unused recto of the next gathering.⁹ The appearance of splendour was achieved, at least in part, through careful cost control.

Table 3.1. Pre-Reformation choirbooks compared

Manuscript	Date	Folio (cm) ¹⁰	Stave width (mm)	Stave height median (mm)	Notation/coloration	Text	Initials
EGERTON 3307	1440s	29 × 21	14	13	B+R	B/R	blue/red, painted etc.
<i>GB-Lna</i> E 163/22/1/3	c.1455	68 × 46	32	19	B+R	B	painted
PEPYS 1236	1465	18 × 13	var.	9.5	B+R		plain
<i>GB-Lbl</i> 54324	1475	29 × 18	18	10	V+B		plain
<i>GB-Ob</i> Lat. liturg. a.9	c. 1500	52 × 41	34	19.5	B+R	B/R	blue/red
NOTTINGHAM 20332	c. 1500	? × 40	35	22.5	B+R	B/R	blue/red
CHOIRBOOK 2a	c. 1500	50 × 42	32	20	B+R	B/R	blue/red; gold
CHESTER	c. 1500	?	?	18	B	B/R	–
ETON	1500–04	60 × 43	33	17	B+R/v	B/R	blue/red, painted etc.
CHOIRBOOK 2b	1500s	60 × 40	31–33	17	B+R	B/R	–
<i>GB-Cu</i> Nn.6.46	–1509	60 × 45	35	19.5	R	B/R	blue/red, painted etc.
<i>GB-Lbl</i> 30520	1513+	57 × 42	34	17	V	B/R	
<i>GB-Ob</i> Mus. e. 21	1510s	50 × 32	?	15	V+B	B	–
<i>GB-Lbl</i> 70516Z	1520s	50 × 35 ¹¹	28	15	V+B	B	pen
CAIUS	1520s	74 × 52	39	20	B+V	B	painted
LAMBETH	1520s	67 × 47	37	20	B+V/r	B	painted

Key Manuscript: see Antecedents, Contemporaries and Concordances (pp. 72–76) for descriptions
 Notation/coloration: B = full black; R = full red; V = black void
 Text underlay: B = black; R = red
 Initials: see Illuminated Initials and Marginalia (pp. 32–36) for classifications

2. Pricking and frame-ruling

The written space on each folio is bounded by two parallel frame-rulings running from the top to the bottom of the folio, 320–30 mm apart, and one running horizontally from left to right across the top (usually 45–50 mm below what is now the upper edge of the folio). Another horizontal frame-ruling, at the foot of the written area, can sometimes be seen, its ends extending beyond the written area into the LH and RH margins, although it was usually incorporated into the lines of the fourteenth stave; as batch-ruling of gatherings became increasingly standardised, these foot-rulings were discontinued. The written area defined by the frame-rulings is typically 330 mm wide and between 425 and 480 mm high, depending on the number of staves needed. Batch-ruled gatherings, which constitute the majority of gatherings in ETON, observe a regular pattern: fourteen staves occupy a written area 440 × 330 mm.

¹ Compare, for instance, with RITSON (a miscellany of scribal and repertory layers compiled over several decades for an institution unknown, probably in the West Country).

² Or even 1502–03 if, by an unfortunate coincidence, ETON was copied during one of the rare lacunae in the college's early Tudor bursary records. The account roll for 1502–03 is missing; within the accounts for the surrounding years (ECR 61/AR/F/10–14), no entries can be found of transactions directly associable with ETON, whether to stationers, copyists, limners or binders. On dating: Harrison 1952b, 232; James 1895, 108.

³ Neil Ker's suggestion of 225 leaves was predicated upon a misunderstanding of the structure of gathering a. (Ker *MMBL* 2, 774).

⁴ See openings a.4^l/f. 3^v, a.5^l/f. 4^v, a.6^l/f. 5^v, a.7^l/f. 6^v, b.1^l/f. 7^v, c.8^l/f. 16^v, h.8^l/f. 44^v, k.6^l/f. 58^v, l.3^l/f. 63^v, l.4^l/f. 64^v, l.7^l/f. 67^v, l.8^l/f. 68^v, m.1^l/f. 69^v, m.4^l/f. 72^v, m.5^l/f. 73^v.

⁵ *GB-Ob* Lat. liturg. a. 9; NOTTINGHAM 20332; CHOIRBOOK 2a; CHOIRBOOK 2b; *GB-Cu* Nn.6.46; and (probably) the very fragmentary *GB-Ob* Mus. e. 21 (see Antecedents, Contemporaries and Concordances pp. 75–76). The Carmelite Missal of c. 1398, *GB-Lbl* 29704–05 and 44892, originally measured 639 × 425 mm.

⁶ Morgan/Thomson 2008, 75–76: a large-format Bible might require the skins of 200–400 beasts.

⁷ Patches can be seen in openings a.5^l/f. 4^v (visible on the verso, staves 8–9), d.7^l/f. 24 (between staves 10 and 11, in outer margin), m.1^l/f. 70, m.2^l/f. 71, m.6^l/f. 75, x.7^l/f. 109. A long vellum patch can be seen on b.8^l/f. 10^v (stave 1), pasted over what was presumably a major scribal blunder.

⁸ See openings f.4^l/f. 27 (adjacent to stave 3, inner margin) and v.8^l/f. 103.

⁹ Opening b.1, comprising ff. a.7^v and b.1 (ff. 7^v–8), superseded 'a.8'; the stained LH, side a.7^v (b.1^l), was retained.

¹⁰ In centimetres, rounded to nearest cm.

¹¹ Assuming this is a fragmentary choirbook, rather than half of a one-voice *rotulus*.

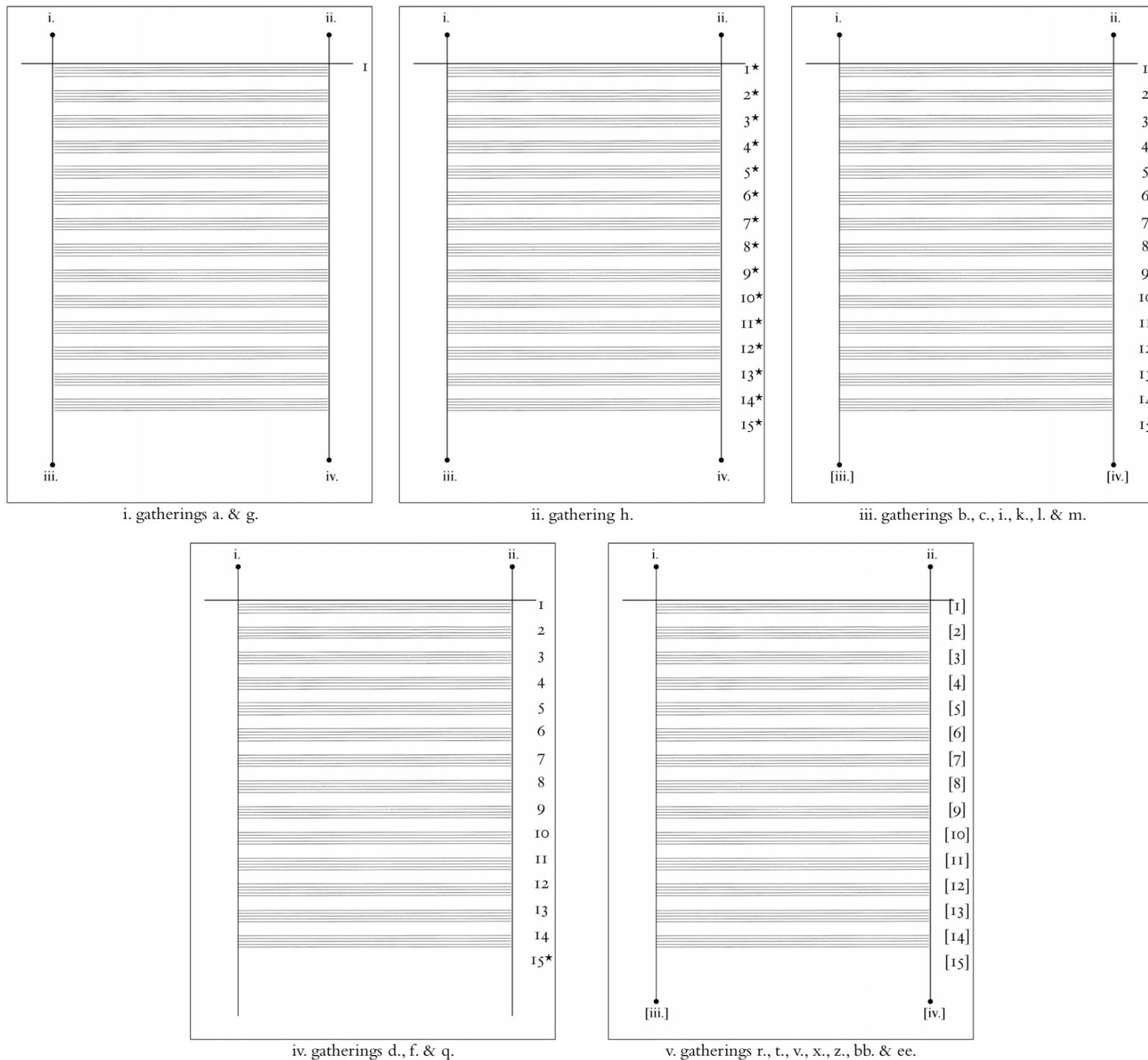


Figure 3.1. Pricking patterns, i–v

The lateral frame-rulings were ruled from guide holes which, in most cases, were pricked near the top and the bottom of the folio, four holes in all. Another series of 15 holes, running along the outer edge of each folio, guided the ruling of staves; these holes were pricked between 30.5 and 33.5 mm apart. Many of these holes have been lost, particularly those along the lateral edges which suffered when the leaves were trimmed; sometimes the traces of holes can be seen by way of very slight indentations along the edge of the folio. Despite this trimming, ruling styles between all gatherings except g. and a. are consistent enough to indicate that the same basic system of frame-rule and lateral holes was used without significant deviation (the exceptions, g. and a., are discussed below).

Although minor, such variations in pricking method helpfully corroborate the scribal data on which we might predicate a conjectural copying order for ETON as a whole. In some gatherings, for instance, one or more of the lateral holes is duplicated: throughout gatherings d., f. and q., at the lowermost hole; and in gathering h., where the bifolia h.2/7 and h.3/6 appear to have been pricked together, as suggested by the similar orientation of duplicated holes. Evidence of batch-pricking within an already-assembled quire can also be found in gathering k., where the positions and the directions of the elongated holes correspond exactly from leaf to leaf.¹²

¹² This is also corroborated by the tendency of different gatherings to have different-shaped holes, depending upon the type of awl used when quires were pricked, whether singly or in batches: gatherings b. and l. have large, round holes, while k. has fine, narrow ones. For evidence of pricking *after* bifolia were folded, see Wright 1982, 241 (concerning TRENT 87₁ and TRENT 92₂).

Filiations in pricking style frequently correspond with congruencies of scribal method (see below). Although the preparation of vellum quires was systematised at an early stage, the stationer and the scribe worked broadly in tandem. Evidence from other early Tudor institutions suggests that music copyists might be expected to prepare their own stationery.¹³

Although page-trimming has removed many of their traces, pricking holes can be grouped together into five patterns

- Pattern i: gatherings g. and a. only: omits lateral holes for staves;
- Pattern ii: gathering h. only: lateral holes are used, some of them duplicated;
- Pattern iii: gatherings b., c., i., k., l. and m.: holes were pricked for staves; other holes are regularly detectable at the head, but not always at the foot, of each lateral frame-ruling;
- Pattern iv: gatherings d., f. and q.: holes were pricked for staves, the fifteenth hole duplicated; holes are found at the head, but not foot, of each lateral frame-ruling;
- Pattern v: many or all of the lateral prickings are lacking, presumably trimmed off.

These patterns, or traces of patterns, are included in the Inventory p. 15.

¹³ For instance, at St James's church, Louth, Lincolnshire (1506–07): 'Item paid to John Caywod for a long masse prekyn, writyng & rewlyng callyd *miserere*, ij s.' (Louth St James, 92); Caywod was the church's choirmaster (Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, MS Monson 7/1, f. 32: memorandum of appointment by guild of the BVM, June 1478).

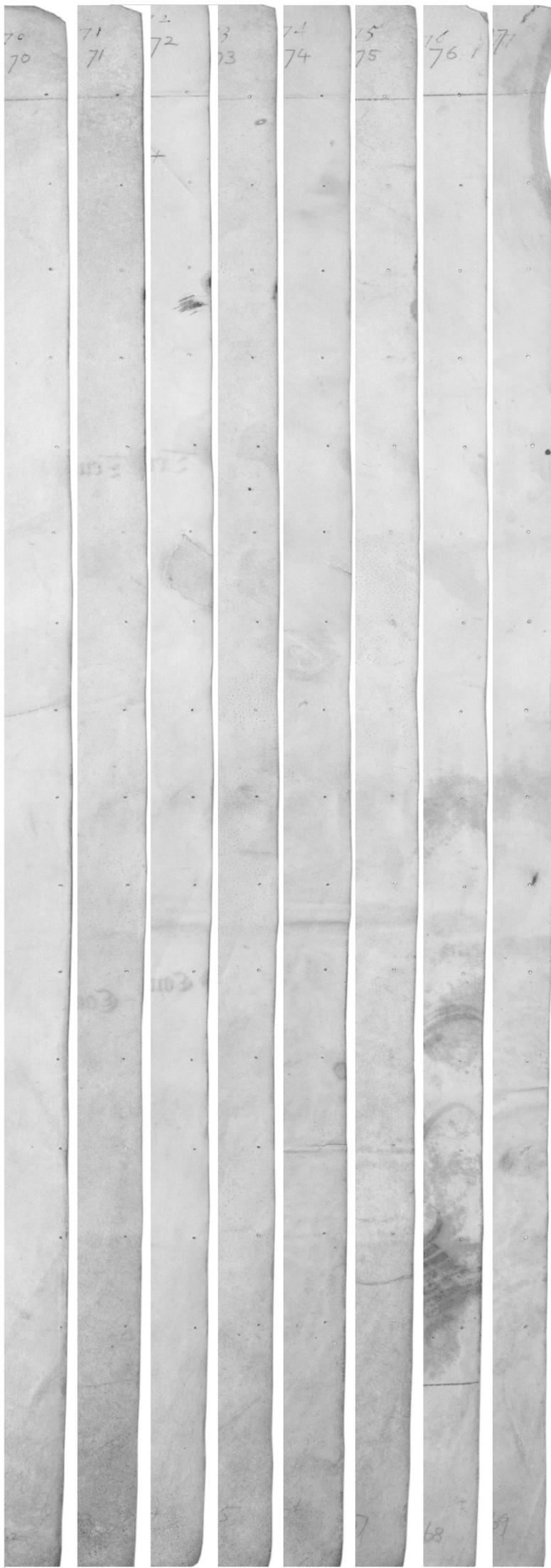


Figure 3.2. Alignment of pricking holes in gathering l. (size reduced).

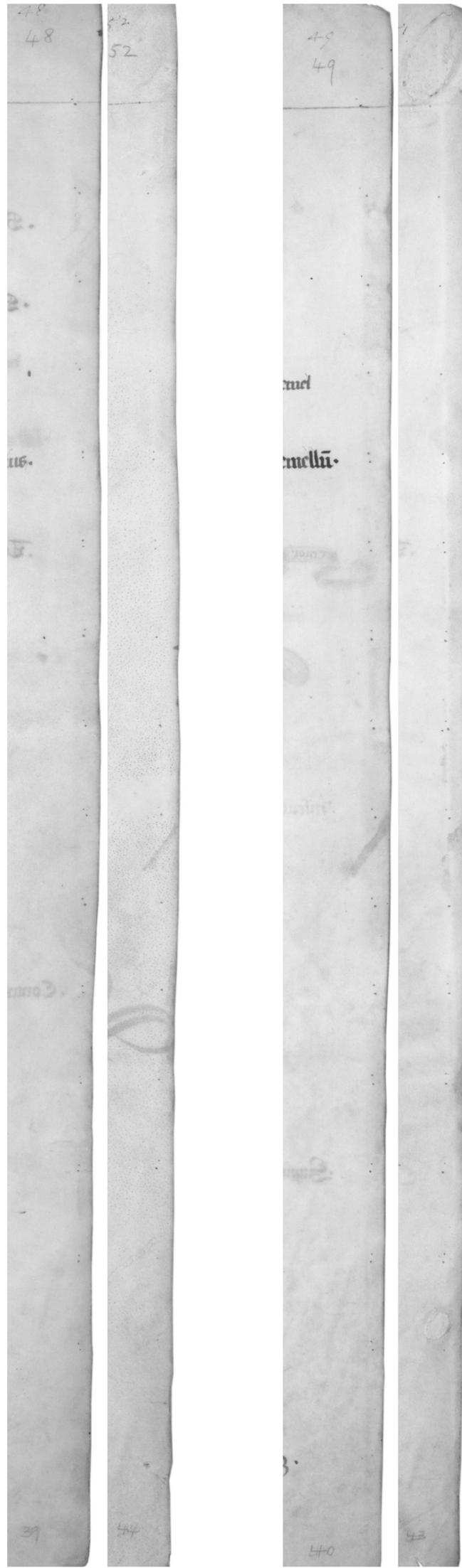


Figure 3.3. Pricking-hole alignment in gathering h. (size reduced).
bifolium h.2+h.7/ff. 39+44 bifolium h.3+h.6/ff. 40+43

3. Staves

Throughout ETON, the median stave-gauge is 17 mm, although staves vary in height from 12.5 to 22.5 mm. ETON's median stave-gauge is by no means out-sized when compared with those of other Tudor choirbooks (see Table 3.1), although its variability is unusually wide; this variation reflects a shift during the copying process away from narrow staves towards wide ones, almost certainly in an attempt to improve legibility (see below):¹⁴ gathering g. has the narrowest staves (at 12.5–18.5 mm); but narrow staves have also been found throughout the other early gatherings, h.→i.→a. (see Phases of Copying below). Within the earliest gatherings staves also show more splay than in later ones: in opening a.6^l, for instance, we can see a left-to-right divergence of 3 mm in the third stave, as well as a stave-gauge variation of some 5 mm (from 12 mm to 17 mm) within the folio as a whole.¹⁵ Both splay and stave-gauge variation self-evidently show that ETON was freely-ruled (that is, the scribe ruled one stave-line at a time, rather than using a five-tipped rastrum).¹⁶

More consistent stave-gauges were achieved through an increasingly methodical approach to the batch-ruling of gatherings. Early custom-ruled gatherings have the widest stave-gauge variation, the most splay, and a marked tendency for staves to wobble from the horizontal. This latter phenomenon can be seen throughout much of gathering a., which was custom-ruled, but is demonstrably eliminated in the next gathering, b., which was batch-ruled (except for its originally blank first recto).

Batch-ruling, the preparatory ruling of whole quires or groups of quires, is a crucial indicator of long-term scribal planning; in ETON, batch-ruling also facilitated the development of greater scribal uniformity. Extensive batch-ruling becomes most clearly evident in the later phases of copying, by which stage the scribe was following a well-rehearsed *modus operandi*. Close colour matches, congruence of stave-gauges, and identical ruling style between gatherings r.→t.→v.→x, and ee. (but not z.), for instance, suggests that these gatherings, all of which pertain to the last main phase of copying, were ruled in close succession. The ruled but unused folios t.4^r/f. 92 and ee.4^l/f. 123^v belong to disjunct layers of the choirbook, but could easily have been ruled within minutes of each other.

Tell-tale evidence of batch-ruling is seen in the preparations made for one of the last steps in the making of the choirbook, namely the painting of illuminated letters. This evidence can first be seen in gathering b., where vertical plummet lines were ruled 25 mm inside the LH frame-ruling. These guide-lines indicated an indentation within which staves would be left unruled in preparation for the addition of illuminated letters at a later stage:¹⁷



Figure 3.4. Plummet rulings (opening b.7^r/f. 10, staves 1–4: E4)

¹⁴ See above Table 3.1. Pre-Reformation choirbooks compared.

¹⁵ One opening, g.1^r/f. 30, shows considerable splay (e.g. stave 8: 19–23.5 mm), probably because the staves were ruled at a very late stage, after ETON had been bound.

¹⁶ Free-ruling appears to have been the standard technique in English choirbooks: see Antecedents, Contemporaries and Concordances p. 72–76 below for comparative data. Contrast with *GB-Ob Canon. Misc. 213*, whose five rastrum sizes provide evidence of its copying order (see *Canon. Misc. 213* (Fallows), 8–9).

¹⁷ Unless otherwise indicated, all reproductions in this chapter are at original size.

Indenting relieved the illuminator of the need to erase pre-ruled stave-lines prior to the painting of initials; but it increased the workload of the scribe who now had to provide stubs for those staves intended to take notation rather than illuminations: this can be seen in figures 3.4 and 3.5—skilfully done, but detectable none the less. After gathering b., anticipating the likely placement of illuminated letters became one of the principal factors in the ruling of new gatherings, and serves as a useful piece of evidence in considering the overall copying sequence.¹⁸

In the context of batch-ruling, it proved impossible to predict accurately where an illumination would be needed; the task was difficult enough where staves were custom-ruled.¹⁹ Eventually the scribe fell back upon the most reliable assumption that could be made when working in choirbook notation—that an illuminated letter would be needed in the uppermost stave: certainly on the LH side of the opening and frequently on the RH side as well.²⁰ The following forms of indentation can be found:

Type	Description	Used in gatherings	Scribal phase
1. none	all staves ruled margin-to-margin	g.→h.→i.	A
2. full	all staves indented	b.→c. l.→m. z.	B Bii C
3. selective	custom-ruled: staves indented as necessary	a., k. (but see below)	B
4. top left	only the first staff on each side was indented	q.→r. d. (verso only; recto = none) t.→v.→x...→bb.→ee.	Bii/D C D
mixed	different types used for various folios within one gathering	a., k. (mainly none, but k.5 & k.7 full), f.	A/Bi D/X

The correlation between indentation method and scribal phases is broad but not precise—unsurprisingly, given that discontinuities between the ruling of gatherings and the copying of notation within them were a natural consequence of batch-ruling. ETON is unusual among early Tudor music manuscripts in having been batch-ruled in this way: no concordance or comparator has type 2 or type 4 indentation.

4. Notation and text underlay: general traits

We now move on to the primary focus of scribal activity, namely the copying of notation and the insertion of textual underlay. As with the preparation of vellum and ruling of staves, the general principles of notation and texting—the calligraphic formation of characters, the selection of black and red ink, and the choice of texting style, etc.—stabilised at an early stage. Two critical factors informed these developments: a drive towards a more efficient scribal method which could facilitate rapid copying on one hand; and a concomitant need to increase the legibility of his resulting handiwork by making note-symbols larger and more regular in appearance. Small, round-headed (or square-headed) notes gave way to large, triangular forms, a development which can be seen during the first few gatherings to be copied (g.→h.→i.→a.→b.: see below, Phases of Copying); a modest simplification and rounding of text underlay reduced the number of time-consuming pen-lifts. A successful *modus operandi*, once established, remained stable throughout the rest of the project.

A representative example: gathering l.

Changing scribal techniques allow for a conjectural reconstruction of the copying sequence of ETON. Before these variations are discussed, however, let us look at what might be deemed a representative example of the norm. Gathering l. provides a good case study, lying at the exact midpoint of ETON in its present incomplete state. Although it was copied at a relatively early stage in the sequence (it was eighth out of 28 gatherings to be copied), gathering l. illustrates well the mature stages of ETON as a scribal project. Gathering l. also consists entirely of compositions by one composer, Richard Davy, and was most probably copied at speed from a single exemplar.

The physical structure of gathering l. is typical of ETON: a gathering of eight folios measuring 595 × 425 mm (i.e. four bifolia of 595 × 850 mm);

¹⁸ Indentation can also be seen in HARLEY 1709 (Sandon 1993, 357; see also Wright 1982, 239).

¹⁹ See opening a.7^l/f. 6^v, where unruled spaces were left for staves 4–5, 7–8 and 11, but to limited avail.

²⁰ In gathering d., this premise was taken to its logical conclusion when only the first stave on the left of each opening was indented.

pricking are clearly evident along the outer edges of each folio (illustrated earlier) as well as at the head and foot of each vertical frame-rule; its staves are regularly spaced and broadly consistent in height. The scribe left indentations along the LH edge of the written area so that illuminated letters could be inserted subsequently (we can therefore assume that gathering 1. was batch-ruled); the 'missing' staff-lines were subsequently inked in:



Figure 3.5. Added staff-lines (opening 1.7^r/f. 68, staves 7-9: E33)

Notation

Gathering 1. typifies ETON in its notation, which is full black with full red coloration. The calligraphic forms of gathering 1. also exemplify the mature phases of ETON: in particular, the regularity and purposefulness of pen-strokes, the large size of note-heads which are also consistent in size and shape, and the rigorous minimisation of empty space *between* note-symbols which allows for fifty or more notational units per staff. The most striking scribal trait, however, is the triangular character of note-heads (semibreve, minim, semiminim, *fusa* and *semifusa* note-heads): a trait which struck subsequent observers of ETON at least as early as the mid-eighteenth century.²¹

These note-heads were all formed using the same basic three-fold pen-stroke, the nib being around 1.5mm thick. Whether or not the note had a stem, the head was drawn first, beginning with a vertical down-stroke, followed by a diagonal leftwards stroke at an angle of 45° from the top of the down-stroke, returning through a retraction of the pen to the foot of the original down-stroke, thus:²²

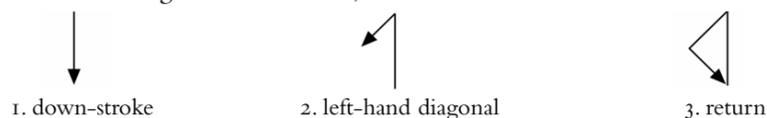


Figure 3.6. Three-stroke noteheads

In semibreves, the blunt stump of the down-stroke protrudes from the top of the filled note, marking the first impact of pen on vellum. In the case of minims this stump was incorporated into the ascending note-stem; where minims and semi-minims have descending stems, these stems were added after the note-head had been formed, and not as part of the original down-stroke.

The pen was consistently held at an angle of approximately 40° to the lateral edges of the page. The resulting distribution of thick and thin pen-strokes facilitated the formation of very consistent triangular note-heads; it also caused slight rightwards declination along the upper faces of square note-heads:

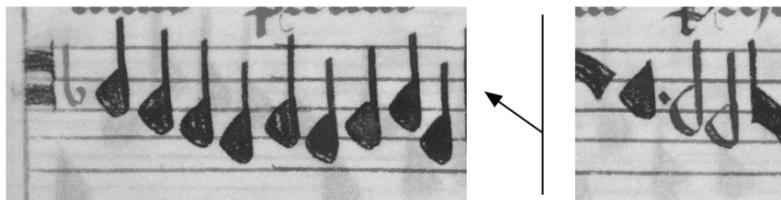


Figure 3.7. Pen position (opening 1.4^l/f. 64^v: E32)

In gathering 1., and throughout all phases of the choirbook, the stems of minims, semiminims and *fusae* predominantly ascend; descending stems are reserved for note-heads in the uppermost space or on the uppermost line of the staff (and not always in these cases). Breves and other square note-heads uniformly have side-bars whose shape and size relative to the body of the note-head remain consistent throughout the main scribal phases of ETON.

²¹ These note-shapes were replicated by John Travers in *GB-Lrcm 660* (see above, *Choirbook in Context* p. 3).

²² Cf. Williamson 1997a, where a different order of pen-strokes is posited.

Clefs, mensuration signs, rests and fermata are consistent, within both gathering 1. and ETON as a whole (except in the two outliers, E15 and E93). C-clefs were formed from two filled oblongs (3-4 mm long) firmly drawn from the frame-ruling, braced with a side-bar to the right. F-clefs were formed identically; a figure-of-eight is drawn to the right of the brace, with a stem descending from the lower bowl (F3 clefs often have an ascending stem as well); formed sometimes from angled and sometimes from rounded pen-strokes, the figures-of-eight vary considerably in shape. Because of their calligraphic complexity, involving several pen-strokes and pen-lifts, G-clefs show the greatest variability of form, size and orientation:

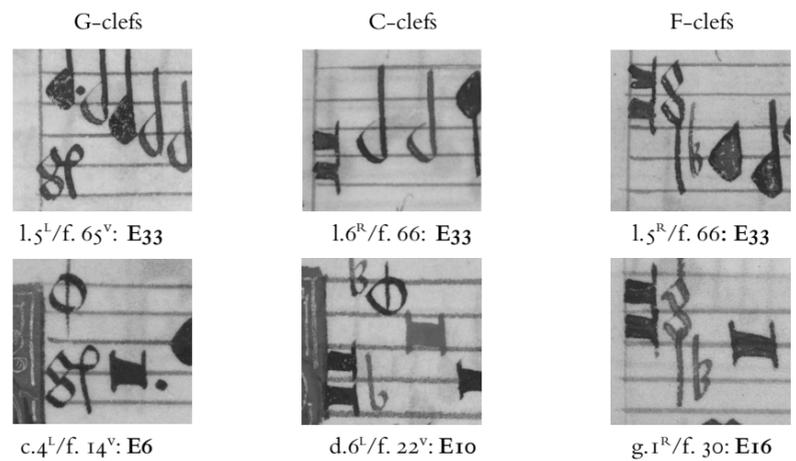
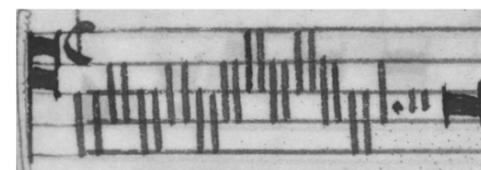


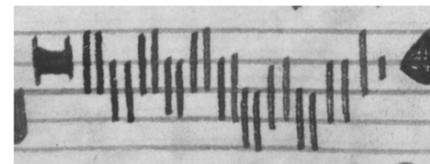
Figure 3.8. Clefs

Mensuration signs occupy the uppermost space inside the staff (and placed just above the staff when C₅-clef is used). For the lines in cut signatures (which have no proportional significance), a simple vertical pen-stroke was used.²³

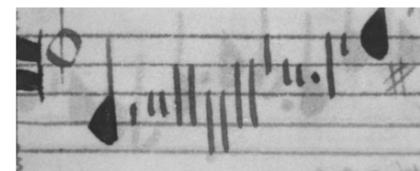
The placement of rests is consistent throughout ETON. Apart from accurately delineating long tacets as well as short counts, rests are grouped in a manner that is easy on the eye. Typically a cluster of rests begins on the line nearest to the previous note and then, through a series of alternating pairs or singletons, rests are patterned so as to lead the eye seamlessly towards the pitch at which the voice next enters.



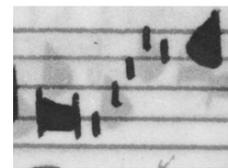
1.4^l/f. 64^v: E32



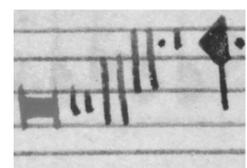
1.7^l/f. 67^v: E33



b.3^l/f. 9^v: E3



c.2^r/f. 13: E5



d.1^r/f. 18: E8

Figure 3.9. Rests

Fermata were drawn with the pen at the same angle as it was when notating, always dotted, the dot placed either immediately above or two spaces above the note, depending on whether the note concerned was on

²³ More frequent use of uncut signatures is a hallmark of the later stages of copying (see below: Phase D).

a line or in a space. Directs consist of double oscillations with a hook to the right. Both oscillations and hooks vary in size and shape throughout the manuscript:

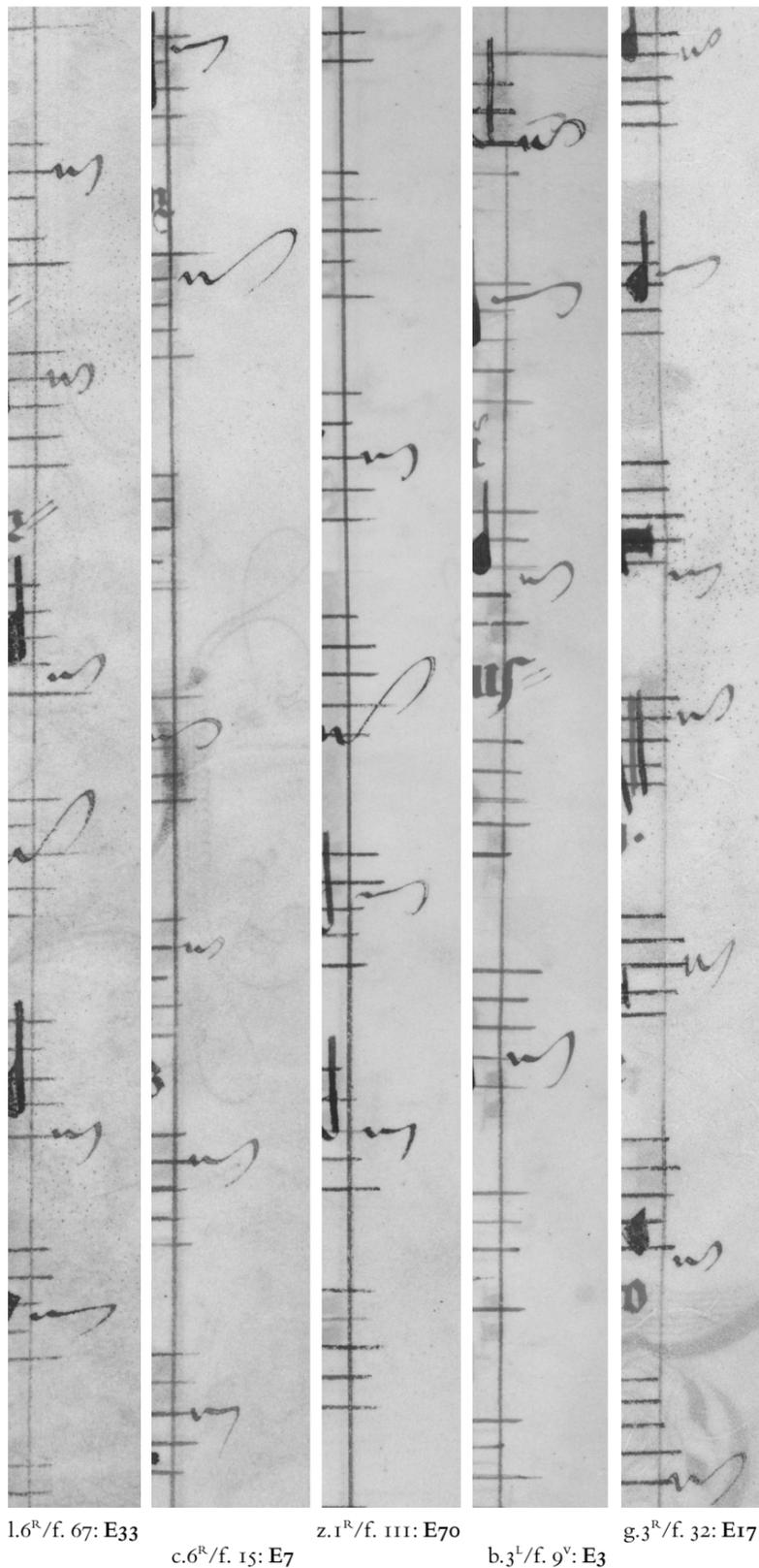


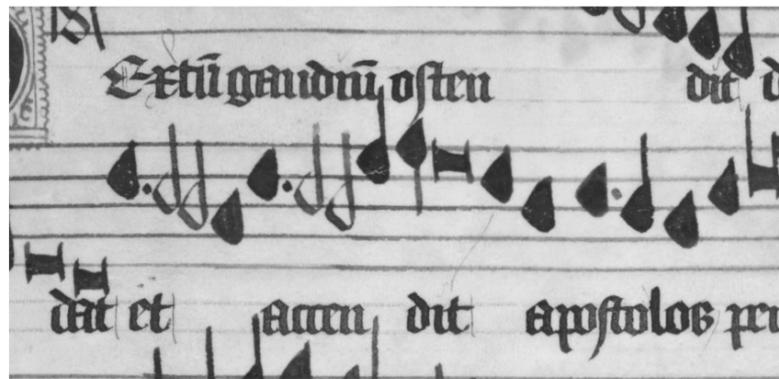
Figure 3.10. Directs

Text underlay

Apart from E15 and E93, which were copied outside the main sequence, texts are written in a formal *textura* or *textualis formata*.²⁴ Four phases of scribal activity will be posited below, namely A, B–Bii, C and D (see Phases of Copying). These correspond with a gradual development of the texting hand which becomes rounder as the project progresses, and whose duct varies according to the space available, the shape and size of the pen, and the speed at which the scribe worked. Gathering 1. exemplifies the texting style of ETON as the project approached its mid-point. The letters are guided by a pair of plummet rulings (sometimes visible as faint, parallel russet lines).

These guidelines were ruled for both black and red text underlay and can sometimes be seen beneath black-text composer ascriptions and red-text compass indications (for instance, in openings 1.2^R/f. 63 and 1.5^R/f. 66).

²⁴ Ker *MMBL* 2, 774.

Figure 3.11. Guide-lines for text underlay (opening 1.7^L/f.67^V: E33)

Red and black ink

Black is the prevailing ink type throughout ETON, gathering 1. included. Red ink served four purposes, two of which will be familiar: to alter rhythmic values through coloration (until the late phases of copying when complemented or superseded by black void coloration: see below); and to indicate sections of reduced scoring (through the use of red text underlay, as noted first by Anselm Hughes);²⁵ and for hexachord signs (which were also frequently, but not universally, written in red). Red ink was also used cosmetically: for the ornamentation of bar-lines, the colouring-in of *finales*, and in quasi-symmetrical alternation with black for vocal designations and other marginalia (see openings 1.3 and 1.4, but not 1.5 and 1.6).

Gathering 1. is representative: final bar-lines are only sparingly and simply highlighted with red ink (in contrast to the more elaborate style that appears in some later gatherings);²⁶ conversely, red-filled *finales* appear in gathering 1. more conspicuously than in other gatherings (the nearest similarity in style can be found in gathering c.). Red accidentals appear frequently in gathering 1., and space was left in anticipation by the scribe while he was notating in black. There is no over-arching system to this, however: the scribe evidently added hexachord signs as each opening, piece or gathering neared the end of its copying, using whichever colour ink was to hand.²⁷ In E32 (Davy, *Stabat mater*) accidentals are in red, probably because they were added simultaneously with or soon after the red notation and red text underlay; immediately afterwards, Davy's *Virgo templum trinitatis* (E33) has a mixture of red and black, nearly all of which were written during the main copying stint.

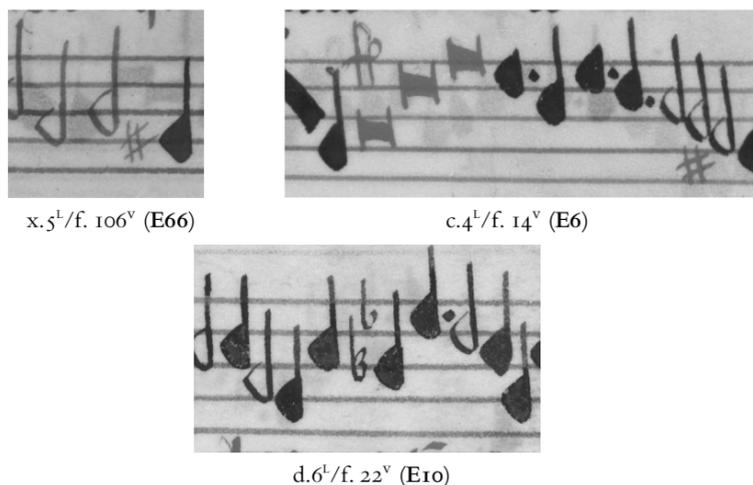


Figure 3.12. Hexachord signs

Red and black notations are scribally identical: the same method of writing note-heads was used in red as black; red breves, like black, tend to descend slightly towards the right; red semibreves are indistinguishable in their triangular formation from black. Red notation and red text underlay are also indistinguishable in terms of ink colour. There are no significant mis-spacings or misalignments where the two ink colours alternate. Taken together, these factors suggest that one scribe copied

²⁵ HughesDomA 1927, 70; later amplified in Harrison 1953, 165 and MB 10, xxii.

²⁶ Red highlighting of bar-lines, fermata and other details can be seen in many other early Tudor sources: BUXTON 96, ZWICKAU 95b, CHOIRBOOK 2a, *Gb-Cu* Nn.6.46, CHOIRBOOK 2b and *GB-Lbl* 30520 (but not LAMBETH or *GB-Ob* lat. liturg. a. 9).

²⁷ Similarly, the scribe often copied directs in red ink, most frequently where a direct immediately follows red notation (e.g. opening m.2^L/f. 70^V, staves 3 and 8); red directs in the same circumstances can also be seen in CHOIRBOOK 2a.

both red and black, text and music, with prepared mixes of both ink colours readily to hand.²⁸

Further evidence of simultaneous or near-simultaneous red/black copying can be seen in the various cues left by the scribe for the subsequent addition of painted letters or blue-ink capitals. When anticipating the insertion of a plain blue capital immediately before red text underlay, the scribe provided a minute hair-line limner's cue (in red); no such *aide-mémoire* was provided for red capitals that precede black underlay, almost certainly because red and black were used in very close succession.

Illuminated letters

Illuminated letters are considered in a separate chapter. Gathering l. exemplifies the style of illumination scheme devised at earlier stages of copying, but now in its mature style: painted letters on a square coloured field mark the first opening of each piece. Subsequent openings have less elaborate initials: at this stage large flourished initials (blue letters on elaborate red-line backgrounds). The styles and combinations of illuminations changed during the copying of ETON, in parallel with evolutions in scribal method; the principle of differentiation by style between first and subsequent openings, however, was established at the outset and remained inviolable.²⁹

5. The Four Phases of Copying

ETON has lost 98 of its original 224 folios, a melancholy fact in itself, but also a cautionary consideration in any attempt to reconstruct the choir-book's copying order. A study of the surviving folios suggests four principal phases of copying, however. These proposed phases are predicated upon perceived interactions between several elements of scribal activity: between pricking and ruling, the size and style of notating, the styles of lettering used for textual underlay (and other text elements), and the types of illuminated letters deployed.

We can assume that the copying of ETON took several months.³⁰ The lapse of time within and, especially, between scribal phases most convincingly accounts both for the differences between different phases but also for their kinship. The notating and texting of ETON were the work, not of four copyists with distinct and wholly consistent methods of work, but of one copyist whose style evolved over time. The hypothetical sequence of copying suggested by these phases in conjunction with known biographical data is as follows:

Table 3.2. Copying phases and gatherings

Phase	Gatherings	Catalogue
	The scribe began the aggregated settings of <i>Salve regina</i> , beginning with E17 (Horwood) and ending half-way through E29 (Hampton):	
A	g.2→h.→i.→k.2	E17–E29
	The scribe abandoned E29 after copying its <i>prima pars</i> , turning his attention to the group of richly-scored motets now at the front of ETON. This stint ended on the final recto of gathering c. (pre-ruled staves on the verso were left unused for the time being):	
B	a.1→b.→c.8	E1–E7
	Having completed E6 the scribe reverted to E29, providing its <i>secunda pars</i> , immediately followed by four motets by Richard Davy (E31–E34), and other pieces up to the end of gathering m. and the beginning of n. (which is lost):	
Bi	k.3–8→l.→m.→n.1→?	E29–37–
	The now-lost gatherings n., o. and p. were most probably copied continuously from phase Bi, which then proceeded without a break to:	
Bii	?→q.1→r.2	–E48–E51

At this point the precise sequence of copying becomes less certain. Although

²⁸Evidence for stave-by-stave copying (as opposed to folio-by-folio or quire-by-quire) can be found in opening v.2, where black text appears to cover red note-stems of the staff below (on v.2^r/f. 95^v, staff 12, and v.2^r/f. 96, staves 5 and 10); on the tenth staff of q.3^r/f. 80, the stem of a black long appears to have been written over the red text beneath it.

²⁹Cf. LAMBETH and *GB-Ob* Lat. liturg. a. 9, which both have differentiation by size, not style.

³⁰The Litlington Missal, for instance, took two years to copy (Alexander 1992, 36); the shortest total duration for a major scribal project at this time was two months (Morgan/Thomson 2008, 83).

opening r.3 is not dissimilar to r.2, kinships between the latter and gathering z. suggest that the scribe now turned his attention from five-part motets to Magnificat settings (the first two of which have been lost along with gathering y.). E68, John Browne's lost seven-part Magnificat, was analogous with E1 as *chef d'oeuvre*; it was copied on the first opening of what became gathering y.:

C?	y.2–7	E68–E69 (lost)
C	y.8–z.8	E70–E73
C	aa.1[–2]	E74
C?	aa.3–8	E75–78 (lost)
C	bb.1–	E79–?

At this time, to judge from the similarity of gatherings z. and d., the scribe copied a set of six-part motets for Tenors and Basses:

C	d.1–d.8	E8–E10
---	---------	--------

Phase D was an extensive phase of rapid completion, mopping up, and filling in. After gathering d., the scribe copied the remaining five-part motets and all of the four-part motets, in one long, continuous stint, leaving space for additions in gathering s. (E56–E58, absent from the earlier, partial index, were not copied at this stage):

D	r.3→s.1	E52–E55
+		
D	t.8→y.1	E59–E67

The scribe then completed the layer of Magnificat settings, beginning either at the now-lost gathering aa. or at gathering bb.; this stint concluded with E92 (Richard Davy's *Passio Domini*). Because of the heavy losses sustained in this layer of the manuscript, however, the reconstruction is conjectural:

D?	bb.3–7	E80–E81 (lost)
D	bb.8–cc.1	E82
D?	cc.2–dd.7	E83–E89 (lost)
D	dd.8→ee.9	E90–E92

The body of ETON was now complete: henceforward, further copying served to fill what was in essence a completed project. The first addenda were both by Robert Wylkynson, the college's instructor of choristers:

D	e.1–e.6	E11–E12 (E12 lost)
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At much the same time, E16, by William Brygeman (working at Eton College, 1503–04), was added in a pre-ruled gathering which had been left unused for the purpose (apart from the final recto, g.1, which was ruled *in situ*). By this stage, the first of two indexes had been compiled: although it was placed first among the 14 *Salve regina* settings, E16 was indexed last, as if an appendage, on f. ee.9^v:

D	f.7→g.1	E16
---	---------	-----

The following compositions were omitted from the earlier, partial index on f. ee.9^v, but were included in the later, complete index on f. a.1. They were copied into blank, but pre-ruled folios. Simultaneously, the final recto of E2 was copied (or, more likely, re-copied) from the discarded f. a.8 onto the previously blank and unruled f. b.1:

D	e.7→f.3	E13–E14
D?	s.2→?	E56 (lost)
D	t.5–6	E57
D?	t.7	E58
D	b.1 ^R only	E2 (final recto)

Two addenda by Robert Wylkynson were copied by different scribes, neither of which can be related to the principal scribe, either or both of whom may have been Wylkynson himself:

X	f.3–6	E15
Y	ee.9 ^v	E93

A combination of factors places gathering g. unambiguously at the front of the copying sequence. This is one of the most 'hand-made' gatherings in ETON: from this point onwards, the process of copying was increasingly systematised in the following order:

- pricking and ruling: introduced in gathering h., perfected in phase B (see above);
- illuminations: penwork initials abandoned for first openings during phase B;
- notation: large format with angular note-heads: developed during phase B, regularised in phase Bi;
- textual underlay: fewer pen-strokes and a more rounded hand (on-going throughout the project).

Phase B was to prove of consequence in determining the final look and layout of ETON.

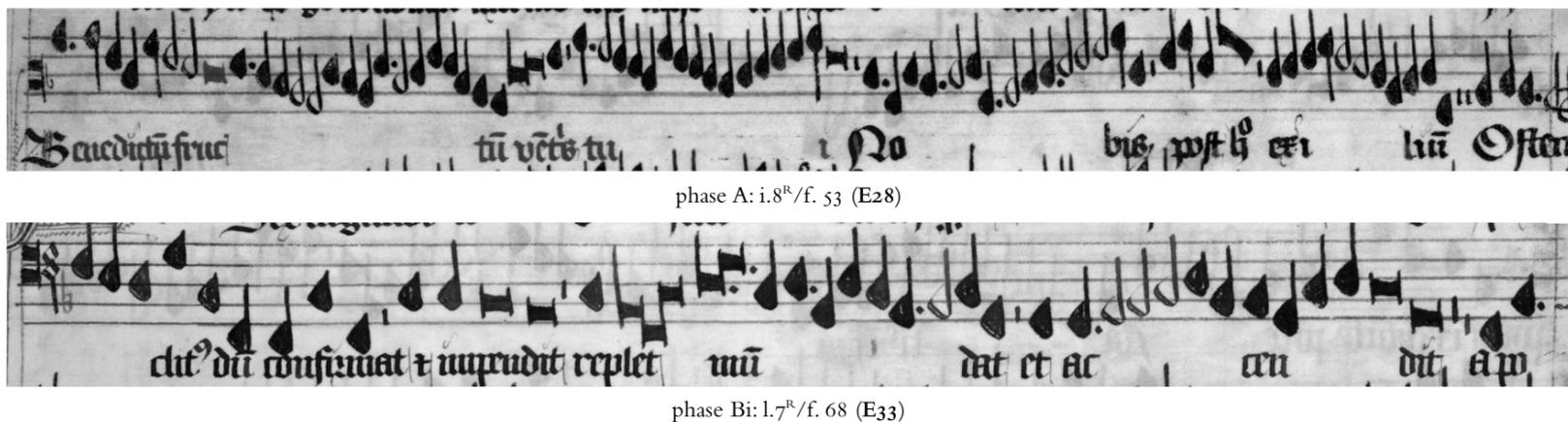


Figure 3.13. Relative graphic density in phases A and Bi (images reduced from full size, but shown to same scale)

Legibility

The scribal norms described in section 4 above can be seen at a mature stage throughout gatherings k.3–8→l.→m. ('Phase Bi': see below), but these norms apply throughout most of ETON. If gathering l. sits at a notional mid-point of ETON, the two extremes can be seen, conveniently proximately, at gathering g.: openings g.2 and g.1 (the earliest and latest extremes respectively).

Starting with the latest extreme, the two remaining sides of E16 (Brygeman, *Salve regina*: openings f.7^l and g.1^r) belong to the final stages of ETON, even though they conform largely to the scribal methods outlined above. The triangular note-heads, the shape of breves and ligatures, the style of clefs, time-signatures and fermata used in gatherings k.→l.→m. are used here. Turning the folio from g.1 to opening g.2, however, from the latest to the earliest part of ETON, reveals an altogether different picture—of smaller-headed notes, rounder note-shapes, shorter stems, and narrower staves; semibreves in the Tenor part (g.2^l, staves 8–10) are often diamond-shaped and irregularly spaced. A by-product of smaller note-heads is greater density of notation: g.2^l, stave 4, for instance, has 76 notational units, including rests; the equivalent stave on g.1^r has only 56.

A consequence of these increases in note size, and their most likely reason, was better legibility. Gatherings g.→h.→i., all containing five-part polyphony, are characterised by diminutive notation. Gatherings a.→b., however, contain six-, seven- and eight-part motets which, we can assume, required a large number of singers, some of whom would be singing at a distance from the choirbook. It may not be coincidental that scribal style evolves rapidly during these gatherings, towards the bolder forms typified by gathering l. and its neighbours. Gathering a. initially looks much like gathering g. but, by opening a.7, begins to bear a closer resemblance to later gatherings (k.3–8→l.→m.→etc.).³¹

The impact of this change becomes clear when phase A is compared with phase Bi. Selected views from i.8^r/f. 53 (E28) and l.7^r/f. 68 (E33) (see figure 3.13, above), shown at the same scale, illustrate this process of gradual magnification. In the earlier example, the staff accommodates 85 notational units; in the latter, only 48.

On a grander scale, one might also compare the two openings of John Hampton's *Salve regina* (k.2–3/ff. 54^v–56: E29). If a larger format was adopted out of necessity, it now became the new standard, characterising ETON from the beginning of phase Bi until copying was complete. The larger format, with simple, angular note-heads, also engendered a reliable method of producing a large number of notes quickly and consistently: three-stroke notes required fewer movements than four-stroke, diamond-headed notes, and could easily be replicated in large, rapid quantities.

Phase A

Phase A includes gatherings g.→h.→i.→k.1–2.

Gathering g. was the first gathering to be copied. As in gathering a., staves were wholly free-ruled, without lateral prickings;³² as a result, the staves in this gathering are irregularly spaced, of inconsistent height, and probably custom-ruled.³³ This proved unsatisfactory, and a more systematic ruling method was adopted in the next gathering, h.; the system devised in this second gathering and adapted in the third gathering, i., then served throughout a succession of gatherings: i., b.→c., l.→m. (but not k., which

was ruled *ad hoc*). A common method of pricking and ruling bespeaks continuity of copying across these gatherings (or, at least, an anticipation of sustained copying activity on the part of the scribe).

Notation: full black with full red coloration. The 'classic' ETON-style note-heads are in embryonic form: smaller than they appear in later stages, more rounded, less regular in shape; semibreves are often diamond-shaped; mensuration signs are mostly cut.

Textual underlay: a compressed form of *textura*, with multiple pen-strokes giving closed, angular letter-shapes. Ascenders are straight, with fine hair-lines; descenders are slightly angled, stubby when veering right, but tapering to the left. The letters i, m, n and u consist of single or multiple, parallel pen-strokes; each pen-stroke was begun with a very short diagonal stroke downwards, ending with a tapering hook to the right. The pen tended to be drawn very slightly to the left as the scribe began the hook; this is echoed in his e, l, t and v, where the pen was also repositioned as it moved rightwards from ascender to hook. The first minims of m and v are usually decorated with a looped hair-line. Hair-line forks frequently crown the tops of ascenders; the letter b has one hair-line forking to the left at a slight angle, while h and l (but not t) have two, one to the left and one to the right. There are four varieties of s forms, and the two common r forms.

A reliable indicator of phase-A activity is a leftwards taper on the descenders of p, while those on q generally curve to the right; sometimes p and q have straight descenders. Phase A script is characterised chiefly by multiple pen-stroke letter formation, giving phase-A letters, particularly the letter o and related letter-forms, a marked hexagonal appearance.

Vocal designations are provided on second openings only (except in the unusually scored E22) throughout phase A. The potentially confusable Tenor and Contratenor are always labelled, as is the less easily confused Bassus; the Medius is sometimes not labelled; the uppermost voice-part (usually Triplex) is never labelled.

Illuminations: mixed pen-work painted initials in first openings (with much over-painting and erasure);³⁴ subsequently, plain blue or red capitals.

Phase B–Bii

Phase B–Bii includes gatherings a.→b.³⁵→c.→k.3–8→l.→m.→n.1, and q.→r.1–2. It represents perhaps the most significant phase of copying. Although the product of one single, continuous stint of work, phase-B copying is now distributed across three non-contiguous layers:

B: a.→b.→c.
Bi: k.3–8→l.→m.→n.1
Bii: q.→r.1–2

It was a stage of transformation: gatherings a. and q. are quite distinct in style, but their kinship can be traced through the intervening stages, although the loss of gatherings n.→o.→p. obscures the relationship between Bi and Bii.

