Music and Sanctity in England, *c.*1260 – *c.*1400

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Abstract

Most medieval English polyphonic music is considered to have been created apart from political circumstances. This study focuses on issues of nationalism in music, from the definition of Englishness itself to the veneration of patron saints. The liturgical and hagiographical references found in motets in honour of figures such as St Edward the Confessor, Simon de Montfort, St Katherine of Alexandria and St Edburga of Pershore reveal their composers to have been aware of regional and national issues in the political life of the wider realm. Monophonic and polyphonic works also helped to forge the idea of an English identity, one that was both patriarchal and Christian, and the second part of this study addresses music relating to women and to Jews. The period selected, from the last part of the reign of Henry III to the abdication of Richard II, allows observations to be made about the changing shape of regionalist and nationalist patronage during this period, in the years preceding the formidable impact of the cult of St George in the fifteenth century.

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Abbreviations

AH	G. M. Dreves, C. Blume and H. M. Bannister eds. (1886-1922): *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi.* 55 vols. Leipzig, Berne and Münich: Francke.
AM	*Acta Musicologica*
AMS	*American Musicological Society*
AS	W. H. Frere (1901-1924, repr. 1966): *Antiphonale Sarisburiense: A Reproduction in Facsimile from Early Manuscripts with a Dissertation and Analytical Index.* London: Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, repr. Farnborough: Gregg Press.
BS	Francis Procter and Charles Wordsworth, eds. (1879-86): *Breviarium ad usum insignus ecclesiae Sarum.* 3 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
BVM	Blessed Virgin Mary
CM	*Current Musicology*
CMM	*Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*
EECM	*Early English Church Music*
EETS os	*Early English Text Society, original series*
EETS ss	*Early English Text Society, supplementary series*
EHR	*English Historical Review*
EM	*Early Music*
EMH	*Early Music History*
GL	William Granger Ryan trans. (1993): *Jacobus de Voragine. The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints.* 2 vols. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
GiL	Richard Hamer and Vida Russell eds. (2000): *Supplementary Lives in Some Manuscripts of The Gilte Legend, EETS os* 315. New York: Oxford University Press.
JAMS	*Journal of the American Musicological Society*
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
JM	*Journal of Musicology*
JMH	*Journal of Medieval History*
JPMMS	*Journal of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society*
JRMA	*Journal of the Royal Musical Association*
La	Th. Graesse ed. (1890, repr. 1969): *Legenda aurea, vulgo historia lombardica dicta,* by Jacobus de Voragine. Osnabruck: Otto Zeller.

MB	*Musica Britannica*
MD	*Musica Disciplina*
ML	*Music and Letters*
MQ	*The Musical Quarterly*
MR	*The Music Review*
MT	*Musical Times*
New Grove 2nd Edition	Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell eds. (2001): *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 2nd Edition.* London: Macmillan Press.
PL	*Patrologica Latina*
PMFC	*Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*
PMFC 1	Schrade, Leo (1956, repr. 1974): *The* Roman de Fauvel*; the Works of Philippe de Vitry; French Cycles of the* Ordinarium Missae. *PMFC* 1. Monaco: Editions L'Oiseau-Lyre.
PMFC 14	Ernest Sanders ed. (1979): *English Music of the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries. PMFC* 14. Paris and Monaco: Editions L'Oiseau-Lyre
PMFC 15	Frank Harrison and Peter M. Lefferts eds. (1980): *Motets of English Provenance. PMFC* 15. Monaco: Editions L'Oiseau-Lyre.
PMFC 16	Frank Harrison, Ernest Sanders and Peter M. Lefferts eds. (1983): *English Music for Mass and Offices. PMFC* 16. Monaco: Editions L'Oiseau-Lyre.
PMFC 17	Ernest Sanders, Frank Harrison and Peter M. Lefferts eds. (1986): *English Music for Mass and Offices (II) and Music for Other Ceremonies. PMFC* 17. Monaco: Editions L'Oiseau-Lyre.
PMM	*Plainsong and Medieval Music*
PMMS	*Plainsong and Medieval Music Society*
RISM	*Répertoire Internationale des Sources Musicales.*
Rolls Series	*Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores*
RMARC	*Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*
SEL	Charlotte D'Evelyn and Anna J. Mill eds. (1956-9): *South English Legendary.* 3 vols. *EETS os* 235, 236, 244. London: Oxford University Press.

Biblical quotations in Latin are taken from the Vulgate. Translations are taken from the translation of the Vulgate (which follows the Douay version (1609) for the Old Testament, and the Rheims edition (1582) for the New Testament). All music manuscript sources will be referred to by their most recent library sigla, usually following *RISM,*

or by their most common title. The full shelf-marks of all both musical and non-musical sources are listed below. Folios are referred to as f.1 (for recto) or f.1v (for verso), and membranes of parchment rolls are numbered m.1, or m.1 (dorse) for the reverse side. In the text, DRc 20, 2 indicates the second item in Durham, Cathedral Library, MS C. I. 20.

Sources in British Libraries:

Abu 2379/1	Aberdeen, University Library, MS 2379/1
Berk 55	Berkeley Castle, Select Roll 55
Ccc 404	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 404
Ccc 410	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 410
Ccc 473	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 473 (The Winchester Troper)
Cfm	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum Library, 47-1980 (olim Bradfer-Lawrance 34 (3))
Cgc 230/116	Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 230/116
Cgc 512/543	Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 512/543
Cgc 667	Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 667
Cjc D.27	Cambridge, St John's College, MS D.27
Cjc K. 31	Cambridge, St John's College, MS K.31
Cjc 138	Cambridge, St John's College, MS 138 (F.1)
Cjc 262	Cambridge, St John's College, MS 262
Cjec 1	Cambridge, Jesus College, MS Q.B.1
Cjec 5	Cambridge, Jesus College, MS Q.B.5
Cmc 1236	Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys 1236
CO A3	Coventry, City Record Office, A3
Cp 31	Cambridge, Peterhouse, MS 31 (Peterhouse Partbooks)
Cp 32	Cambridge, Peterhouse, MS 32 (Peterhouse Partbooks)
Cp 40	Cambridge, Peterhouse, MS 40 (Peterhouse Partbooks)
Cp 41	Cambridge, Peterhouse, MS 41 (Peterhouse Partbooks)
Cpc 228	Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 228
Ctc 0.2.1	Cambridge, Trinity College, 0.2.1
Ctc 0.3.58	Cambridge, Trinity College, 0.3.58
Cu Dd.13.27	Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.13.27
Cu Ee.I.12	Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee.I.12
Cu 6	Cambridge, University Library, MS Kk.i.6
Cu 18	Cambridge, University Library, MS Ji.V.18
Cu 314	Cambridge, University Library, Pembroke MS 314
Cu 4435	Cambridge, University Library, MS Additional 4435
DRc A. II. 10	Durham, Cathedral Church, Dean and Chapter Library, MS A. II.10
DRc 8	Durham, Cathedral Church, Dean and Chapter Library, MS C. I. 8
DRc 11	Durham, Cathedral Church, Dean and Chapter Library, MS A.III.11
DRc 20	Durham, Cathedral Church, Dean and Chapter Library,

	MS C. I. 20
DRc XXV	Durham, Cathedral Church, Dean and Chapter Library, Locellus XXV, no. 18
DRc XXVII	Durham, Cathedral Church, Dean and Chapter Library, Locellus XXVII, no. 35 (olim. DRc Miscellaneous Charter 7071 (c))
DRu Comm. Cart.	Durham, University Library, Communer's Cartulary (Binding Fragments)
DRu 13	Durham, University Library, Bamburgh Collection, Sel 13
Dtc 519	Dublin, Trinity College, MS 519 (E.1.29)
En 5.1.15	Edinburgh, Advocates Library, MS 5.1.15 (Carver Choirbook)
Ir 30	Ipswich, Suffolk County Record Office, HA30: 50/22/13.15
Lbl A. VI	London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A. VI
Lbl A. XXV	London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A. XXV
Lbl A. XXVII	London, British Library, Royal 17 A. XXVII
Lbl B. IX	London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B. IX
Lbl C. XVII	London, British Library, Royal C. XVII
Lbl D. XVIII	London, British Library, Titus D. XVIII
Lbl E. IX	London, British Library, Cotton Galba E. IX
Lbl 3.B.III	London, British Library, Royal 3.B.III
Lbl 5.F.vii	London, British Library, Royal 5.F.vii
Lbl 12.C.xii	London, British Library, Royal 12. C. xii
Lbl 83 I	London, British Library, Arundel 83 I
Lbl 83 II	London, British Library, Arundel 83 II
Lbl 248	London, British Library, Arundel 248
Lbl 274	London, British Library, Egerton 274
Lbl 436	London, British Library, Lansdowne 436
Lbl 636	London, British Library, Harley 636
Lbl 1210	London, British Library, Sloane 1210
Lbl 1709	London, British Library, Harley 1709
Lbl 1991	London, British Library, Egerton 1991
Lbl 2104A	London, British Library, Egerton 2104A
Lbl 2593	London, British Library, Sloane 2593
Lbl 2615	London, British Library, Egerton 2615
Lbl 2888	London, British Library, Harley 2888
Lbl 2951	London, British Library, Harley 2951
Lbl 3307	London, British Library, Egerton 3307
Lbl 4664	London, British Library, Harley 4664
Lbl 4909	London, British Library, Additional 4909
Lbl 5665	London, British Library, Additional 5665 (Ritson Manuscript)
Lbl 24198	London, British Library, Additional 24198
Lbl 25031	London, British Library, Additional 25031.

Lbl 27630	London, British Library, Additional 27630
Lbl 27866	London, British Library, Additional 27866
Lbl 34049	London, British Library, Additional 34049
Lbl 34191	London, British Library, Additional 34191
Lbl 40000	London, British Library, Additional 40000
Lbl 40011B	London, British Library, Additional 40011B
Lbl 40725	London, British Library, Additional 40725
Lbl 40011B*	London, British Library, Additional 40011B*
Lbl 57950	London, British Library, Additional 57950
Lbl 61887	London, British Library, Additional 61887
Lbl 62132A	London, British Library, Additional 62132A
Lbl 65243	London, British Library, Additional Charter 65243
Lbl 70513	London, British Library, Additional 70513
Lbl 8835	London, British Library, Additional 8835
Lbl 978	London, British Library, Harley 978
Llp 1	London. Lambeth Palace, MS 1
Llp 241	London, Lambeth Palace, MS 241
Llp 752	London, Lambeth Palace, MS 752
LIc 52	Lincoln, Library of the Dean and Chapter, MS 52, Binding Fragments
Lli 1	London, Lincoln's Inn, MS Misc. 1 (Misc. 45)
Lpro E101/372/11	London, Public Record Office, E101/372/11
Lpro E163/22/1/24	London, Public Record Office, E163/22/1/24
Lpro E372/135	London, Public Record Office, E372/135
Lwa 33327	London, Westminster Abbey, MS 33327
NWr 299	Norwich, Norfolk and Norwich Record Office, MS Flitcham 299
Oas 7	Oxford, Codrington Library, All Souls College, MS 7
Ob Auct.F.Inf.i.3	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct.F.Inf.i.3
Ob A.I	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Astor A.I
Ob A.VIII.47	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ewelme Muniments A.VIII.47 (3)
Ob A.1	Oxford, Bodleian Library, English Poetry A.1
Ob C.34	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Dep. Deeds, Christ Church C.34 / D.R.3*
Ob C.87*	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Add.C.87*
Ob D. 3	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Liturgical D. 3
Ob D. R. 3*	see Ob C.34
Ob D. 6	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Dep. Deeds, Christ Church C.34 /D. 6
Ob E.1	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Eng. Poet E.1
Ob 7	Oxford, Bodleian Library, e museo 7
Ob 20	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Latin liturgical d.20
Ob 26	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Arch. Selden B. 26