Notation: full black with full red coloration (but see below); mensuration signs continue mostly to be cut. There is rapid development towards angular note-heads through B, consolidated in Bi and well-practised by the end of Bii. Note-heads are larger than in phase A, becoming highly regular in shape and spacing.

During Bii, coloration can be found in both full red and black void: openings q.3/ff. 79^v–80 (E48), q.4/ff. 80^v–81 (E49), and q.6/ff. 82^v–83 (E50).

³¹ This hypothesis presupposes regular feedback between the scribe and the end users.

³² This cannot be attributable to trimming, as can be seen from the narrower-than-normal (and hence untrimmed) g.6^r/f. 35.

³³ As suggested by the fact that both staves and notes are in the same ink mix.

³⁴ See below, Illuminated Initials and Marginalia p. 34.

³⁵ Excluding opening b.1^r/f. 8 (phase D: substitute).

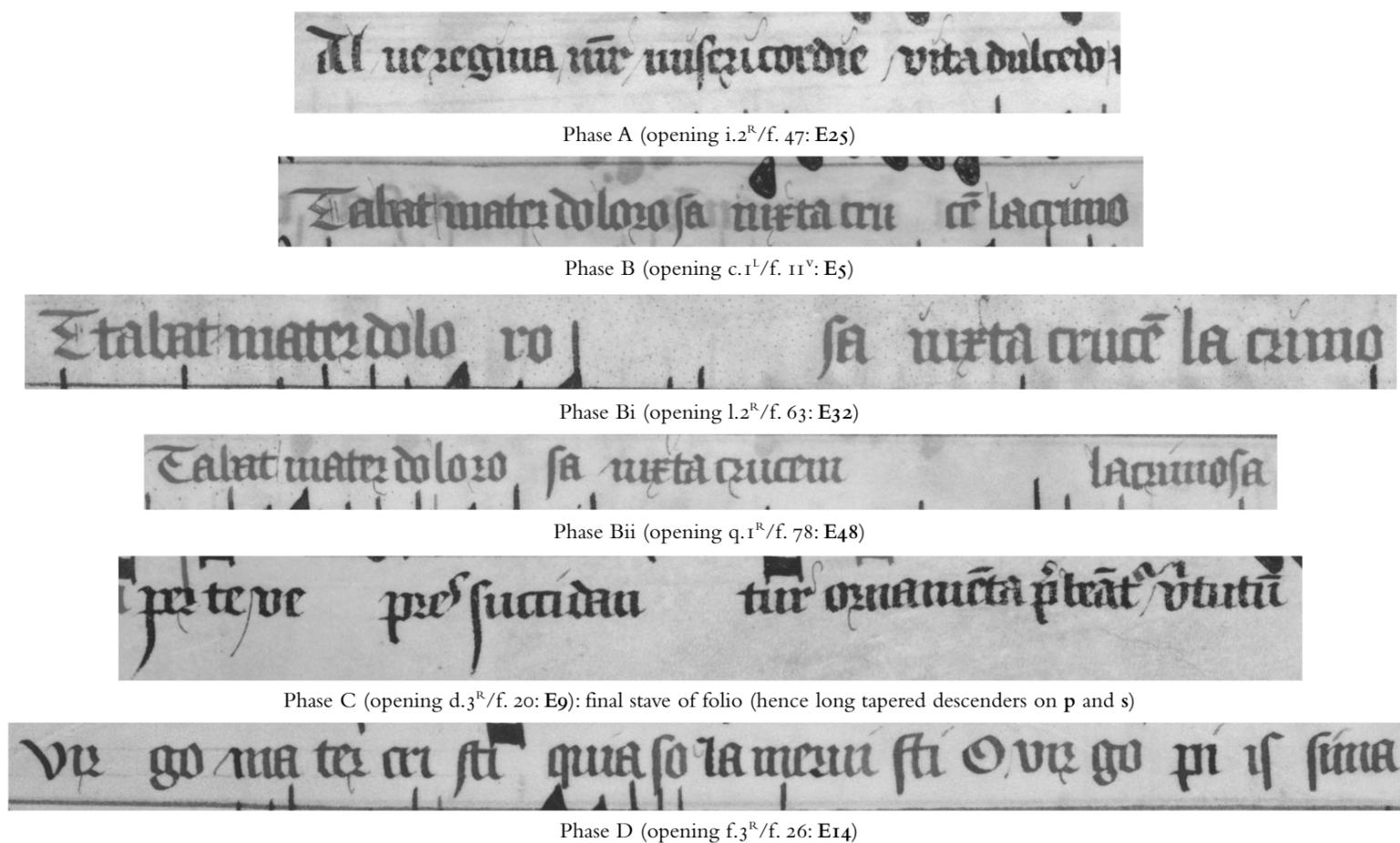


Figure 3.14. Representative texts from phases A–D (shown at actual size)

Textual underlay: closely related to phase-A text, at least to begin with. The degree of compression is broadly the same in both phases; the letters **a**, **e**, **g**, **i**, **l**, **m**, **o** and **u** are almost identical; and the general appearance of the ductus is similar if not identical; in both, the minims of **m**, **n** and **u** are short, firm, parallel pen-strokes; the descenders of **p** initially taper leftwards (as in phase A), but then start to straighten or veer rightwards during gathering c. (and descenders in B tend to be stubby, not tapered); the letter **i** is dotted with a fine hair-line, and hair-lines are used to ornament the tops of ascenders, especially on the letters **b** and **h** (again, as in phase A). Divergences between phases A and B are minor: in B, ascenders tend to be shorter than in A; wavy **r** is more rounded. Despite these and other differences of detail, however, phases A and B share a formalised appearance, deriving from the large number of straight minims used in the composition of letters.

The scribal style of Bi marks a development from B: hair-lines are used more liberally than in A or B, especially vertical termination, demarcating word-endings. Hooks, especially when used on letters **s**, **d**, **l** and **t** are less pronounced and angular, perhaps because the scribe was writing with a marginally thicker nib. The descender on the letter **p**, a bell-wether of changing scribal style, now veers rightwards.

Less labour-intensive letter formation is an emerging factor: angular, multi-stroke bowls (**e**, **g**, **o**, **p**, **q**) give way to more rounded forms requiring fewer pen-lifts. But there is no decisive break: the change is gradual, and divergent letter forms often appear in close proximity. Letters were also written with a thick-nibbed pen.

Towards the end of Bi, when copying the textually dense E35, the scribe used thinner-nibbed pens which continued in use throughout gatherings m. and q. → r. 1–2 (and probably during the missing gatherings n. → o. → p.). The resulting text is both rounded and compact. By the end of gathering m., **p** has acquired a hook on its descender, **g** has a rounded loop, and **l** and **t** have truncated ascenders.

Following the style of phase A, vocal designations are provided for most voices in second/third openings in phase B, and for some first openings as well (E1–E3), not doubt to disambiguate the unusual scorings found in these pieces.³⁶ Whether through scribal oversight or as a time-saving economy, no vocal designations were provided in the phase Bi in openings l.5–n.1^l inclusive. Vocal designations are used again in phase Bii, albeit inconsistently.

Illustrations:

- B: mixed painted/penwork initials; subsequently blue/red flourished;
- Bi: painted initials; subsequently blue/red flourished;
- Bii: painted initials; subsequently blue capitals.

³⁶ No designations are found in opening b.1^R/f. 8 (which post-dates phase B) or in opening b.8/ff. 11^V–12 (the third opening of E4).

Phase C

Phase C, much depleted, now includes gatherings d. and z., containing respectively short-compass six-part motets and the Magnificat settings.

Notation: note-shapes entirely conform to the type established in B–Bii; most mensuration signs continue to be uncut. Black void coloration becomes more frequent: openings d.3/ff. 2^V–3 (E9), z.2–z.3/ff. 111^V–113 (E71), and z.6/ff. 115^V–116 (E72).

Text underlay: continues the tendency towards roundedness seen in B–Bii. Phase-C text has both hair-lined and unadorned ascenders; hooked descenders and bowed minims show a pen in habitual retraction, and moving at speed. Plummet guide-rulings can frequently and clearly be seen in phase-C work (as also in phase Bii). Speed and efficiency become dominant in determining scribal technique.

Vocal designations are provided in phase C only to clarify the Tenor/Contratenor relationship (opening z.5^L/f. 114^V: E72), or where scoring is unusual (openings bb.1^R–2^L/f. 119^V: E79) or where cluttered page layouts required clear visual signage (openings d.6^R/f. 23: E10, and z.3/ff. 112^V–113: E71).

Illustrations: painted in first openings; subsequently, plain blue or red capitals.

Phase D

Phase D was the last main scribal phase, incorporating the last few five-part antiphons (r.3–8→s.1), most or all of the four-part antiphons (t.5–6, t.8→y.1), pieces in gatherings bb. and ee. (and almost certainly the intervening gatherings, plus y. and aa.), as well as several late addenda.³⁷ Phase D has the highest concentration of identical, batch-ruled gatherings.

Notation: full black with full red and black void coloration; black void is found in the following openings:

- e.1^L/f. 25^V: E11
- r.4^L/f. 88^V: E53
- v.4^L/f. 97^V: E61
- x.2^{L-R}/ff. 103^V–104: E64
- x.7^{L-R}/ff. 108^V–109: E67
- bb.8^R–cc.1^L/ff. 120^V: E82
- ee.2^{L-R}/ff. 121^V–122 and ee.3^R/f. 123: E91

Uncut mensuration signs outnumber cut ones throughout phase D.

³⁷ These are listed above.

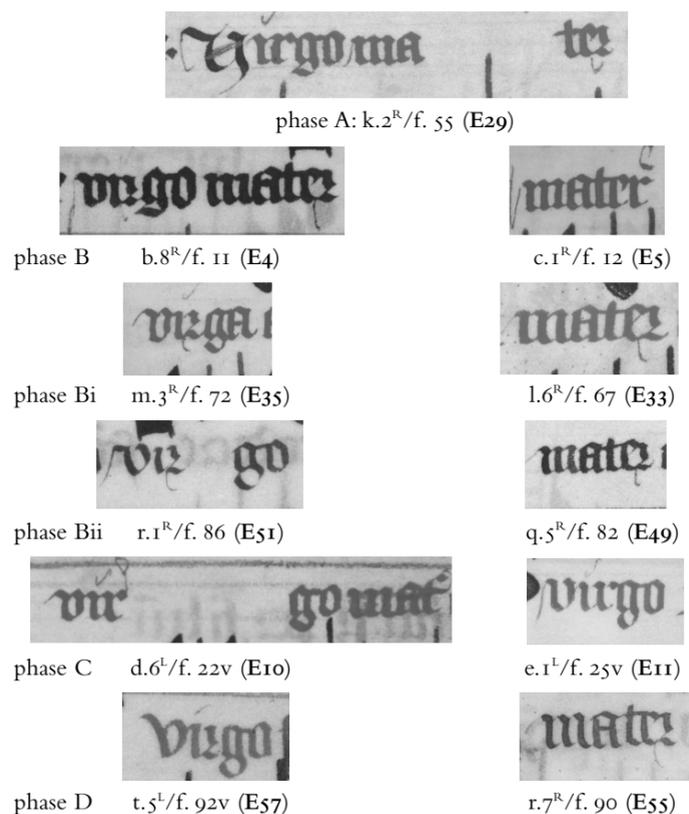


Figure 3.15. Sample texts 'virgo/virga' and 'mater'

Textual underlay: this is characterised by roundedness, economy of pen-strokes, fewer hair-lines, a more spidery appearance (in marked contrast to the compact, multi-stroke letters seen in phases A–Bii). Lower-case **p** has a short, right-veering, often acutely hooked descender; **i**, **m**, **n** and **u** have simple, bowed and widely-spaced minims; the letter **v** is formed from two bowed, rather than four straight, strokes. Phase D is also identifiable in terms of ink colour: black has a brown hue, and red tends towards orange (this applies to both notation and text underlay); there is less consistently frequent use of blue ink in phase D than in earlier phases (for instance for plain blue capitals at section breaks).

Vocal designations are seldom provided. Rare instances serve specific

purposes, as in opening x.3/ff. 104^v–105, where a cluttered page layout needed clarification.

After phase D, the choirbook was complete (but see below), although ruled folios were left unused in gatherings e., s. and t. in preparation for further additions. As copying neared completion, the scribe had written the larger of the two indexes at the front of the manuscript, having previously compiled the shorter one at the back, at which time he had also foliated the choirbook (see also below: Finding Aids p. 32).

Illuminations: painted; plain capitals; phase D has a disproportionate number of 'forgotten' initials (that is, a cue letter was provided, but the intended initial was omitted). Phase D initials are also characterised by thin colour mixes and richly ornamental foliate patterning.

Phases X and Y

These belong outside the main run of copying and comprises E15 (Phase X) and E93 (Phase Y). E15 is in black void notation with full back coloration; notes are diamond-headed; note-stems ascend rather more frequently than in Phases A–D; black and red text underlay is in a rounded, semi-cursive hand distinct from the formal gothic style used elsewhere. The name of Robert Wylkynson, which appears in several places, may suggest that he copied E15; the intercessory text on opening f.6^r/f. 29, need not indicate that he had died by the time E15 was copied (see Catalogue of Compositions pp. 57–58).

Vocal designations are provided in all three openings (unsurprisingly, given the graphic density of the pages and the unusual number and combination of voices).

Illuminations (Phase X): home-made paste-ins for first opening; pen-work cadels, some of them bearing text scrolls, for second and third openings.

E93, like E15, is an out-of-sequence addition. It is written in diamond-headed notes very similar in style to those of E15, although in full black notation (without coloration). The black text underlay is in a careful but unpractised *textualis quadrata*; cursive red-text annotations and composer attribution, and black-text gloss are in a cursive hand. The red-text signatures in E15 and E93 are identical in style except for divergent forms of capital **W**: these are probably the composer's autograph signatures (and hence the notation and underlay for these two outliers might also be attributable to Wylkynson). The date(s) of copying for E15 and E93 need not directly determine the dating of phases A–D.

Illuminations (Phase Y): one large plain capital only.

Finding Aids

At one point ETON had four forms of finding aid. Its very consistently ordered repertory layers (see Codicological Structure p. 13, above) enabled users to identify the approximate location of a piece in relation to the manuscript as a whole: by rule of thumb, a setting of *Salve regina* would be located approximately a quarter of the way through the book; Magnificats could be found towards the end; and densely scored pieces in the first few gatherings. Each repertory layer behaved in much the same way, with short-compass compositions for men only at the end of the layer. After ETON was completed, at least three parchment tags were pasted onto the edges of selected leaves which further articulated this physical compartmentalisation of the manuscript. Like bookmarks, these tags clearly demarcated the beginnings of each section: at E15 (*Salve regina* settings), E30 (five-part motets), and E57 (four-part motets).¹

The third finding aid, perhaps an oblique one, was the range of marginal information supplied on the first opening of each piece (particularly its overall compass, which indicated the likely combination of voices needed). A quick glance at the first opening of E28 (opening i.8/ff. 52^v–53), for instance, shows five voice-parts, each clearly identified with its illuminated initial, sharing an overall compass of 15 notes (not the ‘usual’ combination of men and boys with a range of 21–23 notes); the clef combination of C²/C³/C³/C⁴/C⁵ confirms the pitch relationships between the five voices, but the annotation ‘15 notarum’ at the head of the folio reduces this mass of information into a very simple form.

The most significant finding aid, however, and one for which ETON is best known, is its pair of indexes, which condense these various pieces of information into a coherent system. This identifies each piece with reference to its quire signature, provides a summary of essential information on the piece, and contextualises this information in the way the pieces are listed on the page.

Indexes: chronology and contents

The ‘partial’ index on f. ee.9^v (‘first index’) was compiled first, as phase D neared completion. The index is written in the hand of the main scribe who was also responsible for writing marginalia throughout ETON (including composer attributions and information on the compass, written at the head of each piece). The ‘complete’ index on f. a.1 was copied by the same hand after the partial index had been drafted. The complete index follows the format of the partial one, but is a refined and improved version of it, laid out on a full page on a fully elaborated ruled grid.

Both indexes give the same basic information about each piece in the following order (roman type = black text; *italics* = red ink):

incipit of piece;	e.g.	<i>Salve regina</i> ·
<i>number of voice-parts</i> ;		7 · <i>parcium</i> ·
composer;		Sutton ·
<i>quire</i> + opening & <i>overall compass</i> .		<i>h</i> · 4 · 23 ·

This gave the performers essential information on the content of the text (which could be crucial, depending on the time of the year), the number of singers who would be needed, the *types* of voices required (which could be predicted from the overall compass of each piece) and the precise location in ETON where each piece began.²

This information was most effectively displayed in the complete index, partly because of the greater comprehensiveness of the complete index (see below). The front of the choirbook also afforded a better vantage point from which to locate the quire signatures at the foot of each recto within the main body of the manuscript.

The partial index (f. ee.9^v)

Before the partial index was written, the lowermost four staves on the pre-ruled folio ee.9^v were erased and a plummet-ruled grid superimposed. The index was then written column-by-column over the erased

staves. The index entries are written in very imperfectly aligned vertical columns: perhaps the scribe had not fully elaborated his index layout at this stage. Uniformity of scribal style and ink colours suggests that the index was written out in one stint, perhaps two (the nib used in the third column is wider than that used in the first two); the index was not written piecemeal as each new piece was copied into the choirbook.

The partial index was compiled logically, albeit with exceptions, according to the following priorities: alphabetical order between initial letters (uniformly followed); alphabetical order within initial letters (not always followed); the number of voice-parts; quire signature (frequently overlooked); overall compass (but only where this impinged upon the choice of voices: a choice of 21- versus 22-note compass was less consequential than one between 22 and 18 notes—that is, between wide and mean compass).

Exceptions to these norms, particularly listing by quire-signature, are numerous enough to suggest that the scribe worked to a set pattern from which he sometimes deviated in error. The *Salve regina* settings are listed logically, for instance, with John Sutton’s seven-part setting (E22) listed first, and then a sequence of five settings in manuscript order, from E17 (opening g.2) to E21 (opening h.2); at that point, the scribe omitted E22 (which was already listed, out of sequence) but skipped straight to E26 on opening i.4.

The partial index was drafted as phase D neared completion: E16 (Brygeman) was listed last among the addenda and corrigenda at the end of the *Salve regina* settings third column. Five motets were omitted from this index: E13, E56 and E58 are lost; E14 and E57 belong to phase D; E15 belongs to the out-of-sequence phase X. None of the Magnificat settings is included in the partial index—not because they were copied after this index was compiled, but because they could easily be found among the neighbouring folios and gatherings at the back of ETON (gatherings y.–ee.); likewise E92, which is also excluded from the partial index.

The complete index (f. a.1)

The index on f. a.1 was intended to act as the definitive finding aid, and was almost certainly compiled after the partial index. It was therefore ‘complete’ in intention, if not wholly in practice as, even as phase D reached completion, the scribe anticipated the arrival of new repertory (at this stage, most of the ready-ruled gatherings s. and t. remained unused). For this purpose, empty spaces were therefore left in the complete index.

The carefully premeditated layout of this index drew upon lessons learnt when the partial index was compiled. The earlier index, crammed into three columns at the foot of the final verso, left much to be desired in terms of visual elegance. It had nevertheless established the basic pattern: pieces were divided into spatially articulated letter groupings (leaving space for future addenda), ornamental letters were used to clarify these groupings, contents were listed according to scoring, and all entries included the same information (piece, *number of parts*, composer surname, *quire*, folio, *compass*) in alternating red and black ink. While the detailed ordering of contents within each letter group underwent some revision (not always for the better) when transferred from the partial to the complete index, the system remained entirely consistent.

Apparent deviations from a logical norm may have an explanation in the very practical context in which the index was used. Sometimes, two settings of the same text by one composer were paired with each other, out of sequence, in order to obviate confusion between them: for instance, E20 and E28 (Browne, *Salve regina*) and E51 and E64 (Turges, *Gaude flore virginali*). In both of these cases, the two settings were written for quite different combinations of voices.

The most significant difference between the two indexes is the inclusion of the Magnificat settings (E68–E91) in the complete index. The list was written in one stint, with spaces left for the listing of addenda which were evidently anticipated at this stage. Scoring becomes the major organising factor: first come full-compass settings for five or more voice-parts (14 items), then full-compass settings for four voices (seven settings), and finally three short-compass settings (each for four voices) by Turges, Davy and Stratford. Blank spaces were left for the anticipated addition of settings in each of these three types of scoring. Composer pairings, noted above, are particularly common here (Browne, Wylkynson, Turges and Baldwyn).³

³ Wylkynson’s six-part Magnificat (E79), listed out of sequence, has two cantus firmi: see Catalogue of Compositions p. 65.

¹ A tag probably marked the now-lost beginning of the Magnificat layer (E68; opening y.2^R).

² On the general ordering of ETON, see above, Codicological Structure p. 13; equivalent information on the compass and its impact on vocal types can be seen in the main body of RITSON, ff. 84^v–85: ‘Missa de Gaudete in domino pro hominibus .xij. notes cumpas’ (repeated on f. 109: ‘.xij. notes cumpas’).

Illuminated Initials and Marginalia

The high quality of its illuminated letters is apparent at the first glimpse of ETON, and evidently caught the eye of M. R. James when he made the first catalogue description.¹ The visual coherence of the opened choirbook was given priority from the first outset, and continued to govern ETON's graphic layout as revisions were made to the original design, no doubt informed by experience, when the first fascicle of *Salve regina* settings was used in performance. Elaborate but monochrome pen initials were abandoned in favour of high-impact, but more visually uniform, painted letters; meanwhile, the colour fields of these painted initials were carefully co-ordinated so as to minimise colour repetition or imbalance between the initials of each opening: there is only one instance of complete LH/RH colour symmetry (opening c.1/ff. 11^v-12: E5), and very few other colour repetitions occur within any single opening elsewhere in the manuscript.

Voice-parts and other marginalia

From the first stages of copying, ETON was laid out according to a graduated visual hierarchy, with alternations between large and small initials, and between black, red and blue ink colours. Although illuminated initials were added outside the main copying sequence, the scribe almost always anticipated their inclusion, holding in his mind an image of each opening of the manuscript—music, underlay, marginalia, illuminated letters—as it would appear when eventually complete. Seldom added as an afterthought, marginalia were an integral component of this carefully premeditated visual economy.

In earlier phases of copying, vocal designations routinely appear in the second and subsequent openings of each piece, but generally not in the first opening except where unusual scoring necessitated clear visual signposts.² From the outset (opening g.3/ff. 31^v-32), these vocal designations were written in alternating ink colours: usually black/red, but sometimes including blue. Once established in phase A, the writing of vocal part-names in alternating black and red (but not blue) was maintained wherever vocal designations were given.³ The same red/black alternation was followed in the 'gemell'/'semell' markings which periodically mark the division of voice-parts, and which were also written, like the vocal designations, in the LH and RH margins.

Illumination types

James identified two types of illumination, 'one being of the ordinary style of the illumination of the period, with fluid gold and natural flowers, very carefully done, and of a foreign aspect; the other style is that of the ordinary penman.'⁴ In fact, four distinct types of initial letter were used during the main phases of copying,⁵ the four types falling into one of two categories: those marking the first opening of a piece, and those that appeared at the second and subsequent openings. Throughout all phases of ETON, a clear distinction is always maintained between first and subsequent openings, through differentiation of the styles, and not simply the sizes, of initials. The types are categorised as follows:⁶

Painted initials were the prime category. With one exception (which apparently arose through scribal blunder),⁷ polychrome painted initials were reserved for the first opening of each piece. During the earliest stages of copying, painted initials were used in combination with flourished initials or pen-work 'cadels' (see below). From phase Bi, however, pen-work initials were abandoned in favour of painted initials; when this

decision was made a number of the pen-work initials from phase A (gatherings g.-k.) were either customised or erased and then over-painted. The visual characteristics of painted initials are discussed below.

Flourished initials fall into two types, each type used for different purposes; the shared characteristic is a large rectangular red filigree-work field, with geometric, acanthus-leaf or other naturalistic patterning and human faces (usually in profile); thin red tendrils often extend from the letter along the frame-ruling.⁸ Flourished initials, like painted, were typically painted within the frame-ruling over stave-space which was either erased or left un-ruled for the purpose.⁹ The commonest type ('filled Lombard' in Harrison's terminology)¹⁰ is a cobalt blue letter framed by red filigree-work. Gatherings B-Bi are characterised by the use of blue-red flourished initials for second (and third) openings of pieces;¹¹ flourished initials had not been used in phase A, and were used only exceptionally in phases Bii-D, in which plain blue or red capitals were the norm.

Flourished* initials comprise a letter with red filigree-work (as above), but with a black-brown outline around the letter. The letter outline is usually filled or half-filled with cobalt blue (in one case, on f. b.2^l, a yellow wash is used in conjunction with fine black shading). Two initials of this type (opening a.5^h) lack blue fill; they typify the likely prototype for this form of initial. This type appears in phase B only. This more elaborate type was used, in conjunction with painted initials, for the first openings of motets.

Pen: pen-work letters, of varying degrees of complexity, were the predominant form of initial for first openings during phase A. They were primarily monochrome in conception, although coloured washes were sometimes applied. The commonest type, written with a wide-nibbed pen, is the calligraphic strap-work initial or 'cadel' (from the French 'cadeau'). Alternatively, a fine-nibbed pen was used to create a more delicate design with pink or yellow shading (see, for instance, openings h.2/ff. 38^v-39 and h.4/ff. 40^v-41); letter or field designs might comprise animal or human drolleries, rope-work patterns, scrolls and acanthus leaves. Serrated edges are commonly used, as in red/blue flourished initials, and long tendrils extend from some letters. Close similarities of design between pen-work and flourished initials, especially in the style of acanthus-leaf patterning and serrated edging, can be found in initials of different types and from different scribal phase (see overleaf, fig. 5.1).

Pen-work initials were abandoned during Phase B; some of these designs were subsequently replaced with painted initials, either through complete over-painting or through customisation of the existing pen-work design.¹² Pen-work cadels were used again, with yellow shading, for the second and third openings of E15, when it was added to ETON after the main phases of copying.

Plain initials, unflourished capitals in either blue or red, were used throughout phases A and Bii-D, for second and third openings, and at major structural or textual breaks in the polyphony; during phase B-Bi their place was taken by blue-red flourished initials. The scribe routinely, but not uniformly, preceded black text underlay with a red capital, and red text underlay with a blue capital. Plain capitals appear to have been added by the scribe during the course of copying: red capitals were written simultaneously with red text underlay; occasionally, however, blue capitals were anticipated, but omitted, probably because the very infrequent use of blue during phase D exacerbated scribal memory lapses.

¹ James 1895, 108-12.

² In opening h.4, for instance, where seven-part scoring necessitates clear labelling of voice-parts.

³ Part-names were included throughout phase A, phase B (gatherings a.-c.), in phase Bi (gatherings k.2-n.1^l) until opening l.6 but not thereafter; in phase Bii (gatherings q.-r.2) and, rather intermittently, in phase C (gatherings d. and z.). They were very seldom included during phase D.

⁴ James 1895, 108.

⁵ This deviates slightly from Ker *MMBL* 2, 774, which has a whole category for one initial (h.2^l) which, uniquely in ETON, has extensive gold leaf.

⁶ The following taxonomy mirrors (but by necessity deviates from) Derolez 2003, 41-42.

⁷ On opening d.4^l (see below).

⁸ Red tendrils and complex serrated edging are lacking in openings b.7^r-8/ff. 10-11, c.2-3/ff. 12^v-14, l.6/ff. 66^v-67 and on some letters in gathering m./ff. 70-77^v.

⁹ See above, Structure and Compilation pp. 25-26.

¹⁰ Harrison 1953, 163-64.

¹¹ Compare with the CHOIRBOOK 2a family of MSS, for instance, in which flourished initials (either blue-red, or gold-leaf on black field) are used throughout, but differentiated by size (see Antecedents, Contemporaries and Concordances pp. 75-76); likewise, a pair of music books made at Magdalen College in 1520-21 (*GB-Omc* Liber Computi 3, f. 141: *Custus capelle*: 'Solutum Cornyshe pro factura magnarum litterarum, ij s., et .88. parvarum, vj d.').

¹² The misnamed 'Fouquet Missal' of the 1470s (Yale University, Beinecke Library, MS 425, French Missal (1470s), ff. 6-13^v) provides an analogous case of 'upgrading' of initials (Cahn/Marrow 1978).



(above) i.8^r/f. 53 (Phase A, pen-work: E28)
(left) a.3^l/f. 2^v (Phase B, flourished: E1)

Figure 5.1. Pen-work and flourished initials (Phases A and B)

A further category of initial was used after the main copying sequence in E15 (Robert Wylkynson, *Salve regina*: opening f.4/ff. 26^v–27). X-type initials were pasted in on small squares of parchment, having been pounced or pricked out from a uniform template.¹³ Minor details vary: the form of S is either geometric or foliate or serpentine. The upper lobe of each initial encloses a group of three nimbed singing angels, in some cases with other angels standing behind them; in front of the three angels is a long scroll which bears the name of their angelic order (and whose reverse implicitly bears musical notation?); the linen surplices of the singing angels fill the lower lobe of each S. Each initial occupies the space of two staves. The iconography of this piece is discussed in *Catalogue of Compositions* (pp. 57–58).

Cue letters

Cue letters, *lettres d'attente*, were written by the scribe in preparation for the eventual addition of ornamental letters. These were written with a hair-line and usually in whichever ink, red or black, the scribe was currently using to write the neighbouring underlay. There are no colour instructions: the sole purpose of the cues was to act as an *aide-mémoire* for the scribe himself or as a prompt for the illuminator.

Cue letters follow a broad, but not precise, pattern. Initials written by the scribe himself tend to be less frequently cued than those expected to be painted by the illuminator at a later stage: in opening a.5 (ff. 4^v–5: E2), for

¹³ On pouncing, see Alexander 1992, 50–51.

instance, only letters requiring polychrome paint (including a blue flourished initial) were given cue letters. On some occasions, the scribe might provide cue letters only for anomalous or unexpected letters, as in opening a.7 (ff. 6^v–7: also E2).¹⁴ Sometimes, where the same letter was required more than once in an opening, the scribe cued each occurrence of the letter (openings m.4–5/ff. 72^v–74); at other times, even within the same phase of copying, the scribe cued only the first occurrence of each letter (openings m.7–8/ff. 75^v–77).

Illuminating style and scribal phases

Limning was undertaken in batches which broadly correlate with the chronology of the rest of ETON, but which are not coterminous with the four scribal phases. The limner(s) evidently received bundles of unbound gatherings of readily-copied and annotated polyphony which they temporarily dismantled prior to the addition of painted initials and subsequent collation and stitching of the gatherings. Evidence for the broad chronological correlation can be seen in the development of illuminating style from the first to the final phases, while countervailing evidence of independence between the limning cycle and the main copying cycle can be seen in several instances of colour matches *between* different scribal phases. Although copied at different times, openings c.4^l/f. 14^v and c.6^r/f. 15 (scribal phase B), d.6/ff. 22^v–23 (scribal phase C) and e.1^l/f. 25^v (scribal phase D), for instance, share a near-identical set of colour combinations. Either the limner worked from a set of colour mixes and design templates that remained very consistent over time or, more likely, the openings in question were illuminated in an aggregated batch, even though they had been copied as parts of smaller, discrete phases.

The first batch: phase A

The occurrence of pen-work initials during phase A and their omission from later phases has already been noted above. It serves as a reminder that, at all stages of

preparation, phases A and B represented formative and rather experimental phases of activity. The original illumination scheme (of gatherings g.→h.→i.→k.1–2) had envisaged painted initials only for the uppermost voice-part (usually Triplex) in each first opening; the remaining voices were executed in pen (strap-work, scroll-work or the more delicate style of penmanship found in the first half of gathering h.).

This original scheme can now only be found in openings h.2/ff. 38^v–39 and h.4/ff. 40^v–41 (E21 and E22), although neither of these openings is wholly representative. The historiated initial of St John the Baptist in h.2 is exceptional in its form and in the liberal application of gold leaf. John Sutton's *Salve regina* E22 is unusual in its number of voice-parts (seven) and, at this point in the manuscript, in the inclusion of armorial bearings in one of the pen-work initials (Triplex: h.4^r/f. 41); the presence at this point of the arms of Eton College, which were painted as part of a scheme that was discontinued during phase B, prove an early association between the college and the choirbook.

Design modifications: phase B–Bi

An elaborated form of the original phase-A layout was adopted in phase B: openings a.2/ff. 1^v–2 and a.5/ff. 4^v–5 (E1 and E2) have a combination

¹⁴ E2 is a setting of *Gaude flore virginali*, each of whose seven stanzas begins with the word 'Gaude' (see Texts p. 70): given its frequent occurrences in this well-known text, the letter G would therefore have been anticipated by the illuminator and left un-cued.

of one single painted initial (top LH only) and alternating monochrome pen-work and blue/red flourished initials (which were probably originally intended to be unfilled: see above). The scheme starts to change in b.2/ff. 8^v-9 (E3) and, perhaps sometime in the lost openings b.3-6, a decision was made to abandon the use of pen-work and flourished initials on first openings. In opening c.1/ff. 11^v-12, still in phase B, we can see a prototype for the new form of first opening, in which all voice-parts have a painted initial (although the artist created colour symmetry between the LH and RH sides of the opening—a *faux pas* to judge from other openings in which such symmetry is studiously avoided).

Another innovation made in phase B, but in this case from the start of the phase (in opening a.3/ff. 2^v-3), was the use of elaborate flourished blue/red initials for second and third openings. No doubt a reflection of the high status of gathering a. (which had evidently always been intended to go at the front of the choirbook), flourished initials marked a step up from the plain blue and red capitals which had been used in phase A (and which subsequently re-appeared in phase Bii onwards).

Phase B, therefore, marked a change of design which by the end of Bi had been fully elaborated: the standard illuminating scheme evolved to comprise painted initials for all voices in first openings and flourished initials for all voices in second openings. The transition was still on-going in gathering k. (over-painted pen-work initials can still be found in opening k.7^v/f. 59^v, for instance), but stabilised in gatherings l.→n.1^v). It was almost certainly during Bi that the decision was made to replace half of the pen-work illuminations in phase A with painted ones (in terms of artistic style and paint mixes, Bi and the phase-A customisations are closely related). Some of the phase-A pen-work initials were crudely customised by the superimposition of paint over the existing outline (particularly bad examples can be seen at h.6^v/f. 42^v and i.3^v/f. 48^v);¹⁵ in other cases, generally more successfully, the original initial was erased altogether or over-painted to a new design.¹⁶ Some pen-work initials were left untouched, probably because their expansive forms made their erasure or over-painting impracticable.¹⁷



i.2^v/f.46v: E25 (Tenor)

i.6^v/f. 51: E27 (Bassus)

Figure 5.2. Over-painted initials

The remaining phases: Bii-D

After the experimentation of phases A-Bi, the later phases Bii-D were the product of a rationalisation comparable with the increasing standardisation of scribal practices (see above, Structure and Compilation p. 22). From Bii onwards painted initials were used for all first openings, in the style of B-Bi, while plain blue or red capitals were used for subsequent stages (a reversion to the simpler and more efficient format of phase A).

The net result (and presumably the intended outcome) of this rationalisation was a marked increase in the efficiency with which ETON was prepared. Evidence for this can be found in the distribution of matching colour schemes from one gathering to another. Although gatherings q.-ee. straddle three scribal phases (Bii, C and D), for instance, the initials for these gatherings appear to have been painted in close succession, as they share several defining characteristics not seen elsewhere in ETON:¹⁸

¹⁵ Customised initials: g.2^v/f. 31 (B); h.6^v/f. 42^v (Ctr); h.8^v/f. 44^v (T); i.2^v/f. 47 (B); i.4/ff. 48^v-49 (T and B); i.6/ff. 50^v-51 (Ctr and M); and i.8^v/f. 53 (M).

¹⁶ Often visible only under ultra-violet light, these over-painted initials include: g.2^v/f. 30^v (Ctr); g.4/ff. 32^v-33 (T and M); g.6/ff. 34^v-35 (T and M); g.8/ff. 36^v-37 (Ctr and B); h.6^v/f. 43 (B); h.8^v/f. 45 (B; note slight abrasion of surrounding stave-lines); i.2/ff. 46^v-47 (T, Ctr and M; traces of erased pen-work tails can be seen on T and M); i.4/ff. 48^v-49 (Ctr and M); i.6/ff. 50^v-51 (T and B; the latter illustrated under UV light in Williamson 1997a, Plate XII); i.8^v/f. 52^v (T); k.2/ff. 54^v-55 (T, M and B); and k.7^v/f. 59^v (T and Ctr).

¹⁷ See, for instance, g.4^v/f. 33 (B) and h.8^v/f. 44^v (Ctr).

verdigris letters; light brown and russet fields; a shade of purple distinct from that found in earlier gatherings; thin (almost transparent) paint mixes, especially in the terracotta range (which has two shades here: pale pink and oxblood); very elaborate, often curvilinear, white or gold ornamentation; and elaborate working of ornamental acanthus leaves. Unsurprisingly, given the speed at which the limner appears to have been working at this point, 'forgotten' initials, where the scribe's cue letters were overlooked and illuminations omitted, occur only in the later phases.

Table 5.1. Shared characteristics among illuminated initials

	Phase A	Phase B	Phase Bi	Phase Bii	Phase C	Phase D
Over-painted initials	g.2-8 h.6-8 i.2-8 k.2	k.7				
Colour repetitions within openings (painted initials only)	g.2 g.6 g.8 h.8 i.6	c.1	l.2 l.5		d.3 d.6	
Undecorated fields	h.6 i.2 i.4 i.8		k.7 l.2 l.5 m.6			
Blue-red flourished initials		a.2- b.1 ^L b.2 ^L b.7 ^R c.2-8	k.3-8 l.1-7 m.1-7 n.1 ^L		[d.2 ^L only]	[b.1 ^R only]
Flowers (naturalistic)	i.2 i.4		k.7 l.2 l.5 l.8 m.6			
Birds (excluding grotesques)	h.8		l.2 l.5 l.8 m.8			t.8
Verdigris-coloured letters				q.6 r.1		r.7 bb.8
'Forgotten' capitals						f.3 s.1 ^L t.6 ^L v.1-7

Painted initials: style and subject matter

Painted initials comprise two base colours: one for the letter itself and one for the field (which is typically a square occupying the space from the top of one stave to the top of the stave below). Both letters and fields are characterised throughout ETON by rich detailing. Letters are usually shaded and highlighted (in gold, white, black, yellow, and other colours); with a few exceptions, concentrated in phases A and Bi, fields were edged and patterned (with flora, fauna, faces or abstract forms) in white, gold or russet. The edging and patterning, easily overlooked as a secondary element in the design, is often very skilfully executed, convincingly portraying faces, birds, lions, squirrels or other animals in a few deft brush-strokes.

Flora

Leafy patterns, tree-trunks and branches, often used in conjunction with serpentine or other animal forms, were the stock-in-trade of the ETON illuminator(s). The various phases, which are not necessarily coterminous with the main scribal phases, are characterised by different subjects or methods of realising them. Scribal phase Bi has naturalistic, polychrome rendition of flowers not seen elsewhere (except among the over-painted initials of phase A). This concentration of flowers among the initials of E31 and E32 does not necessarily betoken an intensification of symbolic allusion in these pieces.¹⁹ The strawberries depicted in gatherings h. and i.,

¹⁸ The similarity of openings c.4^v/f. 14^v and c.6^v/f. 15 (scribal phase B), d.6/ff. 22^v-23 (scribal phase C) and e.1^v/f. 25^v (scribal phase D) has also been noted above.

¹⁹ Lilies, daisies/marguerites, roses and white flowers generically symbolised the BVM; the red lily on l.2^v/f. 62^v (E32) arguably symbolises the Passion commemorated in the hymn *Stabat mater*. The pinks depicted on k.7^v/f. 59^v (E31) may allude to the crucifixion which is recalled in the associated text (*Salve ihesu mater vera*) (Fisher 2004, 24; on colour, Kahn 2006).

however, allude to Jesus as the fruit of Mary's womb, as evoked in the text of *Salve regina*:²⁰ strawberries appear in association with no other text in ETON. Naturalistic flowers and fruit recede in prominence after phase Bi.

Fauna

Basilisks, gryphons and other grotesques, winged or wingless, are seldom absent from any set of painted initials, whether combined with branches or foliage, or sometimes in fantastical hybrids with other animal forms (including, for instance, stag-headed snakes). Few if any of these monsters or various naturalistic bird-forms that are found throughout most layers serve an allegorical purpose specific to the motets they ornament. An owl found at the head of John Browne's *O regina mundi clara* (opening d.3^r/f. 20: E9) affords a case study in ambiguity or 'multivalent symbolism'. Catherine Hocking has noted the association between the owl or hoopoe, symbol of darkness and sin, and the sombre tone of this text;²¹ but the owl also served as a metonym for Jews (the target of several of Browne's motet texts), and the squalidness attributed to the hoopoe could also be interpreted as a comment on the (all-too human) condition of those who, mired in sin, prayed for redemption in the text of E9 (see Catalogue of Compositions p. 56–57); the owl, or 'brown', could be a straightforward rebus on the composer's name; it could variously emblematised filial devotion, priestly sobriety, repentance, morbidity, vocal ineptitude.²²

Human figures

Human faces can be seen in numerous initials, frequently in profile as part of the filigree-work of flourished initials, or forming part of the letter shape or ornamental tracery of a painted letter—sometimes as caricatures, sometimes as green men, sometimes as shadowy outlines, but nearly always skilfully done. Full-length and naturalistic human figures are more unusual; two can be seen in phase D, on r.7^r/f. 89^v (E55) and x.2^r/f. 104 (E64). The depiction in the former of an armed man slaying a dragon clearly alludes to the defeat of sin, providing a parallel to similar armed men in Continental music manuscripts.²³ The dragon (Psalm 74:13–14), signifying original sin in the interpretation of Bruno of Segni (d. 1123), was vanquished through the death of Christ the warrior.²⁴ The relevance of this initial to the text of the accompanying motet is unmistakable: E55 evokes unsparingly the torments of Christ on the cross, taunted by onlookers, his head spitefully garlanded with thorns ('induitur caput ob maliciam spinis') and racked with pain as he uttered the Last Words. A pair of cavorting putti on opening m.3^r/f. 72 refer to the visitation narrative text of Banaster's *O maria et elizabeth* (E35), in which Christ and John the Baptist danced *in utero* when their mothers met at Elizabeth's home.

Devices: arms, emblems and rebus

Armorial bearings attest to the origins of ETON within Eton College, whose arms appear three times: openings a.2^r/f. 1^v (E1: phase B), h.4^r/f. 41 (E22: phase A) and k.4^r/f. 57 (E30: phase Bi).²⁵ The last case, the first opening of Richard Davy's well-travelled motet, *O domine celi terreque creator*, is also noteworthy for its inclusion of four other coats of arms: England; St Edward the Confessor (also Westminster Abbey); William Waynflete (also Magdalen College, Oxford); and provost Henry Bost (see below: Logistics p. 47). These arms collectively acknowledge Henry VI as founder, William Waynflete as chief benefactor after Henry's death, and Bost as head of college at the time ETON was in preparation (whether or not it was actually completed before his death in February 1504). The

allusion to Edward the Confessor as royal saint and founder of Westminster Abbey cannot have been lost on early Tudor Etonian readers, recollecting Henry VI as founder and as royal saint-in-waiting (although Henry VII's attempts to have his royal namesake canonised came to nothing). Those singing Davy's motet would also read, at the end of the final opening, that he had composed E30 in the space of one day while working at Magdalen College, lending Waynflete's arms both local and topical significance.

A further set of arms, in opening r.7^r/f. 90 (E55) has not been identified: *sable, a chevron argent between three lilies slipped proper; on a chief gules three owls of the second*.²⁶ The owls, or 'brownies' recall a naturalistic owl seen facing the viewer in d.3^r/f. 20 (E9: see above), and may be a rebus for John Browne;²⁷ the lilies strongly suggest a link with Eton College, whose arms also included lilies. William Waynflete had borrowed lilies from the Eton arms for his; in turn, members of Magdalen College took lilies from the Waynflete arms once they were transferred to Magdalen College. At Eton College, Roger Lupton, incorporated lilies into his arms after he had been elected provost in succession to Henry Bost in 1504. No arms answering this description have been found in the records of the College of Arms, however.

Two potential rebuses on John Browne's name have already been noted. Two more clear-cut cases can be seen elsewhere in ETON. The first is the paschal lamb which appears in the gilded initial **R** on h.2^r/f. 38^v (E21: Walter Lambe, *Salve regina*). The lamb is, of course, an allusion both to Christ and to the composer Walter Lambe; lest this be lost on the viewer, St John the Baptist stands beside the lamb, the text 'Ecce agnus dei' issuing on a scroll. Similar word-play can be found on e.1^r/f. 25^v (E11), where the initial on the fifth stave, a finely-executed grey sea shell superimposed in a yellow sunburst, leaves no doubt that the composer is Robert Wylkynson (whelk-in-sun).

Catalogue

The catalogue of illuminated letters opposite gives brief details of all of the initial letters that appear in ETON. Each entry is indexed according to E number (see Catalogue of Compositions p. 53), original opening number and present folio number. Voice-part names and other related marginalia (usually gemell/semell markings) are given in roman type (where written in black text), *italics* (if written in red) or **bold italics** (if blue ink was used). Vocal designations in square brackets were provided by Frank Harrison (MB 10–12) unless otherwise specified.

Letter types (pen, paint, flourished etc.) have been discussed above. After each letter, a cue letter is indicated if one is present (again, in roman type for black text and *italics* for red); in some cases a cue letter was provided, but the limner failed to supply the required initial, in which case a dash takes the place of the initial (for example '– : m' = the letter **m** was cued in red by the scribe, but not executed by the limner).

Although the painted ETON initials are often characterised by subtle layering of tones and shades, only the principal colour washes are given here: 'ochre/cobalt+white', for instance, indicates a predominantly ochre letter on a cobalt blue field with white detailing and filigree-work on the field. The ochre letter may be shaded and highlighted, but ochre is categorised as the predominant hue. 'Blue/red' betokens a blue letter on a red field (in most cases these will be flourished letters, such as those commonly found in phase B–Bi). Even if anachronistic, colour names in modern usage are preferred over sixteenth-century colour terms.²⁸

Brief notes are given on the pictorial content and other pictorial elements (including texts that appear in scrolls), as well as observations on

²⁰ 'Et ihesum benedictum fructum ventris tui nobis post hoc exilium ostende.'

²¹ Hocking 1995, 49.

²² Hassig 1995, 93–103; Williamson 1997a, 507–08; Leach 2007, 104–05.

²³ RobertsonA 2006, 554, 579; WrightC 2001, 190 (and, more generally, 175–205 on the relevance of this motif to the *L'homme Armé* masses of the fifteenth century).

²⁴ RobertsonA 2006, 555, citing *PL* 164, col. 981.

²⁵ The latter set is smudged, but the traces of the underlying colour scheme match the college's arms.

²⁶ Squire 1898, 92.

²⁷ Williamson 1997a, 507.

²⁸ *Arte of Limning*, ff. iv–viii^v, has descriptions of several recognisable colour terms: oker, roset, vertgrese/'Spanishe greene', vermilion, byze/azure (for ochre, russet, verdigris/turquoise, vermilion and cobalt blue).

Table 5.2
Catalogue of illuminated initials

Scribal phase	Item	Opening	Folio	Voice-part	Type	Letter: cue	Colour scheme	Pictorial letter-form; notes			
B	E1	a.2	1 ^v	[Quatruplex]	Painted	O: o	ochre/green+gold	foliate: encloses arms of Eton College encloses clean-shaven human face in black pen 'Maria / mater / gracie' on pleated scroll upper lobe encloses bearded human face in red pen			
				Tenor	Flourished*	O: o	black+blue/red				
				Medius	Pen	O: o	black				
				Primus Bassus	Flourished*	O: o	black+blue/red				
				Inferior Contratenor	Pen	O: o	black				
		2	Triplex	Flourished*	O: o	black+blue/red					
			Superior Contratenor	Pen	O: o	black					
			Secundus Bassus	Flourished*	O: o	black+blue/red					
			a.3	2 ^v	[Quatruplex]	Plain	A: a		blue	terminal of 'vivencia'; no indentation elaborate red-line spray extends up to stave 2	
					[Tenor]	Flourished	I: i		blue/red		
	Medius	Flourished			I: i	blue/red					
	Primus Bassus	Flourished		I	blue/red						
	3	Inferior Contratenor		Flourished	I	blue/red	elaborate red-line spray in LH margin terminal of 'vivencia'				
		Triplex	Flourished	A	blue/red						
	E2	a.4	3 ^v	[Quatruplex]	Flourished	Q	blue/red	occupies two staves; some trimming loss at top			
				Tenor	Flourished	A: a	blue/red				
				Medius	Flourished	A: a	blue/red				
				Primus Bassus	Flourished	A: a	blue/red				
				Inferior Contratenor	Flourished	A	blue/red				
		4	Triplex	Flourished	Q	blue/red	bearded human face in profile at LH				
Superior Contratenor			Flourished	A: a	blue/red						
Secundus Bassus			Flourished	A	blue/red						
a.5			4 ^v	[Quatruplex]	Painted	H: h		brown/terracotta+ gold	foliate black spray extensive red spray; some trimming loss at LH; asymmetrical blue fill probably afterthought human face in profile; some trimming loss mid-stave; over erased stave-lines elaborate tail extends to gutter mid-stave; over erased staves; human face in profile		
				Tenor	Pen	A		black			
	Medius	Flourished*		G: g	black+blue/red						
	5	Primus Contratenor	Pen	A	black						
		Triplex	Flourished*	H	black/red						
E3	b.2	8 ^v	Secundus Contratenor	Pen	A	black	over unerased stave-lines				
			Bassus	Flourished*	G	black/red					
			a.6	5 ^v	[Quatruplex]	Flourished		A: a	blue/red		
					Tenor	Flourished		A: a	blue/red		
					Medius	Flourished		G	blue/red		
	6	Primus Contratenor	Flourished	G	blue/red						
		Triplex	Flourished	G	blue/red						
	a.7	6 ^v	Secundus Contratenor	Flourished	G	blue/red	over unerased stave-lines over unerased stave-lines				
			Bassus	Flourished	A: a	blue/red					
			[Quatruplex]	Flourished	B: b	blue/red					
Tenor			Flourished	G	blue/red						
Medius			Flourished	G	blue/red						
b.1	7 ^v	Primus Contratenor	Flourished	G	blue/red						
		Triplex	Flourished	G	blue/red						
		Secundus Contratenor	Flourished	G	blue/red						
		Bassus	Flourished	B: b	blue/red						
		[Quatruplex]	Flourished	A: a	blue/red						
D	8	Tenor	Flourished	N: n	blue/red	executed during re-copying of olim f. a.8 onto f. b.1; cue letters provided for all initials, probably because this folio was re-copied out of sequence					
		Medius	Flourished	N	blue/red						
		Primus Contratenor	Flourished	N	blue/red						
E4	b.2	8 ^v	[Triplex]	Flourished	A: a	blue/red	executed during re-copying of olim f. a.8 onto f. b.1; cue letters provided for all initials, probably because this folio was re-copied out of sequence				
			[Secundus Contratenor]	Flourished	N: n	blue/red					
			[Bassus]	Flourished	N: n	blue/red					
			B	E3	b.2	[Quatruplex]		Painted	G: g	ochre/green+gold	foliate black letter outline shaded yellow; no blue scroll-form letter enclosing white-line human face lobed G with foliate fill
						Contratenor		Flourished*	P	black+yellow/red	
	Medius	Pen				O	black				
	9	Triplex			Painted	O	yellow/cobalt+white				
		Tenor			Pen	P	black				
	b.3 ^l	9 ^v	[Bassus]	Painted	G: g	brown/purple+gold					
			[Quatruplex]	Flourished	E: e	blue/red					
E4	b.7 ^r	10	Contratenor	Flourished	B: b	blue/red	cue letter detectable at border of red field				
			Medius	Flourished	H: h	blue/red					
			Primus Bassus	Flourished	H: h	blue/red					
			Secundus Tenor	Flourished	G	blue/red					
			Gemel—Gemel	Flourished	T	blue/red					
	b.8	10 ^v	[Triplex]	Flourished	T	blue/red					
			[Primus Tenor]	Flourished	G	blue/red					
			[Contratenor]	Flourished	G	blue/red					
			[Bassus]	Flourished	G	blue/red					
			[Tenor]	Flourished	Q	blue/red					

Scribal phase	Item	Opening	Folio	Voice-part	Type	Letter: cue	Colour scheme	Pictorial letter-form; notes				
B	E ₅	c.1	11	[Medius] [Secundus Tenor] [Bassus]	Flourished Flourished Flourished	G G G	blue/red blue/red blue/red					
			11 ^v	[Quatruplex] <i>Medius</i> Contratenor	Painted Painted Painted	S C: c C:	brown/terracotta+gold grey/gold+ruset ochre/cobalt+white	winged basilisk foliate winged basilisk				
			12	<i>Triplex</i> Tenor <i>Bassus</i>	Painted Painted Painted	S S O: o	brown/terracotta+gold grey/gold+ruset ochre/cobalt+white	foliate paired serpents foliate				
	c.2	12 ^v	[Quatruplex] <i>Medius</i> Contratenor	Flourished Flourished Flourished	Q E: e E: e	blue/red blue/red blue/red	some loss of blue ink with offset on facing folio					
			13	<i>Triplex</i> Tenor <i>Bassus</i>	Flourished Flourished Flourished	E F: f Q	blue/red blue/red blue/red	hairy human face in profile, sprays projecting from mouth				
			c.3	13 ^v	[Quatruplex] <i>Medius</i> Contratenor	Flourished Flourished Flourished	C: c O: o O: o	blue/red blue/red blue/red	some loss of blue ink with offset on facing folio cue letter incorporated into red spray offset of blue and red ink from/to facing folio			
	14	<i>Triplex</i> Tenor <i>Bassus</i>			Flourished Flourished Flourished	C: c O: o O: o	blue/red blue/red blue/red					
	B	E ₆	c.4 ^L	14 ^v	[Triplex] [Primus Tenor] [Secundus Tenor]	Painted Painted Painted	O: o O: o O: o	brown/terracotta+gold olive/grey-blue+white brown/green+gold	foliate foliate; encloses white-line bearded human face in profile scroll-form			
				B	E ₇	c.6 ^R	15	[Medius] [Tenor] [Secundus Bassus]	Painted Painted Painted	O: o S Q	grey/olive+gold olive/purple+gold brown/terracotta+gold	foliate winged green basilisk foliate
								c.7	15 ^v	[Triplex] Contratenor <i>Primus Bassus</i>	Flourished Flourished Flourished	T: t U U: v
	16	[Medius]— <i>Gemel</i> — <i>Gemel</i> <i>Tenor</i> Secundus Bassus	Flourished Flourished Flourished							U T: t U: v	blue/red blue/red blue/red	
	c.8	16 ^v	[Triplex] Contratenor <i>Primus Bassus</i>	Flourished Flourished Flourished	O: o A: a O: o	blue/red blue/red blue/red	some trimming loss at top and LH some trimming loss at LH					
			17	[Medius] Tenor Secundus Bassus	Flourished Flourished Flourished	O: o A: a A: a?	blue/red blue/red blue/red					
				C	E ₈	d.1	17 ^v	[Medius] [Primus Contratenor] [Primus Bassus]	Painted Painted Painted	S U: v U	olive/purple+white grey/olive+gold ochre/green+gold	woven leafless branches gryphon's head emerging from foliate branch foliate
	18	[Secundus Contratenor] [Tenor] [Secundus Bassus]	Painted Painted Painted					S U V: v	olive/purple+white brown/terracotta+gold ochre/cobalt+white	segmented branches foliate; gold-line hairy human face in profile foliate		
d.2	18 ^v	[Medius] Primus Contratenor <i>Primus Bassus</i>	Flourished Flourished Plain			I I D	blue/red blue/red blue	red underlay follows				
		19	Secundus Contratenor <i>Tenor</i>	Plain Plain	D D	blue blue	red underlay follows red underlay follows					
			Secundus Bassus	Plain	C: c	blue	red underlay follows					
C	E ₉	d.3	19 ^v	[Primus Medius] [Primus Contratenor] [Secundus Contratenor]	Painted Painted Painted	A: a A A	olive/purple+gold ochre/green+gold brown/terracotta+gold	over unerased stave-lines over unerased stave-lines				
				20	[Secundus Medius] [Tenor] [Bassus]	Painted Painted Painted	O: o I O: o	brown/terracotta+gold grey/gold+ruset ochre/cobalt+white	naked branches enclosing brown owl foliate; compressed between staves 10 and 11 foliate			
					d.4	20 ^v	[Primus Medius]	Painted Plain	S S: s ^t	olive/green+gold blue	curvilinear; probably an error as it duplicates: red underlay follows	
			[Primus Contratenor] [Secundus Contratenor]				Plain Plain	G: g C: c	blue blue	red underlay follows red underlay follows		
			21	[Secundus Medius] [Tenor] [Bassus]			Plain Plain Plain	S: s G: g G	blue blue blue	red underlay follows red underlay follows red underlay follows		
			d.5	21 ^v	[Primus Medius] [Primus Contratenor] [Secundus Contratenor]	Plain Plain Plain	C: c C: c C	red blue red	black underlay follows black underlay follows black underlay follows			
	22	[Secundus Medius] [Tenor] [Bassus]			Plain Plain Plain	C: c C: c C	blue red blue	black underlay follows black underlay follows black underlay follows				
		C			E ₁₀	d.6	22 ^v	[Triplex] [Primus Medius] [Contratenor]	Painted Painted Painted	G G G	ochre/green+gold grey/moss-green+gold olive/purple+gold	woven branches paired basilisks enclosing gold-line leonine face; colour match for M2 branch with scrolls
								23	[Secundus Medius]	Painted	Q	grey/moss-green+gold

¹ Red cue letters for Primus Medius, Primus Contratenor and Secundus Medius partially obscured by blue capitals.

Scribal phase	Item	Opening	Folio	Voice-part	Type	Letter: cue	Colour scheme	Pictorial letter-form; notes	
				[Tenor]	Painted	O	olive/purple+white	lobed/patterned O encloses black/white-line human face	
				[Bassus]	Painted	G	brown/terracotta+gold	foliate	
	d.7		23 ^v	[Triplex]	Plain	G	blue	red underlay follows	
				[Primus Medius]	Plain	G	blue	red underlay follows	
				[Contratenor]	Plain	G	blue	red underlay follows	
			24	[Secundus Medius]	Plain	G	blue	red underlay follows	
				[Tenor]	Plain	U: v	blue	black underlay follows	
				[Bassus]	Plain	G	blue	red underlay follows	
	d.8		24 ^v	[Triplex]				no initial; no cue (initial not needed)	
				[Primus Medius]	Plain	I	red	black underlay follows	
				[Contratenor]	Plain	I	blue	outside LH frame-ruling; black underlay follows	
			25	[Secundus Medius]	Plain	I	blue	black underlay follows	
				[Tenor]	Plain	I	red	black underlay follows	
				[Bassus]	Plain	I	blue	black underlay follows	
D	E11	e.1 ^t	25 ^v	[Triplex]	Painted	O: o	grey/gold+ruset	foliate; detailing within letter smudged; gold filigree-work over un-erased stave to RH fills (accidentally left?) space between initial letter and clef	
				[Tenor]	Painted	O: o	ochre/green+gold	paired winged basilisks enclose grey whelk shell on gold sunburst (evidently a rebus: 'whelk in sun' = Wylkynson); colour match for d.6 (Tr)	
				[Primus Contratenor]	Painted	O: o	grey/moss-green+gold	paired winged basilisks; colour match for d.6 (M1 and M2)	
D	E14	f.3 ^R	26	[Medius]		- : g		cue for 'Gaude'	
				<i>Inferior Contratenor</i>		- : c		cue for 'Congruentem'	
				Bassus		- : c		cue for 'Congruentem'	
X	E15	f.4	26 ^v	<i>Quatruplex</i>	X	S	pen/blue	Seraphyn	
				<i>Triplex</i>	X	S	pen/pink	Cherubyn	
				<i>Primus Contratenor</i>	X	S	pen/blue	<i>Dominationes</i>	
				<i>Tenor</i>	X	S	pen/pink	<i>Potestates</i>	
				<i>Primus Bassus</i>	X	S	pen/blue	<i>Angeli</i>	
			27	<i>Medius</i>	X	S	pen/pink	<i>Troni</i>	
				<i>Secundus Contratenor</i>	X	S	pen/blue	<i>Principatus</i>	
				<i>Inferior / Contratenor</i>	X	S	pen/pink	<i>Virtutes</i>	
				<i>Secundus / Bassus</i>	X	S	pen/blue	<i>Archangeli</i>	
	f.5		27 ^v	<i>Quatruplex</i>	Pen	O	black+yellow	shaded cadel	
				<i>Triplex</i>	Pen	O	black+yellow	shaded cadel	
				<i>Primus Contratenor</i>	Pen	B	black+yellow	shaded cadel enclosing human face in profile	
				<i>Tenor</i>	Pen	O	black+yellow	shaded cadel	
				<i>Primus / Bassus</i>	Pen	B	black+yellow	shaded cadel	
			28	<i>Medius</i>	Pen	O	black+yellow	shaded cadel; scroll with text: 'Robertus / Wylkynson'	
				<i>Secundus / Contratenor</i>	Pen	B	black+yellow	shaded cadel; human face to left of ascender	
				<i>Inferior / Contratenor</i>	Pen	O	black+yellow	shaded cadel; scroll with text: 'aue—maria / gratia—plena'	
				<i>Secundus / Bassus</i>	Pen	O	black+yellow	shaded cadel	
	f.6		28 ^v	<i>Quatruplex</i>	Pen	O	black+yellow	shaded cadel	
				<i>Triplex</i>	Pen	O	black+yellow	shaded cadel	
				<i>Primus Contratenor</i>	Pen	O	black+yellow	shaded cadel	
				<i>Tenor</i>	Pen	O	black+yellow	shaded cadel	
				<i>Primus Bassus</i>	Pen	O	black+yellow	shaded cadel	
			29	<i>Medius</i>	Pen	O	black+yellow	shaded cadel	
				<i>Secundus / Contratenor</i>	Pen	O	black+yellow	shaded cadel	
				<i>Inferior / Contratenor</i>	Pen	O	black+yellow	shaded cadel	
				<i>Secundus / Bassus</i>	Pen	O	black+yellow	shaded cadel; scroll with text: 'Robertus ... Wylkynson / cuius anime ... propicietur deus'	
D	E16	f.7 ^t	29 ^v	[Triplex]	Painted	S	ochre/green+gold	foliate	
				[Tenor]	Painted	S	grey/terracotta+gold	stag's head on serpentine body	
				[Contratenor]	Painted	S	grey/brown+gold	serpent on foliate branch	
			g.1 ^R	<i>Medius</i>				majuscule black F (ff): red underlay follows	
				<i>Bassus</i>				majuscule black F (ff): red underlay follows	
A	E17	g.2	30 ^v	[Triplex]	Painted	R	grey/gold+ruset	foliate	
				[Tenor]	Pen	U	black	strap-work; scroll with text 'v v / v v'; a human face in profile near edge of folio	
				[Contratenor]	Painted	S	ochre/green+gold	hydra; replaces earlier pen initial	
			31	[Medius]	Pen	S	black	black spray in margin	
				[Bassus]	Painted	M	ochre/green+gold	scroll-form; follows form of underlying pen initial.	
			g.3	31 ^v	[Triplex]	Plain	O: o	blue	black underlay follows
				<i>Tenor</i>	Plain	O: o	blue	black underlay follows	
				<i>Contratenor</i>	Plain	O: o	blue	black underlay follows	
			32	<i>Medius</i>	Plain	O: o	blue	black underlay follows	
				<i>Bassus</i>	Plain	O: o	blue	black underlay follows	
A	E18	g.4	32 ^v	[Triplex]					
				<i>Gemell—Semell—Gemell—Semell</i>	Painted	S	grey/moss-green+gold	foliate with naked human figure recumbent	
				[Tenor]	Painted	S	ochre/blue+white	serpent in figures-of-eight; replaces earlier pen initial	
				[Contratenor]	Pen	M	black	strap-work; scroll; human face in profile in LH border	
			33	[Medius]	Painted	S	grey/terracotta+gold	hybrid foliate/basilisk with canine head; replaces earlier pen initial.	
				[Bassus]	Pen	M	black	strap-work; sober human face in profile on LH border.	
			g.5	33 ^v	[Triplex]	Plain	O	red	black underlay follows

Scribal phase	Item	Opening	Folio	Voice-part	Type	Letter: cue	Colour scheme	Pictorial letter-form; notes
				Contratenor				majuscule black V: red underlay follows
				<i>Tenor</i>				majuscule black V: red underlay follows
			34	Medius	Plain	O	red	black underlay follows
				<i>Bassus</i>				majuscule black V: red underlay follows
A	E19	g.6	34 ^v	[Triplex]	Painted	S	ochre/green+gold	hybrid foliate/winged basilisk
				[Tenor]	Painted	S	pearl-grey/gold+ruset	foliate; replaces earlier pen initial.
				[Contratenor]	Pen	R	black	strap-work; human head in profile; scroll with text 'B # O'
			35	[Medius]	Painted	S	ochre/green+gold	foliate; replaces earlier pen initial.
				[Bassus]	Pen	S	black	strap-work
		g.7	35 ^v	[Triplex]	Plain	O	blue	black underlay follows
				<i>Tenor</i>	Plain	O	blue	black underlay follows
				<i>Contratenor</i>	Plain	O: o	blue	black underlay follows
			36	Medius	Plain	O: o	blue	black underlay follows
				<i>Bassus</i>	Plain	O: o?	blue	black underlay follows
A	E20	g.8	36 ^v	[Triplex]	Painted	S	grey/moss-green+gold	foliate
				[Tenor]	Pen	S	black	
				[Contratenor]	Painted	S	ochre/blue+white	foliate; replaces earlier pen initial.
			37	[Medius]	Pen	S	black	strap-work; scroll with letter sigma (Σ for 'Salve?')
				[Bassus]	Painted	S	ochre/blue+white	basilisk; replaces earlier pen initial.
		h.1	37 ^v	[Triplex]	Plain	O: o	blue	black underlay follows
				<i>Tenor</i>	Plain	O: o	blue	black underlay follows
				<i>Contratenor</i>	Plain	O	blue	black underlay follows
			38	Medius	Plain	O	blue	black underlay follows
				<i>Bassus</i>	Plain	O	blue	black underlay follows
A		h.2	38 ^v	[Triplex]	Painted	R	black+pink+blue/ gold leaf+yellow	John the Baptist with scroll bearing text 'Ecce agnus dei', punning on Lambe; blue-nimbed lamb on book with blue strap fastenings and an eagle [St John the Evangelist]: its wing forms the edge of the book. Sprays and foliate flourishes with pink and yellow shading; some gold-leaf extends along the upper and LH frame rulings.
				[Tenor]	Pen	S	black+pink	strapwork; same pink shading as above
				[Contratenor]	Pen	S	black+pink	same pink shading as above
			39	<i>Medius</i>	Pen	S	black+pink	strapwork; same pink shading as above
				[Bassus]	Pen	R	black+pink+yellow	penwork; pink and yellow as above; a monkey's head (shaded pink/yellow) on LH border
		h.3	39 ^v	[Triplex]	Plain	O	blue	black underlay follows
				<i>Semellum</i> — <i>Semellum</i>				
				<i>Tenor</i>	Plain	E: e	blue	over erasure (?); red underlay follows
				<i>Contratenor</i>	Plain	E	blue	over erasure (?); red underlay follows
			40	Medius	Plain	O	blue	black underlay follows
				<i>Semel</i> — <i>Semellum</i>				
				<i>Bassus</i>	Plain	E	blue	red underlay follows
A	E22	h.4	40 ^v	[Quadruplex]	Painted	R	ochre/blue+white	foliate
				<i>Tenor</i>	Pen	S	black+red+pink	penwork; winged basilisk with human head and red talons; at the end of its tail another human head holds in its mouth a scroll with text 'Tenor'. Pink shading as in opening h.2.
				<i>Inferior Contratenor</i>	Pen	R	black	strap-work with pink-shaded foliate fill; a russet-shaded human head on LH with fine spray issuing from mouth.
				<i>Superior Contratenor</i>	Pen	R	black+yellow/pink+ruset	with pink-shaded foliate fill; in the centre a pink+ruset human figure wearing pink amice and cap
			41	<i>Triplex</i>	Pen	U	black/yellow+red	scroll-form letter on foliate yellow-shaded field with painted arms of Eton College and (above) a wild strawberry (?); a yellow-shaded human face in profile (LH)
				Medius	Pen	S	black/pink+yellow	strap-work; a female human figure to the LH
				<i>Bassus</i>	Pen	S	pink/sepia	scroll-form S (pink-shaded) on foliate ground
		h.5	41 ^v	[Quadruplex]	Plain	O	blue	black underlay follows
				<i>Tenor</i>	Plain	O	blue	black underlay follows
				<i>Inferior Contratenor</i>	Plain	O	blue	large capital on stave (left blank for the purpose); black underlay follows
				<i>Superior Contratenor</i>	Plain	O: o	blue	black underlay follows
			42	<i>Triplex</i>	Plain	O: o	blue	black underlay follows
				Medius—Medius ²	Plain	O	blue	black underlay follows
				<i>Bassus</i>	Plain	O	blue	black underlay follows
A	E23	h.6	42 ^v	[Triplex]	Painted	U: v	brown/terracotta+gold	winged basilisk clutching branch
				[Tenor]	Pen	S	black	scroll; foliate fill and fine spray
				[Contratenor]	Painted	S	black/dark-green	crudely customised pen initial
			43	[Medius]	Pen	S	black	strap-work; on foliate field
				[Bassus]	Painted	S	ochre/green+gold	foliate; probably replaces earlier penwork initial
		h.7	43 ^v	[Triplex]	Plain	O	blue	black underlay follows
				<i>Tenor</i>	Plain	U	blue	red underlay follows
				<i>Contratenor</i>	Plain	U	blue	red underlay follows
			44	Medius	Plain	U: v	blue	red underlay follows; capital obscures cue letter
				<i>Bassus</i>	Plain	O	blue	black underlay follows
A	E24	h.8	44 ^v	[Triplex]	Painted	S	brown/terracotta+gold	two grotesques with canine ears share foliate torso
				[Tenor]	Painted	U	black+tan/blue+white	scroll-form; encloses white bird (head obscured by smudging); customised pen initial

² Part-name written twice; once in LH margin (as with Triplex and Bassus), and again in RH margin.

Scribal phase	Item	Opening	Folio	Voice-part	Type	Letter: cue	Colour scheme	Pictorial letter-form: notes
			45	[Contratenor] [Medius] [Bassus]	Pen Pen Painted	V S U	black black brown/terracotta+gold	strap-work with fine spray fill strap-work with foliate fill foliate; traces of erased pen initial
		i.1	45 ^v	[Triplex] <i>Tenor</i>	Plain Plain	O: o O: o	blue blue	black underlay follows black underlay follows
			46	<i>Contratenor</i> [Medius] <i>Bassus</i>	Plain Plain Plain	O: o O O	blue blue blue	black underlay follows; capital obscures cue letter black underlay follows black underlay follows
A	E25	i.2	46 ^v	[Triplex] [Tenor]	Painted Painted	S S	ochre/purple+gold brown/terracotta+gold	two basilisks sharing foliate torso (as in h.8 above) foliate segmented branch; traces of erased pen initial with strapwork tail extending into LH margin
				[Contratenor]	Painted	S	grey+mixed/gold	canine-headed grotesque; encloses wild strawberry; traces of erased pen initial; matches i.4 ^l
			47	[Medius]	Painted	S	ochre/green+gold	foliate, with small bearded human face at tail; replaces erased pen initial; matches i.4 ^R
				[Bassus]	Painted	S	white+mixed/grey	foliate, with recumbent human face in profile; encloses two speed-wells; traces of erased pen initial
		i.3	47 ^v	[Triplex] <i>Tenor</i>	Plain	O U	blue	black underlay follows black majuscule picked out in red (in same style as vocal designation); red underlay follows
			48	<i>Contratenor</i> Medius <i>Bassus</i>	Plain	U O: o U	blue black+red	black+red majuscule (cf. <i>Tenor</i>); red underlay follows black underlay follows majuscule; red underlay follows
A	E26	i.4	48 ^v	[Triplex] [Tenor]	Painted Painted	U S	grey+mixed/gold grey/purple+gold	foliate with dunce head (LH) enclosing wild strawberry; matches i.2 ^l scroll-work; diagonally intersected by wooden staff; a crude customisation of underlying pen initial
				[Contratenor]	Painted	S	brown/terracotta+gold	foliate with two bearded human heads; replaces erased and over-painted pen initial
			49	[Medius]	Painted	U	ochre/green+gold	bird grasps foliate branch; replaces erased and over-painted pen initial; matches i.2 ^R
				[Bassus]	Painted	S	grey-white/olive	rope-form; customised pen initial
		i.5	49 ^v	[Triplex] <i>Tenor</i>	Plain Plain	O: o O	blue blue	black underlay follows black underlay follows
			50	<i>Contratenor</i> <i>Medius</i> <i>Bassus</i>	Plain Plain Plain	O O O	blue blue blue	black underlay follows black underlay follows black underlay follows
A	E27	i.6	50 ^v	[Triplex] [Tenor]	Painted Painted	U S	grey-white/gold+gold ochre/blue+gold	foliate foliate; over erased pen initial
				[Contratenor]	Painted	S	gold/purple+gold	scroll-form; follows outline of earlier pen initial
			51	[Medius] [Bassus]	Painted Painted	S U	olive/terracotta+gold ochre/blue+gold	scroll-form; follows design of earlier pen initial? foliate; replaces strap-work initial
		i.7	51 ^v	[Triplex] <i>Tenor</i>	Plain Plain	O O: o	blue blue	black underlay follows black underlay follows
				<i>Contratenor</i>	Plain	O: o	blue	black underlay follows
			52	[Medius] <i>Bassus</i>	Plain Plain	O: o O: o	blue blue	black underlay follows black underlay follows
A	E28	i.8	52 ^v	[Triplex] [Tenor] [Contratenor]	Painted Painted Pen	S S S	grey/gold ochre/green+gold sepia	foliate (plain field) foliate; earlier pen initial visible above upper border of painted field two-faced grotesque with cat's claws, ridden by monkey; on elaborate spray field and (partially faded) filigree-work in LH margin
			53	[Medius]	Painted	S	grey/olive	winged basilisk (plain field); replaces over-painted pen initial (as shown by distended lower LH corner of field)
				[Bassus]	Pen	S	black	strap-work with foliate field
		k.1	53 ^v	[Triplex] <i>Tenor</i>	Plain Plain	U: u E: e	blue blue	red underlay follows red underlay follows; capital obscures cue letter
				<i>Contratenor</i>	Plain	O: o	blue	black underlay follows; capital obscures cue letter
			54	Medius <i>Bassus</i>	Plain Plain	U: u O: o	blue blue	red underlay follows black underlay follows
A	E29	k.2	54 ^v	[Triplex] [Tenor]	Painted Painted	S b S	brown/terracotta+gold ochre/dark-green+gold	foliate/basilisk; large format a pair of two-horned, flightless dragons; replaces strap-work initial whose tapered tail extends down LH margin
				[Contratenor]	Pen	A: a	sepia	woven-form on foliate field; spray in LH margin partially lost through trimming of folio
			55	[Medius]	Painted	S	olive/grey-blue+gold	foliate/winged, canine-headed basilisk; replaces partially erased pen initial part of which can be seen between staves 1 and 2
				[Bassus]	Painted	A: a	ochre/moss-green+gold	foliate; replaces pen initial whose lower RH corner protrudes beyond field
Bi		k.3	55 ^v	[Triplex] <i>Tenor</i> <i>Contratenor</i>	Flourished Flourished Flourished	O O O	blue/red blue/red blue/red	in same style as gatherings a-d.1
			56	<i>Medius</i>	Plain	O	blue	music copyist left space in the middle of stave 2 for a flourished initial; black underlay follows
				<i>Bassus</i>	Flourished	O	blue/red	
Bi	E30	k.4	56 ^v	[Triplex]	Painted	O: o	olive+heraldic/ grey-blue+gold	serpents enclose arms of England
				[Tenor]	Painted	O: o	ochre+heraldic/	paired basilisks on hooped leafless branch enclose arms of Edward the

Scribal phase	Item	Opening	Folio	Voice-part	Type	Letter: cue	Colour scheme	Pictorial letter-form; notes	
			57	[Contratenor] [Medius]	Painted Painted	O: o O: o	cobalt+gold grey+heraldic/gold+ruset brown+heraldic/ terracotta+gold	Confessor lobed initial encloses arms of William Waynflete paired branches enclose arms of Henry Bost	
				[Bassus]	Painted	O: o	ochre+heraldic/green+ gold paired	dragon on hooped foliate branch encloses (now smudged) arms of Eton College	
Note: throughout openings k.5–x.5 inclusive (scribal phases Bi–Bii and D; E30–E54) plain blue capitals were used before red text (and cued in red), with variable frequency, in order to articulate major textual or musical subdivisions. This can also be seen in the intervening scribal phase, C (gatherings d and z: E8–B10 and E70–E74) and in the surviving portions of phase D in gatherings bb and ee (E79, E82 and E90–E92, whose sectionalised structures lent themselves to this form of graphic representation).									
	k.5	57 ^v		[Triplex]— <i>Semel</i> — <i>Gemel</i>	Flourished	U: u	blue/red	cue letter, very small, can be seen in the LH margin below one of the sprays extending from the red-line field cue letter obscured by border of red-line field	
				<i>Tenor</i>	Flourished	T: t	blue/red		
				Contratenor	Flourished	T: t	blue/red		
		58		[Medius]	Flourished	U: u	blue/red		
				[Bassus]	Flourished	U: u	blue/red		
	k.6	58 ^v		[Triplex]	Flourished	A: a	blue/red		
				<i>Tenor</i>	Flourished	O: o	blue/red	cue letter incorporated into corner of red-line field.	
				Contratenor	Flourished	O: o	blue/red		
		59		<i>Medius</i>	Flourished	A: a	blue/red		
				Bassus	Flourished	S: s	blue/red		
Bi	E31	k.7	59 ^v	[Triplex]	Painted	U: u	olive+mixed/grey-blue	flightless dragon with a foliate branch in its mouth; plain field with pinks	
				<i>Tenor</i>	Painted	S	ochre/green+gold	serpent with foliate torso; replaces pen initial whose serrated fringe protrudes beyond field	
				Contratenor	Painted	S	brown+mixed/ terracotta+gold	foliate with serpentine tail, enclosing white flowers (white champions?); replaces pen initial whose top border protrudes slightly above field	
			60	[Medius]	Painted	T: t	grey+mixed/gold	foliate; plain field with blue cornflower and white daisies	
				[Bassus]	Painted	T: t	white/moss-green+gold	foliate with white lilies and wild rose (<i>Rosa canina</i>)	
		k.8	60 ^v	[Triplex]	Flourished	O: o	blue/red		
				<i>Tenor</i>	Flourished	Q	blue/red		
				Contratenor	Flourished	F: f	b blue/red		
			61	<i>Medius</i>	Flourished	O	blue/red		
				Bassus	Flourished	F	blue/red		
		l.1	61 ^v	[Triplex]	Flourished	T: t	blue/red		
				<i>Tenor</i>	Flourished	O: o	blue/red		
				Contratenor	Flourished	O: o	blue/red		
			62	<i>Medius</i>	Flourished	O: o	blue/red		
				Bassus	Flourished	T: t	blue/red	Black cue letter visible in lower RH border of red-line field.	
	E32	l.2	62 ^v	[Triplex]	Painted	C: c	ochre/purple+gold	foliate	
				[Tenor]	Painted	C	brown/terracotta+gold	foliate with two human faces in profile	
Bi				[Contratenor]	Painted	S	grey+mixed/gold	foliate dragons' heads at each end; a dog in the middle; two lilies, one in bud and one (red) in bloom; colour scheme matches l.5 ^R	
			63	[Medius]	Painted	O	grey+mixed/gold	twinned branches flanked by two birds; encloses white chrysanthemums	
				[Bassus]	Painted	S: s	brown/green+gold	scroll-form: probably follows earlier pen design	
		l.3	63 ^v	[Triplex]	Flourished	E: e	blue/red		
				<i>Tenor</i>	Flourished	Q	blue/red		
				Contratenor	Flourished	Q	blue/red		
			64	<i>Medius</i>	Flourished	E: e	blue/red		
				Bassus	Flourished	Q	blue/red		
		l.4	64 ^v	[Triplex]	Flourished	O: o	blue/red		
				<i>Tenor</i>	Flourished	C: c	blue/red		
				Contratenor	Flourished	C: c	blue/red		
			65	<i>Medius</i>	Flourished	Q: q	blue/red		
				Bassus	Flourished	Q: q	blue/red		
Bi	E33	l.5	65 ^v	[Triplex]	Painted	P: p	grey-white/buff+gold	foliate	
				[Tenor]	Painted	D: d	ochre/purple+gold	foliate with human face in profile	
				[Contratenor]	Painted	U	brown/red+gold	bird standing on foliate branch	
			66	[Medius]	Painted	D: d	brown/blue+gold	foliate	
				[Bassus]	Painted	U: u	grey+mixed/gold	foliate; enclosing red flowers (wild roses?); plain field; colour scheme matches l.2 ^t	
			l.6	66 ^v	[Triplex]	Flourished	Q	blue/red	
				[Medius]	Flourished	Q	blue/red		
				[Contratenor]	Flourished	P: p	blue/red		
			67	[Medius]	Flourished	E: e	blue/red		
				[Bassus]	Flourished	E	blue/red		
		l.7	67 ^v	[Triplex]	Flourished	S: s	blue/red	similar in style to gatherings a–b: foliate/serrated red-line; some trimming loss at top of folio	
				[Tenor]	Flourished	A	blue/red	elaborate red-line field with spray	
				[Contratenor]	Flourished	A: a	blue/red	human head in profile; red spray issuing from the mouth has a four-lobed flower at its end	
			68	[Medius]	Flourished	S	blue/red	red-line spray partially lost through trimming of folio	
				[Bassus]	Flourished	A: a	blue/red	with spray	
Bi	E34	l.8	68 ^v	[Triplex]	Painted	R: r	ochre/green+gold	foliate branch with basilisk's head and a stork	
				[Tenor]	Painted	Q	grey+mixed/buff+gold	foliate with red flower (heart's ease?)	
				[Contratenor]	Pen	I	black	strap-work; some trimming loss in LH margin; music copyist left no space within stave for painted initial	
			69	[Medius]	Painted	I	olive/blue-grey+gold	foliate	

Scribal phase	Item	Opening	Folio	Voice-part	Type	Letter: cue	Colour scheme	Pictorial letter-form; notes
				[Bassus]	Painted	Q: <i>q</i>	ochre/terracotta+gold	serpent entwined around foliate branch
	m.1		69 ^v	[Triplex]	Flourished	C	blue/red	red-line spray: some trimming loss at top of folio
				[Tenor]	Flourished	T: <i>t</i>	blue/red	cue letter under red-line foliate fill of initial.
				[Contratenor]	Flourished	T	blue/red	
			70	[Medius]	Flourished	C: <i>c</i>	blue/red	cue letter under red-line foliate fill of initial.
				[Bassus]	Flourished	C: <i>c</i>	blue/red	
	m.2		70 ^v	[Triplex]	Flourished	Q	blue/red	
				[Tenor]	Flourished	T: <i>t</i>	blue/red	red spray in LH margin
				[Contratenor]	Flourished	T	blue/red	red spray in LH margin
			71	[Medius]	Flourished	Q	blue/red	red spray; some trimming loss at top of folio
				[Bassus]	Flourished	Q	blue/red	
Bi	E35	m.3	71 ^v	[Triplex]	Painted	T: <i>t</i>	grey/gold+ruset	foliate T
				[Tenor]	Painted	N: <i>n</i>	ochre/green+gold	foliate
				[Contratenor]	Painted	O	grey/moss-green+gold	foliate
			72	[Medius]	Painted	O: <i>o</i>	brown/blue-grey+white	two naked infants holding a line of string (reflecting the Biblical/dynastic theme of E35: Hocking 1995, 78-79); colour scheme matches m.6 ^R
				[Bassus]	Painted	T: <i>t</i>	grey/terracotta+gold	foliate with a dragon's head emerging from acanthus leaf and a second dragon on the cross-bar of the letter
	m.4		72 ^v	[Triplex]	Flourished	T: <i>t</i>	blue/red	
				[Tenor]	Flourished	A: <i>a</i>	blue/red	with tonsured human face in profile
				[Contratenor]	Flourished	A: <i>a</i>	blue/red	red-line spray in LH margin
			73	[Medius]	Flourished	T: <i>t</i>	blue/red	red-line spray in LH margin
				[Bassus]	Flourished	A: <i>a</i>	blue/red	with human face in profile
	m.5		73 ^v	[Triplex]— <i>Semell</i> — <i>Semel</i>	Flourished	E: <i>e</i>	blue/red	red-line spray partially lost through trimming
				[Tenor]	Flourished	M: <i>m</i>	blue/red	red-line spray; cue letter under red-line foliate fill of initial
				[Contratenor]	Flourished	A: <i>a</i>	blue/red	red-line spray
			74	[Medius]	Flourished	M: <i>m?</i>	blue/red	red-line spray; cue letter may be obscured by crude red-line hatching below blue initial
				[Bassus]	Flourished	M: <i>m</i>	blue/red	red-line spray
Bi	E36	m.6	74 ^v	[Triplex]	Painted	G	ochre/blue+gold	foliate with human head on serpentine neck
				[Tenor]	Painted	A	ochre/green+gold	foliate
				[Contratenor]	Painted	H	grey+mixed/gold	foliate; enclosing daisy; plain field
			75	[Medius]	Painted	G	dark-grey/green+gold	foliate, serpentine head: human head framed in foliage
				[Bassus]	Painted	D	ochre/blue-grey+white	foliate
	m.7		75 ^v	[Triplex]	D	G	blue	black underlay follows
				[Tenor]	Flourished	G: <i>g</i>	blue/red	red-line spray
				[Contratenor]	Flourished	G	blue/red	simple field; no spray
			76	[Medius]	Flourished	G	blue/red	red spray
				[Bassus]	Flourished	G	blue/red	red spray
Bi	E37	m.8	76 ^v	[Triplex]	Painted	Q: <i>q</i>	grey/terracotta+gold	foliate with dragon emerging from foliage
				[Tenor]	Painted	G: <i>g</i>	ochre/blue+white	scroll-form
				[Contratenor]	Painted	G	grey/gold+ruset	basilisk
			77	[Medius]	Painted	G	ochre/green+gold	paired birds
				[Bassus]	Painted	G	grey/green+gold	grotesque bird on foliate branch
	n.1 ^L		77 ^v	[Triplex]	Plain	G: <i>g</i>	blue	red underlay follows
				[Tenor]	Flourished	G	blue/red	red spray
				[Contratenor]	Flourished	G	blue/red	red spray
Bii	E48	q.1 ^R	78	[Medius]	Painted	O: <i>o</i>	ochre/blue+white	foliate
				[Bassus]	Painted	S	grey/ruset+gold	foliate with paired serpentine heads; with gold stippling
	q.2		78 ^v	[Triplex]— <i>Semell</i> — <i>Gemell</i>	D	C	red	black underlay follows
				Contratenor	D	C	red	black underlay follows
				<i>Tenor</i>	D	C	red	black underlay follows
			79	Medius	D	C	red	black underlay follows
				<i>Bassus</i>	D	C	red	black underlay follows
	q.3		79 ^v	[Triplex]	D	D: <i>t</i>	red	black underlay follows; cue letter <i>t</i> correctly given for ' <i>perpetra</i> -ta', but initial D painted in error.
				[Contratenor]				none: minuscule red text
				<i>Tenor</i>				none: minuscule red text
			80	[Medius]				majuscule black T (for ' <i>perpetra</i> -ta')
				<i>Bassus</i>				majuscule black S (for ' <i>Stabat</i> ')
Bii	E49	q.4	80 ^v	[Triplex]	Painted	G	grey/gold+ruset	foliate with human head in profile
				Tenor	Painted	G	ochre/purple+gold	foliate
				Contratenor	Painted	G	brown+gold/ dark-green+gold	foliate with gargoyle
			81	Medius	Painted	G	brown/terracotta+gold	foliate
				[Bassus]	Painted	G	purple+blue-grey/ moss-green+gold	lobed initial with floral pattern in field
	q.5		81 ^v	[Triplex]	D	G	blue	red underlay follows
				Tenor	D	Q	blue	red underlay follows; in space on stave between Triplex and Tenor parts: ' <i>Tenor</i> '
				Contratenor	D	G	blue	red underlay follows
			82	Medius	D	G	blue	red underlay follows
				Bassus	D	G	blue	red underlay follows
Bii	E50	q.6	82 ^v	[Triplex]	Painted	U: <i>u</i>	grey/gold+ruset	lobed initial with foliate fill

Scribal phase	Item	Opening	Folio	Voice-part	Type	Letter: cue	Colour scheme	Pictorial letter-form; notes
			83	[Tenor] [Contratenor] [Medius] [Bassus]	Painted Painted Painted Painted	G G U I: <i>i</i>	ochre/blue+white verdigris/russet+gold ochre/green+gold verdigris/ purple+gold	basilisk with foliate tail foliate; gold stippling in field foliate foliate
	q.7		83 ^v	[Triplex]— <i>Semellum</i> — <i>Semellum</i>	D	G: <i>g</i>	blue	red underlay follows
				<i>Tenor</i>	D	C: <i>c</i>	blue	red underlay follows
				Contratenor	D	C: <i>c</i>	blue	red underlay follows
			84	Medius <i>Bassus</i>	D D	G C: <i>c</i>	blue blue	red underlay follows red underlay follows
	q.8		84 ^v	[Triplex] [Tenor]				none none
				Contratenor				none
			85	[Medius] [Bassus]				none black underlay follows
Bii	E51	r.1	85 ^v	[Quatruplex] Tenor	Painted Painted	A A	verdigris/russet+gold grey/terracotta+gold	foliate segmented branch
				<i>Triplex</i>	Painted	G	brown/russet+gold	foliate
			86	Medius <i>Bassus</i>	Painted Painted	G G	brown+gold/ terracotta+gold verdigris/russet+gold	segmented branch; enclosing a mammal in gold; field is a lighter shade than that of Tenor foliate
		r.2	86 ^v	[Quatruplex] Tenor	Plain Plain	G G	blue blue	red underlay follows red underlay follows
				<i>Triplex</i>	Plain	G	blue	red underlay follows
			87	Medius <i>Bassus</i>	Plain Plain	G G	blue blue	red underlay follows red underlay follows
D	E52	r.3	87 ^v	[Triplex] [Tenor]	Painted Painted	U N: <i>n</i>	grey/gold+russet ochre/purple+gold	foliate foliate
				[Contratenor]	Painted	N	brown/green+gold	foliate with human face in profile
			88	[Medius] [Bassus]	Painted Painted	N V	olive/blue+white ochre/moss-green+gold	two bare tree-trunks (linked with gold chain) enclose white squirrel on white foliage foliate enclosing gold flower
D	E53	r.4 ^L	88 ^v	[Triplex] [Tenor] [Contratenor]	Painted Painted Painted	S S F: <i>f</i>	grey/terracotta+gold ochre/green+gold grey/russet+gold	foliate foliate foliate with dragon's head
Note: although their inclusion was anticipated, plain blue capitals were often omitted from the beginnings of openings r.6 ^L , r.8, s.1 ^L , t.6 ^L , v.1, v.3, v.5 and v.7, most probably through scribal oversight; red cue letters were provided for most of these letters								
D	E54	r.6 ^R	89	<i>Medius</i> [Bassus]	Flourished	I	blue/red	none: plain capital E (for 'et') lacking; no cue letter long initial in LH margin; extensive red flourishing
D	E55	r.7	89 ^v	[Medius]	Painted	O: <i>o</i>	russet/purple+gold	foliate
				[Secundus Contratenor]	Painted	O: <i>o</i>	brown/terracotta+gold	foliate; two flanking dogs
				[Tenor]	Painted	O	verdigris/green+gold	armoured man slays dragon
			90	[Primus Contratenor]	Painted	O: <i>o</i>	grey+mixed/ light-brown+gold ochre/blue+white	woven branches enclose arms (unidentified): <i>sable, a chevron argent between three lilies slipped proper; on a chief gules three owls of the second</i> foliate with paired basilisks; encloses white flower
		r.8	90 ^v	[Bassus] [Medius] [Secundus Contratenor]	Painted	O: <i>o</i>		none: black cue for D before black underlay at next section break cue for ' <i>affixus</i> '
				[Tenor]		—: <i>a</i>		cue for ' <i>affixus</i> '
			91	[Primus Contratenor] [Bassus]		—: <i>a</i>		cue for ' <i>affixus</i> '
		s.1 ^L	91 ^v	[Medius] [Secundus Contratenor] [Tenor]		—: <i>d</i>		none: red majuscule D before black underlay at next section break none: red majuscule O before black underlay at next section break cue for ' <i>detenta</i> ' none: red majuscule O before black underlay at next section break
		t.4 ^R	92					ruled staves only: unused recto
D	E57	t.5	92 ^v	[Primus Contratenor] [Tenor]	Painted Painted	A: <i>a</i> A: <i>a</i>	brown/terracotta+gold ochre/green+gold	foliate with gold flower foliate
			93	[Secundus Contratenor] [Bassus]	Painted Painted	A: <i>a</i> A: <i>a</i>	grey/gold+russet ochre+gold/blue	winged basilisk with head of dog whose neck rests on a forked branch winged basilisk holding the end of a broken branch
		t.6 ^L	93 ^v	[Primus Contratenor] [Tenor]		—: <i>a</i> —: <i>a</i>		cue for ' <i>Ave</i> ' cue for ' <i>Ave</i> '
D	E59	t.8 ^R	94	[Secundus Contratenor] [Bassus]	Painted Painted	G G	ochre/purple+gold grey/russet+gold	two birds perched on hooped foliate branch; a boar's head with foliate branch in gold and black winged basilisk with foliate branch in its mouth; gold stippling on field
		v.1	94 ^v	[Primus Contratenor] [Tenor]		—: <i>g</i>		cue (in black) for ' <i>Gaude</i> '
			95	[Secundus Contratenor] [Bassus]		—: <i>m</i>		none; no cue cue for ' <i>Motu</i> ' none; no cue
D	E60	v.2	95 ^v	[Primus Medius] [Tenor]	Painted Painted	S S	ochre/blue+gold olive/purple+gold	serpent in foliate hoop foliate/serpentine with human head
			96	[Secundus Medius] [Bassus]	Painted Painted	S S	grey/light-brown+gold brown+gold/ terracotta+gold	foliate/serpentine; gold stippling on field foliate
		v.3	96 ^v	[Primus Medius] [Tenor]	Plain	O	red	none; no cue

Scribal phase	Item	Opening	Folio	Voice-part	Type	Letter: cue	Colour scheme	Pictorial letter-form: notes
			97	[Secundus Medius] <i>Bassus</i>		— : s		cue for 'Stabas' none; no cue
D	E61	v.4	97 ^v	[Triplex] [Tenor]	Painted	S	grey/light-brown+gold	foliate/serpentine
			98	[Medius] [Bassus]	Painted Painted	C: c C	ochre/purple+gold brown/terracotta+gold	foliate/serpentine foliate; enclosing a lion's head in gold
		v.5	98 ^v	[Triplex] [Tenor]	Painted	— : o — : a	brown+gold/blue+white	foliate; with woven branches cue for 'O gloriosa' cue for 'A peste'
			99	[Medius] [Bassus]	Painted	— : o — : a		cue for 'O gloriosa' cue for 'A peste'
D	E62	v.6	99 ^v	[Primus Contratenor] [Tenor]	Painted Painted	A A	grey/gold+ruset ochre/green+gold	foliate segmented branch woven branches with serpentine cross-bar
			100	[Secundus Contratenor] [Bassus]	Painted Painted	E: e E: e	brown/terracotta+gold grey/light-brown+gold	foliate foliate; strippling on field
		v.7	100 ^v	[Primus Contratenor] [Tenor]	Painted	— : i — : i		cue for 'In' in LH margin cue for 'In'
			101	[Secundus Contratenor] [Bassus]	Painted	— : m — : m		cue for 'Mirantibus' cue for 'Mirantibus'
D	E63	v.8	101 ^v	[Medius] [Contratenor]	Painted Painted	G G	ochre/green+gold brown/terracotta+gold	foliate foliate
			102	[Tenor] [Bassus]	Painted Painted	R: r T: t	grey/light-brown+gold brown/purple+gold	foliate trunk with serpentine head (a basilisk in its mouth) foliate
		x.1	102 ^v	[Medius] <i>Contratenor</i>	Plain Plain	E T: t	blue blue	red underlay follows red underlay follows; cue letter obscured by capital
			103	Tenor <i>Bassus</i>	Plain Plain	T: t G	blue blue	red underlay follows red underlay follows
D	E64	x.2	103 ^v	[Primus Contratenor] Tenor	Painted Painted	G G	grey/light-brown+gold brown/terracotta+gold	foliate; colour match with x.5 ^l (Ctr1) and x.7 ^l (Ctr)
			104	[Secundus Contratenor] [Bassus]	Painted Painted	G G	grey/green+gold ochre/blue+white	foliate foliate with two human faces in opposing profile foliate with a rustic man holding his left foot
		x.3	104 ^v	[Primus Contratenor] Tenor	Plain Plain	G G: g?	blue blue	red underlay follows red underlay follows; traces of cue letter are visible under blue capital
			105	[Secundus Contratenor] <i>Bassus</i>	Plain Plain	C: c G	blue blue	red underlay follows red underlay follows
D	E65	x.4	105 ^v	[Medius] [Tenor]	Painted Painted	A: a A	brown/terracotta+gold ochre/purple+gold	foliate foliate; heads of a dog and a bird in upper/lower lobes of capital
			106	[Contratenor] [Bassus]	Painted Painted	A: a A	grey/light-brown+gold ochre/green+gold	segmented branch with snake entwined; gold stippling on field foliate
D	E66	x.5	106 ^v	[Primus Contratenor] [Tenor]	Painted Painted	G I: i	grey/light-brown+gold ochre/green+gold	foliate; enclosing hairy human/leonine face in gold; colour match, see x.2 ^l foliate
			107	[Secundus Contratenor] [Bassus]	Painted Painted Painted	I: i I: i G	brown/blue+white brown/terracotta+gold	foliate with flowers in white on field foliate with monkey; a flower in gold on field
		x.6	107 ^v	[Primus Contratenor] [Tenor]	Plain Plain	Q Q	blue blue	red underlay follows red underlay follows
			108	[Secundus Contratenor] [Bassus]	Plain Plain	O: o O	blue blue	red underlay follows red underlay follows
D	E67	x.7	108 ^v	[Contratenor] [Primus Bassus]	Painted Painted	G C: c	grey/light-brown+gold brown/terracotta+gold	serpentine head and neck on foliate torso foliate
			109	[Tenor] [Secundus Bassus]	Painted Painted	G G	brown/blue+white olive/purple+gold	basilisk head and neck on foliate torso foliate segmented branches
		x.8	109 ^v	[Contratenor] [Primus Bassus]	Plain Plain	G G: g	blue blue	red underlay follows red underlay follows
			110	[Tenor] [Secundus Bassus]	Plain Plain	G T: t	blue blue	red underlay follows red underlay follows
		y.1 ^l	110 ^v	[Contratenor] [Primus Bassus]	Plain Plain	G: g F: f	blue blue	red underlay follows black underlay follows
C	E70	z.1 ^R	111	[Medius] [Bassus]	Plain Plain	E: e E: e	blue blue	red underlay follows red underlay follows
C	E71	z.2	111 ^v	[Triplex] Tenor— <i>Semel</i> — <i>Semel</i> <i>Contratenor</i>	Painted Painted Painted	E E E	brown/terracotta+gold ochre/blue+white grey/green+gold	basilisk with foliate torso foliate basilisk breathing foliate flame
			112	[Medius] [Bassus]	Painted Painted	E E	brown /green+gold grey/ruset+gold	foliate with barley twist foliate; with robed man reading (or singing) from an open book; gold stippling on field
		z.3	112 ^v	[Triplex] Tenor <i>Contratenor</i>	Plain Plain Plain	E: e E: e S	blue blue red	red underlay follows red underlay follows black underlay follows
			113	Medius <i>Bassus</i>	Plain Plain	E: e S	blue red	red underlay follows black underlay follows
C	E72	z.4	113 ^v	[Triplex] [Tenor]	Painted Painted	E E	ochre/purple+gold grey/gold+ruset	foliate with two men round-dancing foliate
			114	[Contratenor] [Medius]	Painted Painted	E E	orange/blue+white grey/gold+ruset	two basilisks in combat foliate

Scribal phase	Item	Opening	Folio	Voice-part	Type	Letter: cue	Colour scheme	Pictorial letter-form; notes
C	E73	z.5	114 ^v	[Bassus]	Painted	E	brown/green+gold	foliate; a human face in blooming flower-head
			[Triplex]	Plain	F	blue	black underlay follows	
			115	[Tenor]	Plain	F	red	black underlay follows
				[Contratenor]	Plain	F	blue	black underlay follows
		z.6	115 ^v	[Medius]	Plain	F	red	black underlay follows
				[Bassus]	Plain	F	blue	black underlay follows
			116	[Triplex]	Plain	S	blue	black underlay follows
				[Tenor]	Plain	S	red	black underlay follows
			116	[Contratenor]	Plain	S	blue	black underlay follows
				[Medius]	Plain	S	red	black underlay follows
			116 ^v	[Bassus]	Plain	S: s	blue	black underlay follows
				[Triplex]	Painted	E	grey/russet+gold	foliate with scroll; gold stippling on field
			117	[Tenor]	Painted	E	ochre/purple+gold	foliate; a human face in profile
				[Contratenor]	Painted	E	brown/terracotta+gold	foliate segmented branch
			117	[Medius]	Painted	E	ochre/blue+white	foliate
				[Bassus]	Painted	E	grey/gold+russet	foliate
		z.8	117 ^v	[Triplex]	Plain	S	red	black underlay follows
				[Tenor]	Plain	E	blue	red underlay follows
			118	[Contratenor]	Plain	E	blue	red underlay follows
				[Medius]	Plain	S	red	black underlay follows
		118 ^v	[Bassus]	Plain	E	blue	red underlay follows	
			[Triplex]	Painted	E	ochre/green+gold	foliate E with a dog(?) running along the cross bar	
	E74	aa.1 ^l	[Tenor]	Painted	E	grey/russet+gold	pouncing lion with tree trunk; gold stippling on field	
			[Contratenor]	Painted	E	ochre/purple+gold	foliate	
C	E79	bb.1 ^R	119	[Medius]	Painted	E	brown/terracotta+gold	hooped branch with two human-headed serpents with foliate beards
			[Secundus Tenor]	Painted	E: t ³	ochre/green+gold	winged legless basilisk	
			[Bassus]	Painted	E	grey/light-brown+gold	foliate with barley twist between two blooms	
			bb.2 ^l	119 ^v	[Triplex]	Plain	S	red
			119 ^v	[Primus Tenor]	Plain	E	blue	red underlay follows
			[Contratenor]	Plain	E	blue	red underlay follows	
D	E82	bb.8 ^R	120	[Contratenor]	Painted	E	verdigris/gold+russet	foliate with human and animal heads
			[Bassus]	Painted	E	ochre/blue+white	leonine head with tongue protruding from gaping jaw	
		cc.1 ^l	120 ^v	[Triplex]	Plain	S	red	black underlay follows
			[Tenor]	Plain	E	blue	red underlay follows	
D	E90	ee.1 ^R	121	[Tenor]	Plain	E	blue	red underlay follows
			[Bassus]	Plain	E	blue	red underlay follows	
D	E91	ee.2	121 ^v	[Primus Contratenor]	Painted	E	grey/gold	foliate; in the centre a beast with canine head, quasi-human arms, dragon's wings and serpentine tail
			Tenor	Painted	E	ochre/blue+white	foliate	
			122	[Secundus Contratenor]	Painted	E	ochre/green+gold	foliate; in the centre a bloom with barley-twist stamen
			[Bassus]	Painted	E	brown/terracotta+gold	segmented foliate branch with flightless basilisk	
		ee.3	122 ^v	[Primus Contratenor]	Plain	S	blue	black underlay follows
			[Tenor]	Plain	E	blue	red underlay follows	
			123	[Secundus Contratenor]	Plain	E	blue	red underlay follows
			[Bassus]	Plain	E	blue	red underlay follows	
		ee.4 ^l	123 ^v				ruled staves only: unused recto	
D	E92	ee.7 ^R	124	[Medius]	Plain		blue or red	Plain blue capitals before red underlay and red majuscule before black underlay used (not wholly consistently), both with and without limner's cues, throughout ff.124–126. Singers' text cues written in red as default, but also in black, without apparent method. Throughout ee.9, copyist provided singers' cues for Tenor and Bassus only: cues for Triplex and Medius are in a different, cursive, hand.
			ee.8	124 ^v	[Triplex]			
			125	[Tenor]				
			125 ^v	[Medius]				
			126	[Bassus]				
			126 ^v	[Triplex]				
			126 ^v	[Tenor]				
			126 ^v	[Medius]				
Y	E93	ee.9 ^v	126 ^v	[Bassus]	Plain		IHESUS AUTEM TRANSIENS/CREDO IN DEUM (WYLYNSON): Large red majuscule I before black underlay; red initial letters provided for each new clause of the Apostles' Creed, with black cue letters; Apostle's names appear in red within staves. INDEX: Four flourished initials A (<i>Ave</i>), G (<i>Gaude</i>), S (<i>Salve</i>) and U (<i>Virgo</i>); alternating blue and red plain capitals used for other initials, with cue letters provided selectively, particularly where the initial letter was not self-evident or whose text was familiar to the scribe (hence each of the motets beginning 'O' has a cue, where none of the <i>Salve regina</i> settings needed a cue).	
					Flourished/Plain			

³ Cue letter t for majuscule second letter of 'Et' visible on fringe of field (which probably conceals cue for E).

Logistics: Date, Cost, Donor

Date

Estimates for the copying date of ETON's principal layers have ranged from 1490 to 1510. The later range of 1500–10, proposed by M. R. James, was an educated philological guess. The earlier range was predicated by Frank Harrison upon two reasoned, but not wholly reliable, premises. For Harrison, ETON's compilation was a direct response to the final completion of the college chapel in 1486, 'and may have been taken in hand some five or ten years' afterwards (that is, in the first half of the 1490s);¹ Harrison took his *terminus ante quem*, 1502, from the death of provost Henry Bost, whose arms are painted into the Medius initial of E30 (opening k.4^r/f. 57). In fact, Bost died on 7 February 1504.²

The date of ETON almost certainly lies within the overlap between James's and Harrison's chronologies—that is, it was begun after 1500 and completed around, or soon after, 1504. If the available biographical information about the ETON composers is set alongside the palaeographical witness of the manuscript itself and the institutional context within which it was used, a quite precise chronology can be posited for the copying process overall.

Several factors help us to bring the *terminus post quem* forward from 1490. Phase A was the first layer to be copied. It includes *Salve regina* settings by a variety of composers at work in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. Some of these pieces were old: E17 (Horwood died in 1484), E22 (John Sutton was only briefly a fellow at Eton, 1477–79), and E23 (Hacomplaynt's *Salve* is unlikely to have been written after 1493, when he moved to a benefice in Lancashire). E25, however, firmly embedded within Phase A, is most unlikely to have reached Eton College (or indeed to have been composed) before 1496, when Robert Wylkynson was appointed parish clerk; given his career trajectory, however, a composition date of 1500 or later, following his appointment as instructor of choristers, is more secure.

Phase B is chronologically inconclusive. Bi includes E30 which, by virtue of having been written by Richard Davy while at Magdalen College, Oxford, can be dated to 1490–92;³ the significance of the arms on k.4^r will be considered below. E30–E34, all by Richard Davy, are likely to have reached Eton in the autumn of 1492, when Walter Smythe was admitted as fellow (see below). Phase Bii contains no clear chronological signposts.

Phase C is unambiguous. This mature phase, approximately half-way through the copying process, includes one of the most accurately datable pieces in the manuscript: E8. This motet almost certainly dates from 1502 or later: its cantus firmus quotes Edmund Turges's carol, 'From stormy windes', which was probably written when Arthur, Prince of Wales, set out for Ludlow in 1501.⁴ John Browne's text, describing the sorrows of the Virgin at the foot of the cross, mirrors the grief of Elizabeth of York when Arthur died in 1502. The queen herself died the following year.

Phase D is demonstrably the final phase of ETON, as some of its contents were omitted from the first inventory.⁵ The text of E11 was written in Florence in 1493, and published in Venice in 1498; this text could have been transmitted in manuscript form, but in any case is unlikely to have reached Eton College before the late 1490s. Phase D also includes E16, whose composer, William Brygeman, worked at Eton for three terms in 1503–04 (having arrived, probably, in the late summer of 1503); in one of the last steps of ETON's compilation, E16 was added, out of sequence, to the *Salve regina* settings originally copied in phase A.⁶ If the copying of ETON had been begun after Brygeman's arrival, E16 would have been copied in-sequence along with E17–E29.

In summary:

- phase A certainly post-dates 1496, and most probably post-dates 1500;
- phase Bi–ii followed phase A and preceded phase C; there is *prima facie* evidence that phase Bi was copied, or at least illuminated, before February 1504, if Harrison was correct to assume that Bost was alive when the arms were painted;
- phase C was not copied before 1502;
- phase D was completed in 1504.

These factors cumulatively point towards a dating of c. 1500–04, with clearly datable copying activity taking place between 1502 and 1504.