Ob 34	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 34
Ob 60	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mus.c.60
Ob 81	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 81
Ob 87	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Additional C.87*
Ob 89	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 89
Ob 114	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud. Misc. 114
Ob 143	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mus.d.143
Ob 302	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 302
Ob 354 – 8	Tenbury Wells, St Michael's College (deposited in the Bodleian Library, Oxford), MS 354 – 8
Ob 400*	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C400*
Ob 497	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Corpus Christi College 497
Ob 591	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Wood 591
Ob 652	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 652
Ob 779	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS 779 (S. C. 2567)
Ob 1464	Tenbury Wells, St Michaels' College (deposited in the Bodleian Library, Oxford), MS 1464
Oba 354	Oxford, Balliol College, 354
Occc 144	Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 144
Omc 266/268	Oxford, Magdalen College, MS 266, 268
Omec 62	Oxford, Merton College Library, MS 62.F.8
Onc 57	Oxford, New College, MS 57
Onc 362	Oxford, New College MS B 362, a collection of numbered fragments with modern continuous foliation. The polyphonic source Onc 362 is fragment XXVI, and the abbreviation refers to this unless otherwise specified. Onc 362, fragment IX (f.32) is a chant source containing Office items in honour of St Edmund, King and Martyr.
SHRs VI	Shewsbury School, MS VI
Wis C.3.8	Wisbech, Wisbech and Fenland Museum, Town Library [Pr.Bk.] C.3.8
WOc 68	Worcester, Cathedral Library, Additional 68
WF	The Worcester Fragments. WOc 68, Ob 20 and Lbl 25031
Y xvi.N.3	York, Minster Library, MS xvi.N.3

De Lisle Psalter	Lbl 83 II
Egerton Manuscript	Lbl 3307
Eton Choirbook	Windsor, Eton College Library, MS 178
Fountains Fragments	Lbl 40011B, Lbl 40011B* and Lbl 62132A
Howard Psalter	Lbl 83 I
Harnhulle Psalter	Downside Abbey Psalter, MS 26533
Hungerford Hours	Lbl 61887
Longleat Breviary	Longleat House, MS 10
Lost Choirbook 2	Chester, Town Archive, CX/1
Old Hall Manuscript	Lbl 57950
Vernon Manuscript	Ob A.1

Sources held outside the UK:

Bamberg Codex	Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, Lit. 115 (olim Ed.IV.6)
B-Br 5557	Belgium, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 5557
D-Gu 220	Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staatsund Universitätsbibliothek, Theol.220g
Ellesmere Psalter	San Marino, Huntington Library, EL 9 H 17
F-Pn 23190	France, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. Acq. Fr. 23190
F-TO 925	France, Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, 925
I-AOs 15	Aosta, Seminario Maggiore, 15 (olim A1 D 19)
I-AOs 19	Aosta, Seminario Maggiore, 9-E-19 (olim MS 4)
I-Fl Plut. 29.1	Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Pluteus 29, Codex 1
I-MOe α X.1.11	Modena, Biblioteca Etense α.X.1.11
I-Rvat B80	Italy, Rome, Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, S. Pietro B80
I-TRbc 92	Italy, Trent, Castello del Buonconsilio 92 (Trent 92)
Ivrea Codex	Ivrea, Biblioteca capitolare, 115
Cl	La Clayette Manuscript. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouv. aqu. f. fr. 13521
Las Huelgas Codex	Burgos, Monasterio de las Huelgas
Lucca	Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 238
Ma	Madrid, Bibliteca Nacional de Madrid, MS 20486
Mo	Montpellier Codex. Montpellier, Faculté de Médecine, H.196
NYpm 978	United States, New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library, MS 978
StV	St Victor Manuscript. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 15139
Trent 87	Italy, Trent, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 87
Trent 88	Italy, Trent, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 88
Trent 90	Italy, Trent, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 90
Trent 92	Italy, Trent, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 92
Trent 93	Italy, Trent, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 93
US-Cu	United States, Chicago, University Library 654 app.
US-PRu 103	United States, Princeton University Library, Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts, 103
US-PRu 119	United States, Princeton University Library, Garrett 199
US-SM Cc	United States, San Marino. *Christmas carolles newely Inprynted.* No shelf mark.
W1	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 677

W2	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 1099
W3	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 499

Other manuscripts cited in the text

Kiel, University Library, SH 8 A 8vo
Lincoln, The Castle, Lincolnshire Archives Office, Archives of the Dean and Chapter, MS Dij 51/3(4)
London, Sion College, MS Arc. L 40. 2.

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Music and Sanctity in England, *c.*1260 – 1400

Chapter 1

Introduction

The Office for the Translation of St Thomas of Canterbury, written in the early part of the thirteenth century, claimed that natives of England shared a special place in God's creation, a status that was central to Thomas's own holiness:

> Let all the English people exult in the Lord, since the heavenly King particularly distinguished this people above all others when he forechose from it a man without spot, in order to make one of the English, set among the angels, an intercessor for the people's salvation.[1]

The English may not have been alone in considering themselves as God's chosen people during the Middle Ages, but the effects of this prevailing view were felt in every artistic field from liturgical prose to the visual arts. The concept of sanctity is defined by the holiness of an individual's life, but the precise grounds for canonisation were

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[1] Lesson 7 of the Office of the translation of St Thomas of Canterbury; Sherry Reames (2000): 'Liturgical Offices for the Cult of St. Thomas Becket.' In Thomas Head ed., *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, 561-93. New York and London: Garland, cited from pages 585-6.

ambiguous in this period.[2] It was believed that a person could be elevated toward the status of the divine through a life of pious works; posthumous miracles performed at the tomb of the individual were considered additional proof of sanctity, but they were not an essential element of it. By the later Middle Ages, many of the ancestors of the English ruling and religious classes had been canonised; for this class of society, beatification was not considered out of reach. The evidence lay in the abundance of Anglo-Saxon royal saints, particularly in comparison to the relatively rare canonisation of rulers from the rest of Europe during the earlier Middle Ages. Anglo-Saxon England had more royal saints than any other part of Europe, and the cults of these saints had far more political consequence than their continental counterparts.[3]

The thirteenth-century *Legenda aurea,* arguably the most influential hagiographical collection of the later Middle Ages, recorded Pope Gregory I's famous comparison between the English people and angels:

> Another day, when Gregory was walking through the marketplace in Rome, he noticed a group of young men,

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[2] Jennifer R. Bray (1984): 'Concepts of Sainthood in Fourteenth-Century England.' *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester* 66/2, 40-77; Aviad M. Kleinberg (1989): 'Proving Sanctity: Selection and Authentication of Saints in the Later Middle Ages.' *Viator* 20, 183-205.

[3] Gábor Klaniczay (2002): *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe.* Trans. Eva Pálmai. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 78.

handsome in form and features, whose blond hair attracted admiring attention. They were slaves and were being sold. Gregory asked the trader where they came from, and he answered: 'From Britain, where all the inhabitants have the same fair skin and blond hair as these do.' Gregory asked if they were Christians, and the merchant replied: 'No, they are benighted pagans.' Gregory groaned sadly and said: 'What a pity, that the prince of darkness should possess these radiant faces!' He then asked the name of that people and was told that they were called Angles. 'And well named!' he said, 'The name sounds like Angels and their faces are angelic.'

(*GL:* 172)

This play-on-words suited the English imagination very well, the point of the story being that the angelic looks that exemplified the country's men and women were matched, by this later period, by their Christian faith. Later adaptations in English texts such as the *South English Legendary* delighted in reproducing the details of this episode (*SEL:* 81-4, lines 18-98). For the English, heaven was a reflection of their terrestrial existence, since it contained choirs of angels cast in their own image.

Sacred music produced and sung in England during the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was typically in honour of one saint (e.g. St Augustine) or group of holy figures (e.g. the Apostles).

A significant number of pieces of music were written in honour of the Virgin Mary. The most prominent polyphonic genre was the motet, in which one or more poetic texts were sung over a plainsong tenor, often taken from the chant melody of a related liturgical feast. Most motet texts were freely composed, and drew on a rich tradition of Biblical and hagiographical material. English composers seem to have enjoyed composing motets in honour of saints with a local, regional or national significance. The reasons for this culture form the central point of investigation in this study, because, as Katherine Lewis has argued:

> The value of studying a saint's cult lies not only in what it can tell us about the beliefs and practices associated with the veneration of the saint, but in the light it sheds on a whole range of matters pertaining to the society in which the cult flourishes.[4]

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[4] Katherine J. Lewis (1996): '"Rule of lyf alle folk to sewe:" Lay Responses to the Cult of St Katherine of Alexandria in Late-Medieval England, 1300 – 1530.' DPhil thesis: University of York, 5.

Review of the sources and secondary literature

Frank Harrison's *Music in Medieval Britain,* published nearly fifty years ago, remains a classic text for anyone seeking to understand the music cultivated in the British Isles during this complex and challenging period of musical history.[5] His work on newly discovered manuscripts containing polyphony, and the liturgical function of individual pieces and genres, continues to provide material for those working on this repertory.[6] In his detailed and provocative introduction to the facsimile volume of manuscripts of fourteenth-century English music, Harrison reinforced his view that liturgical function was the chief manner by which different genres could be distinguished in English polyphony.[7] Margaret Bent challenged Harrison's unwillingness to classify pieces as 'motets' until their liturgical cantus firmus was identified, or unless they consisted of two or more texted parts.[8] She noted that English composers seem to have considered the choice of a liturgically-appropriate tenor as only one of many possible starting points for the construction of polyphonic works (Bent, 1992: 117). Bent's broader and more

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[5] Frank Harrison (1958): *Music in Medieval Britain.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
[6] Frank Harrison (1967): 'Ars Nova in England: A New Source.' *MD* 21, 67-85.
[7] Frank Harrison and Roger Wibberley eds. (1981): *English Polyphonic Music of the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries. EECM* 26. London: Stainer and Bell, xvii.

inclusive definition, 'a piece of music in several parts with words', might, on the one hand, lead to a large number of hitherto 'separate' genres being included under the 'motet' umbrella (the cantilena, for example), but it moves away from the tendency to measure English genres against the 'standards' of French compositions (Bent, 1992: 114).

Harrison's use of phrases such as 'votive antiphon' (composed in honour of a specific saint, or performed on a designated feast day of the church calendar) have endured, and perhaps been strengthened, by new discoveries and interpretations of the sources. Harrison offered a convincing model by which sacred music could be understood by identifying its specific religious ritual context.[9] Yet Harrison's liturgical bias was restricted in many ways by his view of polyphony as an accretion to services, an 'additional element in ceremonial, and as a further means of festive adornment and elaboration of the ritual' (1958: 104). For Harrison, and many others, polyphonic music was typical of pre-Reformation Catholic largesse, which sought always to decorate the 'authentic' religious

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[8] Margaret Bent (1992): 'The Late-Medieval Motet.' In Tess Knighton and David Fallows eds., *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music,* 114-9. London: Dent and Songs Ltd, 117.

[9] This view was strengthened for the author by his research regarding Aosta, Seminary Library, MS 9-E-19 (olim MS 4), described in Frank Harrison (1965): 'Benedicamus, Conductus, Carol: A Newly-Discovered Source.' *AM* 37, 35-48.

ritual with a gold trim.[10] The idea that polyphony had been created as little more than an additive part of the basic chant prevailed in Harrison's writing. It can be seen in his distinction between the 'established plainsong', viewed as a timeless and unchanging monument, and polyphony which, rather than being an 'integral part of the Christian liturgies from the beginning of history' functioned only to 'lend ceremonial distinction to the performance of the established plainsong' (1958: 104). Sanders was also of the opinion that polyphony functioned in this manner. His detailed examination of the European motet through its early history considered voices added to Gregorian chant from the twelfth century onward as 'embellishments' (Sanders, 1973: 497). Roger Bowers has also highlighted the ephemeral nature of composed, polyphonic settings in the fifteenth century:

> There were no classics, no established repertory pieces. . . . As a creative artist contributing to the worship of God [the composer's] offering was on a level comparable with that of the parish ladies who arrange flowers on Christmas Eve – a genuine contribution to the overall effect, pretty while it lasts,

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[10] Ernest Sanders (1973): 'The Medieval Motet.' In Wulf Arlt ed., *Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellung: Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade*, 497-573. Berne: Franke Verlag.