Cost

The making of ETON entailed at least four foci of activity: the purchase and preparation of vellum quires; the copying of the music itself; the insertion of illuminated letters; and the binding of the completed manuscript. Quite possibly all of these activities were undertaken in-house, without recourse to bought-in expertise; but this is unlikely.⁷ At least some of these activities would therefore have entailed costs, not a trace of which survives in the college's bursary records.⁸

We cannot discount entirely the possibility that the whole project was discharged at common expense between Michaelmas 1502 and Michaelmas 1503. The audit roll for this year, unfortunately one of the two most critical years in the copying of ETON, is missing from an otherwise near-continuous run of accounts between 1493 and 1515; William Brygeman, whose short sojourn at Eton is central to the dating of phase D, moreover, could therefore have arrived before September 1503 (when his presence is first documented). This would nevertheless be predicated upon the compression of many stints of activity into a very short space of inconveniently undocumented time.

Militating against this, however, is the fact that no other account rolls (or, from 1506, audit books) record a single payment for the preparation of music manuscripts over the course of eight decades between 1445 and 1526.⁹ Evidently, books of polyphony were viewed as personal, not institutional property, as suggested in the will of John Boraston, instructor of choristers, who left his books of polyphony to the college in 1493 (see above, Choirbook in Context p. 10).¹⁰ If ETON were personal property, to whom did it belong?

Establishing the identity of a donor or owner depends to some extent on an assessment the affordability of ETON relative to the buying power of the likeliest candidates. Put crudely, how much did it cost to make? A precise answer is impossible to achieve (and unnecessary to attempt), but an approximate costing is possible, given the tendency of common musical genres, particularly Masses and motets, to command widely accepted 'going rates'. Examples of these 'going rates', mostly drawn from the accounts of institutions comparable to Eton, are tabulated in Table 6.1 overleaf.

From these rates can be derived a range of estimates, discounting the extremes (for instance, the inflated grace-and-favour rewards paid to Robert Fayrfax and others by Henry VII and his family). The norms for Masses and motets were 12d. and 6d.–8d. each respectively; a rate of 4d. per Magnificat can be surmised from less abundant data.

⁷ Edward Botiller, a monk of Westminster Abbey, obtained leave to transfer to another house in April 1489 (*GB-Lwa* Register Book 1, f. 35^v). In his letter of commendation Abbot John Estley praised his various accomplishments, as a singer of both plainsong and pricksong, and as 'a fair writer, a flourisher and a maker of capital letters'. But Botiller's combination of talents was unusual (and hence noteworthy).

⁸ In 1505–06 a London stationer spent 72 days mending chapel books (see below). There is no reason to associate this activity with the making of ETON, although it exemplifies the college's long-term reliance upon London as a source of bought-in, specialist expertise.

⁹ Eton's sister college affords an extreme contrast: new music was regularly copied at common expense at King's College, Cambridge, the quantity of piecemeal copying between 1500 and 1516 reaching at least £3 19s. 8½d., and recorded in detail (see Williamson 1997a, 307–08). Indeed, by the early 1500s, Eton College's nearest relations in Oxford, Magdalen and All Souls, also took a far more interventionist approach in funding repertory acquisition.

¹⁰ Wathey 1989, 149–50: until late in the fifteenth century, institutional funding of polyphonic manuscripts was less common than personal donation.

¹ MB 10, xvi.

² ECR 60/14, pp. 129–130 (will, dated 25 November 1503 and proved 20 February 1504).

³ It reached Tattershall College in 1498–99 (see Catalogue of Compositions p. 60).

⁴ Benham 1987.

⁵ See above, Finding Aids p. 32.

⁶ Brygeman ended his career as parish clerk of All Saints, Bristol; he may also have been a clerk conduct at King's College, Cambridge, 1513–15 (Harrison *MMB*, 455; Harrison 1969, 143).

Table 6.1. 'Going rates' for pricksong books, their copying, preparation and finishing (sums rounded to the nearest farthing)

Antiphon	5d.	1498-99	Tattershall College: '... antiphone <i>Domine celi et terre</i> de .v. partibus <v d.> ¹¹	
	5d.	1513	St James, Louth: 'Sunday sexagesima William Prynse prest prekyng a new antym <i>Salve regina</i> .v. parts, v d. ¹²	
	6d.	1496-97	Tattershall College: 'Et in denariis solutis Roberto Lounde pro notacione diversorum cantuum videlicet <i>Salve regina</i> de .vj. partibus ¹³	
	6d.	1498-99	Tattershall College: '... <i>Gaude</i> de .vij. partibus ... <vj d.> ¹⁴	
	6d.	1514-15	Jesus Guild, St Paul's Cathedral, London: 'for prickyng of .xxv. Anthems of Jhesu & our Lady & Saynt Sebastian, xij s. ¹⁴	
	6½d.	1498-99	Tattershall College: 'notacione antiphone de <i>Salve regina</i> de .vij. foliis < vj d. ob.>' (see above)	
	7d.	1543	Merton College, Oxford: 'Domino Palmer et clerico pro quinque antiphonis qui consistant quinque partibus, iuxta vij d. per antiphonam, ij s. xj d. ¹⁵	
	8d.	1518-19	King's College, Cambridge: Robert Benet for noting two antiphons, 8d. each ¹⁶	
	12d.	1528	All Saints, Bristol: 'Item for pricking an anthem, 12d. ¹⁷	
	14d.	1525-26	York Minster: 'Domino Edward Huby pro .xvij. antiphonariis [sic] de les .v. partis, xx s. ¹⁸	
	6s. 8d.	1503	Lady Margaret Beaufort: to 'George ... for makyn of an anthem of <i>Gaude flore [virginali]</i> ¹⁹	
	20s.	1502	Queen Elizabeth of York: to Robert Fayrfax 'for setting an anthem of oure lady and saint Elizabeth ²⁰	
	4d.	1515-16	King's College, Cambridge: 'Item Dalby pro notacione Magnificat <i>O bone Jesu</i> , iijj d. ²¹	
	Magnificat	10d.	1468-69	London, St Michael Cornhill: 'item paid to Sir William Barbour for prykyng of a masse, x d. ²²
12d.		1499-1500	King's College, Cambridge: 'Item xx ^o die augusti solutum Johanni Sygar pro notacione duarum missarum, pro qualibet missa xij d., ij s. ²³	
12d.		1521-22	Winchester College: 'pro notacione duarum missarum, ij s. ²⁴	
12d.		1543	Merton College, Oxford: 'item pro .8. aliis missis, iuxta xij d. per missam, viij s.'	
16d.		1474-75	St Michael Cornhill, London: 'Item payde to Robert Clerk for prekyng of a messe in the cherche boke, xvj d. ²⁵	
16d.		1478-80	St Margaret's, Westminster: 'Item payde to a man for prykyng of a masse in the pryked songe boke, xvj d. ²⁶	
16d.		1520/21	St Mary, Warwick: 'Et solutum domino cristofero Adamson pro pricacione .ij. missarum & dimidium, iij s. iijj d. ²⁷	
16d.		1543	Merton College, Oxford: 'pro tribus missis que consistant quinque partibus, iuxta xvj d. per missam, iijj s.'	
1s. 6d.		1525-26	All Saints, Bristol: 'Item paid for pricking two masses of five parts, 3s. ²⁸	
2s.		1506-07	St James, Louth: 'Item paid to John Caywod for a long masse prekyng writyng & rewlyng callyd <i>miserere</i> , ij s. ²⁹	
20s.		1494	Henry VII: 'Item to Burton for making a masse, 20s. ³⁰	
Vellum		2¼d.	1500-01	King's College, Cambridge: 'Item eodem die [12 February 1501] solutum myryell de bury pro .iij. dos' pergameni pro missis et antiphonis de sancta maria, vj s. viij d. ³¹
		2¼ d.	1520-21	St James, Louth: 'Thomas Beverlay for .ij. dossan parchment to preke song booke, iijj s. vj d. ³²
		2½d.	1515/6:	St James, Louth: Hew Beverlay for .iv. parchment skyns to prike sequece, viijj d. ob. ³³
	2½d.	1518-19	St James, Louth: 'Also for .vij. parchment skyns for prekesong bokes, xx d. ³⁴	
	2¾d.	1520-21	St James, Louth: 'Thomas Beverlay for .iij. parchment skyns to a prycke song boke, viijj d. ³⁵	
	5½d.	1515-16	Magdalen College, Oxford: 'Solutum pro uno duodeno de ly vellim pro novis libris cantuum, v s. viij d. ³⁶	
	8½d.	1532-33	Eton College: 'et pro .xij. pellibus de velamo, 8s. 4d. ³⁷	
	1513-14	Magdalen College, Oxford: 'Solutum domino West pro rowlyng [= ruling] unius membranus pro cantu fracto, iijj d. ³⁸		
Limning	1520-21	Magdalen College, Oxford: 'Solutum Cornyshe pro factura magnarum litterarum, ij s., et .88. parvarum, vj d. ³⁹		
	9d.	1531-32	St James, Louth: 'Item to Sir Christofer for stuffe & byndyng .ij. bookes a graile booke & the antemp booke, xvijj d. ⁴⁰	
Binding	1s. 8d.	1514-15	Jesus Guild, St Paul's Cathedral, London: 'Also by thandes of the said Holmes for prickyng of .xxv. Anthems of Jhesu & our Lady & Saynt Sebastian, xij s., & Coveryng of a boke of the same Anthems, xx d. ⁴¹	
	3s.	1520-21	Magdalen College, Oxford: 'et pro ligatura duorum librorum musicalium, vj s., et duobus paribus ly claspys et pro ly pynys, xij d. ⁴²	
	4s.	1556	St Lawrence, Ludlow: 'paid to John Dowghton for the bendyng [i.e. binding] of a prycke songe book, iijj s. ⁴³	
	4s. 3d.	1517-18	Magdalen College, Oxford: 'pro ligacione duorum librorum de fracto cantu, una cum cooperturis eorundem, viij s. vj d. ⁴⁴	
	Whole books	£1 each approx. (second-hand?)	1533-34	Winchester College: 'et in solutis subpriori de motson pro duobus libris de velam continentibus cantilenas ^{torti cantus} de quinque partibus et aliquas de sex partibus cum tegumentis de nigro correo, et pro uno alio de papyro continenti cantilenas torti cantus de quatuor partibus videlicet pro singulis feriis singulas missas Kyrielezons, alleluyas et sequentias de sancta maria cum tegumento ex pergameno, iij li. ⁴⁵
	£4 9s. 6½d.	1498-99	York Minster: 'Pro scriptura et ligatura ac lymmyng unius libri vocati antephaner pro medio choro Cath. Ebor., 4 li. 9s. 6d. ob. ⁴⁶	

¹¹ Wathey 1988, 11. This was almost certainly E30.¹² Louth St James, 148.¹³ Wathey 1988, 10.¹⁴ Mateer/New 2000, 513-15, citing *GB-Ob* Tanner 221, ff. 34-5.¹⁵ *GB-Ome* 3885: *Liberata forinsica*.¹⁶ *GB-Ckc* Mundum Book 10, 1518-19: *Expense necessarie*.¹⁷ Bristol All Saints 2, 340.¹⁸ York Fabric Rolls, 101.¹⁹ Kisby 1997, 222 and 233: George was a gentleman of Lady Margaret's chapel in 1503-04.²⁰ *GB-Lna* E36/210 (Privy Purse accounts of Elizabeth of York, 24 March 1502 to March 1503), f. 29: most probably *Eterne laudis lilium* (LAMBETH, f. 56^v; PETERHOUSE, no. 54; CARVER, f. 17^v; CAMBRIDGE UJ, ff. 7/8; *GB-Ob Tenbury* 1464, f. 16).²¹ *GB-Ckc* Mundum Book 10, 1515-16: *Expense necessarie*.²² Wathey 1988, 7.²³ *GB-Ckc* Mundum Book 9, 1499-1500: *Custus ecclesie*. John Sygar was chaplain conduct at King's from September 1499 until December 1500, and again from January 1508 until 1514. See Catalogue of Compositions p. 65, E82 and E87.²⁴ *GB-WCc* 22180: *Custus capelle*.²⁵ Wathey 1988, 7.²⁶ Westminster City Archives, MS E1 (*ex inf.* Dr David Skinner).²⁷ *GB-Lna* SC 6/Henry VIII/3729: *Minute ecclesie*. Adamson was a prebend of St Mary's, Warwick.²⁸ Bristol All Saints 2, 321.²⁹ Louth St James, 92.³⁰ Wathey 1988, 15.³¹ *GB-Ckc* Mundum Book 9, 1500-1: *Custus ecclesie* and *Expense necessarie*.³² Louth St James, 208-09; Beverlay was a lay clerk of St James parish.³³ Louth St James, 180.³⁴ Louth St James, 199.³⁵ See above.³⁶ *GB-Omc* Liber Computi 3, 1515-16: *Custus capelle*.³⁷ ECR 62/2, 1532-33: *Custus templi*.³⁸ *GB-Omc* Liber Computi 3, 1513-14: *Custus capelle*. William West was a chaplain.³⁹ *GB-Omc* Liber Computi 3, 1520-21: *Custus capelle*.⁴⁰ Lincolnshire Archives, MS Louth St James Parish 7/2, f. 18.⁴¹ Mateer/New 2000, 513 and 515.⁴² *GB-Omc* Liber Computi 3, 1520-21: *Custus capelle*.⁴³ Ludlow St Lawrence, 68.⁴⁴ *GB-Omc* Liber Computi 3, 1517-18: *Custus capelle* and *Soluciones forinsice*.⁴⁵ *GB-WCc* 22192: *Custus capelle*.⁴⁶ York Fabric Rolls, 91 (probably a pricksong book: see above, 1525-26).

Allowing for local variation and for imponderables, such as the quality of the script, the duration of the piece and the number of voice-parts, a cautious estimate (perhaps an under-estimate) of 6d.–8d. per motet and 4d. for each Magnificat is not unreasonable. By this reckoning, and allowing 6d. for E82 (but discounting the out-of-sequence E15 and E93), the ruling and notating of ETON cost a notional 41s. 6d. (£2 1s. 6d.) based on 6d. per motet, or 52s. 6d. (£2 12s. 6d.) assuming 8d. for each motet.⁴⁷

The cost of illuminating ETON is less easily conjectured, partly because of the paucity of equivalent data (i.e., payments made for the illumination of music books specifically), but also because of the huge variability in costs from one recorded project to another. At the upper end of the scale, the Litlington Missal of 1383–84 cost over £34 in total, of which some £22 went on its lavish illuminations: its texting and notating cost only a little over £4; a Gospel lectionary of 19 quires, made at much the same time, had cost a little over 31s., its illumination (3s. 4d.) costing a quarter as much as its writing.⁴⁸ Further down the scale, Thomas Lymnour of Bury St Edmunds charged 4d. for 100 small painted initials or 1d. for 100 plain painted letters;⁴⁹ at Lymnour's rates, ETON would have cost approximately 3s. to illuminate. The accounts of Magdalen College, Oxford, provide what may be the closest analogue to ETON, however: in 1520–21, 6d. was paid for 88 'little letters' as well as an unspecified number of 'great letters' which cost 2s. in all (see Table 6.1). The total number of illuminated letters in ETON, allowing for variations of type and number across phases A–D, numbered approximately 702 or thereabouts.⁵⁰ The minimum cost, based on a cautious classification of all 702 illuminations as 'little', would have been 4s. at the Magdalen rate.

The price range of ETON's vellum can be ascertained with more confidence, given the frequency of vellum usage and the tendency for vellum to be purchased by the membrane (as well as the less quantifiable quire or quaternion). ETON comprised 112 membranes each of which, trimmed to size, was formed into a bifolium (see above, Structure and Compilation p. 22). Within the selected sample (see Table 6.1), membrane prices ranged from 2½d. to 5½d. per sheet: the lower price was paid for parchment bought for a book of masses and motets of the BVM at King's College, Cambridge, in 1500–01; fifteen years later, the higher rate was paid for 'vellim' used in the preparation of high quality pricksong books by John Burgess, a chaplain of Magdalen College, Oxford.⁵¹ These two sums suggest a price range between 23s. 4d. (£1 3s. 4d.) and 51s. 4d. (£2 11s. 4d.) for ETON's vellum.

Allowing a notional 4s. for the cost of ETON's lost original binding,⁵² the total cost of the copying project between c. 1500 and 1504 was at the very least £3 12s. 10d. (based on modest costs for parchment and copying). If the estimate assumes higher costs for vellum and for the copying of the 66 original motets (8d. rather than 6d. each), the overall cost of ETON would have reached £5 11s. 10d. or more.⁵³ The median between these two sums, £4 12s. 4d., is very close indeed to the cost of a choirbook that was made in 1498–99 for use *in medio chori* at York Minster, namely £4 9s. 6d.⁵⁴

Offered tentatively, and hedged with caveats, an overall estimate of £4–£5 can be justified in terms of the scale of the finished choirbook, the range of skills and materials required, and the quantity of comparative information (albeit unevenly distributed and variable in its applicability) from other institutions.⁵⁵ In terms of its buying power at the turn of the

sixteenth century, £4–£5 compares with:

- £10: annual stipend of college fellows;
- £5 12s.: for rebuilding the great organ in the quire, 1498–99;⁵⁶
- £5 6s. 8d.: the annual salary of Henry Bost's chantry priest;⁵⁷
- £4 17s. 8d.: for 37 days' work by the glazier, Richard Herryson, in 1505–06, which included making stained glass for the image of the BVM in the east window, with lilies and other designs;⁵⁸
- £4: annual salary of chaplains;
- £2 13s. 4d.: annual salary of Robert Wylkynson, instructor of choristers;
- £2: annual salary of lay clerks;
- £1 16s.: to Symon Lynde, stationer of London, for 72 days spent repairing books in chapel, at 6d. *per diem* (1505–06);⁵⁹
- £1 12s.: for 384 pints of wine for use during Mass, 1499–1500.⁶⁰

Donors

The balance of probabilities favours pious benefaction over institutional expense as the means for ETON's copying.⁶¹ The minimum total cost of compiling, outstripping the annual salary of any of the chaplains or lay clerks, was nearly half the stipend of one of the fellows. It is from among the college's early Tudor fellowship that the likeliest donor is surely to be found: candidates are considered below in chronological order.

Hugh Fraunce

In 1497–98, two iron braces weighing twenty-five pounds were bought to support a book given by Hugh Fraunce, who had been a fellow of Eton, 1488–99.⁶² Harrison's speculation, that this book was ETON, is untenable. Fraunce was not a major benefactor of Eton College; on his death his books went to his *alma mater* Queen's College, Oxford, and to the monastic communities at Syon and Sheen, rather than to Eton.⁶³ In any case, ETON had not been copied by 1498 (see above).

Provost Henry Bost

The arms of Henry Bost appear in the first opening of E30 (opening k.4^r/f. 57). At the very least this acknowledged his role and status as head of college at the time ETON was copied. Nominated as provost by Edward IV in 1477, Bost had proved remarkably successful in restoring the college's fortunes. He had also presided over the recovery of the college's choral foundation: even if it was not directly funded by him, ETON certainly casts a favourable light onto Bost's years of leadership.⁶⁴

There is no evidence of Bost's personal interest in liturgical music. As provost, however, he was responsible for the recruitment of a suitable instructor of choristers, he was personally liable for shortfalls in the number of chaplains or clerks, and he negotiated the salaries of clerks whose junior status took them below the normal pay-scale (see above, Choirbook in Context p. 4).⁶⁵ A number of decisions relating to the administration of the choral foundation therefore gravitated towards the provost, however trifling.⁶⁶ Bost's long-term support as provost was thus a necessary pre-requisite to the copying of ETON, whether or not he himself directly sponsored it.

⁴⁷ ECR 61/AR/F/9: *Custus ecclesie*.

⁴⁸ Established through deed of 10 July 1506 (ECR 60/297, ff. 146^v–148).

⁴⁹ ECR 62/1, p. 16: *Custus ecclesie*; £8 7s. 4d. was paid to Herryson for repairs in 1506–07 (ibid, p.40).

⁵⁰ ECR 62/1, p. 16: *Custus ecclesie*; Christianson 1990, 130.

⁵¹ ECR 61/AR/F/10: *Custus ecclesie*; several masses were celebrated each day under the statutes.

⁵² Wathey 1989; for comparable cases, see CAIUS ('Ex dono et opere Edwardi Higgonis huius ecclesie canonici') and the earlier the Lucca choirbook, given by Giovanni Arnolfini to Lucca Cathedral in the 1470s (Strohm 1985, 122).

⁵³ ECR 61/AR/F/6: *Custus ecclesie*; MB 10, xvi; Emden BRUO, 722–23. He was rector of the college parish, St Alban's Wood Street, London (1494–98).

⁵⁴ Emden BRUO, 722–23.

⁵⁵ Emden BRUO, 224–25. Bost bequeathed a breviary to Eton in 1504, together with a pair of censers and other plate, but no music books.

⁵⁶ ECR 58, 31–32 (oath of newly appointed provost) and 56 (scale of fines for under-staffing: 6s. 8d. per month for each chaplain lacking, 3s. 4d. for each clerk).

⁵⁷ For instance, a supplementary 3s. 4d. paid 'ad mandatum prepositi' to a lay clerk in 1524–25 (ECR 62/1, p. 378: *Stipendia...clericorum*). As provost, Bost maintained a household, one of whose journals (undated, but c. 1480) has survived. This records the comings and goings of household staff and guests, among whom was an outsider in vestments who dined with John Boraston, the instructor of choristers (ECR COLL/HB/1, f.11: 'j. extraneus in paretta cum Baraston'). Although this visitor's business is not known, it is suggestive of the kinds of semi-formalised mechanisms through which repertory could be transmitted and services contracted.

⁴⁷ This assumes that the ruling of staves was included in the copyist's rates; this was seldom funded as a discrete activity (but see Magdalen College, Oxford, 1513–14: by which reckoning ETON would have cost 19s. to rule). Note that E30 was copied at Tattershall College for 5d. in 1498–99. E30 occupies three openings in ETON; by the Tattershall reckoning, the combined openings of ETON would have cost a little over 31s. to copy.

⁴⁸ Morgan/Thomson 2008, 85–86.

⁴⁹ de Hamel 1992, 65; Lymnour's tariff of 1467 was for work undertaken on behalf of the Paston family.

⁵⁰ This figure is based on a conservative assumption that flourished initials were discontinued in second and third openings immediately after E35 (in folios now lost).

⁵¹ On parchment versus vellum, see Clemens/Graham 2007, 9–10. The £4 paid to Burgess in 1515–16 was unusually large, reflecting either great quantity or high quality of copying, or both; Burgess's work was part of a larger 'calculated plan of acquisition' (Wathey 1989, 150). Vellum skins costing over 8d. each, bought at Eton College in 1532–33, appear to have been used for binding rather than copying.

⁵² Based largely on work done at Magdalen College (on two different occasions) and Ludlow.

⁵³ This higher figure still assumes a modest 4s. for the illumination.

⁵⁴ That this York 'antephaner' contained motets, rather than plainsong for the Office, can be inferred from a later payment in 1525–26 for five-part 'antiphonariis'.

⁵⁵ This falls well short of the £20 paid by Henry VIII to Robert Fayrfax for a 'boke of antemys' at New Year, 1517 (GB-Lbl 21481, f. 245).

William Horman

The polymathic Humanist grammarian, William Horman, was among the most distinguished of Eton's pre-Reformation fellows. He spent the first half of his career as headmaster successively of Eton (1486) and Winchester (1495); he was a fellow of Eton from April 1502 until his death in 1535: his return to Eton therefore coincided with the copying of the choirbook.⁶⁷ A major benefactor, Horman gave the college 22 books during his lifetime, covering a range of subjects, from theology to anatomy; he also made considerable bequests to New College, Oxford. His *Vulgaria* contains numerous references to music;⁶⁸ a volume of essays by Jerome, given by Horman to Eton, includes examples of musical notation (with inversion and retrograde), underlaid and glossed with quotations from Boethius.⁶⁹

Specific links between Horman and ETON focus on the binding and the indexes. Horman was an amateur bookbinder (he left his equipment to John Horsman, perhaps a kinsman, who was then a scholar at Winchester College); he is unlikely to have had either the equipment or the expertise to bind a book the size of ETON. More suggestive is his penchant for compiling indexes and for setting his scholars index-making assignments:⁷⁰ drafting the indexes for ETON might just have been one of those assignments, although this need not betoken anything more than an advisory role on Horman's part.

Precentor Walter Smythe

Walter Smythe, fellow of Eton c.1492–99 and from 1501 until his death in 1525, is unique among the pre-Reformation fellows of Eton in having

owned books of liturgical music. Of all the fellows of Eton, Smythe has the best claim as putative sponsor of ETON.

Smythe came to Eton from Magdalen College, Oxford, where he had taken his MA, been ordained and was appointed chaplain in the same year, 1483–84.⁷¹ While at Magdalen, Smythe worked alongside the composer Richard Davy, and was probably responsible for the transmission of Davy's compositions to Eton College, of which he was elected a fellow in 1492. He remained at Eton until February 1499, when he was admitted rector of the college's plum benefice, St Alban's Wood Street, in London. He resigned that living in 1502, having already returned to Eton after his re-election as fellow in August 1501.⁷² His return to Eton College in 1501, coinciding with ETON's *terminus post quem*, is at the very least suggestive.

Throughout most of his two stints at Eton Smythe served as precentor: continuously from Michaelmas 1492 until February 1499, and then, slightly more intermittently, from Easter 1502 until Easter 1515, when he was made vice-provost;⁷³ he remained vice-provost until his death in 1525. Under the terms of his will (dated 14 February 1525), his first material bequest of 'all my song bokes with a Chyst to kepe them yn' was made to Eton College Chapel, 'the Chawnter [precentor] to have oversight of them'.⁷⁴ Given the evidence for the ownership of 'trophy' music manuscripts among other early Tudor clergy, even in those serving quite modest livings, there is no reason to discount the likelihood that ETON was one of the song books Smythe bequeathed to the chapel in 1525.⁷⁵ A few years later, ETON was listed in the inventory of chapel books compiled in 1531; this inventory is the first indication that ETON had entered corporate ownership.

⁶⁷ Emden *BRUO*, 963–64; *ODNB*; ECR 61/AR/F/12: *Porciones*.

⁶⁸ Woodley 1993, 7–8, n.24.

⁶⁹ ECL, MS 80, ff. 134^v–135^v; Ker *MMBL* 2, 696–97.

⁷⁰ *Ex inf.* Mr Paul Quarrie.

⁷¹ Emden *BRUO*, 1720.

⁷² ECR 61/AR/F/11: *Porciones*.

⁷³ Emden *BRUO*, 1720; ECR 62/1, p. 95: *Remuneraciones officiariorum*. See also above, Choirbook in Context p. 3.

⁷⁴ ECR 60/14, p. 144 (will 14 February 1525; probate granted 22 June 1525).

⁷⁵ For instance, James Clapham, master of Knolles Almshouse in Pontefract, who bequeathed his best and biggest book of polyphony to Pembroke Hall, Cambridge in 1494: '... Aulæ Penprochiaie Cantabrigiae meum optimum, latissimum, et longissimum librum de canticis organicis ...' (York Wills, 94: will dated 21 May, proved 20 June, 1494). Clapham bequeathed the remainder of his book collection (contents unspecified, but presumably including other, more modest, music manuscripts) to Knolles Almshouse, otherwise known as the College of the Holy Trinity and the BVM, or Knolles College. By 1535 this foundation, which was established in 1385 by Sir Robert Knolles and his wife Constance, included a master, six fellows, 12 almsfolk of mixed sex and domestic staff (Knowles/Hadcock 1971, 330 and 385).

Binding

Although re-backed in the late nineteenth century the binding, of blind-stamped leather mounted on wooden boards, dates from the third quarter of the sixteenth century. The front and back covers share the same design: a pair of blind-stamped bands, bordered with single plain fillets, form an outer frame and an inner frame; single diagonal fillets link the matching corners of the two rectangular frames; and the outer frame is bordered by single fillets, each running parallel to another single fillet that runs along the much-restored edges of the cover. This design conforms to a style found by Basil Oldham among English (and also French) bindings of the sixteenth century.¹

Modern end-papers excepted, there are four fly-leaves, two at each end of the manuscript (ff. v–vi and 127–128). These were taken from a twelfth-century Bible in which they had formed a complete four-bifolium quire.² Written in an insular *praegothica* script, the quire contains the letters of St Paul, unbroken from the *capitula* (or list of chapter headings) of 1 Corinthians, through 2 Corinthians and Galatians, to the *capitula* of Ephesians. No other leaves from the same Bible have been identified within bindings at Eton College or elsewhere; it is not known whether the fly-leaves were introduced during the (presumed) original binding in c. 1504 or during the later sixteenth-century re-binding. Their common origin within a complete quire and their uniform inside/outside orientation relative to the rest of ETON suggests that they were taken from an intact book rather than a random pile of discarded sheets (see above pp. 15 and 21).

The principal decorative feature is the binder's roll, identified by Oldham as HE. g. 2;³ ETON is the only Eton College book to bear this roll, which is one of three closely related rolls (Oldham's HE. g. 1–3).⁴ It is formed from eight panels in which naturalistic Renaissance ornaments alternate with heraldic devices, each set in a roundel (Tudor rose, fleur-de-lis and portcullis); a fourth roundel has the initials of the London binder, 'H.R.'; each eight-panel cycle of the roll measures 118 × 14 mm. The career of H. R. is confused by the appearance of his designs in work by later binders (until the 1650s),⁵ but Oldham found the roll HE. g. 2 in 42 bindings made by H. R. and datable to between c. 1550 and 1572.⁶ Overall similarities of layout between ETON and other H. R. bindings in books printed between 1553 and 1570 slightly narrows the likely chronology of ETON's binding (although the pairing of bands, so characteristic of the ETON binding, was also used on a copy of the 1517 polyglot Bible).⁷

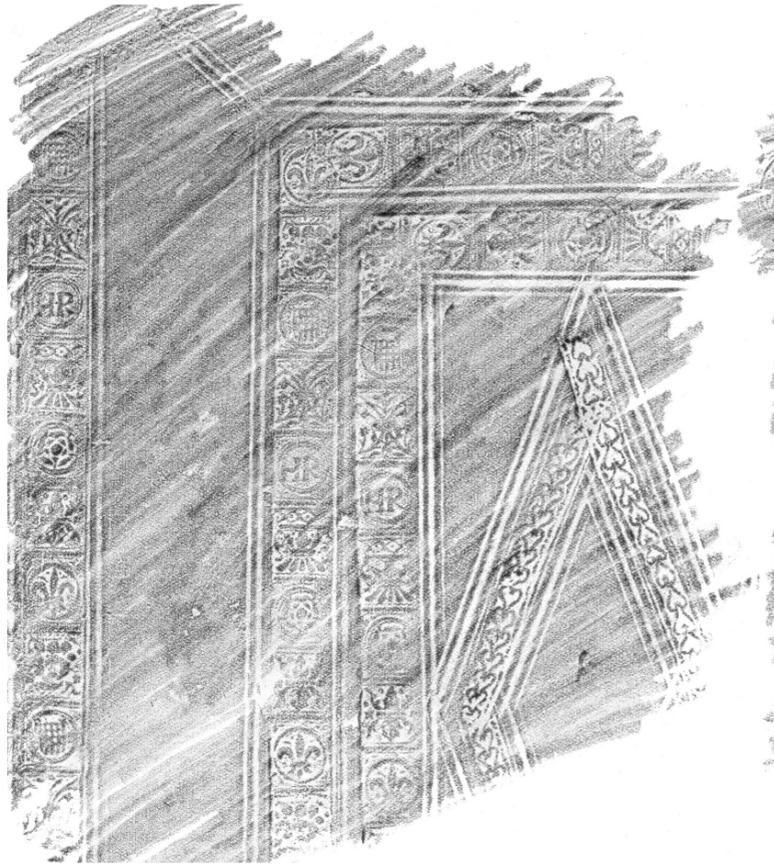


Plate 8.1. *Vetus testamentum multiplici lingua nunc primo impressum*, II (Madrid, 1517; Bristol Reference Library, EPB 409—Location SR9) (rubbing of HE. g. 2 binding by Basil Oldham) reproduced at 70% reduction.



Plate 8.2. ETON part of back cover reproduced at 70% reduction.

¹ Oldham 1952, 9 and Plate II/5.

² Ker *MMBL* 2, 773.

³ Oldham 1952, 33 & 50 and Plate XLVI/759.

⁴ The sibling roll, HE. g. 3, was used by the binder of the early-Elizabethan Mulliner Book of keyboard music (*GB-Lbl* 30513) and in account books provided by the stationer Henry Croker to Winchester College in the 1580s (Flynn 1993, 18–20; Oldham 1943, 13 & 50).

⁵ Oldham 1952, 32–33; H. R. is discussed at length in Oldham 1943, 13–17.

⁶ Ker *MMBL* 2, 774n. HE. g. 2 also appears on the bindings of two earlier printed books: Bristol Reference Library, EPB 409—Location SR9: *Vetus testamentum multiplici lingua nunc primo impressum*, II (Madrid, 1517) (Cardinal Ximenes's polyglot Bible, illustrated below); and *GB-Llp* H5142.M(5): *Missale ad Usus Sarisburiensis* (Paris, 1534) (STC 16214). Both of these bindings, however, significantly post-date the publication years; the fly-leaves of the 1534 Missal are taken from a printed royal proclamation of May 1549.

⁷ See above, n. 6: like ETON, this is another early sixteenth-century book with a mid-century binding. Other examples of the roll HE. g. 2 include the 'Black Book of the Exchequer' (Henry III–William III; *GB-Lna* E36/266); Johannes Royardus, *Homiliarum f. Johannis Royardi...in Omnes Epistolas & Evangelia Dominicalia per Totius Anni Decursum* (Cologne, 1550; York, Minster Library, XV.E.13); Paulo Giovio, *Pauli Jovii Novocomensis ... illustrium Virorum Vitae* (Florence, 1551; *GB-Omc* Q.14.10); *Aurelii Augustini Milleloquium Veritatis a Bartholomaeo de Urbino Digestum* (Lyons, 1555; *GB-Ot* I.15.14); Valeriano Bolzani, *Hieroglyphica* (Basel, 1556; *GB-Oas* FFF.4.1: given to All Souls in 1566); Avicenna, *Liber canonis, de Medicines Cordialibus et Cantica* (Basel, 1556; *GB-Ome* 49.hh.7); *Augustini Omnia Opera*, I–II and X (Basle, 1569; Birmingham University Library, R29/4/2, olim St Mary's, Warwick, C.6.316 and C.6.324); Théodore de Bèze, *Theodori Bezae Vezelii Volumen Tractationum Theologicaliarum* (Geneva, 1570; Guildford, Royal Grammar School, 72); Diego de Covarubias y Leyva, *Practicarum Quaestionum Liber Unus* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1571; Gloucester, Cathedral Library, Sel. 4.15); *The Whole Workes of W[illiam] Tyndall, John Frith, and Doctor Barnes* (London: John Daye, 1573; London, Inner Temple Library, CPBD 4); and London, College of Arms, MS Vincent 102: extracts of plea rolls of courts of Common Pleas and King's Bench, Edward I–Edward II, relating to lands, pedigrees, etc. in Northamptonshire, compiled for the herald Augustine Vincent.



Plate 8.3. Paschasius Hamellius, *Divi Alphonsi... astronomicae tabulae* (Paris, 1553; GB-Ob 4° A 10 Art. Seld.) reproduced at 70% reduction (rubbing by Basil Oldham).

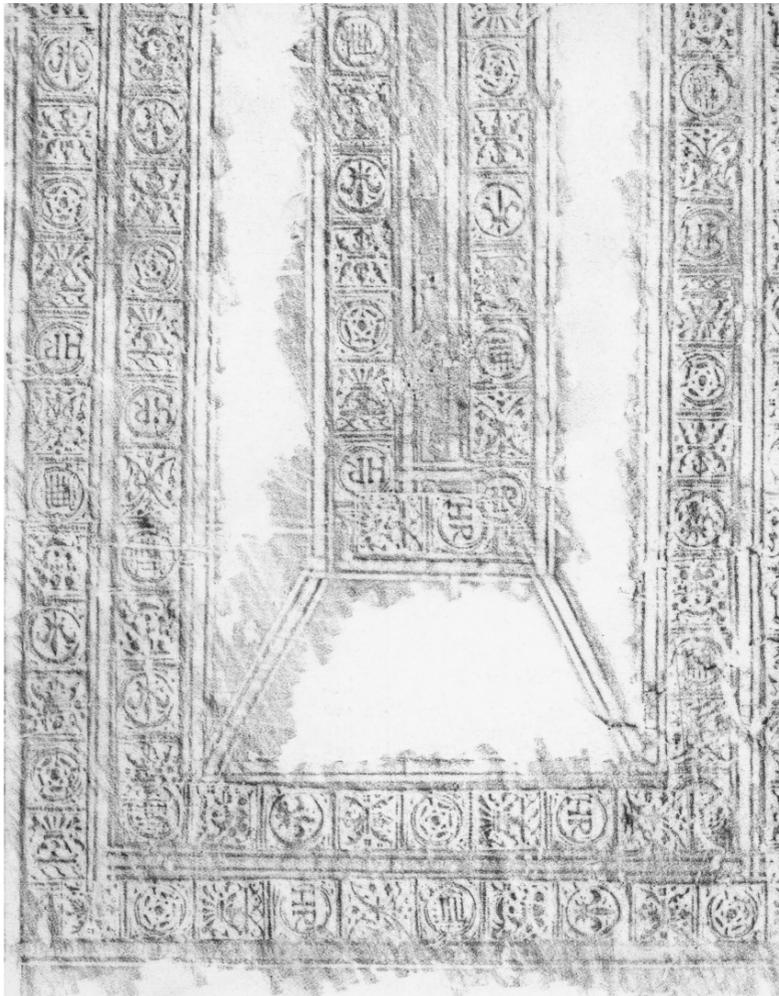


Plate 8.4. Rodolphi Gualtheri...in *Euangelium Secundum Lucam homiliae CCXV* (Zurich, 1570; Guildford, Royal Grammar School, 289) (originally owned by John Parkhurst (d. 1575), bishop of Norwich, and associate of Rudolph Gualther) reproduced at 70% reduction (rubbing by Basil Oldham).

Although ETON could therefore have been (re-)bound at any point between 1545 and 1574, the likeliest dates are either March 1554 or 1570.⁸ In the first scenario, the death of Edward VI in July 1553 and the accession of Mary a few days later unexpectedly threw into reverse the religious reforms of the previous six years, creating a demand for Latin liturgical books and music to replace those confiscated or destroyed.⁹ Having been stylistically superseded around 1530 and mothballed subsequently,¹⁰ ETON was pressed back into service as a stop-gap until newer repertory, more attuned to the tastes and tenets of mid-century Catholicism, could be acquired.¹¹ Found in disrepair in the pricksong book-chest in the rood loft, the large choirbook was taken to a specialist London binder (who is known to have re-bound other Catholic service books)¹² before it was used again in the restored *Salve* ceremony, however temporarily, from around Lent 1554: fifty years after ETON had first been copied.¹³

In the second scenario, ETON remained hidden and forgotten in the rood loft from c. 1530 until 1570 when the loft was demolished. By this time the 70-year-old choirbook, relic of a bygone era, was taken into the care of an individual, perhaps a college fellow or one of the lay clerks, who had it re-bound and incorporated it into his personal collection. By the 1570s, its contents so aesthetically antiquated that it escaped the attentions of Reformatist vigilantes, ETON became an object of harmless and fleeting curiosity, shown off to (and known by) a handful of personal acquaintances such as John Baldwin of Windsor.¹⁴

⁸ See also above, Chapter 1 p. 11.

⁹ On the re-equipping of churches after July 1553, see Duffy 1992, 543–55.

¹⁰ The life-cycle of pre-Reformation polyphony can be judged not only in the routine recycling of discarded pricksong books as binding scrap, but also in periodic spurts of copying activity. At Winchester College, for instance, two such periods of intensive copying activity can be seen in 1497–1501 and 1540–45 (Williamson 1997a, 305–06).

¹¹ This was Ker's assumption (Ker *MMBL* 2, 774n). On Mary Tudor and Reginald Pole, archbishop of Canterbury, see most recently Duffy 2009.

¹² See n. 6 above.

¹³ Eton's Catholic restoration took several months to begin in earnest. The college's account books give the impression of minimal change until January 1554, when the organ was mended. The watershed month was March 1554, in which three married fellows were deprived and the scriptural texts which had been superimposed over the wall paintings were 'blotted out', signalling the likely resumption of *Salve* ceremonies in the nave. Following the intrusion of Henry Cole as provost in July 1554, re-Catholicisation of the chapel proceeded apace: among the numerous purchases made in 1554–55 were polyphonic propers for the Lady Mass and four vellum antiphoners costing over £9 (Lyte 1911, 133–34; Williamson 1997a, 418–22).

¹⁴ John Milsom has queried the inherently 'Catholic' or 'recusant' implications of singing pre-Reformation polyphony (Milsom, 1995); on the transformation of pre-Reformation books and buildings into post-Reformation collectors' items, see Aston 1973.

Catalogue of Compositions

Piece numbers: these follow the physical order of ETON in its complete state, from E1 to E93, as indicated by the indexes on ff. a.1 and ee.9^v (and reconstructed by Frank Harrison in MB 12).

Title: incipits of pieces are given as they appear in the manuscript ('gracia' for 'gratia', 'celi' for 'caeli', for instance). Settings of the Magnificat (E68–E91) are identified here, as in ETON (and other early Tudor sources), by the incipit of their second verse, 'Et exultavit': see E68. Where a piece or its incipit have been lost from the manuscript (e.g. E92), the title is derived from the indexes.

Composer: composers' names follow NG2 spelling, even where ETON gives a consistently different form (e.g. Dunstable for Dunstaple, Banaster for Banester). Conjectured forenames are in round brackets.

Openings: openings comprise the verso of one folio and the recto of the next (e.g. opening a.2 = ff. a.1^v and a.2). Openings are presented here in a reconstruction of the state of ETON c. 1515 (i.e., before the loss of leaves). Each side of each opening, LH and RH, is indicated in superscript (for example, a.2^l = a.1^v). Because the two indexes permit a near-exact reconstruction of the original structure of the completed manuscript, all the openings originally occupied by each piece are indicated here, including sides, openings and whole pieces that are now lost. It is assumed here that, with very few exceptions, both LH and RH sides were used in each opening. Square brackets indicate where whole openings or single sides have been lost.

Folios: there are three foliations. One derives from the original quire signatures; two others, consisting of arabic numerals, post-date the compilation of ETON. The first numerical foliation, running from f. 1 to f. 145 (in fact, f. 146), was made in the later sixteenth century, and was written in ink in the top RH corner of each recto; a modern pencil endorsement, written adjacent to the ink foliation, duplicates the earlier foliation exactly, while providing the folio reference '50A' for a leaf overlooked during the first foliation. The second numerical foliation—definitive, dating from the twentieth century—runs from f. 1 to f. 126, and was written in pencil near the original ink quire signatures at the bottom of each folio. The three foliations are listed here in chronological order: early sixteenth-century (quire signatures), later sixteenth-century (arabic), then modern (arabic). No attempt is made to hypothesise the locations within ETON of the 20 folios lost between the 1590s and the 1890s.

Indexes: the position of each piece within the two indexes is given, with the earlier, partial index (f. ee.9^v) first and the later, complete index (f. a.1) second. Composers' surnames are given in parentheses where their spelling, as given in either index, deviates from the form as it appears in the main body of the manuscript (or from the current spelling in NG2). Numbers are omitted where the piece is not listed in an index.

Scribal phase: this follows the order given in the Inventory p. 15 and in Chapter 3: Structure and Compilation p. 22.

Scoring: the number of voice-parts is given first, followed by the designation of each voice-part (in descending order of tessitura), and then the clef combination. The position of each voice-part on the written page is indicated in superscript after the vocal designation, from top-LH to bottom-RH; voice-parts unspecified in, or missing from, ETON are given Harrison's designation (except where specified: see MB 10–12), and are enclosed in square brackets; where a concordance supplies an otherwise entirely missing piece (e.g. E75), voice-parts are not designated here. The

position of each clef on the staff is indicated by superscript figures which specify the staff-lines from the bottom upwards (e.g. modern treble clef is G², bass clef F⁴); a pair of hyphenated numerals indicates where a clef migrates from one staff-line to another (e.g. C³⁻⁴ shows where a C-clef has migrated from third to fourth line up or *vice versa*); hexachord signatures are indicated by ♭ for a *b*-flat signature, and ♭♭ where *e* is also flattened); where a hexachord signature was used only intermittently, this is indicated with round brackets around the ♭ sign. No attempt has been made to reconstitute the scorings of irrevocably fragmentary pieces (such as the clefs and names of the three lost voices of E6), even where the missing information might appear self-evident.

Compass: this gives the extreme pitch range of each piece, from the top note of the uppermost voice, to the bottom note of the lowermost voice. In ETON, this information was included both in the main body of the manuscript (at the head of each composition, in red) and in each index (at the end of each index entry, also in red).

Mensuration: ϕ and ϕ signs indicate the principal mensural divisions of each piece (for instance, ϕ / ϕ indicates *prima pars* in perfect time and *secunda pars* in imperfect, rendered in 3/4 and 4/4 time in MB 10–12). Especially during later phases of the copying of ETON, both cut and uncut signatures were used in combination (but without import): the combinations ϕ○ and ϕC indicate where this occurs.

Cantus firmus: except where specified, these follow the identifications made by Harrison (Harrison 1953; MB 10–12). The incipit of each chant (or other pre-existing melody) is given, and its ritual or other function briefly described. Because of the frequency with which ETON composers made allusions between their chosen motet texts and the (unheard) texts of their imported melodies, a translation is given of each cantus firmus text. Harrison included transcriptions of cantus firmus melodies in the appendices to MB 10–12.

Text: following MB 10–12, each text is identified with its *RH* and/or *AH* reference, where applicable (see Bibliography pp. 78 and 82 below). The length, structure, metre and content of the text are then summarised, and a paraphrased synopsis of the text provided, but not full translations. Early translations of four texts, as printed in an early Tudor Book of Hours (1537: John Redman), are given in full in on pp. 67–71 below. Where a piece has been commercially recorded, full translations of texts can usually be found in the liner notes.

Notes: these supplement descriptive and analytical evaluations readily available in the standard texts (Harrison *MMB* and Benham 1977) or in more recent stylistic studies such as Fitch 2008 and Fitch 2009.

Concordances: see Antecedents, Contemporaries and Concordances pp. 72–76 below, where sixteenth-century concordances for ETON pieces are listed, together with other pre-Reformation sources comparable with, or related to, ETON. Two further sources, both eighteenth-century (*GB-Lbl* 5054 and *GB-Lrcm* 660), were copied directly from ETON.

Editions: Harrison's edition of 1956–61 (MB 10–12) provides complete transcriptions for all the contents of ETON (now including the fragments: see MB 12³). Other editions are included, where available, although the listing is not intended to be exhaustive: see Bibliography p. 78.

Recordings: these are identified by the year of issue: see Discography pp. 84–85.

- E1** O MARIA SALVATORIS MATER JOHN BROWNE
 Openings: a.2^{L-R} / a.3^{L-R} / a.4^{L-R}
 Folios: a.1^V-a.4; 1^V-4; 1^V-4
 Indexes: 25 (Brown); 29
 Scribal phase: B
 Scoring: 8—[Q]^{L1} Tr^{R2} M^{L3} Sup Ctr^{R3} T^{L2} Inf Ctr^{L5-R1} B1^{L4} B2^{R4}—
 G²/C^{3b}/C^{3b}/C^{4b}/C^{4b}/F^{4b}/F^{4b}
 Compass: 22 notes
 Mensuration: ϕ / ϕ
 Cantus firmus: *Venit dilectus meus*: sixth psalm antiphon, Matins, Assumption of the BVM (15 August). The melody was apparently quoted selectively, sometimes transposed down a fifth, quotations beginning on the seventh note (Hocking 1995, 66–73): ‘My love came into his garden so that he could partake of its fruits’. Parallels between this text and the text of the motet were exploited by Browne in his distribution of melodic quotations in the cantus firmus (Hocking 1995, 66–78). *Venit dilectus* was also used by Browne as cantus firmus in E28.
 Text: RH, 30658: Unique to E1. Comprises six pairs of tail-rhymed tercets in trochaic 887 metre: a⁸a⁸b⁷ c⁸c⁸b⁷; the text was possibly purpose-written for this motet. Extols the BVM as ‘fragrant flower of chastity’ whose womb ‘bears forth a fruit who has now taken away all our sorrow’, and as the fertile rod of Aaron; enjoins prayer to Saints Frideswide, Mary Magdalen and Catherine ‘learned in philosophy’ (suggesting Oxford provenance); concludes, not with a direct plea for intercession, but with an injunction to the participants to ‘sing this our melody with heart and voice’.
 Notes: Rhetorical exclamation, ‘En’ (‘behold!’), marked by a sudden change to full scoring (see Fitch 2008). On the symbolism of Browne’s choice and manipulation of eight-part scoring, on the association of the rod of Aaron with the BVM, and on the association of the number eight with *Regeneratio* and octagonal baptismal fonts: Elders 1994, 99–104.
 Editions: MB 10, 1–14; PMMS 1954
 Recordings: 1951, 1989, 1993, 2005

- E2** GAUDE FLORE VIRGINALI HUGH KELLYK
 Openings: a.5^{L-R} / a.7^{L-R} / b.1^{L-R}
 Folios: a.4^V-b.1; 4^V-8; 4^V-8
 Indexes: 6; 8
 Scribal phase: B (the final recto, b.1, is phase D)
 Scoring: 7—[Q]^{L1} Tr^{R2} M^{L3} Ctr1^{L4-R1} Ctr2^{R3} T^{L2} B^{R4}—G²/C²/C³/
 C⁴/C⁴/C⁵/F⁴
 Compass: 23 notes
 Mensuration: ϕ / ϕ
 Cantus firmus: none
 Text: see Texts p. 70
 Notes: The contents of the final recto (a.8) were re-written onto the recto of b.1 as the copying of ETON neared completion. Kellyk’s seven-part setting follows the poetic form of the text, not least in his unusual, and evidently symbolic, scoring for seven voices: changes in vocal scoring almost invariably mark new stanzas or tercets, and change of mensuration coincides with the start of the fifth stanza. Willem Elders dates this motet to c. 1480 and regards it and Matthaëus Pipelare’s seven-part *Memorare mater Christi* as counterparts (‘it is tempting to assume that one motet served as a model for the other’: Elders 1994, 156, 98–99). The number 7 forms the numerical base unit for the structure: omitting the two chords *extra tempus* (at bars 147 and 275) the motet lasts 273 mensural units (breves in perfect time, longs in imperfect, following Harrison MMB, 314n), i.e., 3 × 13 × 7; the first four stanzas, in perfect time, comprise 147 breves (= 3 × 7 × 7); the final three stanzas, in imperfect time, comprise 126 longs (= 3 × 6 × 7); most stanza lengths are also multiples of 7 (first = 42 breves; third and fourth = 35 breves each; fifth = 28 longs; sixth = 35 longs). See E64 for another instance of heptadic design.
 Editions: MB 10, 15–30; PMMS 1954
 Recording: 1993

- E3** O MARIA PLENA GRACIA WALTER LAMBE
 Openings:¹ b.2^{L-R} / b.3^{L-R} / b.4^{L-R} / b.5^{L-R}
 Folios: b.1^V-b.2^V; 8^V-9^V; 8^V-9^V
 Indexes: 26; 30
 Scribal phase: B
 Scoring: 6—[Q]^{L1} Tr^{R2} M^{L3} Tr^{R1} T^{R2} Ctr^{L2} B^{R3}—G¹/C¹/C³/C³/
 C⁴/C⁵
 Compass: 21 notes

¹ Both indexes give b.1, not b.2, perhaps because of confusion arising over the excision of what had been folio a.8, and the re-copying of the final side of E2 from a.8 onto b.1 (which had previously been blank and unruled).

- Mensuration: ϕ / ϕ
 Cantus firmus: O *sacrum convivium*: antiphon to Magnificat at Second Vespers, Corpus Christi, also sung as processional antiphon on same feast: ‘O sacred feast at which Christ is received, the memory of his Passion recalled, the mind filled with grace, and the pledge of future glory is granted us’. Themes of memorialisation and the communion of saints allude to the text of the motet (below).
 Text: RH, 30649: This dense prose text is unique to Lambe’s setting. A meditation on the company of heaven, it draws upon (and follows the order of) the Sarum Litany of Saints (Benham 1977, 80), but echoing the eschatological themes of Matthew 25 (a quotation from which concludes the motet’s text). E3 is narrated in the first person singular.² When the narrator thinks of Mary he sees the heavenly host comprising the Holy Trinity, the angelic orders, the Old Testament patriarchs and prophets, the apostles, and Christian martyrs, confessors and virgins, and the BVM herself. Biblical and Apocryphal references (to the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Ascension and Pentecost, the Assumption, and the Passion) act as a counterpoint to the main narrative. The text concludes with a prayer to Mary to intercede: ‘Pray for us, Holy Mary, that we may be deemed worthy to be counted among those to whom it will be said at the last day, “Come, blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world” [Matthew 25:34]’.³
 Notes: The return of *tempus perfectum* coincides with the quotation from Matthew 25. During this final section, which follows two complete statements of the cantus firmus (in ϕ and ϕ time respectively), the final 21 notes only of O *sacrum convivium* (‘et future glorie nobis pignus datur’) are quoted again, emphasising the textual relationship with Matthew 25:34. The two full statements of the cantus firmus are equal in length (141 breves and 141 longs respectively); each of these full statements is subdivided in 2:1 ratio (first statement 29+18 breves, second statement 24+16 longs); the final, partial quotation of 18 breves likewise falls into two unequal halves, with rests after the twelfth breve.

The heavenly company were invoked at the moment of death, when the Litany of Saints was recited by those standing around the dying person; in his will, Henry VII sought the mediation of ‘aungels, archaungels, patriarches, prophetes, apostels, evaungelistes, martirs, confessours, and virgyns’ as well as named saintly ‘avoures’.⁴ The concluding prayer in Caxton’s *ars moriendi* calls for assistance from the orders of angels, and from ‘the patryarkes, and the prophetys, the appostles and evangelystes, the martyrs and confessours, the monkes and heremytes, the virgyns and the wydowes, the chyldren and the Innocentes ... that thyn[e] habytacyon be in celestyall Jherusalem per cristum dominum nostrum. Amen’ (*Knoue well to dye* 1490, ff. B.ii–iii).

On the association between the crowned BVM and the Holy Trinity, see Rubin 2009, 306–09. A fine example of the stock image of the Assumption, painted in the early 1490s in the register book of the London Fraternity of the Assumption (1441–1689),⁵ shows the BVM, standing in a sunburst surrounded by angels, being crowned by the three Persons of the Trinity (Marks/WilliamsonP 2003, 58 and 271). Although the upper half of the Assumption panel in Eton College Chapel had already been erased when R. H. Essex sketched the wall-paintings in August 1847 (James/Tristram 1929, 6–9 and plates I–III), the panel may have conformed to this common iconographical type, as does the surviving late fifteenth-century Assumption wall-painting at Exeter Cathedral (see below, E15).

Concordances: LAMBETH, ff. 52^v–56; CHOIRBOOK 2a/ii–iii (where parts are given as [Tr]/[M]/Ctr/T/B1/B2 with same clefs as ETON), and CHOIRBOOK 2a/iv (f. 17)
 Edition: MB 10, 31–42

- E4** GAUDE FLORE VIRGINALI RICHARD DAVY
 Openings: [b.6^{L-R} / b.7^{L-R} / b.8^{L-R}
 Folios: b.7–b.8; 14–15; 10–11
 Indexes: 7; 9
 Scribal phase: B

² Analogous examples of first-person-singular narration, although not common, can be found elsewhere: in E50, E57 and E65 (an imperfect adaptation of an ‘I-form Book of Hours text into ‘we’ form), in Fayrfax’s *Maria plena virtute* (Skinner 2004, 176–9) and in an anonymous Henrician setting of the Book of Hours text, *Adoro te* (Sandon 1993); for Continental examples, Blackburn 1997.

³ The same quotation from Matthew 25:34 also concludes John Mason’s motet *Vē nobis miseris* (Sandon 1993, 378).

⁴ Condon 2003, 112–13; the sculptural scheme of Henry VII’s chapel at Eton, overseen by Henry before his death, echoes his will (Lindley 2003).

⁵ London, Worshipful Company of Skinners, loaned to Guildhall Library (MS 31692), f. 41.

Scoring: 6—[Tr]¹¹ [M]^{R1} [Ctr]¹³ T₂^{R2} [T₁]¹² B^{R3}—G²/C²(b)/C⁴/
C⁴_b/C⁵/F⁴_b

Compass: 22 notes

Mensuration: [φ] / φ

Cantus firmi: [Primus Tenor]: *O lux beata trinitas*: hymn Vespers, Saturday, Trinity to Advent (Williamson 1997a, 322–23): translation in *EH*, #164; Secundus Tenor: ‘Fragrat odor dulcis celi agmina laudes’: quotation from *Virgo flagellatur*, sixth respond at Matins, St Katherine (25 November) (Benham 1977, 92): ‘a sweet fragrance issues forth, the heavenly company sing praises’.

Text: see Texts p. 70

Notes: The scoring was misconstrued as Tr/M/T₁/T₂/Ctr/B by Harrison, who neither identified the paired cantus firmi nor deduced that a ‘Secundus Tenor’ presupposes a ‘Primus Tenor’, each Tenor carrying a cantus firmus. E₄ originally occupied six sides (openings b.5^v–8), the first three sides of which are lost. In the surviving part of E₄, ‘Fragrat odor’ is stated three times (bars 51–64, 126–42 and 147–end); *O lux beata trinitas* is stated once (bars 126–end, beginning on the sixth note of the hymn: the first five notes were probably sung during the penultimate tutti at bars 51–64).

Although derived from different feasts, both cantus firmi allude to the text of *Gaude flore virginali*, in which the Trinity and Mary as *sponsa Christi* are commemorated in the second and sixth stanzas. Mary’s status as bride of Christ echoed the nuptial associations of the Holy Trinity: for instance, in the marriage service, when Mass of the Trinity was celebrated (Sarum Missal, col. 836); in Books of Hours *Gaude flore virginali* is often followed by antiphons to the bride of Christ (see Texts p. 70). *O lux beata Trinitas* amplifies stanza 6, while ‘Fragrat odor’ glosses stanza 2 through allusion to St Katherine, herself called ‘*sponsa Christi*’ (Williamson 2010, 168–69). Heavenly song and sweet fragrance are also recalled in the Assumption narrative when ‘the vois of Angels was herd sowne swetely and a merveyulous odour was felte swete smellyng’ (Golden Legend 1483, f. cclxi^v). Note, however, that the melody of *Virgo flagellatur* was also used for *Homo quidam fecit*, respond at First Vespers on the feast of Corpus Christi (which followed Trinity Sunday).

Edition: MB 12 (3rd ed.), 136–40

E₅ STABAT MATER DOLOROSA JOHN BROWNE

Openings: c.1^{L-R} / c.2^{L-R} / c.3^{L-R}

Folios: b.8^v–c.3; 15^v–18, 11^v–14

Indexes: 51; 56

Scribal phase: B

Scoring: 6—[Q]¹¹ Tr^{R1} M^{L1} T^{R2} Ctr¹³ B^{R3}—G²(b)/C²_b/C⁴_b/C⁴/
C⁵_b/F⁴_b

Compass: 22 notes

Mensuration: φ / φ

Cantus firmus: no structural cantus firmus, but see below, ‘Notes’

Text: *RH*, 19146; *AH* 54, 412–19. Originally a devotional hymn comprising 20 paired, tail-rhymed tercets (a⁸a⁸b⁷c⁸c⁸b⁷), which is found in manuscripts from the early fourteenth century onwards. In late-medieval sources an indulgence attached to the text is credited to Pope Boniface VIII (r. 1294–1303). Boniface (Benedetto Caetani) was a native of Todi in Perugia, as was the Franciscan friar Jacopone da Todi (c. 1236–1306) to whom the authorship of *Stabat mater* has commonly been ascribed. See, for instance, Sarum Hours 1521, sig. h. iiij: ‘Our holy father Bonifacius hath graunted unto all thaym that devoutly says thys lamentable contemplycon of our blesyd lady stonyng under the crosse wepyng and havynge compassion with her swete sone iesus .vii. yeres of pardon⁷ and .xl. lentys. And also pope Jhon [sic] the .xxii. hath graunted .ccc. days or [sic] pardon’. Although indulgenced, *Stabat mater dolorosa* was seldom included in manuscript Sarum Books of Hours, and appeared in printed editions no earlier than 1501.⁸

Polyphonic settings likewise appear only in the late fifteenth century, whether in Europe (where the sequence was included in the newly-promulgated Mass of the Sorrows of the BVM) or in England (where it was not). The earliest Continental settings, by Josquin and Gaspar van Weerbeke (died c. 1516), date from the 1490s, share similar structural attributes, were subsequently copied together in the Chigi Codex (*I-Rvat* c. 234, ff. 245^v–249) and both transmit the established *Stabat mater* text without adaptation (although Josquin omitted

tercets 11–14).⁹ Another native of Lodi, Franchino Gafori (1451–1522) was, like Weerbeke, active in Milan towards the end of the fifteenth century; his setting of *Stabat mater* follows the established text only for the first line, whereafter it diverges entirely.

The sequence text set by Josquin and Weerbeke is found in printed Books of Hours of both Sarum and York Uses.¹⁰ English polyphonic settings, however, uniformly transmit a substantially adapted version of the text, which omits tercets 7–8 and replaces the eight final tercets, 11–20, with six paired quatrains (a⁸a⁸b⁷c⁸c⁸b⁷ etc.). Either E₅ or E₃₂ (Davy) was the first of these English settings, and John Browne’s predilection for (and probable authorship of) strident Passiontide texts makes his the likelier prototype.¹¹ In any case, either Browne’s setting or Davy’s (or both) may pre-date those of Josquin, Weerbeke and Gafori: the near-synchronicity of the first surviving English settings with the earliest Continental ones is striking. Two other settings apart from Browne’s survive in ETON (E₃₂ and E₄₈); a further two are lost (E₄₁ and E₄₇); the fragment of a sixth contemporary setting from c. 1500 is in CHOIRBOOK 2a/i. Three other early Tudor settings survive: *GB-Ob* [printed book] Arch. A. c.10, f. 40^v (anonymous; ending at the tenth tercet), HARLEY 1709, ff. 7–9 (Thomas Ashwell; Medius only) and PETERHOUSE (by Robert Hunt: same text as E₅ and E₃₂).

Notes: Hugh Benham observed the close resemblance between the first black-text entry of the Tenor (bars 34–41) and the lowermost voice of Edmund Turges’s carol, ‘Alas it is I’ (Benham 1987, 466), while noting that the two melodies subsequently part company. Catherine Hocking posits a more oblique parody of Turges’s carol, melodic fragments from which are paraphrased and dispersed throughout the contrapuntal fabric of Browne’s motet (Hocking 1995, 28–36). The carol text is in rhyme-royal: ‘Alas it is I that wote nott what to say / For why I stond as he that is abusyd / Ther as I trusted I was late cast away / And no cause gevyn to be so refusyd / But pite it is that trust shulde be mysusy / Other by colour or by fals semblance / Wher that is usyd can be no surance’ (FAYRFAX MS, ff. 17^v–19). The uncertain relationship between E₅ and ‘Alas it is I’ militates against an unambiguous eschatological interpretation of Browne’s motet: Faus semblant, the deceiver of the *Roman de la Rose*, was allegorically the fourth horseman of the Apocalypse and hence the Antichrist, prefiguring the last days (Emmerson/Herzman 1987).

Concordances: BUXTON 96, recto

Editions: MB 10, 43–53; PMMS 1955

Recordings: 1951, 1968b, 1982, 1989, 1992a, 2005, 2009

E₆ O REGINA CELESTIS GLORIE WALTER LAMBE

Openings: c.4^{L-R} / c.5^{L-R}

Folios: c.3^v; 18^v; 14^v

Indexes: 27; 31

Scribal phase: B

Scoring: 6—[Tr]¹¹ [T₁]¹² [T₂]¹³—G²/C⁴/C⁴

Compass: 23 notes

Mensuration: φ / ?

Cantus firmi: [Primus Tenor]: *Hodie in jordane*: seventh respond at Matins on the feast of the Epiphany, 6 January (notes 1–72 only): ‘Today, the Lord being baptized in the River Jordan, the heavens were opened and, like a dove, [the Holy Spirit came upon him, and the voice of the Father intoned: “This is my Son in whom I am well pleased”]’ (Matthew 3: 16–17; Mark 1: 10–11; Luke 3: 21–22).

[Secundus Tenor]: *Magi videntes stellam*, antiphon to Magnificat at First Vespers, Epiphany: ‘The Magi, seeing the star, said among themselves, “This is the sign of a great king; let us go and inquire of him, and offer unto him gifts of gold, frankincense and myrrh”’ (Matthew 2: 9–11).

Text: *RH*, 30960: Only found in polyphonic settings by Lambe in E₆, E₃₈ (lost) and anonymous (possibly E₃₈) in HARLEY 1709, ff. 29–30^v (Triplex only) and NEW COLLEGE FRAGMENTS, 368/1. Eight quatrains, the last two of which are now fragmentary (a¹⁰a¹⁰a¹⁰a¹⁰, b¹⁰b¹⁰b¹⁰b¹⁰ etc.): 1. Queen of heavenly glory, through you may the yoke of sin be lifted from us; 2. Jewel, most splendid star, lambent moon, be the access to our restoration; 3. Queen, hope and refuge of sinners, convey our entreaties to your Son; 4. Glittering star, filled with life-giving radiance to those who behold you, unite us with the heavenly host after our sins have been purged; 5. Royal virgin-mother, the church cannot exhaust the privileges of your merits; 6. Hail, heavenly radiance set above the highest orders: guide us wayfarers; 7. [lost]; 8. doxology.

Notes: Text incipits of both cantus firmi are given in red on opening c.4^L

⁶ A slightly later example of the same indulgence (1527) is cited in Sandon 1983, 247.

⁷ Edinburgh, Blairs College MS 6 (mid-fifteenth century), f. 86, has 1,000 years of indulgence (Ker *MMBL* 2, 126).

⁸ Hoskins 1901, 119 (Sarum Hours 1501, where *Stabat mater* appears on the final folio, concluding the devotions appended to the contents pages).

⁹ David Fallows suggests 1495–1500 for Josquin’s setting (Fallows 2009, 213–14).

¹⁰ York Hours 1920, 134–5; Sarum Hours 1501 (above).

¹¹ See Structure and Compilation p. 11 regarding the transmission of Davy’s music to Eton during the mid-1490s.

(f. c.3^v). The web of allusion between cantus firmi and motet text is discussed in Williamson 2010, 165–67. The star of the Magi is elided with the *stella maris*, implicitly alluding to the BVM as the woman of Revelation 12:1–3, ‘clad with the sun, with the moon under her feet, and with a twelve-starred crown her head’. The number twelve evidently informed the structural design of the *prima pars* (and, presumably, of the now-missing *secunda pars*): the two cantus firmi each consist of 72 notes (one of them as a result of selective quotation); and the *prima pars* comprises 120 breves, discounting one bar *extra tempus* (on the number 12, see also Elders 1994, 171–79). Given its text and cantus firmi, E6 was almost certainly composed for the feast of the Epiphany, when the festivities of the Christmas season reached a climactic conclusion, and for which bespoke starred vestments were reserved (Page 1997, 18–19). At the early Tudor court, interludes were performed on Twelfth Night by the members of the Chapel Royal, and the Epiphany was the principal crown-wearing day, on which the king and queen attended the Chapel Royal in full robes of state (Kisby 2001, 50–58).¹²

Edition: MB 12³, 161–63

E7 STABAT VIRGO MATER CRISTI JOHN BROWNE
 Openings: [c.6^l]^R / c.7^{L-R} / c.8^{L-R}
 Folios: c.6–c.8; 21–23; 15–17
 Indexes: 56; 62
 Scribal phase: B
 Scoring: 6—[Tr]^{L1} [M]^{R1} Ctr^{L2} Tr^{R2} B1^{L3} B2^{R3}—G²/C^{2b}/C^{4b}/C^{4b}/
 F^{4b}/F^{4b}
 Compass: 23 notes
 Mensuration: φ / φ

Cantus firmi: Tenor: *Exulat vir optimus*: antiphon to fifth psalm at Matins, St Thomas of Canterbury (29 December) and at translation of St Thomas (7 July): ‘The most worthy, holy and distinguished man is banished; the dignity of the church yields not to the unworthy’.

Primus and Secundus Bassus: ‘Cedit custos’, verse to *Jacet granum*: respond at procession after First Vespers and third respond at Matins, St Thomas of Canterbury; respond, Vespers, translation of St Thomas (Benham 1987, 467): ‘[The grain lies overwhelmed by chaff; the just man is killed by the sword of the wicked, exchanging a home of clay for heaven.] The guardian falls, the vine in the vineyard, the general in the camp, the husbandman in the plantation’ (Stevens] 1986, 251).
 Text: *RH*, 33675: Unique to ETON. Fifteen paired, tail-rhymed tercets (a⁸a⁸b⁷ c⁸c⁸b⁷ etc.) as follows: 1–2, 3–4, 5–6, 7–8, 9 (9 shares the same tail-rhyme as 7–8), 10–11, 12–13, 14–15. Either the ninth tercet is the remnant of a pair of tercets, its first two lines belonging to the first tercet and its third line to the second (MB 12, 174),¹³ or the middle three tercets form a symmetrically-framed nonet (each beginning ‘Vide’ (‘See!’)). Browne used the same form of this syntactically ambiguous text in E60, a strident variation on the *Stabat Mater* theme: ‘The sorrowful mother looks at her Son hanging upon the Cross, weeping and groaning, for who could rejoice under such circumstances? S/he prays for you, s/he weeps for you. Who could regard as a pleasant sort those who were loved by him but did not return his love? O cruel people, because you rejoice, your sufferings will be great indeed. See the sun eclipsed, see the earth tremble, see your nation prostrate. Sorrowful mother, you stood witnessing those terrible crimes at which we should tremble. O Mary, when you saw the pallor of his face, you wanted nothing more than to die in his place, rather than endure such miseries. Faith nevertheless endured in you, so that you saw him risen after his descent to hell; you observed all this with pious intent; let us follow the one you bore in order to redeem this world.’

Notes: Hugh Benham discovered both the second cantus firmus (see above) and Browne’s method of sharing it between the two Bassus parts. The pairing of cantus firmi with the text of E7 is more direct than implied in Williamson 2010, 169: Becket’s death was overtly compared with the Passion of Christ, for instance in the Sarum Breviary, where the last two readings at Matins on 29 December were ‘de passione sancti Thomae’;¹⁴ in his *Vita Sancti Thome*, the most reliable source on Becket’s life and martyrdom, William Fitzstephen describes how ‘the sun averted its eyes and veiled the day with darkness, so as not to behold this crime’, overtly alluding to the moment

of Christ’s death;¹⁵ Fitzstephen’s allusion was amplified in the ninth reading at Matins, which draws upon another event commemorated in E7, the earthquake.¹⁶

Edition: MB 10, 54–63

E8 STABAT IUXTA CRISTI CRUCEM JOHN BROWNE
 Openings: d.1^{L-R} / d.2^{L-R}
 Folios: c.8^v–d.2; 23^v–25; 17^v–19
 Indexes: 55 (Brown); 61
 Scribal phase: C
 Scoring: 6—[M]^{L1} Tr^{R2} Ctr1^{L2} Ctr2^{R1} B1^{L3} B2^{R3}—C^{4b}/C^{4b}/F^{3b}/
 F^{3b}/F^{4b}/F^{4b}
 Compass: 14 notes
 Mensuration: φ / φ

Cantus firmus: Edmund Turges, ‘From stormy wyndis and grevous wethir’ (FAYRFAX MS, ff. 104^v–108; MB 36, 135–37): polyphonic carol beseeching God’s (and the BVM’s) protection on Arthur, Prince of Wales, heir of Henry VII, most probably late in 1501 when he took up residence at Ludlow (see below).

Text: *RH*, 19412; *AH* 8, 56. Sequence, York Use, sung at commemorations of the BVM on Sundays after Easter, and on Fridays between Trinity and Advent (York Gradual, ff. 75^{r-v} and 79; York Missal 2, 162, 164, 209). The text is also found in Books of Hours of York Use from the early fifteenth century onwards (Hocking 1995, 36). The sequence comprised twelve paired, tail-rhymed tercets (a⁸a⁸b⁷ c⁸c⁸b⁷); Browne set tercets 1–4 and 9–12. ‘The mother of the king of all watched as her Son died: his head crowned with thorns, his side pierced, his body scourged, etc.; countless saints declare your anguish and your sorrow, holy virgin, to have surpassed martyrdom; gentle virgin’.

Notes: ETON has ‘vitis via/vera’ in place of ‘vite via’ (York Missal, 209) for the second line of the penultimate tercet;¹⁷ Harrison adopted ‘vitis via’ (MB 10, 70). The York version (‘way of life’) would seem more apt than either of the ETON variants (‘true vine’, ‘way of the vine’).

Hugh Benham (Benham 1987) made a compelling argument that E8 was written as a threnody on the death of Prince Arthur at Ludlow in April 1502 and that the BVM grieving at the foot of the cross was, by analogy, Queen Elizabeth of York, Arthur’s mother (who herself died in February 1503). The resulting composition date for E8 (between April 1502 and February 1503) gives a clear *terminus post quem* for this layer of ETON (and substantially narrows the date range for ETON as a whole: see Structure and Compilation p. 22).

Edition: MB 10, 64–71; PMMS 1955

Recordings: 1977a, 1982, 1991, 2005

E9 O REGINA MUNDI CLARA JOHN BROWNE
 Openings: d.3^{L-R} / d.4^{L-R} / d.5^{L-R}
 Folios: d.2^v–d.5; 25^v–28; 19^v–22
 Indexes: 29 (Brown); 33
 Scribal phase: C
 Scoring: 6—[M1]^{L1} [M2]^{R2} [T]^{R3} [Ctr1]^{L2} [Ctr2]^{L3-R1} [B]^{R4}—
 C^{3b}/C^{3b}/C^{3b}(b)/C^{4b}/C^{4b}/C^{3b}
 Compass: 15 notes
 Mensuration: φ / φ

Cantus firmus: The melody used for *Pange lingua ... prelium/Lustra sex* (attrib. Venantius Fortunatus): hymn at Matins and Lauds, on Passion Sunday and during Holy Week, and also on the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (14 September),¹⁸ and *Pange lingua ... corporis* (Thomas Aquinas): hymn at Matins, Corpus Christi and during its octave.

Text: *RH*, 30962: Ten paired, tail-rhymed tercets (a⁸a⁸b⁷c⁸c⁸b⁷), unique to ETON, but closely related to the prose prayer *O regina mundi, scala celi*, found in a fourteenth-century psalter from Peterborough Abbey (*GB-Ob* Barlow 22, f. 4^v) and in a fifteenth-century Book of Hours (*GB-Ob* University College 8, ff. 58^v–59) (Hocking 1995, 46–47): ‘Radiant queen of the world, throne of God, stairway to heaven, door to paradise, hear your servants’ prayers lest the cries of the wretched be ignored; relay their prayers to the Saviour, break their fetters, wash away their sins; may the thicket (of sin) be hacked away, revealing garlands and

¹² Lambe worked primarily at St George’s, Windsor, which was allied to, but was not a division of, the royal household. There is no evidence that he wrote E6 for Henry VII himself, although he is known to have composed or copied ‘dyvers song’ for the king’s mother, Margaret Beaufort in September 1502 (Kisby 1997, 204).

¹³ A suggestion made to Harrison by the palaeographer Richard Hunt, keeper of Western manuscripts at the Bodleian Library, 1945–75.

¹⁴ Sarum Breviary 1, col. cclvi.

¹⁵ Abbott 1898/i, 176–7 (§§316–17): ‘... And indeed—as formerly, when Christ was suffering in his own body, so too when he was again suffering in the person of his soldier Thomas—the sun averted its eyes, and veiled the day in darkness ... The sons slew their father in the womb of their mother. Verily in the flowers of the church neither lilies nor roses are wanting; and in the Passion of St Thomas there is drawn forth, along with the cruel sword’s point, both the brain shining white and the blood blushing red ...’.

¹⁶ Sarum Breviary 1, col. cclvii.

¹⁷ ‘Vera’ in Bassus only (ETON, f. d.2).

¹⁸ AS 1520, Sanctoral, f. cxvi.

flowers of virtue;¹⁹ heavenly jewel, placate your Son lest he mark our sins; although we are mired in sin, we know that, at a nod, you can place us among the elect: if you intercede, your Son will cleanse our sins forthwith; tarry not, therefore, but beg your son that, come the dread day, we avoid exile but instead enjoy eternal bliss'.

Notes: 'Celi scala' most probably alludes to the *Scala celi* indulgence (Hocking 1995, 47). In its emphasis on *immediacy* ('at a nod ... forthwith'), E9 alludes to the advantage, unique among indulgences, that Requiem Masses celebrated at Rome's *Scala celi* chapel secured the immediate release of souls from purgatory (Morgan 1995, 87). Royal patronage played a central role in the importation of the *Scala celi* into England: it was first procured for the chapel of the BVM of the Pew at St Stephen's, Westminster (1476), where Margaret Beaufort, mother of Henry VII, founded a chantry (1496); two years later a *Scala celi* altar was licensed at St George's, Windsor; and in 1504, reflecting his changing institutional commitments, Henry VII transferred the indulgence to his new Lady Chapel at Westminster Abbey; after Henry's death the indulgence was granted to the Savoy Hospital (c. 1512), the guild of Our Lady of Boston, Lincolnshire (by 1516) and several provincial Augustinian friaries (Morgan 1995, 89–103).²⁰ The strong royal associations of the indulgence invite speculation that E9 was written for, or with regard to, Henry VII and his pious mother.

Edition: MB 10, 72–80
Recordings: 1997b, 2005

E10 GAUDE VIRGO MATER CRISTI (WILLIAM) STURTON
Openings: d.6^{L-R} / d.7^{L-R} / d.8^{L-R}
Folios: d.5^V–d.8; 28^V–31; 22^V–25
Indexes: 15; 19
Scribal phase: C
Scoring: 6—[Tr]^{L1} [M1]^{L2} [M2]^{R2} Tr^{R3} [Ctr]^{L3-R1} [B]^{R4}—C^{2b}/C^{3b}/
C^{3b}/C^{3b}/C^{4b}/C^{5b}
Compass: 15 notes
Mensuration: φ / φ

Cantus firmus: *Alma redemptoris mater*: Antiphon to Magnificat at Vespers of the BVM, from Purification to Lent and from octave of Corpus Christi to Advent; one of the antiphons *ad libitum* at entry to choir at procession, Trinity to Advent (e.g. Sarum Processional 1519, f. cxxv; Harrison *MMB*, 90): 'Kind mother of the redeemer, who remains an open door to heaven, the star of the sea; help the fallen to rise again. You who begat your own heavenly father while remaining a virgin, to nature's wonderment, who accepted that "Ave" from Gabriel's mouth, have mercy on us sinners'. Alludes to the first stanza of *Gaude virgo mater cristi*.

Text: see Texts p. 69

Notes: Harrison supplied vocal designations which were (except Tenor) not provided in ETON. The high Bassus clef (C⁵ in place of F⁴) and the narrow vocal compass suggest that E10, like the preceding two motets, was written for men only and intended to be sung by Tenor, three Baritones and two Basses at lower-than-written pitch. The attribution to 'Edmund' Sturton (see d.6^L/f. 22^V) is weak, and can be set aside in favour of William Stourton, gentleman of the Chapel Royal, 1503–10 (*Antico* 2006, v; *BDECM*, 1065). Stourton's entry into royal service in 1503 or shortly beforehand fits well with the chronology of ETON, whose copying was far advanced by the time E10 was added to the layer of short-compass six-part motets.

Edition: MB 10, 81–89

E11 O VIRGO PRUDENTISSIMA ROBERT WYLKYNSON
Openings: e.1^{L-R} [e.2^{L-R}, e.3^{L-R}]
Folios: d.8^V; 31^V; 25^V
Indexes: 32; 36
Scribal phase: D
Scoring: 6—[Tr]^{L1} [Ctr]^{L3} [T]^{L2}—G^{1b}/C^{3b}/C^{3b}
Compass: 22 notes
Mensuration: φ²¹ / φ

Cantus firmus: *Angelus autem domini* (Hocking 1995, 6): antiphon to first psalm at Lauds, Easter Day: 'An angel of the Lord descended from heaven and came and rolled back the stone and sat upon it, alleluia' (Matthew 28:2).

Text: *RH*, 13910. Ten quatrains of unrhymed octosyllabic lines: Angelo Poliziano (*Angelus Politianus*, d. 1494), *Omnia opera et alia quaedam lectu digna* (Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1498); but circulating in manuscript earlier (see below): 'O most prudent virgin, whom Gabriel,

herald of the king supreme, declared full of grace; whose devout humility, adorned with shining gems of faithful acknowledgement, embraced God with love: you the creator of all calls his spouse, the mother of the Son of God, the habitation of the Holy Spirit. You are called star of the sea, who acts as a beacon for us, among the rocks and dark eddies, towards the port of salvation. Through you our forefathers escape the foul prison; through you the gates of the celestial halls are opened to us. [You deck your hair with stars; you stand upon the moon; the angelic choirs marvel at the sight of you clad in brilliant sunlight. Virgin mother, listen to us your servants as we pray: dispel the shadows in our minds, melt the ice in our hearts; put us, who seek a safe haven, under your protection. Give us steadfastness and, as we trust in you, let not our adversary triumph over us. But give to all the faithful who visit your temple, benign mother, the pledge of divine assistance]'.²¹

Notes: On angels, see below, E15. Howard Mayer Brown (Brown 1991, 190–93) posits 1491 as the earliest date for Josquin's setting of this text. The text could have reached Eton before its publication in 1498. The English humanist William Grocyn (d. 1519) studied with Poliziano in Florence sometime between 1488, when he resigned a divinity readership at Magdalen College, Oxford, and 1491, when he returned to Oxford; while in Italy, he befriended Aldus Manutius, Poliziano's colleague and posthumous publisher (see above).²² Oxonians known by Grocyn would have included Walter Smythe who was chaplain at Magdalen in the 1480s (and a contemporary of Grocyn's); Smythe and Grocyn subsequently had London benefices in neighbouring parishes (St Alban Wood Street and St Lawrence Jewry respectively).²³ Smythe served as precentor at Eton and bequeathed books of polyphony to the college on his death in 1525 (see *Structure and Compilation* p. 22); according to Thomas More, Grocyn gave a series of lectures at St Paul's on the Dionysian Celestial Hierarchy in 1501.²⁴

Edition: MB 12³, 164–65

E12 GAUDE FLORE VIRGINALI ROBERT WYLKYNSON
Openings: [e.4^{L-R} / e.5^{L-R} / e.6^{L-R}]
Indexes: 8; 10
Scoring: 6
Compass: 22 notes

E13 SALVE REGINA VAS MUNDICIE (RICHARD) FAWKYNER
Openings: [e.7^{L-R} / e.8^{L-R} / f.1^{L-R}]
Indexes: 0; 39
Scoring: 6
Compass: 23 notes
Notes: a late addition (absent from partial index)

E14 GAUDE FLORE VIRGINALI WILLIAM CORNYSH
Openings: [f.2^{L-R} / f.3^{L-R}]
Folios: f.3; 33; 26
Indexes: 0; 11 (Cornysch)
Scribal phase: D
Scoring: 6—[M]^{R1} Inf Ctr^{R2} B^{R3}—C²/C⁵/F⁴
Compass: 23 notes
Mensuration: [φ?] / φC
Cantus firmus: ? (Tenor lost)
Text: see Texts p. 70
Edition: MB 12³, 166–68

E15 SALVE REGINA ROBERT WYLKYNSON
Openings: f.4^{L-R} / f.5^{L-R} / f.6^{L-R}
Folios: f.2^V–f.6; 33^V–36; 26^V–29
Indexes: 0; 0
Scribal phase: X
Scoring: 9—Q—Seraphyn^{L1} Tr—Cherubyn^{L2} M—Troni^{R1} CtrI—
Dominaciones^{L3} Ctr2—Principatus^{R2} T—Potestates^{L4} Inf Ctr—Virtutes^{R3}
2B—Archangeli^{R4} 1B—Angeli^{L5}—G^{2b}/G^{2b}/C^{2b}/C^{4b}/C^{4b}/C^{4b}/
F^{4b}/F^{4b}
Compass: 23 notes
Mensuration: o / c / o

Cantus firmus: *Assumpta est maria*: antiphon to the first psalm at Lauds on the Assumption (15 August): 'Mary was assumed into heaven; the rejoicing angels and praising archangels blessed the Lord'. The cantus firmus suggests that E15 was written for the patronal festival (Benham

¹⁹ Cf. Isaiah 10:33–11:1; Khan 2006.

²⁰ On the wider economic and social impact of the *Scala celi* and other indulgences, see Swanson 2007.

²¹ Triplex is uncut.

²² J. B. Trapp, 'Grocyn, William (1449?–1519)', in *ODNB*.

²³ Both parishes were situated in the north-west of the city, between Cheapside and Cripplegate, in the vicinity of the Guildhall.

²⁴ Trapp 1996.

1977, 96), although the college statutes specify *Salve regina* as the seasonal antiphon for Lent.

Text: see Texts pp. 68–69: has tropes 1, 2 and 3

Notes: Excluding partial quotations, the cantus firmus is stated three times, each statement progressively shorter than the previous:

I Tenor: bars 29–53 + 67–74 (o), and bars 102–08 + 156–62 (c)

II Triplex: bars 185–211 (c)

III Tenor: bars 212–end (o)

If Harrison's structural analysis appears to have been based on flawed calculations (Harrison *MMB*, 314–15; cf. Hocking 1995, 128), Wylkynson's textual allusions and graphic presentation have served as the basis for numerous iconographical interpretations. The representation of the nine angelic orders is the common starting point: the Tenor part has a tessitura of nine notes, and the cantus firmus comprises twenty-seven notes ($3 \times 3 \times 3$) (Hocking 1995, 124–29). The Powers, keepers of order within pseudo-Dionysian theology (elaborated by Thomas Aquinas; see also above, E11), serve an analogous contrapuntal function in E15 where they are assigned to the Tenor (Elders 1994, 214–15). The iconography of E15 responded directly to the spatial context of Eton College Chapel (Williamson 2000a). E15 may reflect Wylkynson's personal devotion to the cult of angels (Hocking 1995, 130–34). On the enduring association of angels and song, see Elders 1994, 211ff. in general, and 224–29 on E15 specifically. Although focussed upon art and architecture from an earlier period, Binski 2004 discusses 'music and the angelic' (261–89) and the ritual function of apertures behind images of angels in the west front of Wells Cathedral (which carried the disembodied voices of choristers singing *Gloria laus et honor* on Palm Sunday: 111–12).

The scoring of E15 matches the sequence of angelic orders as given by Pope Gregory in his Homilies on the Gospels, I:1 and II:34, and adopted in the *Golden Legend* (PL: 76, col. 1078–79 and 1249–50; *Golden Legend* 1993, 2, 209); Homily 34 was read during the first two nocturns of Matins on the feast of Michaelmas (Sarum Breviary 3, cols. 867–71). A late fifteenth-century wall painting at Exeter Cathedral, situated between the chapels of the BVM and the Archangel Gabriel and depicting the assumption and coronation of the BVM, follows the Gregorian hierarchy and is in mirror-image of Wylkynson's voices as laid out in ETON (here in ascending order): Angels (RH), Archangels (LH), Virtues (RH), Powers (LH: in armour and carrying spears), Principalities (RH), Dominions (LH), Thrones (RH), Cherubim (LH) and Seraphim (top, above the Holy Trinity) (Hulbert 1994, 27).

The inscription in the Bassus initial (f.6^r/f. 29: 'Robertus Wylkynson cuius anime propicietur deus') either suggests that the composer was dead at the time E15 was copied (Hocking 1995, 128) or was a signature intended by the composer to symbolise E15's status as a personal act of prayer (Elders 1994, 225). Willem Elders suggested that E15 may not have been intended for practical performance, hence its exclusion from the indexes (Elders 1994, 225); the presence of a parchment tag as a finding aid for f. f.4, however, suggests otherwise.

The more cryptic inscription 'disci mori' (f.5^l/f. 27^v, stave 3, Triplex) surely refers to *disce mori*, the title of a fifteenth-century compilation of spiritual instruction formerly attributed to Syon Abbey.²⁵ *Disce mori* draws upon a variety of sources, including *Miroir du Monde*, *Troilus and Criseyde*, Richard Rolle and Walter Hilton (*Scale of Perfection*) (Hudson 1968). In addition to its opening (and eponymous) *ars moriendi*, it comprises sections on the seven deadly sins; temptations and tribulations; penance, satisfaction and prayer; the *Pater noster* and Creed (Patterson 1979, 299). Caxton's *ars moriendi* of 1490 (translated from the French; reprinted by Pynson in 1495) has: 'Quene of heven moder of mercy & refuge of synners I mekeli thee byseche that thou wolte reconsile me to thi dere sone ... He [the dying man] oughte afterwarde yf he maye calle on the holy angellys in sayeng the spirytes of heven[is] angels moche glorious I byseke you that ye woll be assystente wyth me that now bigyn to departe ... O Crysten Soule departe thee fro this worlde whan it shall please god ... and socoure thee the holy angelles of god, the archangelys, the vertues, the potestates, the domynacyons, the trones, the cherubyns and the seraphyns ...' (*Knowe well to dye* 1490, ff. [A.vii]^{r-v} and B.ii^v).

Edition: MB 10, 90–100

Recordings: 1968b, 1977a, 1977b, 1981, 1992b

E16 SALVE REGINA WILLIAM BRYGEMAN

Openings: f.7^l-[^r / f. 8^{l-r} / g.1^l]-^r

Folios: f.6^v, g.1; 36^v, 39; 29^v-30

Indexes: 48; 55

Scribal phase: D

Scoring: 5—[Tr]^{L1} M^{R2} [Ctr]^{L3-R1} T^{L2} B^{R3}—C¹/C²b/C⁴/C⁴b/F⁴b

Compass: 19 notes

Mensuration: ϕ / ? / ϕ

Cantus firmus: *Ommes electi*: antiphon to fifth psalm at First Vespers, All Saints (1 November), and antiphon at memorial of All Saints (Sarum Breviary 2, col. 94): 'All you elect of God, may you be commemorated before God so that, assisted by your prayers, we may be deemed worthy to join you'.

Text: see Texts p. 68–69: has trope 3 on f. g.1 (ff. f.7–f.8 lost)

Notes: E16 was a late addition to ETON, copied in the previously unused gathering f. Brygeman was briefly lay clerk at Eton, for nine months or more until midsummer 1504.²⁶ Brygeman's fleeting presence at Eton College provides a clear *terminus a quo* of 1503–04 for the late stages of ETON. By July 1516, Brygeman took up employment as parish clerk at All Saints, Bristol, bequeathing a substantial collection of polyphony to the church in 1524.²⁷

Edition: MB 12³, 169–72

E17 SALVE REGINA WILLIAM HORWUD

Openings: g.2^{l-r} / g.3^{l-r}

Folios: g.1^v-g.3; 39^v-41; 30^v-32

Indexes: 36; 43 (Horwud)

Scribal phase: A

Scoring: 5—[Tr]^{L1} M^{R2} Ctr^{L3-R1} T^{L2} B^{R3}—G¹/C¹(b)/C³/C³(b)

Compass: 21 notes

Mensuration: ϕ / ϕ / ϕ

Cantus firmus: none

Text: see Texts pp. 68–69: has tropes 1, 2 and 3

Concordance: *GB-Lrcm* 660, f. 118^{r-v} (literal copy and transcription of 'O clemens', bars 110–22 only; made by John Travers before 1798)

Edition: MB 10, 101–07

Recording: 2010

E18 SALVE REGINA RICHARD DAVY

Openings: g.4^{l-r} / g.5^{l-r}

Folios: g.3^v-g.5; 41^v-43; 32^v-34

Indexes: 37; 44

Scribal phase: A

Scoring: 5—[Tr]^{L1} M^{R2} Ctr^{L2} T^{L3-R1} B^{R3}—G²/C²/C⁴b/C⁴⁻⁵(b)/F⁴(b)

Compass: 23 notes

Mensuration: ϕ / ϕ / ϕ

Cantus firmus: none identified

Text: see Texts pp. 68–69: has tropes 1, 2 and 3

Edition: MB 10, 108–15

Recording: 1995b

E19 SALVE REGINA WILLIAM CORNYSH

Openings: g.6^{l-r} / g.7^{l-r}

Folios: g.5^v-g.7; 43^v-45; 34^v-36

Indexes: 38; 45

Scribal phase: A

Scoring: 5—[Tr]^{L1} M^{R2} Ctr^{L3-R1} T^{L2} B^{R3}—G¹b/C¹b/C²b/C³b/C⁵b

Compass: 22 notes

Mensuration: ϕ / ϕ / ϕ

Cantus firmus: none

Text: see Texts pp. 68–69: has tropes 1, 2 and 3

Concordances: CHOIRBOOK 2/i; CARVER, ff. 136^v-41; HARLEY 1709, ff. 51^v-53; *GB-Lbl* 24191, f. 17

Edition: MB 10, 116–23

Recordings: 1988d, 1991, 1997a, 2009

E20 SALVE REGINA JOHN BROWNE

Openings: g.8^{l-r} / h.1^{l-r}

Folios: g.7^v-h.1; 45^v-47; 36^v-38

Indexes: 39; 47 (Brown)

Scribal phase: A

Scoring: 5—[Tr]^{L1} M^{R2} Ctr^{L3-R1} T^{L2} B^{R3}—C¹(b)/C²b/C⁴b/C⁵b/F⁴b

Compass: 21 notes

²⁵ Patterson 1979, Jolliffe 1974, 64: §A.6 ('Unwilfully he deyethe that hath not lerned to deye. Lerne to deye so thou shalt best can lyve'), 114: §I.35(b) (confession), and §119: K.1 (a 'lytil tretise' against 'fleischly affeccyones & alle unthrifti lustis': after Walter Hilton). On the provenance of *Disce mori* manuscript sources, see Doyle 1995, 183–5; also Duffy 1992, 313–27.

²⁶ ECR 61/AR/F/4 (audit roll, Michaelmas 1503–4); the accounts for 1502–3 are lacking. Brygeman was in post on or shortly before 21 September 1503, when he was bequeathed a 'flocbed' by William Vydimore, chaplain (ECR 60/14, 129).

²⁷ Harrison 1969; Bristol All Saints 2004, 284; on 7 July 1516 Brygeman witnessed the will of Richard Wale, merchant of Bristol (Bristol All Saints 2004, 60).

Mensuration: ϕ / ϕ

Cantus firmus: *Maria ergo unxit pedes*: antiphon at Mandatum, Maundy Thursday (see also below concerning Hereford Use): 'Mary anointed the feet of Jesus and wiped them with her hair, and the house was filled with the smell of the ointment' (John 12:3). *Maria unxit* (with Psalm 119:1-16) was one of a series of antiphon-psalm pairs sung in the chapter house during the foot-washing or *Pedilavium*, which included a sermon, Gospel recitation (John 13:16-14:31), and sharing of the loving cup (Antico 1996, 82-80). 'Maria' refers to Mary sister of Martha or alternatively (and more commonly) Mary Magdalen, rather than the BVM.

Text: see Texts pp. 68-69: has tropes 1, 2 and 3

Notes: Two complete statements of the cantus firmus are made, one in perfect and one in imperfect time, each of equal duration (45 breves/longs respectively) (Harrison *MMB*, 313-14).

If 'Johannes Browne Oxoniense' (BUXTON 96) was a chaplain in the household of John de Vere, thirteenth earl of Oxford (Bowers 1995, 190), his choice of cantus firmus may provide a context for the intended performance of E20, given the ritual importance of the Maundy in the royal household and its aristocratic emulators (Kisby 1996, 160-61; Percy 1905, 342-44). This assumes, however, that *Maria ergo unxit* was ritually exclusive to Maundy Thursday.

Sarum Use was unusual in reserving *Maria ergo unxit* solely for the Maundy. In Hereford Use, more congruent with Continental practice, the antiphon was sung to the Magnificat at Second Vespers on the feast of Mary Magdalen (22 July); in the same use, *Maria ergo unxit* was also sung at the memorial of Mary Magdalen (Hereford Breviary 2, 13, 258). Books of Hours, including the earliest printed editions, have the memorial in its Hereford form.²⁸ Whatever the circumstances of its composition, E20 is unlikely to have been sung on Maundy Thursday at Eton, where the *Salve* ceremony was probably omitted during the *Triduum* (ECR 58, 107-08; likewise at St Mary's Abbey, York: Roper 1993, 151). The relevance of *Maria ergo unxit* to Mary Magdalen is suggestive, although there is no evidence of a connection between Browne and Magdalen College, Oxford.

Edition: MB 10, 124-30

Recordings: 1981, 1993, 2005

E21 SALVE REGINA WALTER LAMBE

Openings: h.2^{L-R} / h.3^{L-R}

Folios: h.1^V-h.3; 47^V-49; 38^V-40

Indexes: 40; 46

Scribal phase: A

Scoring: 5—[Tr]^{L1} M^{R2} Ctr^{L3-R1} T^{L2} B^{R3}—G¹/C²/C⁴/C⁴(b)/F⁴b

Compass: 22 notes

Mensuration: ϕ throughout

Cantus firmus: *Salve regina*: melody for antiphon and tropes, paraphrased, with quotations distributed among all voices.

Text: see Texts pp. 68-69: has tropes 1, 2 and 3

Edition: MB 10, 131-39

Recordings: 1951, 1977a, 1995b

E22 SALVE REGINA JOHN SUTTON

Openings: h.4^{L-R} / h.5^{L-R}

Folios: h.3^V-h.5; 49^V-50A; 40^V-42

Indexes: 35; 42

Scribal phase: A

Scoring: 7—[Q]^{L1} Tr^{R2} M^{R3} Sup Ctr^{L4} T^{L2} Inf Ctr^{L3-R1} B^{R4}—G²/C¹b/C³b/C³b/C³⁻⁴b/C⁵/F⁴b

Compass: 23 notes

Mensuration: $\phi / \phi / \phi / \phi$

Cantus firmus: *Libera nos salva nos*: antiphon to sixth psalm at Matins, Trinity Sunday, and antiphon at Memorial of the Holy Trinity after Lauds and Vespers from Trinity to Advent: 'Deliver us, save us, justify us, O blessed Trinity'.

Text: see Texts pp. 68-69: has tropes 1, 2 and 3

Notes: Three statements of the cantus firmus: the first two 32 bars long in Harrison's transcription, the third 16 bars long (Harrison *MMB*, 315).

Libera nos was said daily as part of a suffrage of the Holy Trinity by all members of Eton College as they rose from bed; the antiphon was also sung each night in hall by members of Magdalen College, Oxford.²⁹

²⁸ For instance, Copenhagen, Royal Library, MS Thott 547 4^o ('Bohun Hours', English, c. 1370), f. 13^v; Hoskins, 110: Wynkyn de Worde 1494. On the Use of Hereford, see Caldwell 2000 and Harper 2000.

²⁹ ECR 60: Article 30: antiphon *Libera nos*, versicle *Benedicamus patrem* and collect *Omnipotens sempiterna Deus qui dedisti* (derived from Winchester College statutes: Kirby 1892, 500); Oxford College Statutes II, 52. The two settings of *Libera nos* composed by John Sheppard while at Magdalen are, like E22, in seven parts.

Sutton was a fellow, successively, of both colleges (Magdalen, 1476-77, and Eton, 1477-79).

Edition: MB 11, 1-11

Recording: 2010

E23 SALVE REGINA ROBERT HACOMPLAYNT

Openings: h.6^{L-R} / h.7^{L-R}

Folios: h.5^V-h.7; 50A^V-52; 42^V-44

Indexes: 46 (Hacomplaynt); 49 (Hacomplaynt)

Scribal phase: A

Scoring: 5—[Tr]^{L1} M^{R2} Ctr^{L3-R1} T^{L2} B^{R3}—G²b/C²b/C⁴b/C⁴b/F⁴b

Compass: 22 notes

Mensuration: $\phi / \phi / \phi$

Cantus firmus: unidentified

Text: see Texts pp. 68-69: has tropes 1, 2 and 5

Notes: E23 and E25, by composers with direct associations with Eton

College, share high levels of rhythmic intricacy and both set tropes 1, 2 and 5 (in preference to the more common 1-3). Born c. 1455, Hacomplaynt was a King's Scholar at Eton, 1469-72, during the attenuated early years of the college's re-foundation; he was fellow of King's College, Cambridge, 1475-93 and 1509-28 (latterly as provost). From 1493 until 1507 or slightly later, he appears to have lived far from Cambridge, at his benefice in Prescott, Lancashire:³⁰ E23 was therefore probably composed before 1493.

Edition: MB 11, 12-17

Recording: 1988a

E24 SALVE REGINA NICHOLAS HUCHYN

Openings: h.8^{L-R} / i.1^{L-R}

Folios: h.7^V-i.1; 52^V-54; 44^V-46

Indexes: 45; 51

Scribal phase: A

Scoring: 5—[Tr]^{L1} M^{R2} Ctr^{L3-R1} T^{L2} B^{R3}—C¹/C³/C⁴(b)/C⁴/F⁴(b)

Compass: 22 notes

Mensuration: $\phi / \phi / \phi$

Cantus firmus: *Ne timeas Maria*: antiphon to second psalm at Lauds,

Annunciation (25 March); Magnificat antiphon in Advent, and antiphon to the first psalm at Vespers, octave of the Nativity of the BVM (8 September); antiphon at memorials of the BVM in Advent (Sarum Breviary 1, col. lvi): 'Fear not, Mary, for you have found favour with the Lord; behold you will conceive and bear a son [alleluia].' (Luke 1:30-31).

Text: see Texts pp. 68-69: has tropes 1, 2 and 3

Notes: On textual links between motet and cantus firmus: Hocking 1995, 108-09. Nicholas Huchyn (c.1470-1513x19) spent his whole working life at Trinity College, Arundel (Sussex): chorister in 1476-77; lay clerk in 1485, remaining in post until 1500 or later; he served as instructor of the choristers in 1490-91 (*GB-AR CA/14-19*; *Lambeth 1* (Skinner), 8).

Edition: MB 11, 18-24

Recording: 2010

E25 SALVE REGINA ROBERT WYLKYNSON

Openings: i.2^{L-R} / i.3^{L-R}

Folios: i.1^V-i.3; 54^V-56; 46^V-48

Indexes: 43; 53

Scribal phase: A

Scoring: 5—[Tr]^{L1} M^{R2} Ctr^{L3-R1} T^{L2} B^{R3}—G²(b)/C²/C⁴(b)/C⁴b/F⁴b

Compass: 22 notes

Mensuration: $\phi / \phi / \phi$

Cantus firmus: none

Text: see Texts pp. 68-69: has tropes 1, 2 and 5

Notes: see above, E23

Edition: MB 11, 25-31

Recording: 2010

E26 SALVE REGINA ROBERT FAYRFAX

Openings: i.4^{L-R} / i.5^{L-R}

Folios: i.3^V-i.5; 56^V-58; 48^V-50

Indexes: 41; 54 (ffayrefax)

Scribal phase: A

Scoring: 5—[Tr]^{L1} M^{R2} Ctr^{L3-R1} T^{L2} B^{R3}—G²b/C²b/C⁴b/C⁴b/F⁴b

Compass: 22 notes

Mensuration: ϕ / ϕ

Cantus firmus: none

Text: see Texts pp. 68-69: has tropes 1, 2 and 3

Editions: MB 11, 32-38; CMM 17/ii, 26-35

Recordings: 1966a, 1998a

³⁰ Nick Sandon, 'Hacomblen, Robert (1455/6-1528)', *ODNB*.

- E27** SALVE REGINA RICHARD HYGONS
 Openings: i.6^{L-R} / i.7^{L-R}
 Folios: i.5^v-i.7; 58^v-60; 50^v-52
 Indexes: 42; 50
 Scribal phase: A
 Scoring: 5—[Tr]^{L1} M^{R2} Ctr^{L3-R1} T^{L2} B^{R3}—G¹/C¹/C³/C³/C⁴
 Compass: 22 notes
 Mensuration: φ / φ / φ
 Cantus firmus: 'Caput' melisma to *Venit ad petrum*: antiphon at *Pedilavium* on Maundy Thursday (Harrison 1952, 203-04, 210-14; Antico 1996, 86; see also above, E20).
 Text: see Texts pp. 68-69: has tropes 1, 2 and 3
 Notes: In a recent study Anne Walters Robertson has considered the theological allegories implicit in the 'Caput' melody, in relation to both the earlier fifteenth-century family of masses and Hygons's motet (RobertsonA 2006). 'Caput' alludes not to Maundy Thursday, to which the parent chant was proper, but to the 'caput draconis', or head of Satan crushed underfoot by Christ and the BVM. Imagery of the vanquished dragon punctuated the liturgical year, but was especially prevalent during Ascensiontide, when the dragon's effigy was carried in procession.³¹ Robertson detects an association between E27 and the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception (RobertsonA 2006, 598-600). The piece originally ended at the beginning of bar 204 (MB 11, 45); original *finales* and *fermata* erased.
 Edition: MB 11, 39-45
 Recordings: 1991, 1998b
- E28** SALVE REGINA JOHN BROWNE
 Openings: i.8^{L-R} / k.1^{L-R}
 Folios: i.7^v-k.1; 60^v-62; 52^v-54
 Indexes: 44; 48
 Scribal phase: A
 Scoring: 5—[Tr]^{L1} M^{R2} T^{L2} Ctr^{L3-R1} B^{R3}—C^{2b}/C³(b)/C³(b)/C^{4b}/C^{5b}
 Compass: 15 notes
 Mensuration: φ / φ
 Cantus firmus: *Venit dilectus meus*: see E1 above
 Text: see Texts pp. 68-69: has tropes 1, 2 and 3
 Edition: MB 11, 46-53
- E29** SALVE REGINA JOHN HAMPTON
 Openings: k.2^{L-R} / k.3^{L-R}
 Folios: k.1^v-k.3; 62^v-64; 54^v-56
 Indexes: 47; 52
 Scribal phases: A and Bi (openings k.2 and k.3 respectively)
 Scoring: 5—[Tr]^{L1} M^{R2} Ctr^{L3-R1} T^{L2} B^{R3}—G^{2b}/C^{2b}/C^{4b}/C^{4b}/F^{4b}
 Compass: 22 notes
 Mensuration: φ / φ / φ
 Cantus firmus: *Gaudeamus omnes* (Williamson 1997a, 324): introit at High Mass on several feasts: Thomas of Canterbury (29 December), Agatha (5 February), Translation of St Edmund (9 June), Anne mother of Mary (28 July) and All Saints (1 November). Perhaps most significantly, *Gaudeamus* was sung on four of the Marian feasts: Nativity (8 September), Conception (8 December), Visitation (2 July), and Assumption (15 August): 'Let us all rejoice in the Lord and celebrate this feast day in honour of .N. at whose solemnity/translation/passion/etc. the angels rejoice and praise the Son of God'.
 Text: see Texts pp. 68-69: has tropes 1, 2, 3 and 5
 Edition: MB 11, 54-61
 Recording: 2010
- E30** O DOMINE CELI TERREQUE RICHARD DAVY
 Openings: k.4^{L-R} / k.5^{L-R} / k.6^{L-R}
 Folios: k.3^v-k.6; 64^v-67; 56^v-59
 Indexes: 33; 28 (Davye)
 Scribal phase: Bi
 Scoring: 5—[Tr]^{L1} M^{R2} Ctr^{L3-R1} T^{L2} B^{R3}—G²/C³/C⁴/C⁵/F^{4b}
 Compass: 22 notes
 Mensuration: φ / φ / φ
 Cantus firmus: ?*Symon dormis*: antiphon to Benedictus at Lauds, Wednesday in Holy Week (Hocking 1995, 7): 'Simon Peter, are you are asleep? Could you not have kept watch with me one hour?' (Mark 14:37).
 Text: *RH*, 30402: Unique to E30. Thirty-three lines of varied length and fluid structure, comprising 13 rhyming couplets (lines 1-26), one rhyming tercet (lines 27-29) and a quatrain (lines 30-33), in honour of the Holy Trinity: 'O Lord, creator and redeemer of all, make us servants, gathered here to praise you, venerate also Mary along with the

Holy Trinity. We pray that we who worship the Trinity will be saved from present danger and be united with your saints in heaven. Mary, glory of the world and protector of the church, always help your servants, so that sinners who praise you can benefit from your intercession. O most holy Mary, who received the communion of true religion at Gabriel's salutation, give grace to us your servants, in peril of death, and let us not be denied the same communion; but let us, chaste mother, imitate you and so live with you in eternal glory. Amen'.
 Concordances: CAMBRIDGE UJ, ff. 6^v-8/5-6^v; HARLEY 1709, ff. 22-24^v; Tattershall College, 1498-99 (lost source)³²
 Notes: Harrison also identified the following two antiphons as possible sources for the cantus firmus: *Iratus rex Saul*, antiphon to Magnificat, Saturdays, Trinity to Advent; *Beatus Martinus*, third psalm at Matins during the octave of Martinmas (11 November). The cantus firmus is a common eighth-mode type; Davy's two statements of the melody differ from each other (Benham 1977, 93). E30 was composed in the space of one day at Magdalen College Oxford (f. k.6), and can therefore be dated to 1490-92, when Davy was employed there.