> but not destined for more than immediate use, and therefore of only limited value and esteem.[11]

This was contrasted with the artistic contributions made by painters, architects, poets and book illuminators, whose works Bowers considered as major art forms because of their permanence or because their producers were engaged in creating them full time (Bowers, 1981: 13-14). Again, this was in opposition to the 'staple fare' of plainsong (Bowers, 1981: 11).

One of the purposes of this study is to redress this limited picture of music in medieval England. I will show how some monophonic and polyphonic music could be viewed as both constant and adaptable, through particular, though not exclusive, focus on the motet, a genre that was in itself a combination of the old (in its common employment of a liturgical melody as cantus firmus, and textual troping of literary models) and new (specially-composed upper melodies, poetic elements, and so forth).[12] 'Established'

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[11] Roger Bowers (1981): 'Obligation, Agency, and *Laissez-faire:* The Promotion of Polyphonic Composition for the Church in Fifteenth-Century England.' In Iain Fenlon ed., *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe,* 1-19. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 13. In the Ashgate reprint of this article, Bowers explained that his article's 'somewhat negative tone arises from the fact that I was endeavouring to show that whatever may have been the function of the church as patron (strictly interpreted) on the Western European mainland, in England its role was not at all strong.' Roger Bowers (1999a): *English Church Polyphony: Singers and Sources from the 14th to the 17th Century.* Variorum Collected Studies Series. Aldershot: Ashgate, Commentary and Corrigenda, 11.

[12] The combination of old and new in French motets has been discussed by Dolores Pesce in (1997a): 'Beyond Glossing: The Old Made New in *Mout me fu grief / Robin m'aime / Portare.*' In Dolores Pesce ed., *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance,* 28-51. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.

plainchant could in this way be given a new liturgical space, even a new function.[13] The text(s) of a motet often drew on imagery taken from much older saints' lives and other liturgical or religious traditions. Pesce has described the three-part French motet as 'a rich interaction of various strains, new and old, to create a distinctly integrated sounding complex' (1997a: 29). Such strains were musical and textual, and this combination of old and new elements gave both authenticity and special status to the motet, arguably the most important vehicle for the praise of holy historical figures from the thirteenth to the end of the fourteenth century. As Theilman has argued, 'saints had splendid potential as political symbols in the Middle Ages', and votive musical genres could play a part in political discourse both openly and with remarkable subtlety (Theilman, 1990: 242-3).[14]

The chronological limits of the present study extend from the 1260s, when Henry III's rebuilding of Westminster Abbey was in its final stages, to approximately the end of the Plantagenet dynasty. By 1400, polyphonic music had become widespread across England, though that is not to say it had become overwhelmingly popular. The

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[13] Articles that discuss elements of intertextuality include Margaret Bent (1997): 'Polyphony of Texts and Music in the Fourteenth-Century Motet: *Tribum que non abhorruit / Quoniam secta latronum / Merito hec patimur* and its "Quotations."' In Dolores Pesce ed. (1997): *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, 82-103. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.

[14] John M. Theilman (1990): 'Political Canonization and Political Symbolism in Medieval England.' *Journal of British Studies* 29/3, 241-66.

Lollards objected to the vanity involved in singing complex polyphony, and the more austere monastic groups clearly disapproved of it (at least in principle).[15] Even by the end of this period, the main musical diet in churches, abbeys and collegiate chapels would have been plainchant and other monophonic items. Fragments of the polyphonic repertory have been associated with institutions from the largest Benedictine houses and royal chapels to individual private owners, and on every level in between.[16] The surviving evidence mainly consists of leaves of music manuscripts that had previously formed part of larger collections. A few musical items are found as additions within non-musical documents. It would have been the more modest sources, such as parchment rolls and unbound gatherings, that would have been more vulnerable to damage and loss. During the sixteenth century, the largest and most impressive

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[15] The Cistercians are generally accepted as having been opposed to polyphonic singing, though there is growing evidence that they too copied and performed it even in the early part of the thirteenth century; see Mary Berry and Franklyn Gellnick (2001): 'Cistercian Monks.' *New Grove 2nd Edition* 5, 869-70. The Gilbertines sought to live more austerely than the Cistercians, banning singing from services entirely; Rose Graham (1901): *Saint Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertines: A History of the Only English Monastic Order.* London: Eliot Stock, 74. See also Brian Golding (1995): *Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertine Order c.1130-c.1300.* Oxford: Clarendon Press. Early efforts to prohibit music may have had a limited effect. For Lollard attitudes to music, see Bruce W. Holsinger (1999): 'The Vision of Music in A Lollard Florilegium: Cantus in the Middle English *Rosarium Theologie* (Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 354/581).' *PMM* 8/2, 95-106; Roger Bowers (1983): 'The Performing Ensemble for English Church Polyphony, *c.*1320 – *c.*1390.' In Stanley Boorman ed., *Studies in the Performance of Late Medieval Music,* 161-92. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. The motet *Are post libamina / Nunc surgunt in populo* by Mayshuet that appears in the Old Hall Manuscript also criticised the vanity of singers.

[16] See Andrew Wathey (1988): 'Lost Books of Polyphony in England: A List to 1500.' *RMARC* 21, 1-20.

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volumes would have made easy targets for the reformers. Lefferts has suggested that,

> By an ironic twist of fate, the materials at our disposal today are almost without exception the refuse from books already discarded in the 14th and 15th centuries and only preserved as a by-product of bookbinding at such active scriptoria as the one at Worcester. If a book of polyphonic music escaped the consequences of the stylistic or generic obsolescence of its contents, then it was probably lost during the destruction or dispersal of monastic libraries at the Dissolution, or in later Protestant purges.[17]

Fourteenth-century England has done fairly badly in comparison to other periods of history with regard to musicological research. A century dominated in the literature by the musical and literary personalities of Guillaume de Machaut, Philippe de Vitry and Francesco Landini has left little room for the stubbornly anonymous

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[17] Peter M. Lefferts (1983): 'The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century.' Ph.D thesis: Columbia University, 17.

English repertory to assert itself.[18] Lefferts' book *The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century,* the publication of his doctoral dissertation of the same name (minus the music transcriptions that had formed the appendix), gave the English motet repertoire specific attention for the first time in years.[19] Lefferts' work included fairly traditional studies of genre, notation and text. In a similar vein were many of the studies of individual pieces and groups of pieces at the 1994 conference *On Hearing the Motet,* a forum that stimulated the publication of several papers in the important book *Hearing the Motet* (1997).[20] Michael Noone drew attention to the lack of newer methodologies in motet studies in his report of the conference:

> Indeed, if there is something about the motet repertory . . .
>
> which resists the scrutiny of approaches derived from literary,

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[18] The one composer of the period before the Old Hall Manuscript with whom a specific composition can be associated is J. Alanus, who may in any case have worked on the continent. Alanus' motet *Sub Arturo* [or *Arcturo*] *plebs* is edited in Margaret Bent ed. (1977): *Two 14th-Century Motets in Praise of Music.* Newton Abbot: Antico Edition; Roger Bowers (1990): 'Fixed Points in the Chronology of English Fourteenth-Century Polyphony.' *ML* 71, 313-5. Musicians' motets from the fourteenth and early-fifteenth centuries name several singers, but few of these have been associated with a specific choir or surviving oeuvre; Brian Trowell (1957): 'A Fourteenth-Century Ceremonial Motet and its Composer.' *AM* 29, 65-75; Margaret Bent (1973): 'The Transmission of English Music 1300-1500: Some Aspects of Repertory and Presentation.' In H. Eggebrecht and Max Lütolf eds., *Studien zur Tradition in Der Musik: Kurt von Fischer zum 60. Geburtstag*, 65-83. Munich: Katzbichler; Bowers (1990) and the commentary and corrigenda in Bowers (1999a: 9-10). Machaut has been the subject of several monographs, notably Gilbert Reaney (1971): *Guillaume de Machaut.* London: Oxford University Press; Daniel Leech-Wilkinson (1990): *Machaut's Mass: An Introduction.* Oxford: Clarendon Press; Anne Walters Robertson (2002): *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims: Context and Meaning in his Musical Works.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

[19] Peter Lefferts (1986): *The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century.* Michigan: Ann Arbor.

feminist and gender theories, it would be very interesting to know why.

(Noone, 1994: 710)

More recent publications relating to the motet in later periods or on the continent have responded to this, though there is potentially a vast amount of work to be done, especially on English repertory.[21]

The 'English' volumes of *PMFC* characterise, in many ways, the relative position of the English repertory in modern perception. Sandwiched between the large corpus of French and Italian pieces, volumes 14 – 17 cannot boast collections of works by any identifiable composer. The 'French' volumes, 1 – 5 and 18 – 23b, include the polyphonic pieces from the *Roman de Fauvel* as well as music by Guillaume de Machaut and Philippe de Vitry. Volumes 14 – 17 are loosely divided into *English Music of the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Century* (volume 14), *Motets of English Provenance* (volume 15) and *English Music for Mass and Offices and Music for Other Ceremonies* (divided between volumes 16 and 17). Peter Lefferts counted that within the English motet repertoire, there are

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[20] For a report of this conference, see Michael Noone (1994): 'Conference: *On Hearing the Motet.*' *EM* 22/4, 709-10. Dolores Pesce ed. (1997): *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.* New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.

[21] The work of Judith Peraino on French repertoire crosses several disciplines and compares monophonic motets and motets with refrains with the sampling techniques of popular music; Judith A. Peraino (2001): 'Monophonic Motets: Sampling and Grafting in the Middle Ages.' *MQ* 85/4, 644-80. It may be that further application of the methodologies of popular musicology will prove helpful to studies of English motets in the future, though this will not be a focus here.

about 45 complete pieces, but approximately 55 fragments.[22] Many of the fragmentary pieces were excluded from *PMFC*, to the extent that the English volumes do not reflect the quantity or range of music found in surviving sources.[23] Some pieces of probable continental origin found in English sources are transcribed only in the volumes of continental pieces, and vice versa. Combined with these factors, the editorial ordering by genre and then by source in volumes 14 – 17 is unhelpful, as it does not give an accurate idea of the size or contents of any one collection. Nor has this edition attracted much attention

[22] Peter M. Lefferts (1979): 'The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century.' *CM* 28, 55-75, cited from page 56. Lefferts defined English motets via the continental model of the late thirteenth century, as 'a composition a3 with two upper voices, each having its own text, over a tenor cantus firmus', adding the categories of English 'motets' based on a *pes*, or over a pair of voices with tenor function (1986: 3-4). He considered pieces written using rondellus techniques to be a type of conductus, and troped chant settings as another separate category (1986: 4). In his study of motets, he distinguished them from conductus and rondellus items, but did not apply or accept Harrison's categories of free and cantus firmus settings as separate genres (1986: 12-13). Lefferts also described how, in England, distinctions between genres were blurred (1986: 4-8). Bent's opinion, that 'evidence suggests that genre boundaries were broader than we have allowed them to become', echoes Lefferts' conclusions (Bent, 1992: 118).

[23] Lefferts made transcriptions of the fragmentary motets in his thesis (1983).

from performers; the repertory of English polyphony, and in particular the Mass Ordinary music, remains largely unrecorded.[24]

The reasons for the neglect of fourteenth-century English music are plentiful. It has become commonplace to mourn the paucity of surviving material; Sanders referred to thirteenth-century English music as being represented by 'pitiful scraps and fragments' (Sanders, 1973: 538). Sources are indeed fragmentary; not one choirbook remains intact from the period, and the Old Hall manuscript, from the early part of the fifteenth century, is the earliest

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[24] A notable example is Christopher Page and Gothic Voices' 1999 recording *Masters of the Rolls: Music by English Composers of the Fourteenth Century.* Hyperion CDA67098, which includes motets and plainsong. The Hilliard Ensemble have also produced a disc entitled *Medieval English Music: Anonymes des XIVe et XVe siècles,* Harmonia Mundi (1983) HMA 1901106. This includes eight pieces of fourteenth-century English music, all polyphonic, seven of which are not on Page's disc (the exception being *Singularis laudis digna).* A further recording of Gothic Voices performing *Singularis laudis digna* can be found on Christopher Page dir. (1987): *The Service of Venus and Mars: Music for the Knights of the Garter, 1340 – 1440.* Hyperion CDA66238. Anonymous 4 have made two compact discs of this repertory: (1992): *An English Ladymass: 13th- and 14th-century chant and polyphony in honor of the Virgin Mary.* Harmonia Mundi HMU 907080; and (1998): *A Lammas Ladymass: 13th- and 14th-century English chant and polyphony.* Harmonia Mundi HMU 907222. Trio Mediaeval include English pieces on their CD *Words of the Angel.* ECM (2002) 1753-2.

substantial collection of English polyphony.[25] The call for a thorough re-examination of the manuscript sources made by Peter Lefferts has been relatively difficult owing to the geographical spread of the remaining fragments (1986: 216).[26] Though the majority are housed in the British Library, Oxford or Cambridge, others are in locations as disparate as Aberystwyth, Norwich, Berkeley Castle, Paris and Washington, as well as in several private collections. Until recently, the sheer financial implications of such a study have dissuaded anyone from undertaking it.