Edition: MB 11, 62-72
 Recordings: 1992b, 2000a

- E31** SALVE IHESU MATER VERA RICHARD DAVY
 Openings: k.7^{L-R} / k.8^{L-R} / l.1^{L-R}
 Folios: k.6^v-l.1; 67^v-70; 59^v-62
 Indexes: 49 (Davye); 41 (Davye)
 Scribal phase: Bi
 Scoring: 5—[Tr]^{L1} M^{R2} Ctr^{L3-R1} T^{L2} B^{R3}—G¹/C¹/C²/C³/C⁵
 Compass: 22 notes
 Mensuration: φ / φ
 Cantus firmus: none
 Text: *RH*, 33114: Unique to E31. Eighteen paired, tail-rhymed tercets (a⁸a⁸b⁷ c⁸c⁸b⁷ etc.): 'Hail true mother of Jesus; we acknowledge your chastity; we believe you surpass the virtues of angels; we call to mind your Son the creator of all. Although fearful when you heard Gabriel, you subjected yourself to the will of the heavenly Father, conceived and were filled with the glory of angels. O Mary, how sorrowful when she beheld him whom you had born abased, flogged, condemned to death—pangs which Mary herself suffered. You, Mary, filled with tears while the jeering crowd taunted your Son, while John heeded his command to care for you; but, when the suffering was over, Christ rising as foretold, sorrow was overcome. Now Mary reigns without sorrow in heaven among its happy citizens. We pray that, after our earthly travails, you will cause us to be the heirs of Christ in heaven'.

Concordances: HARLEY 1709, ff. 31-33.
 Edition: MB 11, 73-82

- E32** STABAT MATER DOLOROSA RICHARD DAVY
 Openings: l.2^{L-R} / l.3^{L-R} / l.4^{L-R}
 Folios: l.1^v-l.4; 70^v-73; 62^v-65
 Indexes: 59; 60 (Davye)
 Scribal phase: Bi
 Scoring: 5—[Tr]^{L1} M^{R2} Ctr^{L3-R1} T^{L2} B^{R3}—G²/C²/C^{4b}(b)/C⁵(b)/F^{4b}(b)
 Compass: 21 notes
 Mensuration: φ / φ
 Cantus firmus: none
 Text: see E5
 Concordances: CAMBRIDGE UJ, ff. 8^v-10/7^v-8^v; HARLEY 1709, ff. 20-21^v
 Edition: MB 11, 83-93
 Recordings: 1982, 1992a

- E33** VIRGO TEMPLUM TRINITATIS RICHARD DAVY
 Openings: l.5^{L-R} / l.6^{L-R} / l.7^{L-R}
 Folios: l.4^v-l.7; 73^v-76; 65^v-68
 Indexes: 61; 65
 Scribal phase: Bi
 Scoring: 5—[Tr]^{L1} M^{R2} Ctr^{L3-R1} T^{L2} B^{R3}—G²/C⁴/C⁴/C⁵/F^{4b}
 Compass: 22 notes
 Mensuration: φ / φ
 Cantus firmus: *O virum ineffabilem*: antiphon to third psalm at Lauds, St Martin (11 November): 'O inestimable man, neither broken by work nor vanquished by death, who neither feared to die nor refused to live' (letter of Sulpicius Severus to his mother-in-law, Bassula, concerning the death of St Martin of Tours; see also E49).
 Text: *RH*, 21899. Twelve stanzas of paired, tail-rhymed tercets (a⁸a⁸b⁷ c⁸c⁸b⁷) on the joys of Mary: i. who, as temple of the Trinity, conceived

³¹ Such rituals took place at Eton: repairs were made to the tail of the dragon in 1506 (ECR 62/1, f. 15, under *Custus ecclesie*).

³² Wathey 1988, 11: '... antiphone *Domine celi et terre de .v. partibus <v d.>*'.

- Christ; 2. who, as an inviolate star, brought forth the sun; 3. who was visited by the three kings who brought three gifts; 4. who, as mother of the risen Christ, can hear the prayers of those who join the heavenly chorus; 5. who witnessed her Son's triumphant ascension; 6. who is strengthened by the Holy Spirit which inspired the apostles; who, being assumed into heaven, was given pre-eminence among the heavenly choirs. The final stanza is an intercession to the BVM to confer goodness, purge sin, and lead the supplicant to eternal joy.
- Concordances: HARLEY 1709, ff. 35–37 (Triplex); *GB-Lbl* 34191, ff. 20–22^v (Bassus, incomplete); *GB-Ome* [printed book] 62. F. 8, f. i (fragmentary index from lost Triplex partbook of c. 1520; E33 was on f. 6)
- Notes: Davy's is the only English setting of this long text, an indulgenced prayer written by Philippe de Grève, chancellor of Paris (d. 1236), and which can be found in numerous Books of Hours, English and Continental, from the mid-fourteenth century onwards (Bisson 1998, 306–83; Sutton/Visser-Fuchs 1990, 56).
- Edition: MB 11, 94–104
- E34** IN HONORE SUMME MATRIS RICHARD DAVY
 Openings: 1.8^{L-R} / m.1^{L-R} / m.2^{L-R}
 Folios: 1.7^v–m.2; 76^v–79; 68^v–71
 Indexes: 23; 26 (Davye)
 Scribal phase: Bi
 Scoring: 5—[Tr]^{L1} M^{R2} Ctr^{L3-R1} T^{L2} B^{R3}—G¹/C¹/C³/C³/C⁵
 Compass: 22 notes
 Mensuration: φ / φ / φ
 Cantus firmus: *Justi in perpetuum vivit*: respond at Second Vespers, All Saints (1 November), and respond at First Vespers, Common of Confessors (outside Eastertide) and third respond at Matins, Feast of Relics: 'The righteous live for evermore; their reward also is with the Lord, and the care of them is with the most High. ¶ Therefore shall they receive a glorious kingdom, and a beautiful crown from the Lord's hand' (Wisdom, 5:15–16).
- Text: *RH*, 28052; Unique to ETON. Fourteen paired, tail-rhymed tercets (a⁸a⁸b⁷ c⁸c⁸b⁷), followed by five couplets of varied lengths: 'In honour of the most exalted mother, let us rejoice in the Lord who miraculously issued from a virgin's womb. The burning bush remains unconsumed; the mother of God remains inviolate. Unperturbed by this, let the mind rejoice at the virgin's conception, achieved through God's infinite power. At God's command, the virgin conceived: who can be so blind as not to believe this? Surely the God who created Adam from clay could thus assume human form. Believe that Christ chose to be born of a virgin so that he could restore us. Son of the virgin, help us; virgin mother, intercede for us; so that your servants be co-heirs of Christ after they leave this sorry world. Amen.'
- Notes: Sandon finds parallels between the final couplet of the motet and the ninth lesson at Matins, All Saints (Antico 1992, iii).
- Editions: MB 11, 105–16; Antico 1992
 Recordings: 1951, 1988c, 1995b, 2009
- E35** O MARIA ET ELIZABETH GILBERT BANASTER
 Openings: m.3^{L-R} / m.4^{L-R} / m.5^{L-R}
 Folios: m.2^v–m.5; 79^v–82; 71^v–74
 Indexes: 30; 34 (Banester)
 Scribal phase: Bi
 Scoring: 5—[Tr]^{L1} M^{R2} Ctr^{L3-R1} T^{L2} B^{R3}—C¹/C³_b/C⁴_b/C⁴_b/F⁴_b
 Compass: 21 notes
 Mensuration: φ / φ
 Cantus firmus: *Regnum mundi*, ninth respond at Matins, Common of Virgins (Hocking 1995, 7; Williamson 2000b): 'I have counted as nothing the kingdom of the world and all transient things of this world, because of the love of my Lord Jesus Christ, whom I have seen and loved, and in which I have believed and delighted. ¶. My heart is inditing of a good matter; I speak of the thing which I have made unto the King' (verse: Psalm 45:1; the refrain is echoed in Dictum 108 of Robert Grosseteste, 1175–1253, Bishop of Lincoln).
- Text: *RH*, 30623; Unique to E35. A long prose text in honour of the visitation, concluding with a prayer for the reigning king (full translation in Williamson 2000b): 'O Mary and Elizabeth, who each conceived miraculously: Mary, by remaining inviolate, like the bush of Moses unconsumed by fire, and Elizabeth, by overcoming sterility, like the flowering rod of Aaron. These holy pregnancies, a wonder of nature, heralded the new work of redemption. Hear our prayers, gentle mother, and convey them to your Son next to whom you sit. Protect our king your defender, that he may rule wisely, defeat his enemies, bring prosperity, and in time be succeeded by his rightful heirs. May his subjects fear God, king and law. May your Son give us sinners grace and forgiveness. Amen'.
- Notes: probably composed in 1486
- Concordances: CHOIRBOOK 2a/iv
 Edition: MB 11, 117–27
 Recordings: 1995a, 2010
- E36** GAUDE FLORE VIRGINALI WILLIAM HORWOOD
 Openings: m.6^{L-R} / m.7^{L-R}
 Folios: m.5^v–m.7; 82^v–84; 74^v–76
 Indexes: 13 (Horwud); 16 (Horwud)
 Scribal phase: Bi
 Scoring: 5—[Tr]^{L1} [M]^{R2} [Ctr]^{L3-R1} [T]^{L2} [B]^{R3}—C¹_b/C³_b/C⁴_b/
 C⁴_b/F⁴_b
 Compass: 21 notes
 Mensuration: φ / φ / φ
 Cantus firmus: none identified
 Text: see Texts p. 70
 Edition: MB 11, 128–40
 Recordings: 1999b, 2010
- E37** GAUDE VIRGO MATER CRISTI WILLIAM HORWOOD
 Openings: m.8^{L-R} / n.1^{L-R}
 Folios: m.7^v–m.8^v; 84^v–85^v; 76^v–77^v
 Indexes: 16 (Horwud); 20 (Horwud)
 Scribal phase: Bi
 Scoring: 5—[Tr]^{L1} [M]^{R2} [Ctr]^{L3-R1} [T]^{L2} [B]^{R3}—G¹/C¹/C³/C³/C⁵
 Compass: 21 notes
 Mensuration: φ / φ
 Cantus firmus: none identified
 Text: see Texts p. 69
 Edition: MB 12, 141–48
- E38** O REGINA CELESTIS GLORIE WALTER LAMBE
 Openings: [n.2^{L-R} / n.3^{L-R} / n.4^{L-R}]
 Indexes: 28; 32
 Scoring: 5
 Compass: 20 notes
 Text: see E6?
 Concordances: ?NEW COLLEGE FRAGMENTS, 368/I, f. 31^v and HARLEY 1709 (ff. 29–30^v) (Sandon 1993). These two sources have concordant readings of an anonymous setting which may, in turn, be identifiable as Lambe's lost setting.
- E39** GAUDE FLORE VIRGINALI WALTER LAMBE
 Openings: [n.5^{L-R} / n.6^{L-R}]
 Indexes: 12; 15
 Scoring: 5
 Compass: 21 notes
- E40** VIRGO GAUDE GLORIOSA WALTER LAMBE
 Openings: [n.7^{L-R} / n.8^{L-R}]
 Indexes: 60; 66
 Scoring: 5
 Compass: 21 notes
- E41** STABAT MATER DOLOROSA ROBERT FAYRFAX
 Openings: [o.1^{L-R} / o.2^{L-R}]
 Indexes: 52 (ffayrefax); 57
 Scoring: 5
 Compass: 21 notes
- E42** AVE CUIUS CONCEPCIO ROBERT FAYRFAX
 Openings: [o.3^{L-R} / o.4^{L-R}]
 Indexes: 5 (ffayrefax); 4 (ffayrefax)
 Scoring: 5
 Compass: 22 notes
 Text: Almost certainly *RH*, 1744 (q.v. Blackburn 1997).
 Concordance: ?HARLEY 1709, 42^v–44 (anon): see Sandon 1993, 371–75
- E43** QUID CANTEMUS INNOCENTES ROBERT FAYRFAX
 Openings: [o.5^{L-R} / o.6^{L-R} / o.7^{L-R}]
 Indexes: 34 (ffayrefax); 38 (ffayrefax)
 Scoring: 5
 Compass: 21 notes
- E44** GAUDE FLORE VIRGINALI JOHN DUNSTAPLE
 Openings: [o.8^{L-R} / p.1^{L-R}]
 Indexes: 9 (Dunstable); 12 (Dunstable)
 Scoring: 5
 Compass: 21 notes
 Concordance: ?*GB-Lbl* 54324, ff. 3^v–4^v (Bent/Bent 1969)

- E45** AVE LUX TOCIUS MUNDI JOHN BROWNE
 Openings: [p.2^{L-R} / p.3^{L-R} / p.4^{L-R}]
 Indexes: 4; 6
 Scoring: 5
 Compass: 21 notes
- E46** GAUDE FLORE VIRGINALI JOHN BROWNE
 Openings: [p.5^{L-R} / p.6^{L-R}]
 Indexes: 11; 17
 Scoring: 5
 Compass: 22 notes
- E47** STABAT MATER DOLOROSA WILLIAM CORNYSH
 Openings: [p.7^{L-R} / p.8^{L-R}]
 Indexes: 54 (Cornysch); 59 (Cornysch)
 Scoring: 5
 Compass: 21 notes
- E48** STABAT MATER DOLOROSA WILLIAM CORNYSH
 Openings: [q.1^{L-R} / q.2^{L-R} / q.3^{L-R}]
 Folios: q.1-q.3; 88-90; 78-80
 Indexes: 53(Cornysch); 58 (Cornysch)
 Scribal phase: Bii
 Scoring: 5—[Tr]^{L1} M^{R2} Ctr^{L2} T^{L3-R1} B^{R3}—G²/C²/C⁴/F⁴
 Compass: 23 notes
 Mensuration: ϕ throughout
 Cantus firmus: none
 Text: see E5
 Edition: MB 11, 137-48
 Recordings: 1988d, 1992a
- E49** GAUDE VIRGO SALUTATA (RICHARD) FAWKYNER
 Openings: q.4^{L-R} / q.5^{L-R}
 Folios: q.3^v-q.5; 90^v-92; 80^v-82
 Indexes: 18; 25
 Scribal phase: Bii
 Scoring: 5—[Tr]^{L1} [M]^{R2} [Ctr]^{L3-R1} [T]^{L2} [B]^{R3}—G²/C²/C⁴/C⁴/F⁴
 Compass: 22 notes
 Mensuration: ϕ / ϕ
 Cantus firmus: *Martinus abrahe sinu*: antiphon to fifth psalm at Lauds, Martinmas (11 November): 'Martin is joyfully received into the bosom of Abraham; Martin, poor and humble here on earth, is richly received into heaven and honoured with heavenly hymnody' (letter of Sulpicius Severus to his mother-in-law, Bassula, concerning the death of St Martin of Tours; see also E33).
 Text: Unique to ETON, although shares same incipit as RH, 7029. Sixteen paired, tail-rhymed tercets (a⁸a⁸b⁷ c⁸c⁸b⁷ etc.), each of the eight pairs beginning 'Gaude': 'Rejoice saluted virgin to whom the foremost archangel said "Hail, full of grace"; rejoice, for you conceived intact Jesus Christ; rejoice, you who saluted Elizabeth who bore your Son's precursor; rejoice, you whose childbirth inspired the journey of the three Magi; rejoice, you who fled with Joseph into Egypt lest your Son perish; rejoice, you whose Son's disputations in the temple of Solomon excited the admiration of the elders; rejoice, mother of Christ, who after this life was accorded an honoured seat in the heavens; rejoice, you through whom proffered prayers are relayed to your Son: give us a place in heaven, we pray, so that we do not utterly perish. Amen'.
 Edition: MB 11, 149-61
 Recording: 2010
- E50** GAUDE ROSA SINE SPINA (RICHARD) FAWKYNER
 Openings: q.6^{L-R} / q.7^{L-R} / q.8^{L-R}
 Folios: q.5^v-q.8; 92^v-95; 82^v-85
 Indexes: 19; 23
 Scribal phase: Bii
 Scoring: 5—[Tr]^{L1} M^{R2} Ctr^{L3-R1} T^{L2} B^{R3}—G²/C²/C⁴(b) / C⁴(b)/F⁴
 Compass: 22 notes
 Mensuration: o ϕ / c ϕ
 Cantus firmus: No match found by Harrison, but almost certainly *Passionem gloriose virginis*: antiphon to first psalm at Lauds, St Katherine (25 November): 'The people devoutly commemorate the passion of the glorious virgin Katherine; whereby she commends them to God and assists with her favours'.
 Text: RH, 27118. Fourteen paired, tailed-rhymed tercets (a⁸a⁸b⁷ c⁸c⁸b⁷ etc.): 'Rejoice, rose without thorns, virgin, morning star, outshining heaven; there is no taint of sin in you, but all the gifts of grace, as you bore God while remaining inviolate. She it is who crushed the ser-
- pent, dispelling the sins of Eve; she is the defender from the enemy, the healer of the sick. Rejoice, mother unsurpassed in angelic honour; you, queen, hold the sceptre and sit beside the king in heaven; on your head a golden, jewelled, shining crown. The angelic host unceasingly sings your praises. A worthy mother of God, you grant the prayers of your votaries: do not desert us. And so I beseech you to reconcile to Christ those who sing your praises; let the heavens be opened so that we join you forever. Amen'.
 Notes: Allusion to the unblemished BVM who 'crushed the serpent' is evidently 'immaculist' (see above, E27; RobertsonA 2006, 601-02). Fawkyner's polyphony, as Harrison noted, is overtly serpentine (bars 92-93; Harrison MMB, 322).
 Edition: MB 11, 162-74
 Recordings: 1968b, 2009
- E51** GAUDE FLORE VIRGINALI EDMUND TURGES
 Openings: r.1^{L-R} / r.2^{L-R}
 Folios: q.8^v-r.2; 95^v-97; 85^v-87
 Indexes: 10; 13
 Scribal phase: Bii
 Scoring:³³ 5—[Q]^{L1} Tr^{L3-R1} M^{R2} T^{L2} B^{R3}—G²/C¹/C²/C⁴/F⁴
 Compass: 22 notes
 Mensuration: c ϕ / o ϕ
 Cantus firmus: none, but see 'Notes' below
 Text: see Texts p. 70
 Notes: The unusual scoring, dominated by unbroken boys' voices, suggests that E51 was written for New College, Oxford, where Turges (probably) served as chaplain in 1507-08, and where fragments of E51 were discovered in the 1960s (Bowers 1987, 66; citing NEW COLLEGE FRAGMENTS, which transmit a variant form of the counter-verse at bars 48-51; MB 12, 2). Benham has observed numerous motivic correspondences between E51 and Turges's carol, 'From stormy wyndis' (q.v. above under E8) and between both E51 and E64 and Turges's Mass pair in RITSON (f. 112) (Benham 1999, 49-51): all appear to show a penchant for melodic cells built upon interlocking fourths.
 Concordance: NEW COLLEGE FRAGMENTS, 368/1, f. 38^{r-v}
 Edition: MB 12, 1-9
- E52** NESCIENS MATER WALTER LAMBE
 Opening: r.3^{L-R}
 Folios: r.2^v-r.3; 97^v-98; 87^v-88
 Indexes: 24; 27
 Scribal phase: D
 Scoring: 5—[Tr]^{L1} M^{R2} Ctr^{L3-R1} T^{L2} B^{R3}—C¹/C³/C⁴/C⁴/F⁴
 Compass: 22 notes
 Mensuration: o ϕ
 Cantus firmus: *Nesciens mater*: one of the rotating series of antiphons sung at the memorial of the Nativity after Matins and Vespers during the octave of Christmas, and Magnificat antiphon at Vespers of the BVM from the octave of the Epiphany until the Purification.
 Text: As above: 'The virgin mother, untouched by a man, bore the Saviour without birth-pangs; alone the Virgin suckled the very King of angels, filled with heavenly nourishment'.
 Edition: MB 12, 10-13
 Recordings: 1968b, 1981, 1994a, 2000a
- E53** SALVE DECUS CASTITATIS ROBERT WYLKYNSON
 Opening: r.4^{L-R}
 Folios: r.3^v; 98^v; 88^v
 Indexes: 50; 40
 Scribal phase: D
 Scoring: 5—[Tr]^{L1} [Ctr]^{L3-R1} [T]^{L2}—G²/C⁴/C⁴
 Compass: 22 notes
 Mensuration: o / ϕ
 Cantus firmus: none identified
 Text: RH, 33081; Unique to E53. Four paired, tail-rhymed tercets (a⁸a⁸b⁷c⁸c⁸b⁷ d⁸d⁸e⁷f⁸f⁸e⁷): 'Hail, jewel of chastity, fountainhead of piety, flower and gem of virgins; mother of Christ, temple of God, way of life, door of hope, the life and salvation of mankind. Flower among thorns and rose of the world, but we the impure and unclean, mired in iniquity, may we benefit from your intercession, and let us not be damned: may you be unto us a remedy. Amen'.
 Notes: Off-set of red 'W' (for Wylkynson) from now-missing f. r.4 visible on r.3^v.
 Concordances: None extant; E53 was almost certainly the 'Wylkynsons

³³ MB 12 has Tr1/Tr2/M/T/B, although Voice II has no 'Secundus' designation. ETON consistently has 'Primus/Secundus' designations for voices with the same ranges and clefs.

Salve decus listed among the contents of a set of six partbooks at King's College, Cambridge, in 1529 (Harrison *MMB*, 432–33); the same set also contained music by Walter Lambe (E46?), Horwood (E36 or E37), Hacomplaynt (a 'Gaude': not E23), Dunstaple and Fayrfax.

Edition: MB 12, 173–75

E54 ASCENDIT CRISTUS NICHOLAS HUCHYN
 Openings: [r.5^{L-R} / r.6^{L-R}]
 Folios: r.6; 99; 89
 Indexes: 1 (Houchyn); 7 (Huchyne)
 Scribal phase: D
 Scoring: 5—M^{R2} Ctr^{L3-R1} B^{R3}—C¹/C³/C⁴
 Compass: 21 notes
 Mensuration: cφ
 Cantus firmus: none

Text: Antiphon to Magnificat at First Vespers on the Assumption (15 August), and one of four antiphons available for performance on entry to the quire at procession at Vespers on Saturdays, from the octave of the Assumption until the Nativity of the BVM (8 September): 'Christ ascended to the heavens and prepared a place of immortality for his most chaste mother; and this is that same famed feast, exceeding those of all other saints, in which, glorious and happy, she entered her heavenly bridal chamber among the astonished heavenly company'.

Edition: MB 12, 175–76

E55 O MATER VENERABILIS JOHN BROWNE
 Openings: r.7^{L-R} / r.8^{L-R} / s.1^{L-R}
 Folios: r.6^v–r.8^v; 99^v–101^v; 89^v–91^v
 Indexes: 31 (Brown); 35
 Scribal phase: D
 Scoring: 5—[Tr]^{L1} [M]^{R2} [Ctr]^{L3-R1} [T]^{L2} [B]^{R3}—C^{2b}/C^{4b}/C^{4b}/F^{3b}/F^{4b}
 Compass: 18 notes
 Mensuration: oφ / cφ
 Cantus firmus: none

Text: *RH*, 30703; Unique to E55. Twelve paired, tail-rhymed tercets (a⁸a⁸b⁷ c⁸c⁸b⁷ etc.), followed by a thirteenth single tercet: 'O venerable mother with whom all is loving, how you suffered when the vilest Judas so criminally betrayed your Son, O true mother of Christ. They led Christ that night to Pilate, like a lamb to slaughter; they maliciously spat upon Him, crowned His head with thorns. "O king of the Jews" cried the laughing crowd of Hebrews. He was brought before Pilate who was petitioned to pass sentence of death. The request was granted, and so He was led away to be nailed to the cross; He cried out for thirst and was offered gall to drink. Then the voice of Christ was heard to cry, racked with pain, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" Then He died to the confusion of demons and for our redemption, and the earth opened up to receive Him. O Mary, make us to remember with you and to reign with you in glory. Amen'.

Notes: On the anti-Semitic overtones of Passion stories see Rubin 2009, 243–55. On the meaning of the armed-man initial, see *Illuminated Initials and Marginalia* p. 33.

Edition: MB 11, 14–23

Recordings: 1966b, 2010

E56 AD TE PURISSIMA VIRGO WILLIAM CORNYSH
 Openings: [s.2^{L-R} / ?]
 Indexes: 0; 2
 Scoring: 5
 Compass: 22 notes

E57 AVE LUMEN GRACIE ROBERT FAYRFAX
 Openings: t.5^{L-R} / t.6^{L-R}
 Folios: t.4^v–t.5^v; 103^v–104^v; 92^v–93^v
 Indexes: 0; 1 (ffayrefax)
 Scribal phase: D
 Scoring: 4—[Ctr1]^{L1} [Ctr2]^{R1} [T]^{L2} [B]^{R2}—C^{4b}/C^{4b}/C^{5b}/F^{4b}
 Compass: 14 notes
 Mensuration: oφ / c
 Cantus firmus: none

Text: *RH*, 1866; *AH* 32, 27; Pothier 1903, 55–58. *AH* and Pothier (the latter drawn from *F-Pn* lat. 1063; psalter, French, 1417) have 14 six-line stanzas (rhyming a⁷a⁷b⁶a⁷a⁷b⁶ c⁷c⁷d⁶c⁷d⁶ etc.), of which E57 has 1–6 and 13–14 (with slight variants and errors). The first eight stanzas list Mary's attributes: 'Hail, light of grace, fount of mercy, fruitful virgin; root of modesty, hope of eternal glory, blessed queen. Hail, venerable and admirable mother through whom light dawns; incomparable flower, ineffable splendour, happy door to heaven. Hail new joy, begin-

ning of salvation, true light, etc.'. The final six stanzas are petitions: 'Therefore come to me and raise me up, sweet mother of God; with your accustomed piety, petition Christ for me (13). May my misdeeds be overlooked through your prayers, author of piety; and, once my sins are washed away, may I live among the saints. Amen' (14).

Concordance: *GB-Lbl* 5054, ff. 93–96 (transcription, Henry Needler, before 1760)

Editions: MB 12, 146–49; CMM 17/ii, 23–25

Recording: 1996 (extract)

E58 O VIRGO VIRGINUM PRECLARA WALTER LAMBE
 Openings: [t.7^{L-R}]
 Indexes: 0; 37
 Scoring: 4
 Compass: 14 notes

E59 GAUDE VIRGO MATER CRISTI ROBERT WYLKYNSON
 Openings: [t.8^{L-R} / v.1^{L-R}]
 Folios: t.8–v.1; 107–108; 94–95
 Indexes: 17; 21
 Scribal phase: D
 Scoring: 4—[Ctr1]^{L1} [Ctr2]^{R1} [T]^{L2} [B]^{R2}—C^{4b}/C^{4b}/C^{5b}/F^{4b}
 Compass: 14 notes
 Mensuration: o / c
 Cantus firmus: none
 Text: see Texts p. 69
 Edition: MB 12, 150–53

E60 STABAT VIRGO MATER CRISTI JOHN BROWNE
 Openings: v.2^{L-R} / v.3^{L-R}
 Folios: v.1^v–v.3; 108^v–110; 95^v–97
 Indexes: 57; 63
 Scribal phase: D
 Scoring: 4—[Ctr1]^{L1} [Ctr2]^{R1} [T]^{L2} [B]^{R2}—C^{3(b)}/C^{3(b)}/C^{4b}/C^{5b}
 Compass: 14 notes
 Mensuration: o / c
 Cantus firmus: *Regali ex progenie*: antiphon to third psalm at Lauds, Nativity and Conception of the BVM (8 September and 8 December respectively): 'Sprung from royal lineage, Mary shines forth; most devoutly in mind and spirit, we ask her to assist us'.

Text: see E7

Edition: MB 12, 24–31

E61 STELLA CELI WALTER LAMBE
 Openings: v.4^{L-R} / v.5^{L-R}
 Folios: v.3^v–v.5; 110^v–112; 97^v–99
 Indexes: 58; 64
 Scribal phase: D
 Scoring: 4—[Tr]^{L1} [M]^{R1} [T]^{L2} [B]^{R2}—C²/C³/C⁴/C⁵
 Compass: 15 notes
 Mensuration: o / cφ
 Cantus firmus: none
 Text: see Texts p. 71

Notes: E61 may have been written in response to an outbreak of the plague that afflicted Windsor and Eton in 1479 (Bowers 2000, 200 and 210); in which case, this is among Lambe's earlier compositions.

Edition: MB 12, 32–36

Recordings: 1981, 1992b

E62 ASCENDIT CRISTUS WALTER LAMBE
 Openings: v.6^{L-R} / v.7^{L-R}
 Folios: v.5^v–v.7; 112^v–114; 99^v–101
 Indexes: 2; 3
 Scribal phase: D
 Scoring: 4—[Ctr1]^{L1} [Ctr2]^{R1} [T]^{L2} [B]^{R2}—C^{4b}/C^{4b}/C^{5b}/F^{4b}
 Compass: 14 notes
 Mensuration: oφ / cφ
 Cantus firmus: *Ascendit cristus*: see E54
 Text: see E54
 Edition: MB 12, 37–41

E63 GAUDE FLORE VIRGINALI WALTER LAMBE
 Openings: l.v.8^{L-R} / x.1^{L-R}
 Folios: v.7–x.1; 114^v–116; 101^v–103
 Indexes: 21; 18
 Scribal phase: D
 Scoring: 4—[M]^{L1} T^{R1} Ctr^{L2} B^{R2}—C^{3(b)}/C³⁻⁴/C⁴/C⁵
 Compass: 13 notes

Mensuration: o (Tenor in *proportio dupla*) / cφ
 Cantus firmus: not identified
 Text: see Texts p. 70
 Edition: MB 12, 42–48

E64 GAUDE FLORE VIRGINALI EDMUND TURGES
 Openings: x.2^{L-R} / x.3^{L-R}
 Folios: x.1^v-x.3; 116^v-118; 103^v-105
 Indexes: 14; 14
 Scribal phase: D
 Scoring: 4—[Ctr1]^{L1} [Ctr2]^{R1} T^{L1} B^{R2}—C^{4b}/C^{4b}/C^{5b}/F^{4b}
 Compass: 14 notes
 Mensuration: oφ / cφ
 Cantus firmus: none
 Text: see Texts p. 70
 Notes: See above, E51. Like E2, E64 is based on a heptadic plan: total duration is 287 breves (41 × 7); φ comprises 105 breves (15 × 7) and φ is 182 breves (26 × 7); durations of texturally-differentiated sections are also based on multiples of seven (see Benham 1999, 51–52).
 Edition: MB 12, 49–56
 Recording: 2010

E65 AVE MARIA MATER DEI WILLIAM CORNYSH
 Openings: x.4^{L-R}
 Folios: x.3^v-x.4; 118^v-119; 105^v-106
 Indexes: 3 (Cornysch); 5 (Cornysch)
 Scribal phase: D
 Scoring: 4—[M]^{L1} [Ctr]^{R1} [T]^{L1} [B]^{R2}—C³/C⁴/C⁴/C^{5b}
 Compass: 15 notes
 Mensuration: cφ
 Cantus firmus: none
 Text: The same text, used in E65 and PETERHOUSE (see below p. 76), is a variant of a fifteenth-century Book of Hours text as found in *GB-Ob* Gough liturg. 3, f. 58^v (Skinner 1997b, 17):³⁴ ‘Hail Mary, mother of God, queen of heaven, empress of hell; have mercy on me and all Christian people; let us not be led into mortal sin, but let us fulfil your most holy will. Amen’.
 Concordances: *GB-Lbl* 5054, ff. 89–92 (transcription, Henry Needler, before 1760); *GB-Lcam* 660, ff. 114–115^v/116–117^v (literal copy/transcription, John Travers, 1798).
 Notes: One other English setting of this text survives, by Robert Hunt, in PETERHOUSE with one textual variant (‘miserere nostri’ in place of the first person ‘miserere mei’).
 Editions: MB 12, 57–58; Skinner 1997b, 13–17.
 Recordings: 1965, 1968b, 1978, 1980, 1981, 1988b, 1988d, 1992b, 1994b, 1997a, 2000b

E66 GAUDE VIRGO MATER CRISTI WILLIAM CORNYSH
 ... OSTENDISTI
 Openings: x.5^{L-R} / x.6^{L-R}
 Folios: x.4^v-x.6; 119^v-121; 106^v-108
 Indexes: 22; 22
 Scribal phase: D
 Scoring: 4—[Ctr1]^{L1} [Ctr2]^{R1} [T]^{L2} [B]^{R2}—C^{4b}/C^{4b}/C^{5b}/F^{4b}
 Compass: 14 notes
 Mensuration: o / cφ
 Cantus firmus: none
 Text: unique to E66. The first line is borrowed from *Gaude virgo mater cristi* ... *concepisti* (see Texts p. 67) but the remainder is an affective and direct exhortation to the devout to ask for Mary’s intercession in six paired quintains (a⁸a⁸a⁸b⁷ c⁸c⁸c⁸b⁷ etc.): ‘The BVM, who has herself known grief, will turn away no-one in need; let her therefore favourably imbue the oppressed with hearts moved to pious pity; having been sorely tried, she raises those sunk in corruption to the highest eminences. Miserable sinner, why should you fear to prostrate yourself in prayer to her, weeping and beating your breast, knowing that she will not reject those in despair? Tender virgin, ever mother to the errant, may I heed you while living, and let all who sojourn here return, saying, “Console us who groan, who put our trust in you, we who are in peril of death”’.
 Notes: The fifth stanza is an anomalous quatrain: a line is probably missing.
 Edition: MB 12, 59–62
 Recordings: 1982, 1997a

³⁴ Ave et gaude pia Maria mater Dei et Domini nostri Iesu Christi, regina celi, domina mundi, imperatrix inferni, mater casti consilii; miserere mei et totius populi Christiani et permittas me mortaliter peccare, sed tuam sanctissimam voluntatem adimplere. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

E67 GAUDE VIRGO SALUTATA (ROBERT) HOLYNGBORNE
 Openings: x.7^{L-R} / x.8^{L-R} / y.1^{L-R}
 Folios: x.6^v-x.8^v; 121^v-123^v; 108^v-110^v
 Indexes: 20; 24 (Holyborne: no macron over y)
 Scribal phase: D
 Scoring: 4—[Ctr]^{L1} [T]^{R1} [B1]^{L2} [B2]^{R2}—C^{4b}/C^{5b}/F^{4b}/F^{4b}
 Compass: 15 notes
 Mensuration: o / cφ
 Cantus firmus: none
 Text: see E49
 Edition: MB 12, 154–60

E68 ET EXULTAVIT JOHN BROWNE
 Openings: [y.2^{L-R} / y.3^{L-R} / y.4^{L-R}]
 Indexes: 0; 67
 Scoring: 7
 Compass: 22 notes

E69 ET EXULTAVIT RICHARD DAVY
 Openings: [y.5^{L-R} / y.6^{L-R} / y.7^{L-R}]
 Indexes: 0; 69 (Davye)
 Scoring: 5
 Compass: 22 notes

E70 ET EXULTAVIT (JOHN) NESBETT
 Openings: [y.8^{L-R} / z.1^{L-R}]
 Folios: z.1; 124; 111
 Indexes: 0; 68
 Scribal phase: C
 Scoring: 5—[Tr] [M]^{R2} [Ctr]^{L3-R1} [T] [B]^{R3}—[G^{1b}]/C¹/C³/[C³]/C⁵
 Compass: 22 notes
 Mensuration: [o] / φ / φ

Based on: Faburden melody for Psalm Tone VIII (solemn form), with fourth ending (see Hocking 1995, 181, concerning the identification of canticle tones in E70–E75 and E79).

Text: NT canticle (Luke 1:46–55), sung at Vespers, with doxology. Only the even-numbered verses were set to polyphony;³⁵ odd-numbered verses (in square brackets) were either sung, whether to the relevant plainsong tone or in faburden, or rendered as organ versets. E70 is typical of early Tudor Magnificat settings in terms of its mensuration scheme and scoring (for instance, in using reduced scoring for the fourth verse, ‘Quia fecit michi magna’):

‘[My soul doth magnify the Lord].
 And my spirit hath rejoiced: in God my Saviour. (o)
 [For He hath regarded: the lowliness of his handmaiden.]
 For He that is mighty hath magnified me: and holy is his name. (o)
 [For behold from henceforth: all generations shall call me blessed.]
 He hath shewed strength with his arm: he hath scattered the proud
 in the imagination of their hearts. (φ)
 [He hath put down the mighty from their seat:
 and hath exalted the humble and meek.]
 He hath filled the hungry with good things:
 and the rich he hath sent empty away. (φ)
 [He remembering his mercy: hath holpen his servant Israel.]
 As he promised to our forefathers:
 Abraham and his seed for ever. (o)
 [Glory be to the Father, and to the Son: and to the Holy Ghost.]
 As it was in the beginning, is now and ever shall be:
 world without end. Amen.’ (o).

Notes: On faburden in general, and *alternatim* Magnificat settings in particular: *inter alia*, Harrison 1962, *NG2*, *EECM* 4 and *EECM* 6.

Concordance: CARVER, ff. 119^v-123
 Edition: MB 12, 63–68
 Recordings: 1968b, 1988b, 1993, 1994a

E71 ET EXULTAVIT WILLIAM HORWOOD
 Openings: z.2^{L-R} / z.3^{L-R}
 Folios: z.1^v-z.3; 124^v-126; 111^v-113
 Indexes: 0; 71 (Horwud)
 Scribal phase: C
 Scoring: 5—[Tr]^{L1} M^{R2} Ctr^{L3-R1} T^{L2} B^{R3}—G²/C²/C⁴/C⁴/F⁴
 Compass: 23 notes
 Mensuration: φ / φ / φ
 Based on: faburden melody: Tone VIII, fourth ending
 Text: see E70

³⁵ In contrast to contemporary Continental settings, where the *odd*-numbered verses were set to polyphony.

- Notes: 'In a re' (f. a.1); 'This key In a re' (f. z.2): see Gutter Images.
Edition: MB 12, 69-77
Recording: 1997c
- E72** ET EXULTAVIT HUGH KELLYK
Openings: z.4^{L-R} / z.5^{L-R} / z.6^{L-R}
Folios: z.3^V-z.5; 126^V-129; 113^V-116
Indexes: 0; 70
Scribal phase: C
Scoring: 5—[Tr]^{L1} [M]^{R2} Ctr^{L3-R1} T^{L2} [B]^{R3}—G¹/C¹/C³/C³/C⁴
Compass: 22 notes
Mensuration: oφ / φ / φ
Based on: faburden melody for Tone VIII, fourth ending
Text: see E70
Edition: MB 12, 78-87
- E73** ET EXULTAVIT WALTER LAMBE
Openings: z.7^{L-R} / z.8^{L-R}
Folios: z.6^V-z.8; 129^V-131; 116^V-118
Indexes: 0; 73
Scribal phase: C
Scoring: 5—[Tr]^{L1} [M]^{R2} [Ctr]^{L3-R1} [T]^{L2} [B]^{R3}—C¹/C³/C⁴/C⁴/F⁴♭
Compass: 21 notes
Mensuration: φ / φ / φ
Based on: freely composed, but congruent with Tone VIII
Text: see E70
Concordances: CARVER, ff. 127^V-32
Edition: MB 12, 88-95
Recordings: 1980, 2009
- E74** ET EXULTAVIT JOHN BROWNE
Openings: aa.1^{L-R} / aa.2^{L-R}
Folios: z.8^V; 131^V; 118^V
Indexes: 0; 75
Scribal phase: C
Scoring: 5—[Tr]^{L1} [T]^{L2} [Ctr]^{L3}—G¹/C³/C³
Compass: 22 notes
Mensuration: φ / φ
Based on: faburden melody for Tone I, eighth ending
Text: see E70
Edition: MB 12, 177-8
- E75** ET EXULTAVIT 'REGALE' ROBERT FAYRFAX
Openings: [aa.3^{L-R} / aa.4^{L-R}]
Indexes: 0; 72 (ffayrefax)
Scoring: 5
Compass: 22 notes
Cantus firmus: faburden melody for Tone VIII, first ending, transposed down a fifth
Text: see E70
Notes: Lost from ETON, but 'regale' written in complete index (f. a.1).
Concordances: GB-Ob Lat. liturg. a. 9, ff. 5-6^V; LAMBETH, ff. 66^V-69; CAIUS, pp. 118-21; CAMBRIDGE UJ, ff. 31^V-32/34^V; GB-Lbl 24191, f. 45 (incomplete); PETERHOUSE, ff. 89/80^V/98^V/78b^V
Editions: MB 12, 96-103; Fayrfax Series; CMM 17/ii, 96-103; RRM 69, 54-69
Recordings: 1953 (extracts), 1991, 1999a
- E76** ET EXULTAVIT WILLIAM BRYGEMAN
Openings: [aa.5^{L-R} / aa.6^{L-R}]
Indexes: 0; 80
Scoring: 5
Compass: 19 notes
- E77** ET EXULTAVIT ROBERT WYLKYNSON
Openings: [aa.7^{L-R}]
Indexes: 0; 78
Scoring: 5
Compass: 22 notes
- E78** ET EXULTAVIT (JOHN or ROBERT) MYCHELSON
Openings: [aa.8^{L-R}]
Indexes: 0; 79
Scoring: 5
Compass: 22 notes
- E79** ET EXULTAVIT ROBERT WYLKYNSON
Openings: [bb.1^L]^R / [bb.2^L]^R
Folios: bb.1^V; 134^V; 119^V
- Indexes: 0; 7
Scribal phase: C
Scoring: 6—[Tr]^{L1} [M]^{R1} Ctr^{L3} Tr^{L2} T^{2R2} [B]^{R3}—G¹/C¹/C³/C³/C⁴/C⁵♯
Compass: 22 notes
Mensuration: φ / c / oφ
Based on: Faburden melodies for Tone IV, second ending, and Tone V, first ending; sung simultaneously (Williamson 2010, 174-84).
Text: see E70
Edition: MB 12, 179-83
- E80** ET EXULTAVIT WILLIAM CORNYSH
Openings: [bb.3^{L-R} / bb.4^{L-R}]
Indexes: 0; 74 (Cornysch)
Scoring: 5
Compass: 23 notes
- E81** ET EXULTAVIT JOHN BROWNE
Openings: [bb.5^{L-R} / bb.6^{L-R} / bb.7^{L-R}]
Indexes: 0; 76
Scoring: 5
Compass: 22 notes
- E82** ET EXULTAVIT (JOHN) SYGAR
Openings: [bb.8^L]^R / cc.1^L]^R
Folios: bb.8^V; 135^V; 120^V
Indexes: 0; 81
Scribal phase: D
Scoring: 4—[Tr]^{L1} [Ctr]^{R1} [T]^{L2} [B]^{R2}—C¹/C³/C⁴/F⁴(b)³⁶
Compass: 21 notes
Mensuration: oφ / cφ / oφ
Based on: freely composed
Text: see E70
Edition: MB 12, 184-87
- E83** ET EXULTAVIT JOHN BROWNE
Openings: [cc.2^{L-R} / cc.3^{L-R}]
Indexes: 0; 82
Scoring: 4
Compass: 22 notes
- E84** ET EXULTAVIT EDMUND TURGES
Openings: [cc.4^{L-R} / cc.5^{L-R}]
Indexes: 0; 73
Scoring: 4
Compass: 21 notes
- E85** ET EXULTAVIT EDMUND TURGES
Openings: [cc.6^{L-R} / cc.7^{L-R}]
Indexes: 0; 84
Scoring: 4
Compass: 17 notes
- E86** ET EXULTAVIT (JOHN) BALDWYN
Openings: [cc.8^{L-R} / dd.1^{L-R}]
Indexes: 0; 85
Scoring: 4
Compass: 22 notes
- E87** ET EXULTAVIT (JOHN) SYGAR
Openings: [dd.2^{L-R} / dd.3^{L-R}]
Indexes: 0; 86
Scoring: 4
Compass: 22 notes
- E88** ET EXULTAVIT (JOHN) BALDWYN
Openings: [dd.4^{L-R} / dd.5^{L-R}]
Indexes: 0; 87
Scoring: 4
Compass: 22 notes
- E89** ET EXULTAVIT EDMUND TURGES
Openings: [dd.6^{L-R} / dd.7^{L-R}]
Indexes: 0; 88
Scoring: 4
Compass: 14 notes

³⁶ The first four staves of the Bassus originally had ♭ signature; all but the first were subsequently erased.

- E90** ET EXULTAVIT RICHARD DAVY
 Openings: [dd.8^{l-r} / ee.1^l]^{-r}
 Folios: 138; 121
 Indexes: 0; 90 (Davye)
 Scribal phase: D
 Scoring: 4—[?Ctr2]^{l2-r1} [T]^{R2} [B]^{R3}—C⁴/C³/C⁵_b
 Compass: 14 notes
 Mensuration: ? / c (Tenor in *proportio dupla*) / oφ
 Based on: imported or invented cantus firmus (unidentified)
 Text: see E70
 Edition: MB 12, 188–89
- E91** ET EXULTAVIT WILLIAM STRATFORD
 Openings: ee.2^{l-r} / ee.3^{l-r}
 Folios: 138^v–140; 121^v–123
 Indexes: 0; 89
 Scribal phase: D
 Scoring: 4—[Ctr1]^{l1} [Ctr2]^{R1} T^{l2} B^{R2}—C⁴_b/C⁴_b/C⁵_b/F⁴_b
 Compass: 14 notes
 Mensuration: o / cφ / oφ
 Based on: freely composed
 Text: see E70
 Edition: MB 12, 104–11
 Recording: 1995b
- E92** DOMINICA IN RAMIS PALMARUM: RICHARD DAVY
 PASSIO DOMINI
 Openings:³⁷ [?ee.4^r / ee.5^{l-r} / ee.6^{l-r} / ee.7^l]^{-r} / ee.8^{l-r} / ee.9^{l-r}
 Folios: ee.7–ee.9; 143–145; 124–126
 Indexes: 0; 91
 Scribal phase: D
 Scoring: 4—[Tr]^{l1} [M]^{R1} [T]^{l2} [B]^{R2}—G²/C²(_b)/C⁴/F⁴_b
 Compass: 22 notes
 Mensuration: cφ
 Cantus firmus: none
 Text: *Alta vox* dialogue for the Passion recitation at High Mass on Palm Sunday (Matthew, chapters 26 and 27). Three voices were assigned to the Passion recitations in Holy Week: evangelist (*media vox*: narrative), Christ (*bassa vox*: dialogue) and the turba (crowds, disciples, etc., *alta vox*: dialogue). For texts and rubrics, see Antico 1996, 24–29, and Sarum Missal, cols. 264–72.
 Notes: Cues indicate the solo chant which precedes each section of polyphony (these were written mostly in red, some in black; others were added later, all in black).
 Concordances: None. Three anonymous English Passion settings survive from the second quarter of the fifteenth century: Shrewsbury School MS VI, ff. 8^v–11 (Matthew) (Rankin 1976, 133–35), and EGERTON 3307, ff. 15–16^v (Matthew) and 20–24^v (Luke). Evidence for the singing of polyphonic Passions can also be found at parish churches in Bristol (1524), Canterbury (1519–23), Dartmouth (1525–39), Folkestone (1496), Glastonbury (1500), Louth (1514), Lydd (1521–46) and Thame (1542) (Dudding 1941, 161; Harrison 1969, 145; Williamson 2006, 210–13).
 Edition: MB 12, 112–34
 Recordings: 1953 (extracts), 1964, 1968, 1994a
- E93** IHESUS AUTEM TRANSIENS/CREDO ROBERT WYLYNNSON
 Folio: ee.9^v; 138^v–140; 121^v–123
 Indexes: 0; 89
 Scribal phase: Y
 Scoring: 13—T, in canon—C⁴
 Compass: 13 notes
 Mensuration: c
 Cantus firmus: *Ihesus autem transiens*: Magnificat antiphon, third Monday of Lent, first nine notes only, sung by each voice in rotation: 'Passing through the midst of them [Jesus went away]' (Luke 4:30).
 Text: Each voice-part sings *Ihesus autem transiens* (see above) then the Apostles' Creed, each phrase attributed to one of the apostles, thus: 'Jesus passing through the midst. I believe in God the Father almighty, maker of heaven and earth (*Petrus*). And in Jesus Christ, his only begotten Son our Lord (*Andreas*). Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary (*Jacobus*). He suffered under Pontius Pilate; was crucified, dead and buried (*Johannes evangelista*). He descended into hell; the third day he rose again from the dead (*Thomas*). He ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty (*Jacobus minor*). From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead (*Philippus*). I believe in the Holy Ghost, the holy catholic church, the communion of saints (*Matheus*); the forgiveness of sins (*Simon*); the resurrection of the body (*Judas thadeus*); and the life everlasting (*Mathias*). Amen.'
 Notes: Canon in thirteen parts. In a different hand from the main body of the manuscript, possibly the same hand as E15 (which was perhaps Wylkynson's hand: his name is signed in red on ff. f.6 and ee.9^v). Black text underlay, with red capitals, in careful but relatively inexpert *textus quadratus*. Names of Christ and apostles in red (in a rounded text style), the apostles' names written within single stave spaces, emulating E92. The iconography is discussed in Williamson 2000a.
 Concordance: BALDWIN, f. 188^v, which deliberately replicates the layout and orthography of ETON.
 Edition: MB 12, 135

³⁷ Complete index gives ee.4 as first opening: ee.4^l/f. 123^v is unused, however.

Texts, Books of Hours and Vernacular Piety

Of the 93 compositions contained in ETON in its finished form, 24 were settings of the Magnificat (E68–E91). With two ritually distinct exceptions (E92–E93), the remainder of the manuscript exclusively comprised motets of prayer to the BVM, 54 in number. Four texts accounted for over half of these (34): *Salve regina* (15), *Gaude flore virginali* (11), *Stabat mater* (5) and *Gaude virgo mater cristi* (3). With the exception of *Stabat mater* (which is discussed elsewhere), these texts are all staple items in late-medieval Primers, or Books of Hours.¹ The conspicuous and substantial textual overlap between ETON and this crucial repository of late-medieval religion firmly locates the texts of ETON, if not their musical realisation, within the bounds of vernacular piety: as much the habitus of ‘hard-nosed city shopkeepers’ as of collegiate clergy.² An ‘elitist’ interpretation of ETON and its contents, premised upon the complexity of the music and the supposedly impenetrable Latinity of its texts, ignores abundant evidence that the devotional culture exemplified by ETON lies at the heart, not the margins, of late-medieval traditional religion.³

ETON cannot therefore be considered outside the context of vernacular piety:⁴ in choosing their texts, composers responded directly to the popular taste for devotional acts that drew upon the laity’s personal, day-to-day experience of prayer.⁵ At the most basic level, this manifested itself in the dominance, within a healthily mixed economy of texts new and old, prosaic and poetic, of a handful of well-known, popular evergreens (*Salve regina*, *Gaude flore virginali* in particular); rhetorical traces of private, personal, piety can also be found in several texts that, like many of those found in Books of Hours, narrate in the first person singular (in particular, E3).⁶ While ETON undoubtedly contains bespoke texts (E3, E7 and E35) whose idiosyncrasies, density and prolixity would have demanded attentive listening, even by the most learned Latinists, the choirbook’s most frequently used texts were also the ones most familiar to lay worshippers.⁷

In their musical substance, moreover, the ETON pieces bear the traces of vernacular piety, for instance in cantus firmi which seem less topical or figuratively apposite in a purely liturgical context than in the broader devotional world of the Book of Hours. E20 (Browne, *Salve regina*), for instance, has as its cantus firmus a chant which in the Use of Sarum pertained exclusively to Maundy Thursday, the antiphon *Maria ergo unxit pedes Jesu*, which was sung during the foot-washing ceremony, ritually one of the most circumscribed events in the church calendar.⁸ The same antiphon was also a part of the Suffrage to Mary Magdalen which appears frequently in Books of Hours.⁹ Said in the context of private prayer, *Maria ergo* was quotidian; as part of the public liturgy, it was heard but

once a year and at a time, moreover, when secular and regular customs alike precluded the singing of votive antiphons.¹⁰

The daily cycle of prayer encoded within the statutes of Eton College owes as much to the structure of devotion transmitted in Books of Hours as it does to the liturgical forms of the Use of Sarum. For several reasons, therefore, the Book of Hours provides the best frame within which to view ETON and its contents. During the early Tudor period, Books of Hours were printed for the English market in 130 editions; conservatively assuming a print run of 300 copies for each edition, Mary Erler has estimated that 1,500 Books of Hours were either printed or imported for the English market each year, giving a cumulative total of nearly 80,000 copies from 1494 until the death of Henry VIII, or one Book of Hours for every thirty-one people.¹¹ Even allowing for unequal social and geographical distribution of owners, this suggests a high level of lay access to Books of Hours and their contents, whether directly, in the reading, or indirectly, in the listening; testimony to what Eamon Duffy has dubbed ‘the democratization of the tradition of affective meditation ... the social homogeneity of late medieval religion’.¹²

The following texts—*Salve regina*, *Gaude flore virginali*, *Gaude virgo mater cristi* and *Stella celi*—exemplify the overlap between ETON and the Book of Hours. All four texts were near-universal components in Books of Hours and, although only one setting of it was copied into ETON,¹³ *Stella celi* was a commonplace text at Eton, recited every night by all members of the community. Familiar to listeners in the Latin, these texts were translated in diglot editions of the 1530s, although they were to become early casualties of Henrician evangelicalism, for whose protagonists the Book of Hours provided an ideal Trojan horse for the dissemination of Reformed doctrine.¹⁴ Such was William Marshall’s *Goodly Primer* of 1535 (STC 15988). The diglot Primer of 1537 (STC 15997), published in London by Robert Redman ‘dwellynge at the sygne of the George next to saynt Dunstons Church’, was of a different stamp. A revision of earlier editions published in 1535 and 1536, it concluded with a section of New Testament readings evidently based on William Tyndale’s translation of 1534;¹⁵ but in other respects Redman’s is the representative voice of late-medieval piety, and his translations are given here.

Representative, perhaps, but undistinguished: Redman’s texts are printed here as historical witnesses rather than literary exemplars. Only minor orthographic changes have been made. Where he gives the second-person pronoun ‘thee’ as ‘the’, his spelling has been changed in order to distinguish the pronoun from the definite article ‘the’. The orthographic variant ‘u/v’, interchangeable in Redman’s text, has been changed into the modern vowel/consonantal forms of ‘u’ and ‘v’. Redman’s idiosyncratic punctuation has also been retained (but with minor adjustments), and no attempt has been made to regularise his inconsistencies of spelling, in either English or Latin (the Latin texts are presented here in the form printed by Redman, and not as found in ETON).

¹ See Catalogue of Compositions p. 55 above, under E5. *Stabat mater* is seldom found in manuscript Books of Hours and (*pace* Duffy 1992, 261) gained currency in English-market Books of Hours only after 1501 (Hoskins 1901, 119).

² Duffy 1992, 233–65 (at 233); on Books of Hours: Hoskins 1901 (content); White 1951 and Butterworth 1971 (translated and Reformed versions); Duffy 2006 (prayer culture and customisation); Bisson 1998, 35–88 (Book of Hours texts commonly set to music, with some adaptations).

³ Allinson 1998, 38. The lay readers of Books of Hours probably understood more than has often been assumed (Wieck 2001, 55).

⁴ In addition to the term ‘traditional religion’, which is widely disseminated and recognised from Eamon Duffy’s usage (Duffy 1992), the term ‘vernacular piety’ refers here to the broad sweep of para-liturgical religious practices exemplified by Books of Hours, and not just to the use of vernacular English texts; the parent term ‘vernacular theology’ is Nicholas Watson’s (WatsonN 1995, 823–24).

⁵ On the wider European context: Blackburn 1997 and Blackburn 1999; Williamson 2006 attempts to consider the wider implications of vernacular religion at parish level.

⁶ On interiority and ‘private’ prayer: Duffy 2006, 53–64.

⁷ On literacy and lay comprehension of liturgy: Zieman 2008, especially 80–92.

⁸ See Catalogue of Compositions pp. 58–59, under E20. This ceremony took place in the chapter house: neither the Sarum Processional nor the Sarum Manual gives unambiguous guidelines for its adaptation to parochial usage (or, indeed, to the needs of those collegiate churches, such as Eton, which had no chapter house).

⁹ The Book of Hours text corresponds with that found in Hereford (but not Sarum): Hereford Breviary 2, 13 and 20: ferial suffrage of Mary Magdalen during Lent and Advent). In Hereford Use *Maria ergo unxit* was also sung on the feast of Mary Magdalen (22 July) as antiphon to the Magnificat at Second Vespers (Hereford Breviary 2, 258). None of the biographical evidence concerning Browne, scant as it is, associates him with Hereford diocese.

¹⁰ See Catalogue of Compositions p. 53, under E20 concerning the *Triduum*. Other antiphons used as cantus firmi in ETON which can also be found in Books of Hours as parts of memorials or suffrages include *O sacrum convivium* (Corpus Christi: E3), *Omnes electi* (All Saints: E16), *Libera nos* (Trinity: E22), and *Martinus Abrahe sinu* (St Martin: E49). On the importance of suffrages to the rise of the psalm motet, see Rees 1992.

¹¹ This figure takes no account of wastage, but nor does it allow for the circulation of pre-existing manuscript Books of Hours. Erler 1999, 505–06 (Erler estimates an annualised ratio of 1:35 based on the population of early Tudor London, 50,000). Wrigley/Schofield 1981, 528, and O’Day 1995, 163, estimate the population of England at 2,384,000 (1524) rising to 2,774,000 (1541) and 3,158,664 (1556).

¹² Duffy 1992, 265.

¹³ For other settings, see fn. 71 below.

¹⁴ Erler 1999, 396, citing John Rastell’s letter to Thomas Cromwell (c. 1534), concerning general reluctance to buy books peddling overtly evangelical doctrine, ‘but when the matter is put in primers, which [the laity] bring with them to church, they shall in a manner be compelled to read them’.

¹⁵ Butterworth 1971, 87–103 and 140–51.

Salve regina

Next to the Angelic Salutation, *Ave Maria*, the seasonal antiphon *Salve regina* loomed largest among late-medieval songs of devotion to Christ's mother. *Salve regina* is found in nearly all Books of Hours, where it is placed first among the devotional texts that follow Compline of Our Lady, and where it is followed by the prayer *Omnipotens Deus qui gloriose virginis*.¹⁶ *Salve* also gave its name eponymously to the evening devotion to the Virgin Mary and, perhaps unsurprisingly, was the votive text most often set by composers in ETON (where there are 15 settings, all but one of them complete, accounting for nearly half of the surviving fifteenth-century English settings of this text).¹⁷

Salve regina appears to have originated as a liturgical antiphon in the late eleventh or early twelfth century within one of the monastic orders, either Cluniac or Cistercian. The first surviving manuscript sources are Cistercian: the Morimondo antiphoner (North Italian, c. 1150) and then a series of Aquitanian manuscripts from the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.¹⁸ *Salve regina* is first mentioned, however, at Cluny where Statute 76 (1135) of Abbot Peter the Venerable directed that the monks sing *Salve regina* during processions.¹⁹ The antiphon made substantial inroads into monastic votive practice in the mid-thirteenth century: it made hesitant headway within the Cistercian order between 1218, when its daily recitation was first mandated, and 1251, when its daily performance after Compline was finally prescribed;²⁰ the Dominican friars of Bologna were singing *Salve regina* daily after Compline from 1221, pioneering the procession into the nave, which was to become a hallmark of the *Salve* ceremony (at Eton as elsewhere);²¹ and the Franciscans had taken it up by 1249.²² Championed by the influential, rising mendicant orders, *Salve regina* unsurprisingly came to occupy a conspicuous place within the devotional habitus of the laity, and evidence for its permeation of lay piety can be found from the mid-fourteenth century onwards.²³

Within a few decades of its first written appearance, the antiphon had acquired a series of tropes (represented overleaf in plain type), each a rhyming quatrain of uniformly octosyllabic lines (a⁸a⁸b⁸b⁸). The earliest of these can be found in early thirteenth-century additions made to the late tenth-century Hartker antiphoner.²⁴ The number of tropes varies according to date, location and use: the following six tropes are found in processional, Books of Hours and other devotional sources of the fifteenth century:²⁵

- | | |
|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Virgo mater; | 4. Gloriosa dei mater; |
| 2. Virgo clemens; | 5. Dele culpas miserorum; |
| 3. Funde preces; | 6. Ut nos solvat. ²⁶ |

As in a hymn, each trope verse was sung to the same recurring melody.²⁷

Surviving fifteenth-century polyphonic settings of demonstrably English provenance almost invariably include some (but never all) of the tropes:²⁸ settings by Leonel Power, John Dunstaple and an anonymous early fifteenth-century fragment each have tropes 1, 2 and 3,²⁹ as do all the ETON settings except two (E23 and E25, which both have tropes 1+2+5, while E29 has trope 5 in addition to tropes 1–3). Tropes 1–3 also predominate in other Tudor sources, while no surviving British setting (including the monophonic chant version in RITSON) has the sixth trope.³⁰ Continental settings, as well as those of less certain English provenance, often omit the tropes:³¹ tropes appear in only four of the 17 settings contained in the mid-fifteenth-century (Continental) Trent codices, and of these two are certainly, and the other two probably, English.³² While tropes do appear in some Continental settings, the first trope 'Virgo mater' is conspicuously absent among the 100-or-so surviving Continental settings of the fifteenth century (with the exception of Salinis's setting).³³

The strong preference of fifteenth-century English composers for tropes 1–3 almost certainly reflects the general practice within secular and monastic uses, whose surviving sources almost unanimously include these tropes.³⁴ The *Salve regina* tropes are almost uniformly set in red text in ETON. This almost certainly derives from the late-medieval monastic tradition in which the tropes were sung by soloists, the clearest evidence for which can be found in the ordinal of St Mary's Abbey, York (c. 1400):³⁵

1. Virgo mater: sung by junior hebdomadarius who read first lesson at Matins;
2. Virgo clemens: sung by hebdomadarius who read second lesson at Matins;
3. Funde preces: sung by senior monk: the cantor or, if present, the abbot.

The beginning of the first trope also serves as a structural marker in most ETON settings, in which mensuration typically (but not universally) changes at 'Virgo mater'.³⁶ In ten of the ETON settings, structural symmetry is achieved through the restoration of perfect time, either for the last acclamation only ('O dulcis Maria, salve') or, in three instances, from the beginning of the final trope. Precedents for these mensuration schemes can be found in the settings by Dunstaple and Power, in which the tropes have reduced scoring and where the beginning of each new trope introduces a new mensuration.

¹⁶ See overleaf (Redman, 1537); Hoskins 1901, 110; Roper 1993, 147–56; Masters/Ralph 1967, 3 (inventory St Ewen's church, Bristol, 1454): 'Item .j. roll with *Salve Regina* noted &c. with this oryson *Omnipotens sempiterne deus* &c.'. Printed Books of Hours evidently followed the model of manuscripts: see, for instance, *GB-Lbl* Add. 16968, f. 31, *GB-Lbl* Harley 210, f. 24, and *GB-Lbl* Harley 2849 or *GB-DRc* Hunter 98, ff. 18^v–19^v.

¹⁷ Curtis/Wathey, 64–65. On the *Salve/Salut/Lof* see *inter alia* Strohm 1985, Forney 1987, Haggh 1988, and Wegman 1989; *Rites of Durham*, 86. Evidence for the near-synonymity between the post-Compline ritual and *Salve regina* in particular can be found in Benedictine customaries from the 1260s (Westminster Abbey) and c. 1330 (Chester, where *Salve regina* was sung throughout the year, without seasonal rotation).

¹⁸ Colette 1992; see also Roper 1993, 164–75.

¹⁹ Ingram 1973, 16–19; as Ingram notes, Peter the Venerable's injunction suggests that the antiphon was already in existence by 1135. *Salve regina* was not mandated throughout the Cluniac order until 1301 (Roper 1993, 276).

²⁰ Roper 1993, 145; this followed a false start in 1218.

²¹ Bonniwell 1944, 161–62; the practice spread through Lombardy and thence throughout the whole Dominican order (by 1334) (Roper 1993, 146).

²² Ingram 1973, 21.

²³ Ingram 1973, 23–46. The spread of *Salve regina* and other Marian antiphons through England from the thirteenth century onwards is summarised in Harrison *MMB*, 81–88.

²⁴ *CH-SGs* 390 (antiphoner, *pars hiemalis*: office of the Annunciation), p. 10, which has tropes 2, and variants of tropes 1 and 4 (Roper 1993, 281); Harrison 1952, 204.

²⁵ The hymn listed in *AH* 23, 57 is found in fifteenth-century sources only, and was most probably derived from the tropes (from which it differs), and not *vice versa* (Harrison *MMB*, 301).

²⁶ Trope 6 is found in printed Books of Hours (e.g. Sarum Hours 1508, f. xlii^v–v), but not in most processional (e.g. Sarum Processional 1519, ff. cxxiii–cxxiv^v); but see Roper 1993, 283, citing a mid-fifteenth-century manuscript Augustinian processional).

²⁷ Transcriptions from English sources in MB 10, 141 (*GB-Ob* Rawl. liturg. d. 4, f. 181) and Antico 2001, 4–5 (RITSON, ff. 47^v–48).

²⁸ But not before 1400: a late fourteenth-century canonic setting from Durham Cathedral (*GB-Lbl* Royal 7 A.VI, ff. 35^v–36; ingeniously unravelled in Sandon 1982, 49–51) excludes tropes, as does a setting in *US-PRu* 103 (PMFC 17, 14–17). The occurrence of tropes, as an indicator of Englishness in polyphonic settings, was first noted by Harrison (Harrison *MMB*, 302).

²⁹ *Q15* (Bent, II, no. 240; Curtis/Wathey nos O507 and O509), *CMM* 50, 13–17; MB 8, 115–18; *GB-Lna* E163/22/1/24, f. 2^v (Curtis/Wathey #O486); the fragment *GB-Ob* Eng. misc. c. 291/1, ff. 10^v–11 (Curtis/Wathey #O487, c. 1450–75) ends at 'ostende'.

³⁰ See Antico 2001, 4–5. Nearly all polyphonic settings have tropes 1, 2 and 3: *CHOIRBOOK* 2b (fragmentary: has tropes 1–2), *LAMBETH*, ff. 32^v–35 (anon, also has trope 5), *RIPON* 20 (anon), *CARVER*, ff. 141^v–150 (anon), *HARLEY* 1709, ff. 15^v and 18 (anon), *PETERHOUSE* (Ludford and Pygott) and *GB-Lbl* 17802–05 (Alcock).

³¹ By way of examples, of two anonymi in *TRENT* 90 (*I-TRmp* 1377, ff. 305^v–307 and 324^v–326^v) Curtis/Wathey #O504 has tropes 1–3, while #O505 has none (both settings have provisional English attributions); in *Q15* (Bent), II, Salinis (no. 232) has tropes 1, 2 and 4, while Reson (no. 179) has none (both composers were Continental; in the same sources, Power's setting, no. 240, has tropes 1–3).

³² Untroped settings: *TRENT* 88, ff. 61^v, 200^v–203; *TRENT* 89, ff. 102^v–103, 146^v–148^v, 191^v–193, 349^v–352 (Du Fay); *TRENT* 91, ff. 85^v–87, 88^v–89^v, 195^v–197; *TRENT* 93, ff. 77^v–78. Troped settings: *TRENT* 87₁, ff. 34^v–36 (Dunstaple; Curtis/Wathey #O509), *TRENT* 90, ff. 305^v–307 (tropes 1–3, English attrib.; Curtis/Wathey #O504), *TRENT* 90, ff. 366^v–368^v and *TRENT* 92₂, ff. 233^v–235 (tropes 1–3; Dunstaple/Power; Curtis/Wathey #O483), and *TRENT* 92₂, ff. 230^v–231^v (tropes 1–3; English attrib.; Curtis/Wathey #O512).

³³ Hocking 1995, 93–94, where most of the English pre-Reformation settings are tabulated; see also above, fn. 6.

³⁴ Tabulated in Roper 1993, 282–83.

³⁵ Roper 1993, 151; Harrison *MMB*, 302, citing Aungier 1840, 333.

³⁶ In one case (E14: Lambe) the setting is in imperfect time throughout; in two others (E13, E15 and E22: Browne, Sutton and Hampton respectively), the time change occurs not at the beginning of the first trope, but immediately afterwards (at 'O clemens').

Salve regina mater misericordie,
vita dulcedo et spes nostra salve.
Ad te clamamus exules fili Eve,
ad te suspiramus gementes et
flentes in hac lacrimarum valle.
Eya ergo advocata nostra
illos tuos misericordes oculos ad
nos converte; et Jesum benedic-
tum fructum ventris tui nobis
post hoc exilium ostende.

Virgo mater ecclesie
Eterne porta glorie
Esto nobis refugium
Apud patrem et filium

O clemens.

Virgo clemens virgo pia
Virgo dulcis O Maria
Exaudi preces omnium
Ad te pie clamancium.

O pia.

Funde preces tuo nato
Crucifixo vulnerato
Et pro nobis flagellato
Spinis puncto felle potato.

O dulcis.

Gloriosa dei mater
Cuius natus extat pater
Ora pro nobis omnibus
Qui tui memoriam agimus.

O Maria.

Dele culpas miserorum
Terge sordes peccatorum
Dona nobis beatorum
Gloriam tuis precibus.

O mitis.

Ut nos solvat a peccatis
Pro amore sue matris
Et ad regnum claritatis
Nos perducatur rex pietatis.

(O clemens, O pia), O dulcis, (O
mitis) Maria, salve.³⁷

Hayle quene, mother of mercy, our
lyfe, our swetenes, our hope, all hayle.
Unto thee do we crye, whiche are the
banyshed chyldren of Eva.

Unto thee do we syghe, wepyng & way-
lyng in this vale of lamentacyon. Come
of³⁸ therefore, our patronesse. Caste
upon us those pytefull iyes of thyne. And
after this our banyshment, shewe unto
us the blessed fruite of thy wombe Jesu.

Virgin mother of the congregacion
Gate of glory that never is donn³⁹
Be for us a reconciliacion
Unto the father and the sonne.

O mercyfull.

Virgin mercifull, virgin holy
O swete virgin, o blessed Mary
Hearre theyr prayers graciously
Whiche crye and call unto thee.

O holy.

Praye for us unto thy sonne
Wounded and crucified for us all
And sore turmented with flagellation
Crowned with thorne, & fedde with gall.

[O swete.]

O glorious mother of god on hygh
Whose sonne is the father eternall
Prayer for us all incessantly
That worshyp thy blessed memoriall.

O Marye.

From the wreched, theyr faultes expell
Wype the spottes of synnes uncleane
Gyve us the lyfe that moste dothe excell
Through thy prayer and special meane.

O meke.

That he us loose, of all our synne
For the love of his mother, the virgyn
And unto the kyngdome of heven blys
Brynge us that kyng, that most holy is.

(O mercyfull, O holy), O swete (virgin)
Mary, [hail].

Gaude virgo mater cristi

RH, 7017. A poem on the five temporal joys of the BVM, which spawned numerous variants in both Latin (RH, 7012–23) and the vernacular (Bisson 1998, 96–104). The form used in ETON is present in nearly all pre-Reformation Books of Hours, usually after the Office of Compline; *Gaude virgo mater cristi* consists of six pairs of tail-rhymed tercets (a⁸a⁸b⁷/c⁸c⁸b⁷). The BVM conceived Christ at Gabriel's salutation; she gave birth; although she grieved at her Son's crucifixion, he is now risen in glory; she witnessed her Son's ascension; she was received with honour in the celestial palace; therefore let the fruit of her womb grant us eternal joy.

Sometimes ascribed to Anselm of Canterbury or to Bonaventure, *Gaude virgo mater cristi* was believed in late medieval tradition to have been a favourite prayer of Thomas Becket (see below, *Gaude flore virginali*). By the mid-thirteenth century it was being sung as a sequence (Planchart 1988, 171) and has been identified in a thirteenth-century breviary from Marmoutier, now at Évreux (Bisson 1998, 374). Guillaume Du Fay's setting of 1433x35 has the same text as that found in ETON (Q15 (Bent), no. 193; Nosow 1997), as do settings by Heinrich Battre (see note below) and Josquin (Nosow 1997). ETON includes three settings (E10, E37 and E59; the latter two of which are incomplete). Several settings survive in other pre-Reformation musical sources:⁴⁰ WELLS X4/34/2, verso (fragment by Richard Hygons); NOTTINGHAM 6129/1 (fragment), RITSON, ff. 107^v–109, perhaps by Thomas Packe (Curtis/Wathey, # O212; Antico 2001, 85–90); E37 and E59 (see below); PETERHOUSE, by William Alen (Antico 1994; Sandon 1984); GB-Ob Mus. Sch. e. 423, p. 120, by William Mundy (Contratenor only).

Hugh Aston's *Gaude mater matris Cristi* transmits two variants of this text, one with an additional final stanza, the other (also with extra stanza) in praise of St Anne, mother of the BVM (Bisson 1998, 103–04; Antico 2005). Each of Aston's variants concludes 'ut possimus illic tuo sociari collegio' ('so that we might be able to join your company there [heaven]'), which might be taken as an allusion to the collegiate context of such prayer motets (in Aston's case, St Mary Newarke College, Leicester). Aston's setting is found in GB-Lbl 34191, HARLEY 1709, PETERHOUSE and SADLER; one of these sources is associated with a collegiate foundation (PETERHOUSE: Magdalen College, Oxford); another was copied in the 1570s–80s by a priest who began his career as a schoolmaster at another collegiate church (SADLER: Fotheringhay College).⁴¹

Gaude virgo mater Christi, Que per aurem concepisti Gabrielis ⁴² nuncio:	Rejoyce o virgin, Christes mother deare Which has conceyved, by hearyng with eare. Of Gabriels salutation.
Gaude quia deo plena Peperisti sine pena Cum pudoris lilio.	Rejoyse, because to god thou arte lefe ⁴⁴ And baryst hym without payne or grefe. In chaste conversacyon.
Gaude quia tui nati (Quem dolebas mortem pati) Fulget resurrectio:	Rejoyse, because thy moste deare sonne Whom thou dydest se through the herte ronne. ⁴⁵ Rose with manifestacion.
Gaude Christo ascendente, Qui in celum, te vidente ⁴³ Motu fertur proprio.	Rejoyse, because he ascended playne Before thy face in to heven agayne. By his propre excitation.
Gaude, quod post ipsum scandis Et est honor tibi grandis In celi palatio,	Rejoyse, because thou folowest hym And great honour to the is gyven In the heavenly habitation.
Ubi fructus ventris tui Per te detur nobis frui In perenni gaudio.	Where the frute of thy wombe everlastyng We may beholde, through thy deservyng In joye without mutation.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui
glorioso virginis et matris Marie
corpus et animam (ut dignum filii
tui habitaculum effici mereretur)
spritu sancto cooperante mirabiliter
preparasti: da ut cuius commemora-
tione letamur, eius pia intercessione
ab instantibus malis, et a morte per-
petua liberemur. Per Christum
dominum nostrum. Amen.

Almyghte eternall god, whiche by the oper-
ation of the holy ghost dyddest wonderfully
prepare the bodye and soule of the glorious
virgin and mother Mary, to thende it shulde
be the worthy habitation of thy onely
begotten son, graunte that we may be saved
from all instaunte evyls, and eternal deathe,
through the devoute intercession of her: in
whose commemoration we take joye &
comfort. By Christe our lorde. So be it.

³⁷ Text in round brackets is not set in ETON; text in square brackets is supplied editorially.

³⁸ 'Come of' = 'Come!' or 'Come on!'

³⁹ 'Donne': done up, fastened.

⁴⁰ Discounting an anonymous setting from the second quarter of the fifteenth century in TRENT 87, ff. 121^v–122, whose attribution is uncertain (Curtis/Wathey, #O219), and which has a variant form of the text. In the same manuscript (ff. 262^v–264), Heinrich Battre's setting follows the standard form of the text (on the scoring and structure of this setting, see Strohm 1993, 255).

⁴¹ Mateer 1979, 281–83.

⁴² *Recte* 'Gabriele'.

⁴³ ETON uniformly has 'Et in celum te vidente'.

⁴⁴ 'Lefe': dear, beloved.

⁴⁵ Lit. Latin translation: 'whom you saw suffer death'.

Gaude flore virginali

RH, 6809. A hymn on the spiritual joys of the BVM, *Gaude flore virginali* consists of seven stanzas, each comprising a pair of tail-rhymed tercets (a⁸a⁸b⁷c⁸c⁸b⁷). Although widely disseminated in Europe, this text was particularly popular in England, and frequently added to imported Books of Hours from which it had originally been omitted. The cult of the seven joys was pioneered in the early thirteenth century by Philippe de Grève, chancellor of Paris (Gros 2004, 16), although *Gaude flore virginali* was attributed to St Thomas of Canterbury in late-medieval Books of Hours, in which this became a standard text (Bisson 1998, 56–59 and 77–88). By common tradition the BVM appeared to Thomas Becket at prayer and, in place of her earthly joys (as exemplified in *Gaude virgo mater Cristi ... concepisti*, which he was wont to recite), she instructed him to venerate her heavenly joys. These joys provide the seven stanzas, each of which begins ‘Gaude’ (‘rejoice!’), with its own topos:

1. Mary’s preeminence within the company of saints;
2. Mary’s radiance as spouse of God;
3. Mary’s veneration by the heavenly host;
4. Mary’s role as intercessor with Christ;
5. Marian devotion, and the temporal and spiritual rewards it confers;
6. Mary’s worthy association with the Holy Trinity;
7. Mary’s certainty that these joys will endure for ever.

In Books of Hours, *Gaude flore virginali* is typically followed by an antiphon in praise of Mary as *sponsa Christi*. The form given here is as printed by Redman in 1537.

When complete, ETON comprised 11 settings of this text: E2, E4, E12, E14, E36, E39, E44 (Dunstable), E46, E51, E63 and E64. Six other English settings, one of them a likely concordance for E44, survive from the mid-fifteenth to the early sixteenth centuries: GB-Cu 4435, f. 16d^{r-v} (fragment: Bent 1974, Bent 1984; Curtis/Wathey, #O202); GB-Lbl 54324, ff. 3^v–4^v (= E44?), and TREN 89, ff. 170^v–173 (Curtis/Wathey, #O203) are all mid-fifteenth century; LAMBETH, ff. 49^v–52 (anon.), CARVER, 66^v–69 (Robert Carver), and ARUNDEL A340 (Bassus only: [Nicholas?] Ludford) slightly post-date ETON.

De septem gaudiis deipare virginis spiritualibus

Gaude flore virginali,
Honoreque speciali,
Transcendens splendiferum.
Angelorum principatum:
Et sanctorum decoratum,
Dignitate numerum.

Gaude sponsa chara Dei:
Nam ut clara lux diei
Solis datur lumine.
Sic tu facis orbem vere
Tue pacis resplendere
Lucis plenitudine.

Gaude splendens vas virtutum,
Cuius pendens est ad nutum
Tota celi curia.
Te benignam et felicem
Jesu dignam genitricem
Venerans⁴⁶ in gloria.

Gaude nexu charitatis⁴⁷
Et amplexu dignitatis⁴⁸
Juncta sic altissimo,
Ut ad votum consequaris
Quicquid virgo postularis
A Jesu dulcissimo.

Gaude mater miserorum
Quia pater saeculorum
Dabit te colentibus
Congruentem hic mercedem
Et felicem poli sedem
Regnis in celestibus.

Gaude virgo mater Christi
Tu que⁵⁰ sola meruisti,
O virgo piissima,
Esse tante dignitatis
Quod⁵¹ sis sancte trinitatis
Sessioni proxima.

Gaude virgo mater pura
Certa manens et segura
Quod hec septem gaudia
Non cessabunt, nec decrescent,
Sed durabunt, et florescent
Per eterna secula. Amen.

Antiphona

O sponsa sancta & humilis, virgo
pulcherima Maria mater dei, virgo
electa, esto nobis via recta, ad eterna
gaudia, ubi pax et gloria: & me
semper aure pia, dulcis exaudi
Maria.

Of the seven spirituall joyes of our Lady

Rejoyse, o flower of virgins all
In thyn honour, & grace especiall
Excedyng a thousande folde.
The principallitie of angels eminent
And the dignitie of sayntes refulgent,
More than can be tolde.

Rejoyse, o spouse of god moste dere
For as the lyght of the day so clere
Comes of the sonne most radiaunt.
Evyn so doste thou cause questionles
The worlde to floryshe in quietnes,
Through thy grace abundaunt.

Rejoyse, o vessell of vertue resplendent
At whose becke incontinent⁴⁹
All the hevenly consistorie.
Thee, moste gentyll, and also happyest
The worthy mother of Jesu Christ
Do worshyp with moche glorie.

Rejoyse in the knotte of charitie
And in the liege of dignitie
Beinge coupled with god so nere
That thou mayste at thy desyre
Obtayne all that thou wylte desyre
Of Jesu, thy sonne moste dere.

Rejoyse, o mother of wretches all
For the father, that is eternall
To them that do thee reverence
In this worlde gyves good wages
And a place in the hevenly stages
In the kingdome of excellence.

Rejoyse, o mother of Jesu Christ
Which wast alone moste worthyest
O virgin immaculate
To be of suche hygh dignitie
That nexte to the blessed trinitie
In place thou arte nowe collocat.

Rejoyse, o mother mayden pure
And of this be certayne and sure,
That these joyes seven
Shall neyther mynyshe, nor also cease
But styll continue, and ever encrease
Whyle the father is in heven. [Amen.]

The anthem

O moste holy and humble spouse, moste
beautifull mayde Marye, mother of god,
virgin electe, conduyte us the ryghte way
unto everlastyng joye, where is perpetuall
peace & glorie. And ever (swete Marye)
gyve hearynge to my prayer with a beniv-
olent eare.

⁴⁶ ETON has ‘veneratur’.

⁴⁷ ETON has ‘voluntatis’.

⁴⁸ ETON has ‘caritatis’.

⁴⁹ A preferable reading, ‘and commaundement’ (*vice* ‘incontinent’) is in Sarum Hours 1536.

⁵⁰ ETON and other sources have ‘Quia’.

⁵¹ ETON has ‘Ut’.

*Stella celi extirpavit*⁵²

RH, 19438; *AH*, 31, 210; although the text given in *AH* is a later (seventeenth-century?) six-quatrain revision of the late-medieval text, diverging after the first two quatrains. The first eight lines of Lambe's text form a pair of metrically regular rhyming quatrains that accord with the *AH* version, as noted by Harrison (MB 12, 168). The last four lines, addressed to Jesus, are troped from the sequence *Ave preclara maris stella*, which in Sarum Use was sung at Mass on the octave of the Assumption (22 August) and in York Use at Mass on the Purification (2 February).⁵³ The middle of the text is a rhyming two-line invocation to the BVM, as 'glorious star of the sea', pleading for her succour against the pestilence.

Although not a liturgical text, *Stella celi* was widely circulated in Books of Hours, and was evidently familiar to audiences of late-medieval mystery plays:⁵⁴ ETON nevertheless has only one setting, E61 (by Walter Lambe). Lambe's text, like those of other English settings from the second half of the fifteenth century, matches the form found in English Books of Hours;⁵⁵ early fifteenth-century settings comprise only the first two quatrains.⁵⁶ John Lydgate wrote two separate four-stanza vernacular paraphrases whose resemblance to the Latin Book of Hours form is close, especially in their first two stanzas.⁵⁷

The text was recited as a prayer against the plague, and in Books of Hours is often preceded with rubrics to that effect. *Stella celi* therefore circulated in a wide range of social contexts, both during plague crises and during periods when the threat of disease loomed less large: Oxford scholars without collegiate affiliation recited it in St Mary's church as part of an annual sequence of antiphons recited on the vigils of Marian feasts;⁵⁸ in 1486 boards notated with *Stella celi* were erected in the hall of Magdalen College, presumably to be used in the round of Saturday evening devotions;⁵⁹ at Eton College itself *Stella celi* was part of an abbreviated form of Compline recited by members of college before retiring to bed.⁶⁰

Oratio ad beatam virginem contra pestem A prayer to our blessed lady for the pestilence pestem

Stella celi extirpavit (Que lactavit dominum) Mortis pestem, quam plantavit, Primus parens hominum.	The heavenly sterre, which the lorde fostered, The mortall pestilence from us hath banyshed Which was planted by the prevarication Of our fyrste father, in every generation.
--	--

Ipsa stella nunc dignetur Sydera compescere. Quorum bella plebem cedunt, Dire mortis ulcere.	Let not the same sterre any whyt disdayn The unwholsome planettes for to restrayn Whose greate repugnaunce and contagious influence Hath plaged the people with mortall pestilence.
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O gloriosa stella maris A peste succurre nobis.	O sterre of the see, moste gloryous and clere From the foule pestilence us preserve and heare.
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Audi nos nam filius, Ut nihil negans te honorat. Salva nos Jesu, pro quibus Virgo mater te orat.	Because thy blessed sonne dothe nothyng denye But gyves the honour in heven eternally, Save and defend us, mercyfull lorde Jesu For whom thy mother doth unto thee sue.
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⁵² For a more extended discussion of *Stella celi*, see Macklin 2010.

⁵³ *Missale Sarum*, cols 879–80; York Gradual, ff. 94–95.

⁵⁴ Macklin 2010, 5.

⁵⁵ Curtis/Wathey, ##O561, O562, O564 (Sandon 1982). Extant settings are tabulated in Macklin 2010, 27–29; the majority are English.

⁵⁶ Curtis/Wathey, ##O563 and O566; see also Bent 1968, 143–49, especially 147–48, fn. 15. A setting in TRENT 88 (*I-TRmp* 1375), from the second quarter of the fifteenth century, possibly English, also sets the first two quatrains only. Sixteenth-century settings by Thorne and Cooper (in BALDWIN ff. 161^v–164) set the full Book of Hours text, albeit with minor adaptation by Thorne. Lost settings were copied at Magdalen College, Oxford, on 29 December 1486 ('pro factura duarum tabellarum in quibus figuntur rotuli antiphone *Stella celi*, iij s. iij d.': Wathey 1988, 9), and at New College, Oxford, in 1527–28 ('Et solutum precentori notatione *Stella celi*, ij s.': *GB-Onc* Muniment 7480, under *Custus capelle*). The Magdalen boards, made during a plague epidemic, were repaired in 1538, also a plague year (Macklin 2010, 20, fn. 66).

⁵⁷ *Minor Poems Lydgate*, 294–96.

⁵⁸ Harrison *MMB*, 85.

⁵⁹ *ibid.*

⁶⁰ Williamson 1997, 466–68. The mini-office included the hymn *Salvator mundi domine*, the versicle *Custodi nos/Ut pupillam*, the antiphon and canticle *Salva nos/Nunc dimittis*, the Lesser Litany, Lord's Prayer, Angelic Salutation, Creed, antiphon *Stella celi extirpavit*, psalm *De profundis*, and prayers for Henry VI as founder.

Antecedents, Contemporaries and Concordances

The following list includes selected English music manuscripts which fall into three broad categories. The first category includes the antecedents of ETON. These manuscripts were copied between the 1440s and 1490s, and either shed light on the development of large-scale choirbook format before ETON, or prefigure characteristic traits of the ETON repertory (e.g. early settings of particular texts), or share some kinship with ETON (for instance, EGERTON 3307, which was probably copied for use at neighbouring St George's, Windsor). The second category includes choirbooks which are directly contemporary with ETON (for present purposes, those copied between c. 1490 and c. 1510, although the well-worn 1485–1509 might equally suffice); some of these contemporaneous manuscripts contain concordances. Manuscripts falling into the third category were copied between 1510 and 1600 and are listed here either because they have concordances with ETON (including a late example from 1594),¹ or because they are discussed elsewhere in the introduction. Images of most of the fragments and several of the complete choirbooks are freely available on <<http://www.diamm.ac.uk>>.

For ease of reference, wherever practicable, sources are given a short title in small capitals. Source names in small capitals allude either to colloquial names (e.g. CARVER, for the well-known choirbook in the National Library of Scotland, which is now associated with the composer Robert Carver), or to current place of deposit (e.g. ARUNDEL A340, which is kept in Arundel Castle), or to kinships between now-dispersed fragments of dismembered choirbooks (CHOIRBOOK 2a and CHOIRBOOK 2b). Other sources listed here are identified with RISM sigla (which are also used for manuscripts discussed elsewhere but not listed below).

The current location and shelfmark is given for each source, followed by published catalogue (or other scholarly) descriptions, as well as printed editions and/or facsimiles (where available). Physical descriptions give information on writing surfaces (paper/vellum), folio sizes, and physical preparation (pricking and ruling, including stave-gauge). The extent and

quality of this information will, perhaps inevitably, be uneven from one source to another. Stationers' pricking holes have been lost in most of the manuscripts, not least (but not always) because of their often fragmentary condition. A stave-ruling pen, or rastrum, seems to have been used only exceptionally; the normal practice was free-ruling of staves, ruled line-by-line with a straight edge and aligned with (now-lost) pricking holes.

Information is provided on the prevailing notation, whether full black (like most of ETON) or black void (as in E15), as well as the means of indicating imperfection (through red coloration, for instance). The colour of text underlay is noted (whether or not, for instance, red text was used in passages of reduced scoring, as in ETON), as well as the type of illumination used (where applicable) and other scribal attributes. The musical (and, where significant, non-musical) contents are briefly noted, as well as the date and provenance of the manuscript.

Concordances with ETON are noted last in each manuscript description. Several concordances can be found among directly contemporary manuscripts, but the highest concentration of concordances is, perhaps surprisingly, in sources copied 20 years or more after ETON (HARLEY 1709, CAMBRIDGE UJ and GB-Lbl 34191). Particularly conspicuous in this regard is Richard Davy, a cluster of whose five-part motets, copied *en bloc* in ETON (E30–E35), found its way into these Henrician partbooks, primarily HARLEY 1709. If Davy's motets attained a certain 'classic' status in the early decades of the sixteenth century, along with E19 (Cornysh) and E75 (Fayrfax), the music of John Browne appears to have proved universally unappealing to Henrician singers, judging by its negligible transmission outside ETON.

The fragmentary state of ETON's concordances, especially among its direct contemporaries, is regrettable: the two indexes give a stark picture of the extent of losses suffered by ETON, and very few of these losses are redeemed by other sources. In one or two cases, concordances provide glimpses of potentially superior variant readings.²

Antecedent sources, c. 1440–c. 1490

- EGERTON 3307 London, British Library, Egerton MS 3307. Description and edition: McPeck 1963 (see also Bowers 2001). Comprises 88 parchment folios, 292 × 213 mm, pricked. Red rastrum-ruled staves, 13 mm high, between vertical frame-rulings; some batch-ruling, including blank folios at end, where space has been left on the first stave for insertion of initials, as in ETON. Full black notation with full red and red void coloration; text underlay mainly in black, but also red (and sometimes blue) in strophic pieces. Choirbook and score formats; fine initial letters, in both pen (with elaborate tracery) and paint (historiated and foliate). Copied c. 1450 or slightly earlier, probably for use at St George's Chapel, Windsor. Contains hymns, motets, ritual pieces for Holy Week (including the two earliest known settings of Passion recitations) and carols, all anonymous. No concordances with ETON.
- GB-Lna E 163/22/1/3 London, The National Archives (*olim* Public Record Office), E 163/22/1/3: Exchequer records, department of King's Remembrancer. Discovered by Roger Bowers, 1970; description: CCM 2, 116. Vellum folio, approximately 680 × 460 mm, written area 550 × 320 mm. Red staves, 17–21 mm, with red horizontal and black vertical frame-rulings; full black notation with full red coloration; black text underlay in textualis quadrata; gold initial, with exceptionally fine foliate/floral frame border (recto). Used c. 1510 as wrapper for rental of Wye, Kent, then the property of Battle Abbey, Sussex. Contains five fragmentary Kyrie settings (Curtis/Wathey refs. K21–K25), one possibly by Power, one possibly by Dunstaple. No concordances with ETON.
- PEPYS 1236 Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepysian Library, MS 1236. Descriptions by Roger Bowers in Fenlon 1982, 111–14 and Charles 1962. Edition: CMM 40. Comprises 130 mixed parchment and paper folios (with three tip-ins), 181 × 127 mm, pricked. Miscellaneous collection of liturgical and secular polyphony (100 folios), astronomical tables, etiquette, medicine and music theory. Music notated on black free-ruled staves, 8–11 mm high, between vertical and horizontal frame-rulings; full black notation with coloration in full red (on parchment) and black void (on paper); black text underlay; plain capitals. Copied in Kent c. 1465, perhaps for use in the almonry chapel of Canterbury Cathedral Priory. No concordances with ETON, but contains compositions by Gilbert Banaster (see E35) and J[ohn] Nesbett (who can be identified with the composer of E70).
- GB-Lbl 54324 British Library, Additional MS 54324. Description in Bent/Bent 1969. Three paper bifolia, respectively 220 × 352, 279 × 351 and 287 × 355 mm (trimmed down from around 290 × 180 mm); extracted in 1967 from the binding of a psalter of c. 1440–50. Free-ruled black staves, 8–12 mm high, with vertical frame-rulings along inner margin (outer edges trimmed off); black void notation with full black coloration; black text underlay. Copied c. 1475, provenance unknown. Contains Mass movements by [John] Plummer, [John] Dunstaple and anonymous ('Caput' Mass: no longer attributed to Du Fay), as well as an unattributed five-voice setting of *Gaude flore virginali* (ff. 3^v–4^v) whose scoring and 21-note compass match the index description of Dunstaple's lost setting in ETON (E44: openings 0.8–p.1).
- NOTTINGHAM 2169/1 Nottingham, Nottinghamshire Archives, CA/2169/1. No description, but included in Curtis/Wathey, 16. Parchment leaf, 413 × 295 mm; one of four MS fragments recovered from the binding of sixteenth-century Nottingham chamberlains' accounts and bridge rentals. Black staves, 16–18 mm high and 260 mm long, between black vertical frame-rulings; full black notation

¹ Excluded from this list, however, are two eighteenth-century concordances, GB-Lbl 5054 and GB-Lram 660, that were evidently copied from ETON and which, though interesting for the light which they shed on ETON's fortunes between the 1590s and 1890s, are wholly dependent sources.

² Hugh Benham has noted the misalignment of *Medius* with other voices in E51 (word underlay, bars 65–90; Benham 1999, 47–48), and observed that the NEW COLLEGE FRAGMENTS give a tantalisingly brief glimpse of what is evidently a superior reading.

with full red imperfection and *minor color*; underlay in cursive text, between guide-rulings. Music hand characterised by directs with descending, acutely-angled hooks. Copied c. 1470. Contains anonymous *Gaude virgo mater cristi* (Curtis/Wathey, ref. O213: the first appearance of this text in an English source); clefs G²/C³/C⁴/F⁴, with overall compass of 23 notes (the first surviving example of this compass).

- WELLS X4/34/2 Wells Cathedral, MS X4/34/2. Description in *CCM* 4, 129. Fragmentary parchment leaf, 178 × 212 mm. Both sides have red free-ruled staves of c. 1450, 15 mm high and 175 mm wide. Verso has an anonymous *Sanctus* from the earlier fifteenth century (Curtis/Wathey S46, anon.) in much-faded full black notation with red coloration. The recto has two voices, one the Bassus, of a fragmentary setting of *Gaude virgo mater cristi* by Richard Hygons in black void notation with full black coloration; this was copied in the later fifteenth century onto the earlier pre-ruled red staves, but with an extra black staff at the foot of the folio. Hygons was vicar choral at Wells from 1459 and instructor of choristers from 1479; he died c. 1509. No concordance with ETON; Hygons wrote E27.
- RITSON London, British Library, Additional MS 5665: the 'Ritson Manuscript'. Description in *CCM* 2, 43–4. Editions: Stevens 1975; Antico 2001. Comprises 146 paper and (less frequently) parchment folios of varying sizes, the largest measuring 258 × 180 mm; original foliation. Compiled in Devon over several decades (probably from the 1460s until c. 1510), with correspondingly varied notation: black staves with red vertical frame-rulings, and full black notation with full red coloration and red semiminims; black staves with black vertical frame-rulings, and black void notation with full black coloration, 'strene' and square notation. Miscellaneous contents include carols, mass movements, liturgical and devotional polyphony, as well as non-musical items. Composers include Gilles Binchois, J. Cornyshe, Thomas Packe, John Dunstaple or Lionel Power (Benham 1978), and Edmund Sturges (perhaps the same as the composer of E51, E64, E84, E85 and E89). No direct concordances with ETON.
- YORK York, Borthwick Institute for Archives, MS 1. Description: Baillie/Oboussier 1954, 19; edition and expanded/revised description: Dumitrescu 2010. Twenty-two paper folios, approximately 400 × 280, with written area approximately 300 × 250 mm (folios are damaged, and several fragmentary). Black vertical frame-rulings; black free-ruled staves, 15–20 mm (but mainly 17–19 mm) high; black void notation with full black coloration; black text underlay; no initials. Copied by one scribe working in two stints: in the late 1470s and the 1490s (Dumitrescu). Either the remnants of a larger choirbook (Baillie & Oboussier) or a set of loose quires (Dumitrescu); the leaves were subsequently incorporated into a York diocesan consistory court act book of 1562–64. Contains Mass movements by Horwod and Johannes Cuk and anonymous. No scribal relationship with ETON. Identification of Horwod with the ETON composer William Horwood led Baillie & Oboussier to posit Lincoln provenance. This has been contested, and a York provenance suggested by Dumitrescu, who dissociates Horwod from Horwood.
- DARTMOUTH Exeter, Devon Record Office (olim Dartmouth Borough Archives), SM 1981. Description: Dart 1958; edition: Dart 1962. Paper book containing records of Dartmouth corporation, 1484–1511. Folios 3^v–6 contain a Magnificat setting (perhaps by John Kendall, senior cantarist at St Saviour's church), which was copied c. 1480 as an integral part of the manuscript, and not added subsequently. Leaves measure 380 × 270 mm; black free-ruled staves, 12–17 mm high, in two columns set between four vertical frame-rulings, with one horizontal ruling at the foot; black void notation with full black coloration; black text underlay in cursive script; no ornamental initials. No concordances with ETON.

ETON and contemporaneous sources, 1490–1510

- BUXTON 96 Cambridge, University Library, MS Buxton 96. Description by Bowers in Fenlon 1982, 114–17. Parchment leaf, 422 × 318 mm (trimmed from approximately 625 × 400 mm). On recto: nine free-ruled black staves (of an original fifteen?), 15–17 mm high, with vertical frame-ruling to RH (LH margin lost); black void notation with full black coloration; black text underlay. A *rotulus*, perhaps from Mettingham College, Suffolk, copied c. 1500, and containing the Bassus only of E5. Ascription at end of eighth folio to 'Johannes Browne Oxoniensis'.
- NEW COLLEGE FRAGMENTS Oxford, New College, MSS 368/1–3: 140 small and irregular parchment fragments used in the mid-sixteenth-century as wallpaper at New College, Oxford (where they were discovered in the 1960s). 368/1 comprises thirty-seven fragments from one or two large choirbooks containing: (a) masses, and (b) Magnificat settings and antiphons: (a) from the 1490s, black staves, in black notation with red for semiminims and imperfection; and (b) from c. 1510, in black notation with black void semiminims; black underlay. Contents include a fragment of E51 (368/1, f. 38^{r-v}), and part of an anonymous *O regina celestis glorie* (368/1, f. 31^v) which is also found in HARLEY 1709 (ff. 29–30^v), and may be a concordant reading of Walter Lambe's lost five-part setting (E38).
- WINDSOR MURAL Windsor Castle, St George's Chapel, 25 The Cloisters: much-mutilated wall-painting comprising five-line staves with breves, semibreves (ligated and unligated) in full black notation: a single melodic line with unidentified text. The notation is late-fifteenth-century and is very similar in shape to that of both ETON and the CHOIRBOOK 2a family of manuscripts. Probably intended to aid the training of choristers: the room in which the paintings were made served as their song school between the 1470s and the 1550s (Bowers 1975, 6084–85; Bowers 2001, 203–05, illustrated at 205).
- ETON Eton College, MS 178 (the Eton Choirbook). Descriptions: Harrison 1953; Ker *MMBL* 2, 773–4. Edition: MB 10–12. Vellum choirbook of 126 (out of original 224) leaves, 595 × 425 mm, with written area 440 × 330 mm. Black free-ruled staves, 12–20 mm high (but mainly 16–18 mm), between vertical and horizontal frame-rulings (prickings survive in several gatherings); full black notation with mostly red (but sometimes black void) coloration; black and red text underlay; initial letters include painted (mainly with foliate patterns), cadels, blue/red flourished initials (often with elaborate red tracery), and plain blue and red capitals.
- FAYRFAX MS London, British Library, Additional MS 5465: the 'Fayrfax MS'. Descriptions: *CCM* 2, 42–3; Stevens 1979, 351–85 (includes transcriptions of song texts). Edition: Stevens 1975. Book of 124 folios, mixed paper and parchment (mainly parchment), 297 × 215 mm, in choirbook layout. Black horizontal and vertical frame-rulings (no pricking visible); black free-ruled staves, 12–15 mm high; full black notation with full red semiminims and coloration; black text underlay, with plain blue capitals, and blue/red flourished initials similar (but not identical) in style to those in ETON; composer attributions in red. Probably a scribal relation to CHOIRBOOK 2a and its immediate family (see above), although less formally written.³ Contains 49 secular songs (with one addendum: an organ setting of the Lady Mass offertory, *Felix namque*, added c. 1540). Attributions to Gilbert Banastir, [John?] Browne, William Cornyshe Junior, Rycardus Davy, Robard/Roberd Fayrfax, [Richard] Hamshere, Edmund Turges and others. Although there are inevitably no direct concordances with ETON, the overlap of composers alone puts the two manuscripts in close contextual proximity. The tenor of Turges's carol, 'From stormy wyndis' (FAYRFAX MS, ff. 104^v–108) was used by John Browne in his motet *Stabat iuxta cristi crucem* (E8; see Benham 1987).

The following five sources—*GB-OB* Lat. liturg. a. 9, NOTTINGHAM 20332, CHOIRBOOK 2a, *GB-Cu* Nn.6.46 and ZWICKAU 95b—are by the same music copyist (but were texted by different scribes or, at least, in different styles of script). The music copyist's hallmarks are rounded, pear-shaped note-heads, a high incidence of red semiminims, boldly articulated pen-strokes in the formation of y-shaped G-clefs, directs with narrow oscillations and straight tails, and the use of red ink for fermata and for doubling of bar-lines). The first two sources form a clear pair, in terms of scribal

style, ink mix and stave gauges; CHOIRBOOK 2a and ZWICKAU 95b also form a pair, and probably came from the same book (as is indicated by the identical ornamentation schemes of ZWICKAU 95b verso and CHOIRBOOK 2a/i, f. iii^v). *GB-Cu* Nn.6.46 belongs to the CHOIRBOOK 2a family, and its notation was certainly copied by the same hand. Although very different in style and function from the manuscripts in this family, it provides a chronological indicator for the set as a whole, as it was almost certainly copied before the death of Henry VII in April 1509.

- GB-Ob* Lat. liturg. a. 9 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. liturg. a. 9, ff. 5–6^v. Description: *CCM* 2, 283–4. Parchment leaves, 518 × 415 mm (trimmed down from approximately 595 × 430 mm),⁴ no prickings visible due to trimming of folios. Black free-ruled staves, 19–20 mm high, with vertical and horizontal frame-rulings. Full black notation with full red imperfection and semiminims; black and red text underlay, as in *ETON*. Note-heads similar in style to *ETON*, as are blue/red flourished initials on f. 6^v. Vestiges of a choirbook of the 1490s; contains two Magnificat settings, both fragmentary: one anonymous (f. 6^v), the other a concordance to *E75* (ff. 5–6).
- NOTTINGHAM 20332 Nottingham, Nottinghamshire Archives, PR/20332. Parchment strip, 160 × 403 mm, in binding of parish register, Clarborough (Notts.), 1567–1789. Feint vertical frame-rulings, no prickings visible. Black free-ruled staves, 22.5 mm high and 345–355 mm long. Full black notation with full red coloration; black and red text underlay in a carefully-written *textura*, with blue-red flourished initial. Rounded note-heads are of the same type as those in CHOIRBOOK 2a, and other shared attributes (particularly G clef) demonstrate common scribal origin; the flourished initial is similar to those in CHOIRBOOK 2a/i.
- CHOIRBOOK 2a CHOIRBOOK 2a and CHOIRBOOK 2b (see below) comprise the dispersed fragments of (probably) two early sixteenth-century choirbooks which were dismembered for binding scrap in the early seventeenth century: the sigla used here are derived from Curtis/Wathey, 23, where the fragments were designated 'Lost Choirbook 2' in distinction to an earlier 'Lost Choirbook 1' which had been identified by Margaret Bent as the remnants of a mid-fifteenth-century choirbook (Bent 1974, 1984, 1996). No detailed description has yet been made.⁵ The fragments are characterised by two scribal styles, CHOIRBOOK 2a has rounded, pear-shaped note-heads, CHOIRBOOK 2b has bold, diamond-headed note-heads.
- i. Oxford, New College, [printed book] *Ω*.14.5: two vellum binding strips, approximately 320 mm high, folded to make four 'folios'. Black staves, 18–19 mm high; full black notation with full red and black void coloration, with rounded note-heads; black and red text underlay. Initials: blue/red flourished, and one in gold with brown tracery and spray. Contains fragments of:
Stabat mater (anon.):⁶ final opening, right (ff. i/ii^v + iii/iv^v);
Salve regina (Cornysh = *E19*): first opening, left (ff. i^v/ii + iii^v/iv)
- ii. Oxford, New College, [printed book] C.1.2: parchment binding strip, 406 × 10 mm. Although very fragmentary, this was the work of the same scribe as CHOIRBOOK 2a/i, with stave lines 4.5 mm apart (giving stave height of 18 mm), and rounded note-heads in full black notation. This apparently bears *E3* (see below).⁷
- iii. Oxford, All Souls College, MS 330, f. 18. Descriptions: *CCM* 2, 268–69; WatsonA 1997, 226–27. The first of two parchment leaves recovered from the binding of a seventeenth-century college account book. Measuring 357 × 415 mm (but originally around 500 × 420 mm). Feint vertical frame-rulings, no prickings visible. Black free-ruled staves, 19–21 mm high, c. 325 mm long. Rounded note-heads: full black notation with full red and black void coloration; black text underlay. Contains *E3* (recto: RH of the second of four openings; verso: LH of third opening).
- iv. Chester, Cheshire and Chester Archives, ZCX/1, f. 17. Parchment leaf extracted from binding, much stained and trimmed, 180 × 160 mm. Black free-ruled staves, 17–18.5 mm high. Rounded note-heads: full black notation, no coloration present; black and (much-faded) red text underlay. Provides fragmentary continuation of *E3* (RH of fourth opening; see above) and part of the first opening (LH side) of *E35*.
- ZWICKAU 95b Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek, MS 95b. Description in *CCM* 4, 205–06; its scribal affiliation with *GB-Cu* Nn.6.46 (below) has been established by Theodor Dumitrescu;⁸ the wider affiliation with CHOIRBOOK 2a has not previously been noted. Early sixteenth-century parchment leaf, 500 × 380 mm; written area approximately 400 × 300 mm. Black free-ruled staves, 16–18 mm high. On recto: full black notation with black void semiminims and coloration; black text underlay. On verso: full black notation with full red semiminims and coloration; black and red text underlay; ornamental initials in gold leaf with black tracery and blue with red tracery. No concordances with *ETON*; contains (recto) Mass *Dame sans pere* with attribution to John Ludforde, end of *Agnus Dei*, and (verso) an anonymous Mass *The false my*, beginning of *Gloria*.⁹ Evidently the same scribe as manuscripts listed above: the verso is identical in format, including illumination style, with CHOIRBOOK 2a/i, f. iii^v.
- GB-Cu* Nn.6.46 Cambridge, University Library, MS Nn.6.46. Description by Bowers in Fenlon 1982, 118–19; edition: Collins 1927. Early sixteenth-century parchment booklet of eighteen folios (modern pencil foliation), 586 × 448 mm; written area 471 × 356 mm. Feint vertical frame-rulings, some horizontal rulings; no prickings evident. Black free-ruled staves, 18–21 mm high. Full black notation with black void, full red and red void coloration and full red semiminims. Scribal concordance with NOTTINGHAM 20332, ZWICKAU 95b and CHOIRBOOK 2a; black and red text underlay carefully written between guidelines; some blue and gold plain capitals. Elaborate and finely executed illuminations: a king¹⁰ and nobleman, painted (f. 2); black and polychrome strap-work (f. 14); and gold letters on red/blue fields with white tracery. This was evidently a presentation manuscript, probably courtly, intended to impress with its physical splendour and notational virtuosity.¹¹ Some physical resemblance to *ETON*, although page layout is dissimilar (staves here are custom-ruled throughout, for instance). No concordances with *ETON*.¹²

³ As suggested by Dumitrescu (in 'A lost mass book').

⁴ Not 595 × 415 mm, as given in *CCM* 2, 283: loss of ornamental spray on f. 6^v suggests trimming of 10–15 mm or more from edge of leaf.

⁵ But see Curtis/Wathey, 23.

⁶ Curtis/Wathey ref. O558.

⁷ Curtis/Wathey, 23, 61.

⁸ Theodor Dumitrescu, 'A lost mass book and scribal activity at the court of Henry VII', delivered at Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference, Bangor University, 24 July 2008. I am most grateful to Dr Dumitrescu for a copy of his paper and accompanying materials.

⁹ Curtis/Wathey refs. M24 and M25.

¹⁰ Probably Henry VII, as the texts emanating from the two figures are an encomium to mature experience ('make age your guide ... By youth of truth

ye can not speede'); in contrast with the cult of youth as expressed in the pitch-spiral motet, *Salve radix*, copied in the exuberantly illuminated choirbook, *GB-Lbl* Roy. 11.E.xi, whose recipient was evidently the young Henry VIII (see Dumitrescu 2007, 129–47 and Dumitrescu).

¹¹ By 1531 a similarly eye-catching choirbook had made its way into the household chapel of Henry Fitzroy, natural son of Henry VIII: 'Item oon grete booke of masses noted conynngly with craftie prikking all on parchment' (Longleat, Archives of the Marquess of Bath, Misc. MS xvii, f. 89^v (23 June 1531): inventory of chapel goods 'in the custodie of William Swalowe clerke of the closette with the said duke and of Edward Jonson, yeman of the vestrie' (f. 70): my thanks to Prof. Andrew Wathey for this reference).

¹² But see Caldwell 1991, 216n, regarding Ronald Woodley's ingenious attribution of the Mass *O quam suavis* to Robert Wylkynson.