The two published facsimile volumes of fourteenth-century English sources are inadequate for a palaeographical survey of their contents to be grounded in any sort of reliability.[27] Differing editorial procedures have resulted in many manuscripts, or parts of manuscripts, not being published in these collections. Peter Lefferts has noted that 'the editors neither define the corpus from which they

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[25] Peter Lefferts has remarked that this is despite the similar survival rate of polyphony in England, France and Italy (1986: xv). Lefferts has elsewhere suggested that Cgc 512/543, is in itself a 'complete collection', though this is on the grounds that the pieces of music were, in his opinion, copied into blank spaces in a commonplace book'; (1984): 'Text and Context in the Fourteenth-Century English Motet.' *L'ars nova italiana del trecento* 6, 169-92, especially 178. The thirteenth-century Scottish source, W1, largely comprises music whose origins are probably French, though it does contain a corpus of 'insular' repertory which has been described by Losseff, Edwards and others as including pieces by English, and perhaps Scottish, composers; Nicky Losseff (1994): *The Best Concords: Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century Britain.* New York: Garland; Warwick Edwards (2000): 'Polyphony in Thirteenth-Century Scotland.' In Sally Harper ed., Isobel Woods Preece, *'Our Awin Scottis Use': Music in the Scottish Church up to 1603,* 225-71. Glasgow: Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen.

[26] Lefferts own work from original manuscripts was concentrated into the summers of 1979 and 1980 (Lefferts, 1986: xvi).

have selected nor describe their criteria for selection' (1988: 83). For *EECM* 26, the main archival centres provided sources for photographic capture; the final section of the volume comprises images of manuscripts from 'other places' and those that contain concordant repertory.[28] This reinforces the hegemonic position of the southeast of England in the view of English music, and does not take into account the original provenance of such sources that probably spread across the length and breadth of the country. The manuscript images were all altered in size to fit the quarto volume, and without original measurements or any guide to scale, even the relative basic dimensions of sources are impossible to compare.[29] What appears to be a similar layout in two manuscripts frequently bears little resemblance to reality, a problem compounded by the black and white reproduction (though colour may have been prohibitive). Summers' facsimile volume, also in black and white, contains only the 'three-voice music notated in score format' (1983: 13); the omission of four sources of this type from his collection means that it is not a complete representation of this practice.[30] The photographic

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[27] William Summers (1983): *English Fourteenth-Century Polyphony: Facsimile Edition of Sources Notated in Score.* Münchener Editionen zur Musikgeschichte, 4. Tutzing: Hans Schneider.

[28] The 'other places' are Durham, Gloucester, Westminster Abbey, New York, Public Record Office (London), Norwich and Taunton; 'concordant manuscripts' from Cambridge, Oxford, Princeton and York Minster.

[29] 'According to Wibberley . . . the publisher trimmed off a marginal scale that was photographed with each source in EECM 26'; Peter M. Lefferts (1988): 'Facsimiles of Fourteenth-Century English Polyphony.' *RMARC* 21, 83-96, 90.

[30] Cfw 47-1980 (olim 34-3); Ob D.3; STs 2; WOc 68 (Summers, 1983: 13).

quality of his edition is, in general, poorer than that of *EECM* 26 (though this is far from adequate at times), even when reproducing images of the same original source. The published facsimiles are often less satisfactory than the (stock) photographs from which they were taken. More frustrating is Summers' selection of sources, 20 of the 33 of which are only provided in part, and some of which are generally agreed to have been copied in the thirteenth or fifteenth centuries.[31] Neither volume is comprehensive, nor can one rely on the accuracy of the additional information in the prefatory commentaries, since both are riddled with errors and omissions.

Other images have been published as plates to articles, books, catalogues and critical editions relating to newly-discovered sources

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[31] Peter Lefferts discussed this problem in his review of the two volumes. He suggested that some included sources are either 'too early' or 'too late' in the views of the most recent scholarship (Lefferts, 1988: 83-95).

or the larger collections of fragments.[32] For close manuscript examinations, these publications have recently been surpassed, for scholars, by the high-quality images taken by the *Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music* research project.[33] The digital capture of these images makes it possible to clean them up, in the virtual sense; this is a long term aim of the project. It is also possible to compare the notational details of documents preserved hundreds of miles apart, without regard for library opening hours, or fearing damage to the manuscripts themselves.

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[32] Peter Lefferts and Margaret Bent comp. (1982): 'New Sources of English Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Polyphony.' *EMH* 2, 273-362; Roger Bowers and Andrew Wathey comp. (1983): 'New Sources of English Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Polyphony.' *EMH* 3, 123-173. Margaret Bent (1987): *The Fountains Fragments.* Clarabricken: Boethius Press; Andrew Wathey (1993): *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music. Supplement 1 to RISM BIV* 1-2, *The British Isles, 1100-1400*. München-Duisburg: G. Henle Verlag; Harry Ellis Wooldridge and H. V. Hughes eds. (1897-1913, repr. 1976): *Early English Harmony from the 11th to the 15th Century.* 2 vols. London: Bernard Quaritch (vol. 1) London: *PMMS*, repr. New York: AMS Press; Margaret Bent (1968b): 'New and Little-Known Fragments of English Medieval Polyphony.' *JAMS* 21, 137-56; Dom Anselm Hughes (1928, repr. 1971): *Worcester Mediaeval Harmony of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries. PMMS*. Worcester: Phillips and Probert, repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag; Isobel Woods Preece (2000): 'W3: Some Fragments of Fourteenth-Century Scottish Polyphony.' In Sally Harper ed., Isobel Woods Preece, *'Our Awin Scottis Use': Music in the Scottish Church up to 1603*, 305-24. Glasgow: Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen; William Summers (1985): 'Unknown and Unidentified English Polyphonic Music from the Fourteenth Century. *RMARC* 19, 57-67, contains a facsimile of Ob C.34 / D.R.3*, f.Bv; Denis Stevens (1953): 'Fourteenth-Century Polyphony in England: A New Source.' *The Score* 8, 26; Denis Stevens (1955): 'A Recently Discovered English Source of the Fourteenth Century.' *MQ* 41, 26-40.

[33] The *DIAMM* project aims to obtain and archive high-resolution digital images of all the existing fragments of medieval music. For more information, see the website <http://www.diamm.ac.uk>. *DIAMM* is only accessible to registered, approved users, who require a password to access low-resolution versions. High-resolution images are not available to view on the web, but may be obtained, with permission, from the individual libraries and owners of the manuscripts themselves (who retain copyright of these images). None of the images may be printed, reproduced or copied in any form without the permission of the owner of the manuscript.

The historiography of fourteenth-century English music reveals that this repertory has not been considered of particular interest until fairly recently. Peter Lefferts has put this down to several factors:

> The vagaries of musicological scholarship . . . the lack of sizeable integral manuscripts, the anonymity of English composers, and the apparent diversity and obscurity of their working environments.
>
> (Lefferts, 1986: 1)

Historical factors have also contributed to the ongoing sidelining of English repertory, some of which stem from long-standing prejudices concerning the importance of English culture across history. From the thirteenth century the culture of France, and specifically Paris, dominated many artistic and political developments across Europe. Through 'its pivotal economic role, the power of its kings, and the intellectual standing of its university', Paris became 'the unrivalled focus of the whole of north-west Christendom'.[34] The value attached to all things emanating from France during the late thirteenth century (its scholarship, its language, its music), overshadowed the achievements of other cultures for centuries.

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[34] R. A. Lodge (1992): 'Language Attitudes and Linguistic Norms in France and England in the Thirteenth Century.' In P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd eds., *Thirteenth Century England IV. Proceedings of the Newcastle Upon Tyne Conference, 1991*, 73-84. Woodbridge: Boydell, 77.

The beginning of the fifteenth century marked the beginning of England's adoption of its own vernacular as a language approaching the status of French (Lodge, 1992: 78). The works of Geoffrey Chaucer (*c.*1343 – 1400), in particular his *Canterbury Tales* (begun around 1386 – 7), also belong to this period. The Old Hall manuscript provides our first substantial near-complete codex, with many composer attributions that have been linked to identifiable figures working at court and religious establishments across the country. John Dunstaple (d.1453), one of the first English composers to whom a substantial oeuvre is attributed, was praised by writers such as Martin Le Franc, Hothby and Tinctoris.[35] Dunstaple has been credited for directly influencing continental composers such as Dufay and Binchois (Fallows, 1982: 246). What has been less well explored is the English musical language that influenced his working method.[36] Yet again, we are faced with a picture whereby the best English ideas are used and perhaps, by implication, improved in the hands of foreign masters.

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[35] Margaret Bent (1981): *Dunstaple.* London: Oxford University Press, 1; David Fallows (1982): *Dufay.* London: J. M. Dent, 246.

[36] See, for example, Thomas Brothers (1997): 'Contenance Angloise and Accidentals in Some Motets by Du Fay.' *PMM* 6/1, 21-51. David Fallows warns against presuming a direct link between the music of composers such as Dunstaple and Dufay (1982: 246). For discussion of the *contenance angloise,* see David Fallows (1987): 'The *contenance angloise*: English Influence on Continental Composers of the Fifteenth Century.' *Renaissance Studies* 1, 189-208 (and reproduced as chapter V in David Fallows (1996), *Songs and Musicians in the Fifteenth Century.* Aldershot: Ashgate. See also Margaret Bent (forthcoming): 'The Musical Stanzas in Martin le Franc's *Le champion des dames.* ' In John Haines and Randall Rosenfeld eds., *Music and Medieval Manuscripts: Paleography and*

Like many other publications, Jeremy Yudkin's *Music in Medieval Europe* separated the fourteenth-century repertory into 'The Fourteenth Century in France' and 'The Fourteenth Century in Italy'.[37] The three pages dedicated to 'English Music' in the chapter that deals with the fifteenth century discuss only the Old Hall manuscript, though Yudkin states at the beginning that 'reconstruction of these [fourteenth-century English fragments] has provided a picture of a lively and flourishing musical culture, especially in the genre of the motet' (Yudkin, 1989: 578). Most of the fragmentary pieces of English motet repertory have yet to be published in a modern edition.

This is not to say that musicologists have not studied the repertory. There have been some wide-ranging studies, and several scholars have written about primary sources in smaller publications and articles. Luther Dittmer and Dom Anselm Hughes, for example, published facsimiles and editions of the Worcester Fragments between 1928 and 1959, since when more fragments have emerged.[38] Frank Harrison was responsible for bringing several manuscripts to

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Performance. Aldershot: Ashgate. A copy of this was kindly provided for me by Margaret Bent.