- CHOIRBOOK 2b The following fragments are characterised by bulbous diamond-headed notes, angular figure-of-eight G clefs, the over-writing of red notes on black void outlines, directs with hook looping widely around a bold dot. This latter characteristic is also seen in *GB-Cu* Nn.6.46, which is in the same hand as CHOIRBOOK 2a; another common feature of both layers is the use of red ink to ornament bar-lines and fermata. Text underlay in the second layer, however, is a quite distinctive gothic rotunda similar in style to that found in HARLEY 1709 and *GB-Lbl* 70516Z.
- i. Oxford, All Souls College, MS 330, f. 19. Descriptions: *CCM* 2, 268–69; WatsonA 1997, 226–27. Parchment leaf measuring 330 × 410 mm (originally around 500 × 420 mm), recovered from the binding of a seventeenth-century college account book, together with f. 18 (see above). Grey vertical frame-rulings, no prickings visible. Grey free-ruled staves, 17–18 mm high, c. 335 mm long. Diamond note-heads: full black notation with full red coloration and black void semiminims and *fusae* over-written in full red; black and red text underlay. Contains part of RH of first opening and LH of the second of an anonymous *Salve regina* (Curtis/Wathey: O503) which originally occupied four openings.
 - ii. London, Royal College of Physicians, MS 734. A direct continuation from the preceding (f. 19): three vellum leaves, 595 × c. 395 mm, cut in half and used to bind Decretals in Oxford, c. 1600 or later. Grey vertical and horizontal frame-rulings as in All Souls MS 330, no prickings visible. Grey free-ruled staves in same ink as frame-rulings, 15–18 mm high and approx. 300 mm long. Diamond note-heads: full black notation with black void semiminims and *fusae* over-written in full red; black and red text underlay (with ornamental over-writing of selected black texts with red ink). Provides incomplete continuation of the All Souls *Salve regina*: RH of second opening (1a^v/1b^v) and LH of third opening (1a/1b); and a second anonymous motet, *O intemerata et in eternum*.¹³ Although not contiguous with it, this latter motet shares with the *Salve regina* an atypical arrangement of voice-parts on the page (with Contratenor uppermost, Triplex in the middle, then Tenor).¹⁴
- WESTMINSTER ABBEY London, Westminster Abbey, MS 103. Listed in Curtis/Wathey, 16 (and briefly described in Bowers 2003, 55). Parchment leaf, 165 × 350 mm, but originally approximately 330 × 240 mm (used as binding scrap for printed book of 1545). Black free-ruled staves, 12–15 mm high, between black horizontal and vertical frame-rulings; black void notation with full black coloration; black text underlay. Contains Medius and Triplex respectively of anonymous Sanctus-Benedictus composed c. 1500. No concordances with ETON.

Sources post-dating ETON:

- GB-Oas* SR 59.b.13 Oxford, All Souls College, MS SR 59.b.13. Identified by Margaret Bent in 1972; preliminary description in WatsonA 1997, 262; further description and edition: Bray 2004. Parchment leaf, 280 × 380 mm, cut into two equal halves and used as paste-downs in a book printed in Basel in 1533. The leaf was in turn trimmed down from a folio of approximately 560 × 380 mm). Black vertical frame-ruling (no pricking visible), black free-ruled staves, 18–22 mm high; full black notation with black void coloration; black text underlay; no initials, but spaces left for their insertion. Contains fragments of Robert Fayrfax's Mass *O quam glorifica*: Benedictus (Bassus/Medius) and Agnus Dei (Triplex/Tenor). Copied after 1511, in which year Fayrfax submitted this Mass as his Oxford doctoral exercise.¹⁵
- GB-Ob* Lat. liturg. a. 6 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. liturg. a. 6, f. 113. Description in *CCM* 2, 282. 124 parchment folios of varying sizes, recovered from bindings sometime before 1894, from unspecified sources (Frere *BML* 1, 141, §426). Folios 109^{r-v} and 113^{r-v} contain music copied by different scribes. The first leaf (f. 109^{r-v}; early sixteenth century) contains an anonymous Continental Magnificat¹⁶ on black rastrum-ruled staves (no frame-ruling), in black void notation, written in angular, diamond-headed notes; underlay in black; plain red and blue initials. The second leaf (f. 113^{r-v}: 179 × 330 mm), a much-trimmed remnant from a larger early sixteenth-century choirbook unrelated to f. 109, comprises the end of one Mass (verso: Agnus, 'Dona nobis pacem') and the beginning of another (recto: Gloria). Written on black free-ruled staves, in black void notation with full black coloration, black text underlay, no initials (but with space left for their insertion). Probably English. No concordances with ETON.
- GB-Ob* Mus. e. 21 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Mus. e. 21. Description in *CCM* 2, 290. Ten parchment folios, 200 × 250 mm (much trimmed down from original size, perhaps 500 × 320 mm or more). Used as wrappers for SADLER. No frame-ruling; black free-ruled staves, 14–16 mm high; black void notation with full black coloration; black text underlay; no initials, although large spaces were left for their insertion (in custom-ruled staves). Fragmentary leaves from a larger choirbook, containing fragments of the Gloria and Credo of an anonymous Mass *Veni creator spiritus* or *Salvator mundi domine* (Benham 1977, 58; Harrison *MMB*, 260–61 with partial transcription). Copied c. 1510 (probably not late fifteenth century: *CCM*) by one scribe in a stylised script: text is a narrow textualis formata with characteristic form of straight s and abundant hair-lines; music has diamond-headed notes and idiosyncratic, rounded G-clefs. No concordances with ETON.
- RIPON 20 Ripon, Cathedral Library, MS 20 (XVII.B.49) (now at Brotherton Library, Leeds University). Description in *CCM* 4, 108. Early sixteenth-century parchment sheet, approximately 280 × 195 mm, used as wrapper for a theological book owned by Anthony Higgin, dean of Ripon, 1608–24, but possibly acquired in Cambridge. Free-ruled staves, 15 mm high, between vertical frame-rulings; black stave lines; black void notation with full black coloration; black text underlay. Contains Bassus part only, for an unidentified motet (recto) and anonymous *Salve regina* (recto and verso) of the same generation as (but not concordant with any of) the ETON settings. Layout and dimensions suggest this was a rotulus, similar in function to BUXTON 96 and ARUNDEL A340, rather than part of a choirbook.
- HENRY VIII London, British Library, Additional MS 31922 (the Henry VIII MS). Descriptions: *CCM* 2, 64–65 and StevensJ 1979, 386–425 (with transcriptions of song texts); edition: MB 18. Vellum book, 129 folios, 309 × 211 mm, with variable written area. Black frame-rulings and free-ruled staves, 14–16 mm high and approximately 160 mm long (leaves pricked, as is indicated by identical placement of staves recto/verso, although holes evident only at top left of frame-ruling); black void notation with full black coloration; black text underlay; red, gold and blue flourished initials with red or black tracery. Simultaneous variations in ink colour (staves, notation, text underlay) and piece-specific page layout indicate custom-ruling of staves and close collaboration of music/text copyists. No repertory or scribal relationship with ETON. Contains puzzle canons, chansons, carols, courtly songs, basse danse settings and other secular forms by continental and English composers (including Agricola, Busnois, Févin, Isaac, Prioris, and van Ghizeghem; Cornysh, Dunstaple, Fayrfax, Lloyd and Pygott), as well as 33 compositional essays by Henry VIII himself. Copied within the social milieu of the king, either c. 1515 (StevensJ 1979, 386), or c. 1518 (Fallows 1993, 27), or c. 1522 (Helms 2009).

¹³ Curtis/Wathey: O378. The text, a long prayer to the BVM and St John the Evangelist, 'jewels of heaven', probably originated at Cîteaux in the twelfth century, and became a near-universal staple of Books of Hours (Sutton/Visser-Fuchs 1990, 56).

¹⁴ This same tell-tale anomaly is present in All Souls MS 330 f. 19, where the large empty space below the Tenor part betokens its placement at the foot at the folio, with the Triplex immediately above it.

¹⁵ Bray 2004, p. x; unfortunately, this fragment is unlikely to have been the submission copy itself, in which the Tenor's mensural complexities would surely have been rendered in polychrome notation.

¹⁶ Harrison *MMB*, 348n, notes that this is 'the only English Magnificat in which the odd verses are set', instead of the even-numbered verses. In fact, the setting is a typical Continental Magnificat rather than an atypical English one.

- GB-Lbl 30520** London, British Library, Additional MS 30520, ff. 2–3. Description: *CCM* 2, 61. Two leaves from a choirbook copied c. 1520. Original dimensions: 565 × 416mm, written area approximately 450 × 325 mm. Black free-ruled staves, 16–18 mm high; diamond-headed full black notation with black void semiminims and both black void and full red coloration; black and red text underlay. Comprises: Sanctus and Agnus Dei *le Roy* by (Nicholas?) Ludford, which is based on the same cantus firmi as Ludford's Lady Mass for Sunday; and Gloria and Credo *Sancte Cuthberte* by Thomas Ashwell. The latter gives the fragments a clear *terminus post quem* of 1513, when Ashwell was appointed cantor at Durham Cathedral Priory (a post he vacated 1524x5); composition of a new mass in four or five parts to the honour of St Cuthbert was one of Ashwell's conditions of service (Harrison *MMB*, 430). No concordances with ETON.
- CAIUS** Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 667 (the Caius Choirbook). Description by Roger Bowers in Fenlon 1982, 126–28. Very large choirbook of c. 1525 comprising 97 vellum folios, 718 × 483 mm (trimmed down from approximately 740 × 515 mm), with written area 571 × 394 mm; alphabetical signatures, as in MS 178, with modern pagination. Between five and fifteen black free-ruled staves each side; full black notation with black void coloration; text underlay in black only. Probably copied for use at St Stephen's Chapel in the Palace of Westminster: commissioned by Edward Higgons, chaplain to Henry VIII, master of Arundel College, and canon of (inter alia) St Stephen's. Contains Masses and Magnificat settings, including E75 (pp. 118–21: incomplete).
- LAMBETH** London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 1 (the Lambeth Choirbook). Description: Fugler 1983. Facsimile edition with contextual source study: *Lambeth 1* (Skinner). Large choirbook of c. 1525 now comprising 94 vellum folios of 665 × 465 mm; originally consisted of eleven gatherings of eight folios and a twelfth gathering of nine folios; modern foliation. Commissioned by Edward Higgons (see above, CAIUS), for use at Arundel College or perhaps at another institution in which Higgons held a canonry (concerning the provenance, see Skinner 1997; also correspondence between David Skinner and Roger Bowers in *Early Music*, 33 (2005), 155 and 659–64. Contains Masses, antiphons and Magnificat settings and includes E3 (ff. 52^v–56) and E75 (ff. 66^v–69).
- ARUNDEL A340** Arundel Castle, Archives of the Duchy of Norfolk, A340. Description by Roger Bowers and William Summers in Bowers/Wathey 1984, 300–06; Skinner 1997 and Skinner 2003. Parchment membrane, 553 × 260 mm, bearing 16 black rastrum-ruled staves, 14–15 mm high (no pricking; no frame-rulings); black void notation with full black coloration; black text underlay. In same hand as LAMBETH and CAIUS choirbooks: probably written in Arundel, c. 1525. *Rotulus*, containing Bassus only of a unique setting of *Gaude flore virginali* by [Nicholas] Ludford.
- CARVER** Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS Adv. 5.1.15 (the Carver Choirbook). Descriptions: Stevens 1959, and Woods 1984. Comprises 180 paper folios, 375 × 280 mm. Black free-ruled staves; black void notation with full black coloration; black text underlay. Copied over several decades, from 1503 or later until c. 1546 for use at either Scone Abbey or, more likely, the royal collegiate church of St Mary and St Michael in Stirling Castle. Contains Masses (including Du Fay's Mass *L'homme armé*), Magnificat settings and antiphons, including unica for all of Carver's attributed works, and concordances for E19 (ff. 136^v–41), E70 (ff. 119^v–23), and E73 (ff. 127^v–32).
- CAMBRIDGE UJ** Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.13.27, and Cambridge, St John's College, MS 234 (K.31). Contratenor and Bassus books from a set of (originally) five partbooks. Description by Roger Bowers in Fenlon 1982, 129–31. Vellum leaves, 327 × 229 mm, with written area 248 × 184 mm. Nine black rastrum-ruled staves each side; black void notation with full black coloration; black text underlay. Copied c. 1525–30, probably in East Anglia. Contains E30 (ff. 6^v–8/5–6^v), E32 (ff. 8^v–10/7^v–8^v) and E75 (ff. 31^v–32/34^{r-v}).
- GB-Lbl 70516Z** London, British Library, Add. MS 70516, f.80 (olim Loan 29, Volume 333 (b)). Descriptions: *CCM* 2, 97–98; Sandon 1993, 367–75 (with partial transcription). Parchment leaf (one of three parchment fragments), measuring approximately 238 × 345 mm. Recto has seven black free-ruled staves between vertical frame-rulings, black void notation with full black coloration, black text underlay, and an elaborate black strapwork initial. Verso is blank. Either a single voice-part *rotulus* or the upper half of a leaf from a choirbook, originally measuring approximately 500 × 345 mm. Contains Triplex part of anonymous *Adoro te Domine* (concordant with the Medius in HARLEY 1709 below). In same notation and texting hand(s) as HARLEY 1709; texting (but not notation) in similar style to CHOIRBOOK 2b.
- HARLEY 1709** London, British Library, Harley MS 1709. Descriptions: *CCM* 2, 92–93 and Sandon 1993. Triplex/Medius partbook, fifty-seven paper folios, 265 × 190 mm ('Medius: xxij. antemns in these bokes' on fragment of original parchment cover). Black void notation; black text underlay; elaborate strapwork initials. Copied c. 1530; provenance not known. Contains motets by Thomas Ashwell, William Cornysh, Hugh Aston, Robert Fayrfax, Thomas Tallis, John Taverner and others. Has concordances for E19 (ff. 51^v–53), E30 (ff. 22–24^v), E31 (ff. 31–33), E32 (ff. 20–21^v), E33 (ff. 35–37) and, possibly, the lost E38 (see NEW COLLEGE FRAGMENTS above).
- GB-Lbl 34191** London, British Library, Additional MS 34191. Description: *CCM* 2, 70, and *CCM* 4, 426. Bassus partbook, 51 paper folios, 240 × 175 mm. Black void notation with black underlay; principal layer has blue/red initials. Copied c. 1530; provenance not known. Contains Masses, Magnificat settings and antiphons by Thomas Ashwell, Hugh Aston, William Cornysh, Richard Davy, Robert Fayrfax, Robert Jones, Richard Pygott and John Taverner. Has concordances for E19 (f. 17), E33 (ff. 20–22^v) and E 75 (f. 45; incomplete).
- PETERHOUSE** Cambridge, University Library, Peterhouse MSS 471–474. Descriptions: Sandon 1976, Sandon 1983/2009 and Roger Bowers in Fenlon 1982, 132–35. Four partbooks of a set of five (Triplex, Medius, Contratenor and Bassus: the Tenor is lost). Between 94 and 137 paper folios, 285 × 197 mm, with written area 235 × 168 mm. Nine pre-ruled black staves per page, with some use of rastrum. Copied rapidly by one scribe (Thomas Bull?) in black void notation with full black coloration; text underlay in black. Copied c. 1540 for use at the newly re-founded Canterbury Cathedral, drawing upon repertory from Magdalen College, Oxford. Contains 71 compositions by Robert Fayrfax, Nicholas Ludford, John Merbecke, Thomas Tallis, Christopher Tye and others. Has concordance for E75 (ff. 89, 80^v, 98^v, and 78b^v).
- SADLER** Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Mus. e. 1–5 (the 'Sadler Partbooks'). Description in *CCM* 2, 289. Five paper partbooks, 205 × 280 mm. Copied by John Sadler in Northamptonshire, 1568–85 (Mateer, 1979). Contains motets, Lamentations, a Mass and other music by Aston, Byrd, Crecquillon, Fayrfax, Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder, Robert Johnson, Merbecke, Morley, Sheppard and others. See also *GB-Ob Mus. e. 21*.
- BALDWIN** London, British Library, MS R.M. 24.d.2 ('John Baldwin's Commonplace Book'). Description and inventory: Bray 1974. Paper book; the body of which comprises 188 folios, 285 × 250 mm. Compiled between c. 1586 and 1606 by John Baldwin, tenor, successively lay clerk at St George's Chapel, Windsor (1575–98) and gentleman of the Chapel Royal (1598–1615). A miscellany of Latin and vernacular sacred music, Italian and English secular pieces copied in several layers in score and choirbook formats. Contains the sole concordance for E93 (f. 188^v).

Baldwin almost certainly copied direct from ETON, as suggested by his copying of Wylkynson's original marginalia (with idiosyncratic expansion of some scribal abbreviations); ETON must therefore have been readily accessible in the late sixteenth century (the date 1594 is written in a cartouche next to Baldwin's elaborate strapwork initial 'I' on f. 188^v). The layout, elevated scribal manner (with elegant, diamond-headed notes, in contrast to the rounded forms used elsewhere in BALDWIN), placement of apostles' names and, perhaps most tellingly, the pre-planned copying of the canon on the final verso, are all unambiguously indebted to ETON.

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ECR 12	Windsor Deeds, 451–700
ECR 13	Windsor Deeds, 701–950
ECR 31	Eton Deeds, 381–573
ECR 58	‘The College Statutes’, translated by Noel Blakiston (Eton, 1973): see 60/1a below
ECR 60	Principal administrative records: statutes, registers, lease books, etc.: Statutes: ECR 60/1/1a (<i>Liber Originalis</i>) ECR 60/1/2 (Vice-Provost’s Book) Registers: ECR 60/14–15 (Registers 1 & 2: 1457–1575 inclusive) ECR 60/297 (Lease Book Register, 1445–1531) Election rolls: ECR 60/154–163 (1444–1503)
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ECR 62	Bursary account books (years of account ending at Michaelmas): Audit books: ECR 62/1: 1505–06 to 1528–29 ECR 62/2: 1529–30 to 1544–45 ECR 62/3: 1550–51 to 1559–60 Bursars’ drafts: ECR 62/37: 1526–27 to 1539–40 ECR 62/38: 1541–42 to 1552–53
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Discography

ETON was a relative latecomer to the discography of English music. A partial recording of Richard Davy's St Matthew Passion (E92) provides the slenderest of threads to the era of the 78 r.p.m. disc; a handful of selected pieces featured in broadcasts and LP recordings after the first BBC transmission in December 1951, but the recording history of ETON started in earnest with Grayston Burgess's two LPs issued in 1968. These were the first recordings devoted exclusively to, and carrying the name of, the Eton Choirbook; they also bore witness to the impact of Frank Harrison's *Musica Britannica* edition which had been completed in 1961 (Harrison himself wrote the sleeve notes for Burgess's LPs).

The 1970s were to bring about a step-change: despite only marginal growth in the catalogue of recordings and broadcasts, the foundation in that decade of professional ensembles (most notably The Tallis Scholars and The Sixteen) paved the way for a surge in subsequent activity.

As these ensembles reached full maturity a decade later, the advent of the CD and digital recording transformed the technological landscape, facilitating both longer playing times and greater fidelity of sound production: the fruits of this happy coincidence can be seen when the number of recordings issued in the 37 years between 1951 and 1988 (12) is compared with the number issued in the 21 years since (21). In large part through the efforts of Harry Christophers and The Sixteen, the 1990s proved the most fertile decade, each year from 1991 onwards producing at least one new recording. To date, while 30 pieces are available on disc; 20 complete compositions remain unrecorded, including both surprising and unsurprising omissions.¹

Although the discography is late and remains incomplete, its prehistory can be traced back to the 1920s. *The History of Music in Sound*, issued in ten sets of LPs between 1953 and 1959, originated as a series of broadcasts given in the late 1940s on what was then the British Broadcasting Corporation's Third Programme (now BBC Radio 3), under the general editorship of one of the Third Programme's progenitors, Gerald Abraham.² He and Dom Anselm Hughes, who provided the sleeve notes for the third set, co-edited the eponymous volume of the *New Oxford History of Music*, a series to which *HMS* was a companion.³ Hughes, a member of the (Anglican) Benedictine community at Nashdom, had enlisted the help of Dr Henry Ley, precentor of Eton, in order to provide live performances when he introduced ETON to the Musical Association, now the RMA, in February 1927.⁴

The listeners (whose reactions to both the lecture and its accompanying samples were mixed) included Sir Richard Runciman Terry who, as choirmaster of Westminster Cathedral (1902–24), had introduced Richard Davy's Passion into the choir's pioneering repertory of

Renaissance polyphony in 1921.⁵

Terry could therefore speak with some authority on the manuscript,⁶ having directed the first public performance for nearly three centuries of music from a manuscript which he knew at first hand.

Terry's early departure from Westminster, however, has deprived us of a permanent memorial to his visionary achievement as a choir-trainer: had he remained in post a year or two longer, the discography of ETON may well have begun in the 1920s rather than the 1950s.⁷

Collaboration between performers and scholars, not always characteristic within the discography of Tudor music, played a formative influence in early ETON recordings, and continues to shape its discography. Frank Harrison inevitably looms large: the debut broadcasts, recorded in Eton College chapel for broadcast on the BBC's Third Programme during the 1951 Christmas season, were made under his auspices, and it was his voice that introduced the listening public for the first time to ETON, its music and its significance.

The 1951 broadcasts also pre-date the publication of Harrison's edition by five years and more (although, as Harold Rutland noted, Harrison had already completed his transcription of the manuscript at the time the 1951 broadcasts were recorded).⁸ Harrison's edition, in itself a monumental work of pioneering scholarship, must therefore have drawn directly on his experience in preparing transcriptions for these premier performances. Where Harrison led, others have followed, and the discography is typified by collaborations between scholars and secular ensembles more than is usually the case in later English repertoires, whose discographies carry fingerprints of the Anglican choral tradition.⁹

Doctrinal, linguistic and practical impediments no doubt explain ETON's low profile within the repertoires of working church choirs (and their correspondingly limited representation within the choirbook's discography). It can hardly be a coincidence that the most frequently recorded and performed piece—by an exceedingly wide margin—is William Cornysh's atypical *Ave Maria mater Dei*.

This 59-bar miniature enjoys cardinal advantages (brevity, simplicity and men-only scoring) that trump the incompatibility of its text with the most fundamental (if largely ignored) tenets of Anglican theology; it is therefore a firm favourite in many cathedral and collegiate music lists, and has been recorded so often as to receive only selective notice in the following list.

Also selectively noted here are radio broadcasts, except where these were premier recordings or where they have yet to be superseded by commercial recordings.

¹ The more regrettable omissions include Walter Lambe's large-scale *O Maria plena gratia* (E3), William Horwood's *Salve regina* (E17: an important example of the late-fifteenth-century style in formation) and John Browne's *Salve regina* for lower voices (E28); more problematic, on account of their texts, are John Browne's motets *Stabat virgo mater Christi* (two settings: E7 and E60) which, like his *O Mater venerabilis* (E55: 1966 Prague), are virulently anti-Semitic; Walter Lambe's four-part *Gaude flore virginali* (E63) remains unrecorded probably because of its daunting rhythmic complexity.

² On these seminal broadcasts, see StevensD 1958.

³ Hughes/Abraham 1960. As a member of the editorial board of *Musica Britannica* since the inception of the series in 1951, Abraham had also participated in the planning of Harrison's edition (MB 10–12).

⁴ See HughesDomA 1926. Only the lay clerks attended the meeting, hence the choice of pieces sung (E65 and an extract from E91).

⁵ Day 1989, 17.

⁶ As he was at pains to point out: see HughesDomA 1926, 81. On Terry's ousting as editor of the *Tudor Church Music* series in 1922, see Turbet 1995 and Turbet 2000; Terry's lengthy and rather prickly comments on Hughes's paper (HughesDomA 1926, 78–81) reveal something of the causes of, and emotional fall-out from, his strained working relationships.

⁷ As noted in Roche 1988, 235–36. The first recording of Tudor music made by an English church choir (Mudd's 'Let thy merciful ears', sung by the choir of St George's, Windsor), issued in 1925, the year after Terry's premature retirement, was directed by one of his nemeses on the editorial board of *TCM*, Edmund Fellowes.

⁸ Rutland 1951.

⁹ Among practising church musicians: Bernard Rose of Magdalen College, Oxford (1953), Michael Howard of Ely Cathedral (1953 and 1964), Alfred Deller, originally of Canterbury Cathedral (1966), Stephen Cleobury of King's College, Cambridge (1988) and Stephen Darlington of Christ Church, Oxford (2009). Collaborative enterprises, however, have yielded the more plentiful fruit: Frank Harrison with Henry Washington (1951) and Grayston Burgess (1968); David Skinner with Andrew Carwood (1995–2000); John Milsom with The Sixteen (1991–95).

- 1951 Schola Polyphonica/Henry Washington: 'The Eton Choirbook', broadcast on BBC Third Programme, 17 and *27 December 1951 (recorded Eton College Chapel, 14 December 1951), with spoken introduction by Frank Harrison; E1, E5, E21, *E34
- 1953 *The History of Music in Sound, 3: Ars Nova and Renaissance*, Bodley Singers/Bernard Rose* and Renaissance Singers/Michael Howard (HMV HMS 29, 1953); 78 r.p.m.; E75 (extracts), *E92 (extracts)
- 1964 Renaissance Singers/Michael Howard; BBC Third Programme, broadcast 27 March 1964 (recorded Chelsea, London, 26 March 1963); British Library Sound Archive 813W-814W; E92
- 1965 *Treasury of English Church Music, 1: 1100-1545*, Ambrosian Singers/Denis Stevens (HMV CLP 3504, 1965); LP; includes E65
- 1966a *Musique à la cour d'Henri VIII*, Deller Consort/Alfred Deller (*Musique de Tous les Temps* 42, 1966); 45 r.p.m.; E26
- 1966b *Old English Vocal Music—11th-17th Centuries/Anglická Vokální Hudba XI.-XVII. století*, *Prague Madrigal Singers/Miroslav Venhoda & Musica Antiqua Vienna/René Clemencic et al. (Supraphon SUA 10714, 1966); LP; recorded Prague, 1963); *E55
- 1968a *Eton Choirbook, 1*, Purcell Consort of Voices & Choristers of All Saints' Margaret Street, London/Grayston Burgess (Argo ZRG 557, 1968); LP; recorded London, n.d.; E92
- 1968b *Eton Choirbook, 2*, Purcell Consort of Voices & Choristers of All Saints' Margaret Street, London/Grayston Burgess (Argo ZRG 558, 1968); LP; recorded London, n.d.; E5, E15, E50, E52, E65, E70
- 1977a *Tudor Church Music*, BBC Singers/John Poole (Coimbra CC044, 1977); LP; recorded Kilburn, London, January 1975 (also broadcast BBC Radio 3, 22 February 1976); E8, E15, E21
- 1977b *English Sacred Music of the Sixteenth Century*, Tallis Scholars/Peter Phillips (Fanfare FR 2197, 1977); LP; recorded Hampstead, London, n.d.; E15
- 1978 *Early Tudor Music*, London Early Music Group/James Tyler (RCA Victor 2519(2), 1978); 2 LPs; recorded Richmond, Surrey, n.d.; E65 (2nd LP)
- 1980 *Golden Age of English Sacred Music*, The Scholars (Arion ARN 31939, 1980); LP; E65, E73
- 1981 *Salve regina: Music from the Eton Choirbook*, Sixteen/Harry Christophers (Meridian E 77039, 1981); LP; recorded London, October 1980; E15, E20, E52, E61, E65
- 1982 *Stabat Mater: Music from the Eton Choirbook*, Sixteen/Harry Christophers (Meridian E 77062, [1982]); LP; recorded London, 1982; E5, E8, E32, E66
- 1988a Choir of King's College, Cambridge/Stephen Cleobury: 'Choral Evensong', broadcast live from King's College Chapel, BBC Radio 3, 27 April 1988); British Library Sound Archive T9486Y; E23
- 1988b Tallis Scholars/Peter Phillips, broadcast BBC Radio 3, 6 May 1988 (recorded live, Cerne Abbas, Dorset, 11 June 1987); British Library Sound Archive 10092Y-10093Y; E65, E70
- 1988c *Tallis Scholars/Peter Phillips & Pro Musica Sacra/Bruno Turner, broadcast live from Holborn, London, BBC Radio 3, 31 October 1988; British Library Sound Archive T9564BW; contents, a reconstruction of Sarum Vespers c. 1500, *E34
- 1988d *William Cornysh: Stabat Mater*, Tallis Scholars/Peter Phillips (Gimell CDGIM 014, 1988); recorded Salle, Norfolk, n.d.; contents all by Cornysh, E19, E48, E65
- 1989 *Taverner—Browne—Carver: Masterworks from late-medieval England and Scotland*, Taverner Choir/Andrew Parrott (EMI Reflexe CDC 7496612, 1989); recorded Hackney, London, November 1986 and September 1987; E1, E5
- 1991 *The Rose and the Ostrich Feather: Music from the Eton Choirbook, 1*, Sixteen/Harry Christophers (Collins Classics 13142, 1991); recorded Orford, Suffolk, May 1990; E8, E19, E27, E75
- 1992a *The Crown of Thorns: Music from the Eton Choirbook, 2*, Sixteen/Harry Christophers (Collins Classics 13162, 1992); recorded Orford, Suffolk, March 1991; E5, E32, E48
- 1992b *The Pillars of Eternity: Music from the Eton Choirbook, 3*, Sixteen/Harry Christophers (Collins Classics 13422, 1992); recorded Orford, Suffolk, May 1992; E15, E30, E61, E65, E93
- 1993 *The Flower of all Virginity: Music from the Eton Choirbook, 4*, Sixteen/Harry Christophers (Collins Classics 13952, 1993); recorded Orford, Suffolk, May 1993); E1, E2, E20, E70
- 1994a *Music from the Eton Choirbook*, Eton College Chapel Choir/Ralph Allwood (Chatsworth FCM 1004, 1994); recorded Eton College Chapel, 1991 and 1994; E52, E70, E92
- 1994b *Millennium*, Westminster Abbey Choir/Martin Neary (Sony Classical SK 66614, 1994); recorded Westminster Abbey, May, July and *October 1994; E65
- 1995a Cardinal's Musick/Andrew Carwood: 'Music for St Alban', broadcast live from St Alban's Cathedral, BBC Radio 3, 26 October 1995); National Sound Archive H5979/1; E35
- 1995b *The Voices of Angels: Music from the Eton Choirbook, 5*, Sixteen/Harry Christophers (Collins Classics 14622, 1995); recorded Orford, Suffolk, January 1995); E18, E21, E34, E91
- 1996 *Robert Fayrfax, 3: Missa Albanus, O Maria Deo grata, Eterne laudis lili-um*, Cardinal's Musick/Andrew Carwood (ASV Gaudeamus CD GAU 160, 1996); recorded Arundel, Sussex, October 1995 and January 1996; contents all by Fayrfax, E57 (omitting bars 83-186 which lack two voices)
- 1997a *William Cornysh: Latin Church Music* Cardinal's Musick/Andrew Carwood (ASV Gaudeamus CD GAU 164, 1997); recorded Arundel, Sussex, January/February 1996; E19, E65, E66
- 1997b *My Fayre Lady: Tudor Songs and Chants*, Lionheart (Nimbus NI 5512, 1997); recorded Monmouth, June 1996; E9
- 1997c *Creator of the Stars: Christmas Music from Earlier Times*, Pomerium/Alexander Blachly (Deutsche Grammophon Archiv 449 819-2A1-I, 1997); recorded New York, May 1996; E71
- 1998a *Robert Fayrfax, 4: Missa O bone Jesu, Salve regina, Magnificat O bone Jesu*, Cardinal's Musick/Andrew Carwood (ASV Gaudeamus CD GAU 184, 1998); recorded Arundel, Sussex, January and May 1996 and May 1997; contents, all by Fayrfax, including E26
- 1998b *The Musical Book of Hours*, Pomerium/Alexander Blachly (Deutsche Grammophon Archiv 289 457 586-2, 1998); recorded New York, May 1997; E27
- 1999a *Robert Fayrfax, 5: Missa Regali ex progenie, Lauda vivi Alpha et O, Magnificat Regali*, Cardinal's Musick/Andrew Carwood (ASV Gaudeamus CD GAU 185, 1999); recorded Arundel, Sussex, January 1996 and May 1997; contents, all by Fayrfax, including E75
- 1999b *Mediaeval Carols—The Mystery of Christmas Night: Words and Music from the Middle Ages*, Opus Anglicanum (Herald AVPCD212, 1999); recorded Bath, July 1997; E36
- 2000a *Music at All Souls, Oxford: the Lancastrians to the Tudors*, Cardinal's Musick/Andrew Carwood (ASV Gaudeamus CD GAU 196, 2000); recorded All Souls College Chapel, February 1999); E30, E52
- 2000b *Magnificat*, Chanticleer/Joseph Jennings (Teldec 81829, 2000); recorded Nicasio, California, 2000; E65
- 2005 *John Browne: Music from the Eton Choirbook*, Tallis Scholars/Peter Phillips (Gimell CDGIM 036, 2005); recorded Salle, Norfolk, n.d.; E1, E5, E8, E9, E20
- 2009 *More Divine Than Human: Music from The Eton Choirbook*, Choir of Christ Church, Oxford/Stephen Darlington (Avie AV2167, 2009); recorded Oxford, March 2009; E5, E19, E34, E50, E73
- 2010 *Unrecorded Pieces from Eton College MS 178*, The Eton Choirbook Project/Magnus Williamson (Newcastle University ICMuS Sounds, 2010: online at <<http://www.ncl.ac.uk/music>>); recorded November 2009; E17, E22, E24, E25, E29, E35, E36, E49, E55, E64

FACSIMILE

Key to Facsimile captions

Each image is identified as follows (see also Inventory and Catalogue of Compositions):

Verso (Left-hand page)

Original quire signature / modern folio (sixteenth-century folio) / Catalogue number (position in Harrison's edition: MB 10–12)

Recto (Right-hand page)

Catalogue number (position in Harrison's edition: MB 10–12) / modern folio (sixteenth-century folio) / original quire signature

Appendix

Gutter Images and Notes on the Photography

The policy of DIAMM in creating images of documents is to place the welfare of the book ahead of the requirement to obtain pictures that are ideal for facsimile reproduction. Images should serve a preservation purpose by providing virtual access to the contents of the book, but creating them should not in any way damage the original source. If the binding is tight or too delicate to allow the book to open flat, then as good an image as possible is obtained. Even if this is not perfect or ideal, it is usually sufficient for the great majority of scholarly and performing needs, and the original artefact remains undamaged by the process. The only way to get an ideal picture of a page (i.e. completely flat and with nothing hidden in the gutter) would be to disbind the book, and even that is only considered if there is a conservation reason for disbinding. There was no question of disbinding the Eton Choirbook so the imaging was done with the book in its bound state.

Some photography of manuscripts has been undertaken by placing special photographic glass over the original leaf, which minimizes cockling and edge-curl. Unfortunately, as ink written onto parchment and vellum stands proud of the surface, it often sticks to glass that is placed on it and comes off when the glass is lifted. Glass is never used by DIAMM, and cockling or other irregularities in the surface are treated as an intrinsic part of the book, which should therefore not be artificially removed.

The manuscript was photographed in a darkened room, illuminated with daylight-balanced cold fluorescent tubes with no harmful ultra-violet spectrum output. The exposure of each leaf to the damaging effects of light was therefore considerably less than if they had been placed in a display case in normal indoor daylight conditions for a day.

The considerable size of the book meant that the imaging needed to be undertaken with a PhaseOne PowerPhase FX 144-megapixel scanning back in order to create images of archive quality. This work was completed in March 2002 in the College Library. Each image (or exposure) took about 6 minutes, which meant that the book had to be firmly held in position for each shot using chamois leather to protect the leaves and a system of pressure-sensitive clamps. The system does not use a cradle; instead the book is placed flat on the camera-stand base with the camera shooting vertically down onto a horizontal plane. Keeping the shooting plane horizontal allows gravity to keep the pages flat and prevents the weight of the leaves from causing the pages to slip inward towards the spine. However, opening any bound book causes the pages to lift and create a rise at the gutter edge. The best way to minimise this is to work with the book half closed—or at least opened as little as possible. For the most part the binding of the Eton Choirbook allows the book to be opened more than 90° without stress, but because there was significant lifting at the gutter edge (and to avoid stressing the binding unnecessarily) the book was not opened more than about 95°. This meant that the pages being photographed usually lay reasonably flat on those beneath them. Some images of pages may appear slightly distorted at the inner edge due to the curvature of the book at the gutter, and a number have been adjusted in shape for this publication to minimise this distortion.

Thanks to generous margins in the original ruling of *ETON* there is no textual loss in the gutters of the present binding. Positioning the manuscript for photography did however cause writing in the left-hand margins of some recto pages to be clipped by the inner edge of the facing page. Eton College kindly allowed us to revisit the book in 2009 to obtain

images of the gutter margins of these pages using a PhaseOne P45+ single-shot camera (39 megapixels). These images were obtained by shooting at an angle into the gutter of the book. Because the P45+ takes almost instantaneous pictures the book could be held open by hand at the best angle for obtaining these shots. These pictures are not at the resolution of the original images, and no attempt has been made to join the original images and these new ones together. They are reproduced in this appendix (in grayscale) as reference images to show any text that is not visible in the facsimile pages.

Show-through is always present in manuscript sources such as this. The fact of its existence is part of the book, and to remove it artificially for publication would be to create a facsimile that did not accurately represent the state of the book as it is now—and in fact the book probably always would have had some show-through visible. In comparison with many other medieval and early modern parchment and vellum music manuscripts the condition of *ETON* is excellent, and show-through is minimal, since the quality of the original skins was so good. No steps have been taken to adjust the images in this reproduction so the foregoing pictures, apart from being reduced in size, are an accurate representation of the appearance of the manuscript today. It is possible to minimize the effect of show-through by inserting a sheet of acid-free paper of the same colour as the ink under the leaf being photographed, but this darkens the parchment, which is partially transparent. Placing a parchment-coloured sheet under the leaf lightens the parchment colour, but exaggerates the show-through of the ink. On balance there is little to be gained by using coloured backing, particularly in a manuscript where the show-through does not significantly affect the legibility of the document, so the most accurate picture can be taken by leaving the leaves lying against their natural neighbours.

All DIAMM images include a full colour-gamut scale, grayscale and a ruler, which enable us to check the colour integrity and exact size ratio of every image. However this part of the image is never reproduced in a facsimile and I would like to acknowledge the extraordinary work of Giovanni Varelli, who was responsible for the first level of image-preparation: that of removing the background of each image. In order to show the true edges of each page cleanly in the reproduction, meticulous work had to be done on the digital images, tracing the edge of each page, every hole or blemish, and even the edges of the pricking holes using a mouse or graphic tablet, then deleting everything unwanted to leave a white background. It requires a good eye, steady hand and exceptional patience.

We are extremely grateful to the librarians and archivists of Eton College, who have accommodated and assisted our visits, giving every possible help in photographing the manuscript and producing this facsimile, and to the Provost and Fellows of the College for permitting us to create this publication.

The original images of the Eton Choirbook, including the colour and size scales that have been trimmed off for this reproduction, are available to view at full size at www.diamm.ac.uk. The website provides free access to images of medieval music manuscripts from libraries all over the world, and the collection is constantly growing as new images are donated or obtained by DIAMM. A number of facsimile publications are planned that will make some of the most important of these musical sources, and many lesser-known manuscripts, available in print.

JULIA CRAIG-MCFEELY
OXFORD
JUNE 2010



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a.4 / 4 (4)



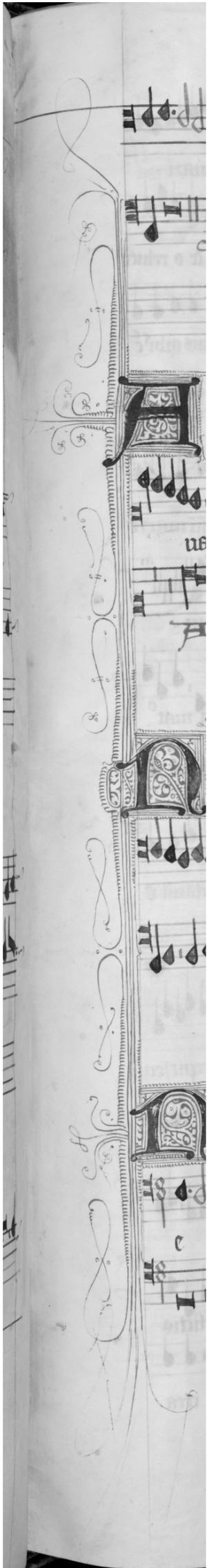
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a.6 / 6 (6)



a.7 / 7 (7)



b.1 / 8 (8)



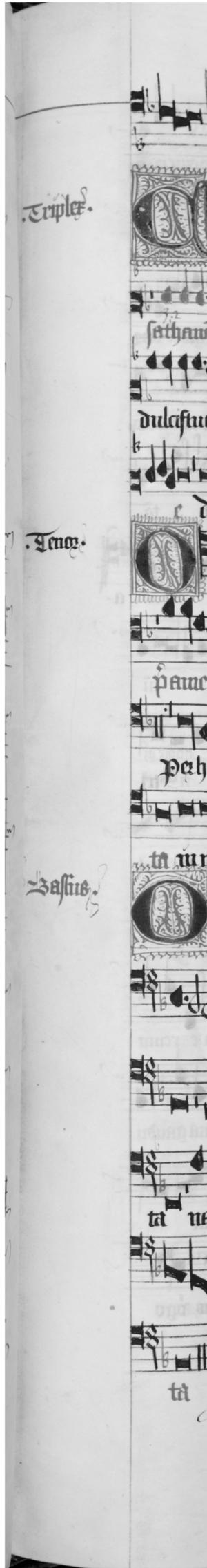
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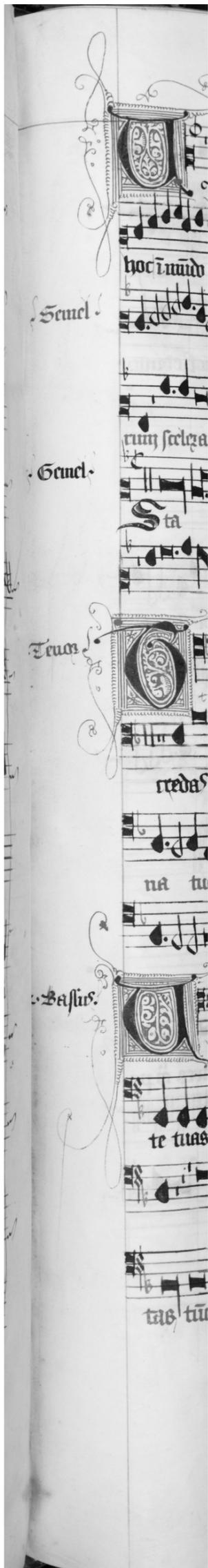
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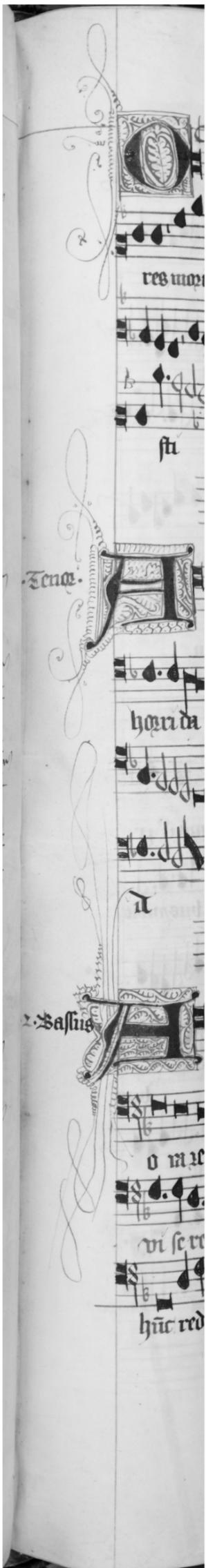
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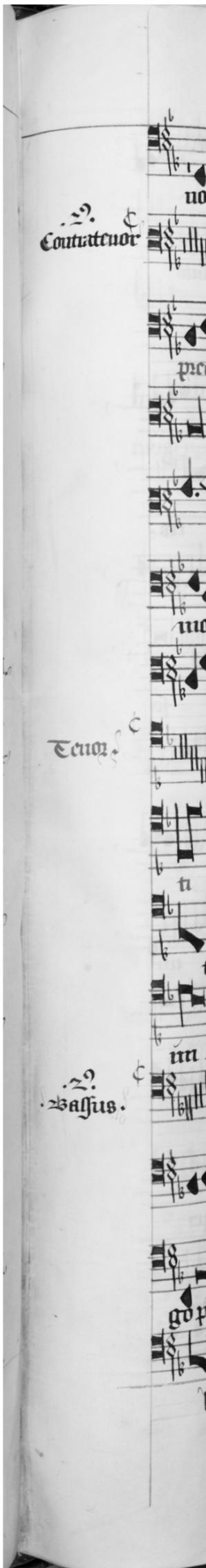
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c.7 / 16 (22)



c.8 / 17 (23)



d.2 / 19 (25)



d.6 / 23 (29)



f.3 / 26 (33)



f.4 / 27 (34)



f.5 / 28 (35)



f.6 / 29 (36)



g.2 / 31 (40)



g.3 / 32 (41)



g.4 / 33 (42)



g.5 / 34 (43)



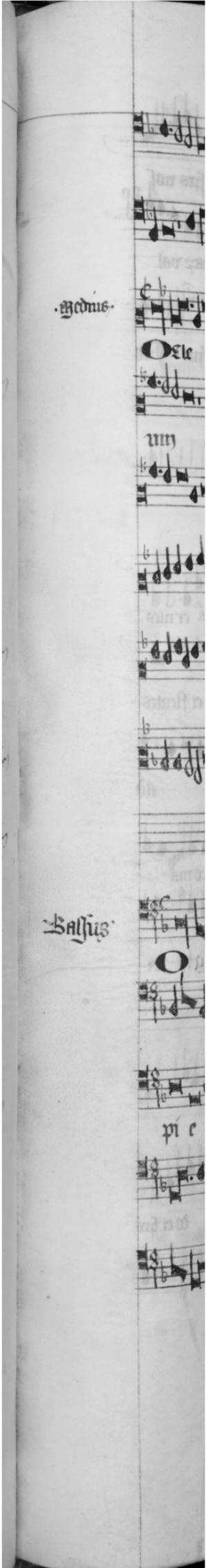
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g.7 / 36 (45)



g.8 / 37 (46)



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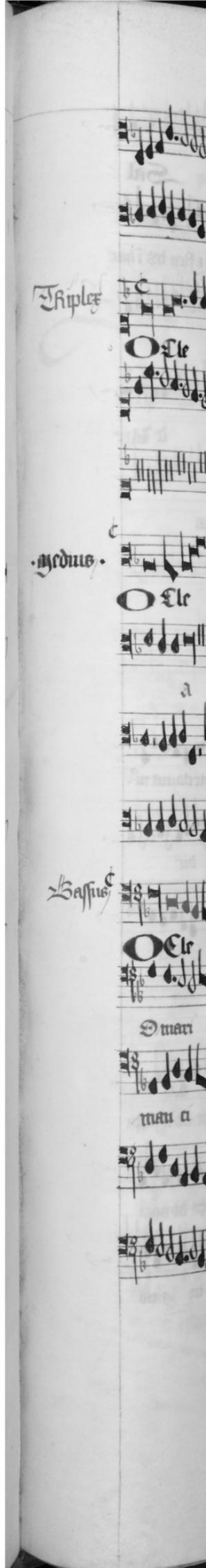
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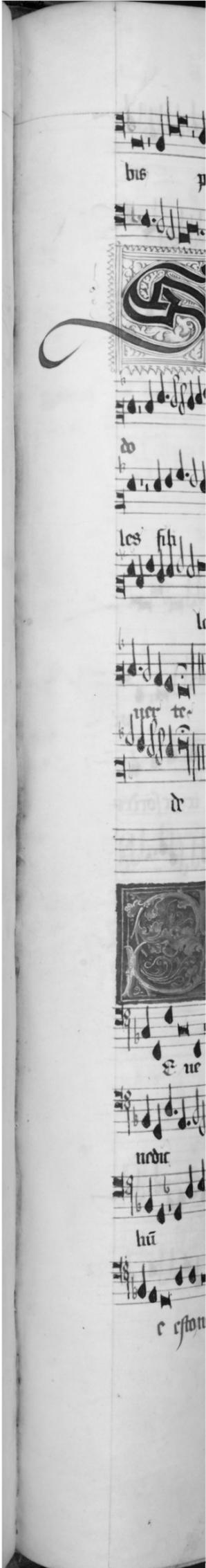
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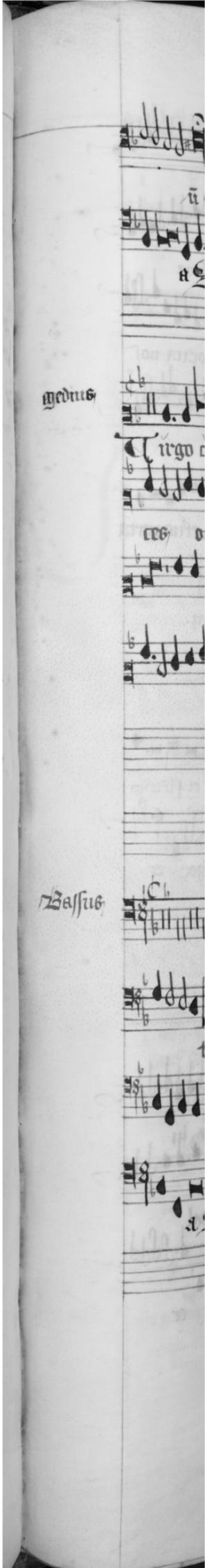
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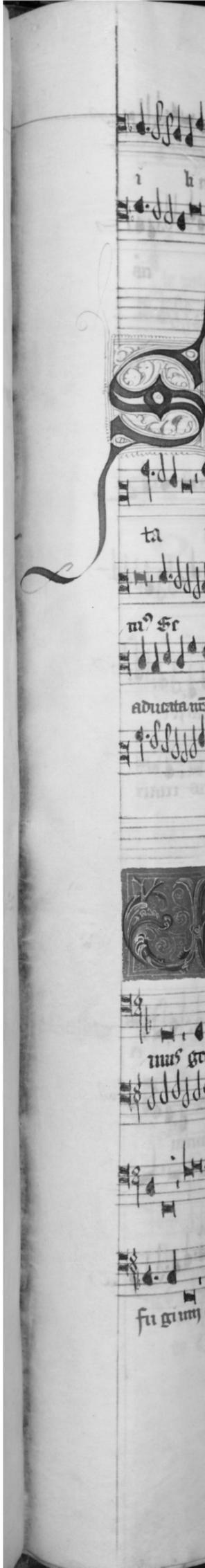
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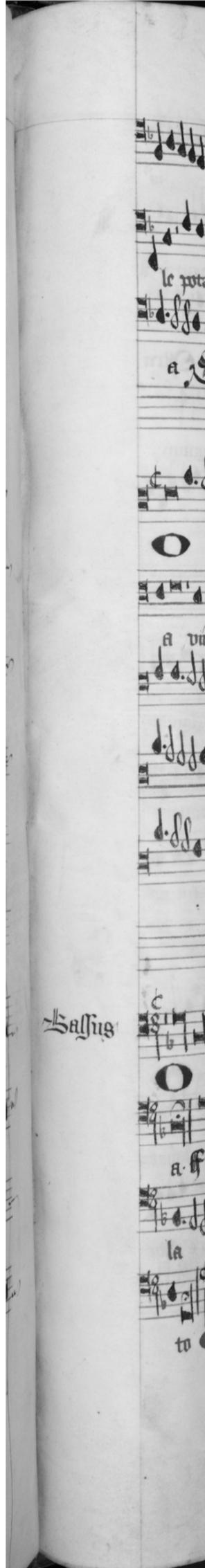
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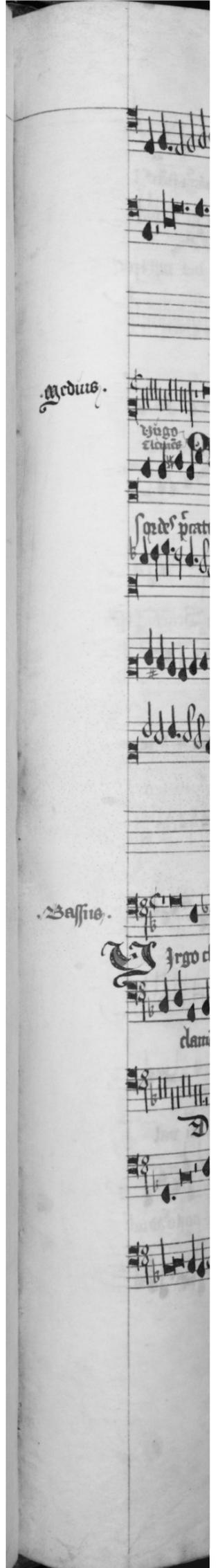
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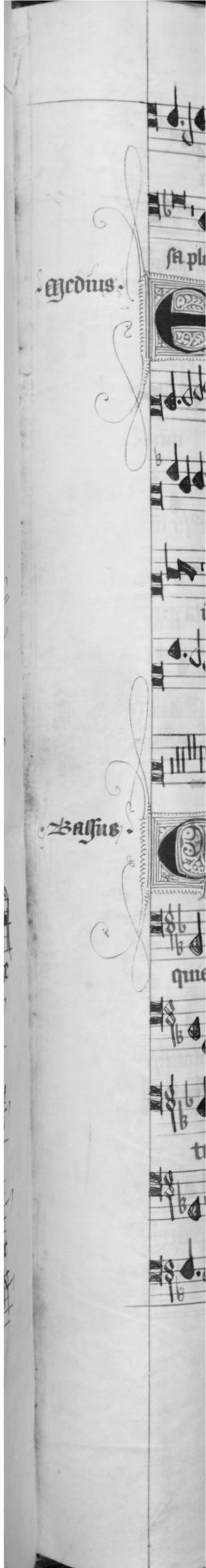
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1.3 / 64 (72)



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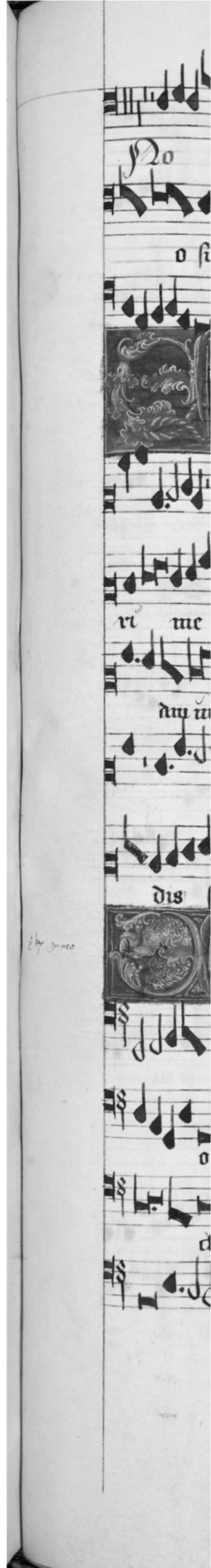
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