[37] Jeremy Yudkin (1989): *Music in Medieval Europe.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

[38] Dom Anselm Hughes (1928, repr. 1971); Luther Dittmer (1957): *Worcester Fragments: A Catalogue Raisonné and Transcription.* American Institute of Musicology: Armen Carapetyan; Luther Dittmer (1959): *Worcester Additional 68, Westminster 33327, Madrid Bib. Nat.192.* Brooklyn, New York: Institute of Medieval Music. More recent studies include Losseff (1994: 146-56) and descriptions of newly-discovered fragments in Wathey (1993) and Summers (1985).

the attention of scholars in articles relating to *Ars nova* in England, and pioneered much of the work on provenance and the liturgical use of polyphony in *Music in Medieval Britain* and his introductions to *EECM* 26 and the 'English' volumes of *PMFC*.[39] Margaret Bent's article, 'The Transmission of English Music 1300 – 1500', remains the classic overview of the key sources (1973). Her work includes important studies of English and continental repertoire, particularly regarding collections such as the Fountains Fragments, her reconstructed choirbook (formerly known as H6), and the Old Hall Manuscript.[40]

Andrew Wathey and Roger Bowers have each published on topics relating to the performance and dissemination of late-medieval English repertory. Bowers has looked in detail at the performing ensembles attached to secular institutions that sang polyphony before the Reformation, as well as music associated with Canterbury Cathedral, Lincoln Minster and the Lady Chapel of Winchester

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[39] Harrison (1967; 1958); Harrison and Wibberley (1981); *PMFC* 14 – 17 (1979-83).

[40] Regarding H6, see Margaret Bent (1974): 'A Lost English Choirbook of the Fifteenth Century.' *International Musicological Society: Report of the 11th Congress, Copenhagen, 1972*, 257-62. Copenhagen: Edition Wilhelm Hansen; Margaret Bent (1996): 'A New Canonic Gloria and the Changing Profile of Dunstaple.' *PMM* 5/1, 45-67; Margaret Bent (1968a): 'Sources of the Old Hall Music.' *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 94, 19-35; Margaret Bent (1969): 'The Old Hall Manuscript: A Palaeographical Study.' Ph.D. thesis: University of Cambridge; Andrew Hughes and Margaret Bent eds. (1969 – 73): *The Old Hall Manuscript.* 3 volumes. *CMM* 46. Rome: American Institute of Musicology.

Cathedral Priory.[41] The archival information relating to music at Durham Cathedral before the Reformation has been studied by Brian Crosby.[42] Wathey has examined Anglo-French political relations during the latter half of the century, especially the channels though which French motets came to be found and copied into English sources.[43] Wathey's research has also shed light on the Anglo-French exchange of music and musicians *c.*1400. Most notably, his work has reconsidered many areas of palaeographical research relating to the production of service books and books of polyphony, mainly over the long fifteenth century.[44] His study of music from the English noble and royal households in the later Middle Ages combined archival, palaeographical, codicological, historical and musical approaches to

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[41] Bowers (1983); Roger Bowers (1994): 'The Musicians of the Lady Chapel of Winchester Cathedral Priory, 1402 – 1539.' *JEH* 45, 210-37; Roger Bowers (1994a): 'Lincoln Cathedral: Music and Worship to 1640.' In Dorothy Owen ed., *A History of Lincoln Minster*, 47-76. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Roger Bowers (1995): 'Canterbury Cathedral: The Liturgy of the Cathedral and its Music *c.*1075 – 1642.' In P. Collinson, N. Ramsey and M. Sparks eds., *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, 408-50. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

[42] Brian Crosby (1992): 'The Choral Foundation of Durham Cathedral c.1350 – c.1650.' 2 vols. DPhil thesis: University of Durham.

[43] Andrew Wathey (1990): 'The Peace of 1360-69 and Anglo-French Musical Relations.' *EMH* 9, 129-74; (1992): 'The Marriage of Edward III and the Transmission of French Motets to England.' *JAMS* 45/1, 1-29; (1995): 'John of Gaunt, John Pycard and the Amiens Negotiations of 1392.' In Caroline Barron and Nigel Saul eds., *England and the Low Countries in the Late Middle Ages*, 29-42. Stroud: Alan Sutton Publishing. Also see Michael J. Bennett (2001): 'Isabelle of France, Anglo-French Diplomacy and Cultural Exchange in the Late 1350s.' In J. S. Bothwell ed., *The Age of Edward III*, 215-25. Bury St Edmunds: University of York, York Medieval Press.

[44] Andrew Wathey (1989): 'The Production of Books of Liturgical Polyphony.' In D. Pearsall and J. Griffiths eds., *Book Production and Publishing in Britain, 1375-1475*, 143-61. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

give a full and detailed account of the music cultivated in these types of institution.[45]

William Summers' publications have addressed questions relating to the overall status of polyphonic singing in English establishments. His work has included important surveys of the use of transposed chant in English discant settings, as well as numerous tables detailing provenance, concordances and the identification of cantus firmus melodies.[46] Summers' articles reflect growing numbers of known fragments, sixty-two in 1986, eighty-five in 1990. Largely owing to the published reports in Wathey's supplement to *RISM BIV* 1 – 2, the total number involved in my own study is approximately one hundred manuscript fragments, depending on where one is able to draw any definite lines of distinction between those copied in the years either side of 1300 and 1400.

Of the three main 'genres' of polyphonic music, the motet, the cantilena and the discant setting, the motet has received most attention. This is partly a result of the fact that there are many analytical possibilities, both musical and textual, and because motets

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[45] Andrew Wathey (1987): 'Music in the Royal Medieval Household.' DPhil thesis: University of Oxford; published as (1989a): *Music in the Royal and Noble Households in Late Medieval England: Studies of Sources and Patronage*. New York: Garland Publishing.

can be forthcoming with information suggestive of provenance. On the whole, motets provide a more homogenous corpus than the many sub-genres into which cantilenas and discant settings can be divided, such as sequences, troped settings, and so forth.[47] In the field of genre-based studies, Frank Harrison and Ernest Sanders were among the first scholars to analyse compositional procedures involved in early motets and discant settings. Sanders' publications, in particular 'The Medieval Motet', set in place the groundwork for later research.[48] Many of Sanders' opinions changed during the course of his lifetime's work, and with the publication of his collected essays he chose to exclude those that he felt had been superseded by others' research.[49] Peter Lefferts has since taken on the role of addressing individual genres, most famously in his book *The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century*, but also in his article of the same name

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[46] William Summers (1986): 'The Effect of Monasticism on Fourteenth-Century Polyphony.' *La Musique et Le Rite Sacre et Profane.* Strasbourg: University of Strasbourg; (1990): 'English Fourteenth-Century Polyphonic Music: An Inventory of the Extant Manuscript Sources with Reference to Facsimile and Performing Editions.' *JM* 8/2, 173-226; (1990a): 'The Establishment and Transmission of Polyphonic Repertoire in England, 1320 – 1399.' *Atti del XIV Congresso della Societa Internazionale di Musicologia, Bologna, 1987: Transmissione et recezione delle forme di cultura musicale,* 659-72. Torino: Edizioni di Torino.

[47] Questions of genre in related repertories are addressed in Mark Everist (1994): *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century: Music, Poetry and Genre. Cambridge Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Julie E. Cumming (1999): *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Ursula Gunther (1958): 'The 14th-Century Motet and its Development.' *MD* 12, 27-58.

[48] Ernest Sanders (1965): 'Cantilena and Discant in 14th-Century England.' *MD* 19, 7-52; Sanders (1973). Lefferts' work on fourteenth-century motets took Sanders' studies as a starting point (Lefferts 1986: 2).

[49] Ernest Sanders (1998): *French and English Polyphony of the 13th and 14th Centuries: Style and Notation.* Variorum Collected Studies Series. Aldershot: Ashgate, 7-10.

(1979), and 'Cantilena and Antiphon: Music for Marian Services in Late Medieval England'.[50] He has produced important studies of motet texts, which he considered 'one of the most important ways by which the English motet can be brought out of isolation and into a concrete literary and historical environment' (Lefferts, 1984: 169).

Work in this area has also been undertaken by Joanna Melville-Richards, regarding the musical and numerological patterns, 'both at a structural and symbolic level', in English and continental motets in codices associated with Durham (DRc 20) and Bury St Edmunds (Ob 7).[51] Her analyses, transcriptions and translations are a useful addition to those available in other publications, but her discussion of performance practice confused the issue of the liturgical or secular context of motet performance with whether pieces in Ob 7 and DRc 20 may have been sung from their current host bindings (which she considered unlikely) (Melville-Richards, 1999: 320).

In general, the larger collections of fragments have received most attention. This has included work on music mainly emanating

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[50] Peter M. Lefferts (1990): 'Cantilena and Antiphon: Music for Marian Services in Late Medieval England.' *Studies in Medieval Music: Festschrift for Ernest Sanders. CM* 47, 247-82.

[51] Joanna Melville-Richards (1999): 'Text- and Music-Structures in Two Fourteenth-Century Manuscripts of English Provenance.' Ph.D thesis: University of Wales, Bangor, 315.

from the more powerful Benedictine establishments.[52] This has been reflected in the general opinion expressed by many authors that polyphonic music was most actively cultivated in centres such as Durham, Bury St Edmunds, St Albans, Worcester and Westminster.

William Summers has suggested that:

> It will be in a thorough searching of the records and history of the institutions which produced this corpus that the full effects of monasticism on fourteenth-century music will become completely clear.
>
> (Summers, 1986: 118)

A significant proportion of music surviving from this period has survived through use in the bindings of books and other documents. Inevitably, this may have skewed our view of how much music was cultivated in establishments which did not possess extensive libraries or scriptoria, and whose music may therefore have either been thrown out wholesale when its notation fell out of fashion, or disappeared during various waves of the Reformation. It is not known to what extent oral transmission may have played a part in polyphonic singing, as it is thought to have done in the thirteenth century.[53] What survives may in fact tell us more about what was

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[52] See Sally Roper (1993): *Medieval English Benedictine Liturgy: Studies in the Formation, Structure, and Content of the Monastic Votive Office, c.950 – 1540.* New York and London: Garland.
[53] Craig Wright (1989): *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500 – 1500.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 335.

expendable than what was precious. Conversely, the reuse of illuminated music manuscripts as flyleaves to other documents may also be indicative of an awareness of the prestige with which establishments viewed their previous musical achievements, even when the notation had rendered the choirbooks themselves obsolete.

The difficult questions relating to the dating of compositions from the fourteenth century are compounded by the fragmentary nature of the remaining sources (Summers, 1983: 17). While it may be possible to date some manuscripts in general terms through their handwriting or notation, there are few reliable ways of deciding what proportion of the music contained within them is 'new' or in some way older, or more standard, repertory. The concordances between many sources suggest that there may have been a significant corpus of music common to several establishments through the century. The vast number of *unica* would also point towards the possibility that a lot of music was being composed afresh at a variety of locations, which may not have shared the same sphere of influence. Examples of this might include motets relating to locally specific saints, such as St Edmund or St Alban. Summers stated that 'though the number of concordances is significant, it is clear that many institutions apparently produced quite a bit of unique music' (1986: 137).

In the past, many estimates have been made as to the relative ages of groups of manuscripts based on their concordances and

details of their notation.[54] As more fragments have been discovered, these dates have shifted, sometimes from one end of the century to the other, even within the writings of a single author (Summers, 1983: 18). An example of this would be Harrison's original dating of Lbl 1210, which he placed in the 'second half of the fourteenth century' (1958: 150), later altered to 'about the middle of the century'.[55] Ernest Sanders remarked that 'its notation still employs a basically Petronian device . . . and generally does not reflect the notational stabilization of the Ars Nova', and thought that since it was linked by concordances with a group manuscripts themselves dating from the earlier years of the century, a date much closer to 1300 was plausible (Sanders, 1965: 34).[56] One of the manuscripts from that group, Cgc 512/543, has previously been thought to date from the middle of the fourteenth century (Lefferts, 1986: 25), but

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[54] Margaret Bent has suggested that minims in the score repertory are to be associated only with the second half of the fourteenth century; (1978): 'A Preliminary Assessment of the Independence of English Trecento Notations.' In Agostino Ziino ed., *L'ars nova italiana del Trecento: quattro convegno internationale, 1975*, 65-82. Certaldo: Centro di studi sull'Ars nova italiana del Trecento.

[55] Frank Harrison (1960): 'English Church Music in the Fourteenth Century.' In Dom Anselm Hughes and Gerald Abraham eds., *New Oxford History of Music* 3, 82-106. London: Oxford University Press, 95.

[56] Sanders' argument shows some sign that he worked from French criteria when dating notation within English manuscripts; I am grateful to Margaret Bent for this observation.

may in fact have originated several decades earlier.[57] The larger collections of polyphony, such as the Worcester Fragments, the Fountains Fragments, NYpm 978, and Cgc 512/543, seem to contain music associated with not only the fourteenth but also either the thirteenth or fifteenth centuries. This has further polarised the dating of fragments that contain concordant pieces of music. The longevity of specific compositions is incredibly difficult, if not impossible, to estimate on the paucity of data available. Were some larger collections designed to collate older 'classics' alongside their more innovative pieces? It is almost certain that many pieces copied into collections at the beginning of the fourteenth century were in fact composed in the thirteenth; how might this alter the way in which we deal with the corpus as a whole?[58]

In examining trends in fourteenth-century music, many scholars have therefore chosen to study only certain pieces from the larger collections. Lefferts' examination of motets excluded the

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[57] It includes *Thomas gemma / Thomas cesus,* which concords with US-PRu 119 and WF Reconstruction 2; this piece must date from after 1295, as it celebrates the death of Thomas of Dover, but it is considered to be a thirteenth-century motet, not least because it is built upon a *pes* (Losseff, 1994: 155). A lyric found added to the foot of f.257v of Cgc 512/543 is thought to have originated *c.*1325; Luis Inglesias-Rábade (2000): 'French Phrasal Power in Late Middle English: Some Evidence Concerning the Verb *nime(n) / take(n)*. In D. Trotter ed., *Multilingualism in Later Medieval Britain,* 93-130. Bury St Edmunds: St Edmundsbury Press, 109.

[58] As Margaret Bent has shown, one of the few firm datings of a specific piece of music which appears to hold water is that for the *Rota versatilis,* evidently composed before 1326 and not found in any source which can be demonstrated to have been copied much before 1300. See chapter 3 of this study, and Margaret Bent (1981b): 'Rota Versatilis – Towards a Reconstruction.' In Ian Bent ed., *Source Materials and the Interpretation of Music, A Memorial Volume to Thurston Dart,* 65-98. London: Stainer and Bell.

'Worcester fragments and slightly later related sources', but included thirteenth-century compositions in fourteenth-century sources, and motets 'from English sources with nonmotet [*sic*] concordances in the first layer of Old Hall *(Lbl 40011B* and *Omc 266/268)'* (Lefferts, 1986: 13). Roger Bowers excluded from his survey of the performing ensemble for fourteenth-century choral polyphony all motets that showed evidence of the 'thirteenth-century technique of voice-exchange' (1983: 168).[59] Notation has also been used to delineate between pieces within a collection that date from either side of 1300 or 1400. The white void notation in the younger Fountains Fragments have largely been taken to imply that they were copied after 1400, a date before which few scholars, with the exception of Margaret Bent, believe it was used (Bent, 1987: viii). Similarly, the appearance of Franconian notation has been used in the past to date English sources as late as the middle of the fourteenth century, though it is generally agreed in recent literature to have been most prevalent *c.*1280 – *c.*1320 (Lefferts, 1988: 90).

It is understandable why such decisions are necessary in rendering a study of the music from this period manageable, but a clear-cut separation between the centuries on grounds of style or notation is rarely justified by the surviving sources (Lefferts, 1988:

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[59] John Caldwell has suggested that rondellus was a feature of English music to *c.*1350; (1991): *The Oxford History of English Music, I: From the Beginnings to c.1715.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 47.

90). Copying practices may have been slow to change, traditions may have run parallel with one another, and trends may have affected different parts of the country at different times. Collections such as the Worcester Fragments and their concordances give many clues as to changing scribal practice, and the geographical disparity of surviving sources suggests that the adoption of features such as white-void notation were far from uniform.

It may be that wider problems in England, stemming from the Black Death of 1348 – 9 and subsequent outbreaks of plague, also had their effect on the production of liturgical books and music-making in general.[60] Quite simply, monastic singing was probably crippled by the loss of a third of its community in the middle of the century, and more as time went on. Choir members would have been no less susceptible to plague than other sectors of the population. It may also have been that the need to replenish choral groups, and to train enough replacements for the future, aided the development of choral singing. The introduction of the role of choirmaster, responsible for the training of both men's and boys' voices, may by the end of the century have resulted from this necessity to some degree.[61] Roger Bowers' research has shown that boys' voices were

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[60] Lefferts was one of the first to suggest that an investigation should be made into the influence of Black Death on music during this period (1986: 216).
[61] See for example Crosby (1992) and Bowers (1999a).

introduced into some adult male choral groups from at least 1384.[62] The clerks of the king's *capella* may have been joined by boys for the singing of plainchant from as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century, though on a much more casual basis.[63]

Another possible factor in this change may have been that 'from about the mid-fourteenth century onwards, Lady Mass in many of the greatest institutions, like the Marian votive antiphon, was sung with polyphonic music every day' (Bowers, 1999a: 12). Bowers provides a further example, the cathedral church of Lincoln, where:

> The body of thirty-six to forty vicars choral included a special sub-group, called the Cantores Sancte Marie. It is known that, in the fifteenth century, they were four in number, and that their duties included the performance of daily Lady Mass with polyphony; and their history, and that of polyphonic performance of the Lady Mass, can be traced back at least to 1368/9 and probably some way further beyond that.
>
> (Bowers, 1983: 176)

Quite to what extent vocal polyphony was employed specifically for Lady Mass or other devotions in English institutions has not been

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[62] This was the date of the establishment of a boys' choir led by an adult master at the Lady Chapel of Westminster Abbey (Bowers, 1995: 17; verified in the Commentary and Corrigenda to his collected essays, 1999a: 11).

[63] Ian Bent notes that the 'earliest reference to boys in the chapel is from 1317' (1968: 4-5), though this was probably not for polyphonic music. In 1302, a messenger was sent to Windsor castle 'to procure five boys from there for service in the Prince's *capella*, at court in Warnborough, at the feast of Christmas' (Ian Bent, 1968: 230).

fully researched, and would require careful analysis of account books and many other archival documents before any conclusions could be safely drawn. This would be an enormous task in itself, and will not be the focus of this study (Bowers, 1999a; Crosby, 1980; Ian Bent, 1968; Wathey, 1987).

Evidence in documents surviving from several institutions may suggest that the one-to-a-part realisation of vocal polyphony was not so much a standard, but an ideal arrangement of forces. A small chantry at Epworth on the Isle of Axholme, Lincolnshire, for example, included from its foundation in 1351 four singers, of whom one was to sing the tenor line, one the middle voice, and two the upper part (Bowers, 1983: 178).[64] Larger institutions show some evidence of this practice, such as the Cathedral Priory of Durham, where in the fourteenth century monks helped the singers with the performance of three-part polyphony, especially the treble line.[65] It is possible that one or more parts may have been improvised to one or more pre-composed vocal parts. Evidence for this point comes mainly from early fifteenth-century sources, when detailed contracts for music masters were becoming more standardised.

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[64] Bowers takes the quotation 'unus tenorem, et alius medium, et ceteri duo cantum tertium sciant canere competenter' from Charles Foster and Alexander Hamilton Thompson (1921): 'The Chantry Certificates for Lincoln and Lincolnshire.' *Associated Architectural Societies' Reports and Papers* 36, 246-53; the original document in question is Lincoln, The Castle, Lincolnshire Archives Office, Archives of the Dean and Chapter, MS Dij 51/3(4).

Circumstances relating to the composition and circulation of English polyphony are poorly understood. In the past, there have been many debates as to the role of individual institutions, monastic communities, and 'schools' of composition. It is not known for certain whether music copying and composition during this period were mono- or polycentric (Lefferts, 1984: 182). Was the majority of music written in the larger establishments, or were skills in this area more widespread? Were the best musicians of any one time associated with royal circles, or might they have lived anywhere in the country? Margaret Bent asserted that the picture of polyphonic music-making during this period was 'almost exclusively monastic', and overwhelmingly Benedictine (1973: 72). Though the discovery of more music fragments has added the Augustinians and Cistercians to this picture, it is the 'largest abbeys and cathedrals' that remain at the centre of the remaining evidence (Lefferts, 1986: 10). Christopher Hohler suggested that London and the royal court may have had a major role in the dissemination of thirteenth century polyphony, perhaps via the University of Oxford, and it could be that this trend continued into the fourteenth century.[66] There is considerable

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[65] W. Pantin ed. (1931-7): *Documents Illustrating the Activities of the General and Provincial Chapters of the English Black Monks, 1215*-1540. 3 vols. *Camden Society* 3rd Series 45, 57, 54, cited from page 84.

[66] Christopher Hohler (1978): 'Reflections on Some Manuscripts Containing Thirteenth-Century Polyphony.' *JPMMS* 1, 2-38. Hohler's conclusions do not appear to have found favour elsewhere in the literature, though the importance of secular foundations and other non-monastic types of institution certainly rose in prominence considerably from the second half of the fourteenth century.

evidence to show that music was at least owned by some of the wealthier members of the gentry during the fourteenth century, and that the ownership of polyphonic music was therefore a signifier of wealth and power in both sacred and secular contexts (Wathey, 1988). This may help to explain the extensive collections of music which seem to have been owned by the Cistercians, and in one case the Gilbertines, orders which were developed for greater austerity and who were expressly forbidden to sing liturgical polyphony as part of worship.[67] It is perhaps time to put aside the search for the 'holy grail' of an English centre of music copying comparable to the Parisian ateliers of the thirteenth century; it almost certainly did not exist.

What was or was not standard practice in religious and secular institutions during the Middle Ages leads to a reconsideration of the role that women may have played in the production, dissemination and performance of written polyphony. This possibility has been rejected by many scholars, despite a small but growing body of evidence suggesting that some women would have been familiar

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[67] Gerald of Wales was aware of discrepancies between theory and practice in austerity, for example regarding their dietary laws that forbade eating meat in the refectory. In one recollection by Gerald, a novice looks on to 'huge quantities of meat, which would then be superbly prepared and feasted upon by groups of monks in the infirmary, who mocked the laity for their abstinence and toasted each other with traditional English wassails, to the novice's disgust'; Brian Golding (1995a): 'Gerald of Wales and the Monks.' In P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd eds., *Thirteenth Century England V. Proceedings of the Newcastle Upon Tyne Conference, 1993*, 53-64. Woodbridge: Boydell, 57.

with polyphonic singing.[68] Women writers and copyists have been identified from the early Middle Ages onward, and assumptions about prevailing illiteracy among women (particularly regarding their understanding of Latin), have been redressed in recent years in non-musical fields, to the effect that it is no longer appropriate to speak of learning and reception of art and literature as an entirely male space.[69] By the fifteenth century, it is possible to demonstrate that women owned manuscripts that contained music, and this study will evaluate some of the available evidence of the role of women in written music from the later Middle Ages.

There are many angles from which to study fourteenth-century English music. The preliminary work which I undertook over three years included some of the 'detailed palaeographical and codicological survey of the . . . manuscript fragments' including 'careful assessments of the age and provenance of the contents and manufacture of the present parent . . . manuscripts and their bindings', proposed by Lefferts (Lefferts, 1986: 14).[70] Some possible

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[68] Roger Bowers has asserted that women played no part in the singing of polyphonic music in the Middle Ages (1983: 192).

[69] See books such as Carol Meale ed. (1996): *Women and Literature in Britain 1150-1500, 2nd Edition.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Katherine Zieman (2003): 'Reading, Singing and Understanding: Constructions of the Literacy of Women Religious in Late Medieval England.' In Sarah Rees Jones ed., *Learning and Literacy in Medieval England and Abroad,* 97-120. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols. For a discussion of the musical skills of nuns, see Ann Bagnall Yardley (1986): '"Ful weel she soong the service dyvyne": The Cloistered Musician in the Middle Ages.' In Jane Bowers and Judith Tick eds., *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150-1950,* 15-38. Basingstoke: Macmillan Press.

[70] I studied over half of approximately one hundred sources of polyphonic music from this period first hand in the preparation of this thesis.

areas of research will not be addressed here, such as theoretical treatises on notation.[71] Performance practice also falls largely without its scope, mainly because, as Lefferts has observed, 'little hard evidence connects the repertoire to the personnel and routines of musical establishments within which it may have been sung' (Lefferts, 1984: 169).[72] This study takes a multidisciplinary approach, and explores music and lyrics from *c.*1260 – *c.*1400 from hagiographical and political perspectives, which has not been done previously.

'Englishness' in music

The idea of English music, music that has a demonstrably English character, sound or origin, is almost impossible to pin down in specific terms. Describing Englishness is problematic, since it requires a careful definition of England itself, both its physical and psychological boundaries.[73] In response to this dilemma, John Caldwell stated that:

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[71] Peter M. Lefferts (1991): *Robertus de Handlo Regulae and Johannes Hanboys Summa. A New Critical Text and Translation.* Lincoln, Nebraska, and London: University of Nebraska Press.

[72] An exceptional depiction of clerks performing the motet *Zelo tui langueo* is discussed in chapter 5 of this study. The image has also been discussed in Christopher Page (1997): 'An English Motet of the Fourteenth Century in Performance.' *EM* 25/1, 7-32.

[73] Thorlac Turville-Petre (1996): *England the Nation: Language, Literature, and National Identity 1290 – 1340.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

> Nearer to home, the word 'English' may grate upon the sensibilities of those from outside English borders who notice that Scottish . . . Welsh and Irish matters are touched upon now and again. But 'British' would have been equally unsatisfactory.
>
> (Caldwell, 1991: vii)

Caldwell was aware of the term's potentially offensive implications, but found that no other single word or phrase, current or historical, would be any more justified in its place.[74] The word 'English' is loaded with many intractable historical associations, even today, and its meaning made further ambiguous by loose application in every field since its first appearance in language. 'British' is no less slippery as a label. Osbert of Clare, the prolific twelfth-century author, mingled 'English' with 'British' in his relation of the Norman Conquest:

> And Great Britain [maior Britannia] herself, wet with the blood of her sons, burdened with sins, succumbed to a foreign race, who despoiled her of her crown and sceptre. . . .
>
> Therefore, after the death of the glorious king [Edward], unhappy England [infelix Anglia] sustained this disaster, and

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[74] Scholars of this period who have written using the term 'English music' include Caldwell (1991) and Lefferts (1986).

today suffers a degradation ruinous to the native English [innatis Anglis]. [75]

(Cited in Barlow, 1962: 71)

Scholars working on medieval music have used the word 'English' to mean different things, and some have used expressions which avoid the term England or English altogether.[76] On more than one occasion this has only resulted in equally problematic terminology entering the literature. Most notably in relation to music, the use of the term 'peripheral' to describe music composed in England (in opposition to the 'main' developments on the Continent) only served to marginalise this repertoire, a position from which it is now recovering. The word 'insular' is more fairly applicable to thirteenth century British music, because sources such as W1 can be

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[75] See also Timothy Garton Ash (13 June 2002): 'Two Flags, One Muddle.' *The Guardian,* 19; Ash discusses the positive side of the blending of English and British identities in the light of the Queen's Silver Jubilee celebrations (symbolised by the Union Flag) and the support of England during the World Cup 2002 (symbolised by the flag of St George).

[76] The term 'Angevin' as designating the period *c.*1075 – 1225 has been widely accepted by historians and some musicologists. Robert Bartlett (2000): *England Under the Norman and Angevin Kings 1075 – 1225.* Oxford: Clarendon Press; Mark Everist (1992): 'Anglo-French Interaction in Music *c.*1170 – *c.*1300.' *Revue Belge de Musicologie* 46, 5-22. This term cannot be applied to later periods or their music. In relation to the especially tricky period of cultural exchange in the late-twelfth and thirteenth centuries, historians and musicologists such as Nicky Losseff have used words such as 'insular' and 'common repertory' to attempt to neutralise the loaded nature of Sanders' and others' use of the terms 'peripheral' and 'Notre Dame polyphony'. Losseff (1994); Sanders (1998). Generally speaking, Anglo-Norman can be used as an umbrella term to mean the French that was spoken and written as a vernacular in England from the Conquest until it became obsolete, or as a more specific term in contrast with Anglo-French, the French used in England from around the thirteenth century onward; Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (2001): *Saints' Lives and Women's Literary Culture c.1150 – 1300: Virginity and its Authorizations.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2. An important recent study of identity is R. R. Davies (2000): *The First English Empire: Power and Identities in the British Isles 1093 – 1343.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

confidently attributed to Scottish provenance; evidence for Welsh, Scottish and Irish provenance for fourteenth-century polyphonic sources is so scant that it would be a misnomer to call the repertory as a whole 'insular'. In studies of medieval literature, the adjective 'English', when used to describe writing, lyrics or verse, applies exclusively to those whose text survives in the Middle English language.[77] However, the majority of the repertory before the fifteenth century is anonymous; it is only on the basis of textual and musical style, or more circumstantial evidence such as patterns of transmission and preservation, that one is able to claim that there is such a thing as an English repertory at all.[78]

The modern term 'British' is one that expressed something completely different in the Middle Ages. In the late fifteenth century, the author John Capgrave wrote of 'Brytayn, the londe in whech we dwelle', yet it is impossible to say where he drew his own physical and imagined boundaries.[79] Britain's origins were seen to lie in the hero Brutus who settled on the island in ancient times, but Britons

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[77] Peter Dronke (1968, 3rd Edition 1996): *The Medieval Lyric.* Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer; David Jeffrey (1975): *The Early English Lyric and Franciscan Spirituality.* Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press.

[78] These points have been raised recently by Warwick Edwards (2000), who has examined the possibility that some of the pieces in the thirteenth-century source W1 had a Scottish rather than necessarily English origin. Idiosyncrasies in English notations have been discussed by Peter M. Lefferts (1990a): 'English Music Theory in Respect to the Dating of Polyphonic Repertories in England, 1320 – 1399.' *Atti del XIV congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia, Bologna, 1987: Transmissione et recezione delle forme di cultura musicale,* 653-8. Torino: Edizioni di Torino.

[79] Karen A. Winstead ed. (1999): *John Capgrave: The Life of Saint Katherine.* Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 7.

were only one people of many that influenced the mixture of nationalities over the subsequent ages. As the fourteenth-century translator of *Brut* put it:

> þe grete lordes of Engeland were nouȝt alle of o nacioun, but were mellede [mixed] wiþ oþere nacions, þat is forto seyn [in other words], somme Britons, somme Saxones, somme Danois, somme Peghtes, some Frenchemen, some Normans, somme Spaignardes, somme Henaudes, some Flemyngus, and of oþere diuerse naciouns, þe whiche nacions acorded nouȝt to þe kynde bloode of Engeland.
>
> (*Brut*, i. 220, II. 17-23; quoted in Turville-Petre, 1996: 17)

Music scholars from outside of England's official borders have sometimes chosen to use the word 'British'. As Sally Harper commented, '"Britain" has all too often been merely a synonym for "England", with the periphery areas of Scotland, Ireland and Wales relegated to footnotes apologizing for the paucity of sources' (Woods Preece, 2000: 13). During the Middle Ages, there was 'no such nation as "Britain"' (Turville-Petre, 1996: 15).

English written polyphony seems to have had little to do with the English vernacular until the fifteenth century. Even in the thirteenth century, when other countries' vernaculars were flourishing, English writers seeking to express their sense of identity

did so in either French or Latin (Turville-Petre, 1996: v). A sizeable corpus of music associated with secular activities, from folk song to satirical ballads, has undoubtedly been lost over time.[80] Snippets of information as to what this music may have been like have come down to us. There are motets in the thirteenth century based on tuneful *pedes* with English words;[81] references to the retexting of inappropriate (sometimes obscene) vernacular songs with more sober Latin contrafacta;[82] and a corpus of political songs and poems, often with liturgical quotations, that may or may not have been performed musically.[83]

Only a relatively small number of polyphonic pieces or music from the thirteenth and early-fourteenth century are preserved with English words, still fewer with only their English text.[84] Generally speaking, English was still a low status language, unfit for legal or liturgical documents or for use at court.[85] In the fourteenth century, Edward II became the first English king to take the oath at his

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[80] The classic study is Michael T. Clanchy (1979, 2nd Edition 1993): *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066 – 1307.* Oxford: Blackwell.
[81] These are rare; incipits include *Wynter,* and *Dou way Robin the child wile weepe.*
[82] Arthur Rigg (1992): *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature, 1066 – 1422.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Relatively few examples of polyphonic works with Latin contrafacta have survived, or can be identified with any certainty (see examples from Ob 7 cited in Chapter 6).
[83] Thomas Wright (1839): *The Political Songs of England from the Reign of John to that of Edward II.* London: Camden Society. Republished by the Royal Historical Society (1996), with an introduction and editorial matter by Peter Coss.
[84] The majority are published in Eric J. Dobson and Frank Harrison eds. (1979): *Medieval English Songs.* London: Faber and Faber.
[85] D. A. Trotter ed. (2000): *Multilingualism in Later Medieval Britain.* Bury St Edmunds: St Edmundsbury Press, especially Begoña Crespo, 'Historical Background of Multilingualism and its Impact on English', 23-35.

coronation not in Latin but in French, his own vernacular.[86] Henry IV was the first king of England to speak English, rather than French; Henry V is reputed to have had very poor French.[87] The relationship between music and the vernacular was very different before the Conquest, when Old English flourished in all parts of the social spectrum. A story relating to King Canute tells of how once while he was being rowed past a monastery at Ely, he was so overwhelmed by the monks' singing that he composed a song which was sung (according to the monk of the twelfth century who recorded it) 'in chorus among the people to this day' (quoted in Bartlett, 2000: 491).[88] The pre-Conquest Latin legend and passion of St Edmund, King and Martyr, records that his amputated head called out to those seeking it in the vernacular 'her, her, her', for which the author also gave the Latin translation, 'hic, hic, hic', following this reference. One liturgical melody from the Middle Ages reflects this tradition by quoting the words in both English and Latin, a rare occurrence of English within a Latin liturgical melody.[89]

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[86] May McKisack (1959): *The Fourteenth Century, 1307 – 1399.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 5.
[87] Basil Cottle (1969): *The Triumph of English 1350 – 1400.* London: Blandford Press, 22.
[88] 'Merie sungen the muneches binnen Ely / Tha Cnut ching rue ther by. / Roweth cnites noer the lant / and here we thes muneches saeng.' ['Sweetly sang the monks of Ely as King Canute rowed by. Row men, nearer the land and hear we these monks sing']; Ernest Oscar Blake ed. (1962): *Liber Eliensis. Camden Society*, 3rd Series. London: Royal Historical Society, 153-4.
[89] See chapter 2 of this study. The melody of this monophonic item is unpublished.

A major stumbling block for this transition from low to high status of the English vernacular was the overwhelming staying power of Anglo-Norman (a bastardised form of French laced with some English). It was only in the later fourteenth century that the works of figures such as Chaucer, Lydgate, Langland and Gower assured the popularity of high status literature in the English language. The first manuscripts to preserve a substantial quantity of polyphonic music with lyrics in English date from the early fifteenth century.[90]

In this thesis, English music is not treated as synonymous only with music whose lyrics are expressed in the vernacular; most English music from this period used only Anglo-Latin, sometimes even as a replacement for an originally French text. This study concerns the development of English music and its relationship with issues of nationhood and sanctity. The languages in which the English chose to express themselves were chosen for a wide variety of reasons, rarely that of (un)familiarity with the language itself. After all, French was also largely ignored in fourteenth-century England as a medium for polyphonic texts, and that was undoubtedly of higher status.[91] Latin was the primary vehicle for English sacred

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[90] Many of the English-texted and macaronic carols (those which mix English and Latin lyrics) can be found in John Stevens ed. (1952): *Mediaeval Carols. MB* 4, London: Stainer and Bell.

[91] This could be contrasted with the work of Gilbert Ouy, who seeks to show that 'tout au long du XIVe siècle, le français ne cessa de gagner du terrain, s'étendant progressivement à des domaines jusqu'alors réservés au latin' (throughout the length of the fourteenth century, French did not cease to gain territory, reaching progressively into domains hitherto reserved for Latin); from his article (1986):

music during this period for many reasons, including its intellectual and religious associations, classical roots, and respectability as a poetic medium. It also carried with it a high degree of political power, since only those educated elite able to understand it could fully appreciate the refinement of the products themselves.[92] It was an exclusive language, including only those who belonged to specific social and religious groups. As a result, its message was directed inwardly, not in an evangelical or egalitarian manner (unlike many Franciscan lyrics), amongst a fairly homogenous group of people: clerics, monks, nuns, and the highest circles of secular society.

Music with Latin text was not limited to liturgical celebration, though that was of course its primary function and experience. Ceremonial occasions, religious and political poetry, historical lyrics, all used Latin to emphasise the high status of their patron, subject or audience. Outside the religious ritual, a substantial corpus of music, monophonic and polyphonic, used Latin text in these ways, and fifteenth-century carols often mixed English texts with Latin refrains taken from liturgically-appropriate occasional music. Sources of

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'Bilinguisme ou trilinguisme? Latin commun, latin savant et français aux XIVe et XVe siècles.' In P. Genet and B. Vincent eds., *Etat et Eglise dans la genese de l'Etat Moderne*, 85-102. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, cited from page 86.

[92] This is a view shared by Crespo, who adds that part of Latin's power came from the fact that it was institutionalised across Europe (2000: 23). A good example of this is the misogynist carol with the burden 'Of all creatures women be best / cuius contrarium verum est', whose verses all praise women and only the learned, presumably male, audience gets the Latin joke that the 'opposite of this is true'; Richard Greene ed. (1962): *A Selection of English Carols.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 143-44.

Latin music and those describing its appearance relate primarily to high status institutions with a real or perceived royal link, such as the better-endowed monasteries, royalist abbeys, and those with a specific ceremonial link to the monarch. Establishments close to the seat of power, such as St Albans, and those on well-trodden pilgrimage routes, such as Canterbury, had more reasons and opportunities to develop the sort of music, along with other art forms, that was associated with high status culture.

Any term inevitably brings its own baggage of association, but I have chosen to use 'English' here, albeit with due reservations, not least because it was both in current use throughout the Middle Ages (unlike 'British', for example), and also because it held a position of importance in the eyes of those who forged the national identity through cultural media. The ambiguity of how it felt to identify as English was challenged and focused through the cultural productions which redefined England's present through its past. This often drew, as does the political right today, on the Anglo-Saxon period, which was considered to be the origin of the English population despite its own complex history of immigration and adopted culture. The very construction of what it meant to be English, and how this was expressed in music, lies at the heart of the arguments presented here.

Over the centuries, and especially in the period of the later Middle Ages with which this study is concerned, national identity as a concept changed and developed in relation to political circumstance.[93] The English were particularly aware of their island status, which protected them from the Continent, and of the distinct groups of peoples within their population (Bartlett, 2000). The motet *Solaris ardor Romuli* considered the coastline as a clear boundary between the Christian English and 'others': 'quocumque fluctus hodie claudent Anglos equorei' ('wherever . . . the waves of the sea enclose the English'). Another text in the same motet speaks of the people 'in insula Britannie', again showing the hazy distinction between the British 'isle' and the population of England who are 'enclosed' by water. Music and other cultural products were used as a means of self-definition, helping to create or reinforce ideas of identity, status and power.

The medieval writers who addressed questions of identity expressed their ideas in prose, poetry and the visual arts. Cartographers from this period showed an awareness of some kind of geographical boundary between England, Scotland and Wales but few maps of England / Britain included Ireland, which had by this time acquired the status of a realm of the English throne. Matthew

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[93] R. R. Davies (2000): *The First English Empire: Power and Identities in the British Isles 1093 – 1343.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, especially 'Epilogue: The British Isles and the Identity of England', 191-203.

Paris, the thirteenth-century chronicler of St Albans who accompanied his works with maps of England, was careful to include the presence of Scotland and Wales while at the same time labelling them as containing a population of different origin and character (Turville-Petre, 1996: 2). The language of Welsh could easily be used to identify those who were from that principality, but the mixture of dialects between England and Scotland made any similar delineation between those two countries on grounds of language alone impossible. Many chroniclers during the Middle Ages accepted the Firth of Forth as the Anglo-Scottish border until the twelfth century, and it was not until the Treaty of York in 1237 that this role was replaced by the Tweed, when Northumbria, Cumbria and Westmoreland were formally handed over to England (Bartlett, 2000: 78, 81). As for the east of the country, earldoms created by William the Conqueror, such as Hereford, Shrewsbury and Chester, remained the approximate dividing line between England and Wales (Bartlett, 2000: 69).[94]

Many English nobles settled, or owned land on, the continent. For much of this period Normandy and other parts of France (Poitou, Anjou, Aquitaine), fell in and out of the hands of English rulers. With the rise of the universities, this situation became more pronounced. Baldwin has shown that of the Masters at the University of Paris for

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[94] The last reigning Prince of Wales, Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, was killed in 1282

whom a place of origin can be traced between 1179 and 1215, thirty-eight percent were English.[95] England had long been a place for settlers from abroad, from refugees and ecclesiastical envoys to merchants and raiders.[96] Before the Conquest, various Viking invasions made the Norwegian and especially Danish presence felt across the north of the country. From 1066 the English part of the island was governed by a French aristocracy that quickly assimilated itself into the upper end of society through intermarriage. Scotland shared a politically close allegiance with France for much of this period, far more than English rulers, a feature which may have influenced its cultivation of French and more local polyphonic music during the thirteenth century.[97] By the thirteenth century, Henry III's Francophile policies at home were the cause of no little grief to his barons, who by this time (and despite their own Norman ancestry) considered themselves 'le commun de Engleterre' (Turville-Petre, 1996: 5). Morgan argues that:

> The concept of lineage is a curiously vague one. . . . Its historicity was affirmed by the existence of an archive, and by the presence in the landscape and the decoration of churches

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(Cottle, 1969: 86).

[95] John W. Baldwin (1982): 'Masters at Paris from 1179-1215: A Social Perspective.' In R. L. Benson and Giles Constable eds., *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, 138-72. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 149.

[96] Wendy Childs (1990): 'Finance and Trade Under Edward II.' In John Taylor and Wendy Childs eds., *Politics and Crisis in Fourteenth-Century England*, 9-37. Gloucester: Alan Sutton.

> and halls of memorials to the family and its arms. Charters and memorials confirmed the family's membership of an ancient military elite.[98]

The idea of English nationality was one that could be, and was, deliberately constructed by those for whom it mattered most.[99]

The definition of 'Englishness' during this period was as unstable as it is today, perhaps more so. The overwhelming majority of music extant from England during this period is sacred, and it is important to understand the distinction between England politic (the physical or imagined boundaries defining the kingdom) and ecclesiastic (comprising archbishoprics, dioceses, monastic houses, parishes, churches, private chapels and monastic cells). Like the gentry, religious institutions frequently held land and property over a wide geographical area, and those in England might also control the advowson of institutions in Scotland or abroad.[100] There was a significant overlap between religious and political life during this period: many religious men, and especially bishops, held great sway

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[97] See especially Mark Everist (1990): 'From Paris to St Andrews: the Origins of W1.' *JAMS* 43/1, 1-42; and Edwards (2000).
[98] Philip Morgan (1995): 'Making the English Gentry.' In P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd eds., *Thirteenth Century England V. Proceedings of the Newcastle upon Tyne Conference, 1993*, 21-8. Woodbridge: Boydell, 22.
[99] See also E. Mason (1984): 'Legends of the Beauchamps' Ancestors: The Use of Baronial Propaganda in Medieval England.' *JMH* 10, 25-40.
[100] A church that held the advowson of another benefited financially from the property itself, and was in charge of selecting its staff.

in politics and government through their dealings in parliament and with the Crown.[101]

St Andrews was undoubtedly the most important of the bishoprics in Scotland, and its head was known as 'bishop of the Scots' despite the lack of any formal status (Bartlett, 2000: 94). St Andrews' affairs were closely linked with those of the diocese of York and were furthest from Canterbury (whose archbishop was not recognised as supreme by the Scots), and this was reflected in its liturgy.[102] In 1192, pope Celestine III had issued the papal bull *Cum universi* that 'the Scottish church should be directly subject to the apostolic see, whose special daughter she is' (cited in Bartlett, 2000: 95).[103] In terms of affiliation, the Scottish church had more to do with the continent than with the dealings of the English church. Durham cathedral priory was caught up in wars between Scotland and England on many occasions because of its location and landscape, which made it a military stronghold. Durham was geographically in England, yet its empathy with Scotland and its church was strong. In the 1090s, Scotland granted Durham an area of Berwickshire where the Durham monks maintained the cell of Coldingham until 1462,

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[101] R. B. Dobson (1991): 'The Political Role of the Archbishops of York During the Reign of Edward I.' In P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd eds., *Thirteenth Century England III. Proceedings of the Newcastle upon Tyne Conference, 1989,* 56-64. Woodbridge: Boydell.

[102] Edward Roesner (1976): 'The Origins of W1.' *JAMS* 29, 337-380.

and Bartlett observes that they shared a cultural unity through veneration to St Cuthbert, 'the great cross-border saint' (Bartlett, 2000: 77-8). Wales was not formerly recognised as a separate ecclesiastical see until 1920, despite campaigns by Gerald of Wales in the twelfth century and many others since (Bartlett, 2000: 97). The English Cistercian houses were under the direct control of Cîteaux in France, and maintained a network of mother and daughter houses on both sides of the channel. Benedictine and other religious orders had little success in Wales, but the Cistercians founded some of their most impressive houses there.[104] The Cistercian colonisation of Wales gave it a monastic character distinct from that of England where the Benedictines and Augustinians held most power (with the exception of regions such as Devon and some parts of Yorkshire).[105]

Bishops and priors spent much of their time dealing in politics. Adam Orleton (*c.*1275 – 1345), who worked at the cathedrals of Hereford, Worcester and Winchester, is a good

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[103] This bull also made the See of York a 'special daughter' of Rome. See Andrew Barrell (1995): *The Papacy, Scotland and Northern England, 1342-1378.* Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4th Series. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, especially pages 4-5.

[104] Glyn Coppack (1998): *The White Monks: The Cistercians in Britain 1128-1540.* Stroud: Tempus Publishing Limited; Golding (1995); David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock (1953): *Medieval Religious Houses in England and Wales.* London: Longmans, Green and Company.

[105] Christopher J. Holdsworth (1989): 'The Cistercians in Devon.' In Christopher Harper-Bill, Christopher Holdsworth and Janet Nelson eds., *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. Allen Brown,* 179-91. Woodbridge: Boydell.

example.[106] He studied both in Oxford and then almost certainly on the Continent at the beginning of the fourteenth century, before becoming a clerk of the king (Haines, 1978: 56). As diplomatic envoy to Edward II he travelled widely, and was involved in many affairs of state including the mission to secure the release from excommunication of Piers Gaveston. A contemporary, Walter Reynolds, was the king's treasurer before receiving the position of Bishop of Worcester (Haines, 1978: 9). Chroniclers at monastic establishments often had links with government, and at the end of the fourteenth century Walsingham, writing at St Albans, was able to document both official and unofficial proceedings relating to the Good Parliament of 1376.[107] Barrie Dobson has observed that Robert Neville was the only bishop of Durham not to have worked as Keeper of the Privy Seal during the period 1333 and 1476.[108]

Music played an especially diverse part in the government of England in the Middle Ages. The fate of kings and of their heirs, especially in the light of frequent rebellions from usurpers and barons, was reliant on their maintenance of an image of legitimacy. Particularly from the reign of Henry III, it appears that kings and

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[106] Roy Martin Haines (1978): *The Church and Politics in Fourteenth-Century England: The Career of Adam Orleton, c.1275 – 1345.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

[107] John Taylor (1990): 'The Good Parliament and Its Sources.' In John Taylor and Wendy Childs eds., *Politics and Crisis in Fourteenth-Century England,* 81-96. Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 84-5. See also Dobson (1991).

those who worked to keep them on the throne were responsible for constructing their own image of kingship. This construct comprised everything from the clothes in which they were portrayed to the buildings and shrines they patronised.[109] These gestures would typically identify the king with powerful and pious, often saintly, forebears.[110] In the coronation ritual, for example, the enthroning of new kings in this period took place on the 'chair of St Edmund' in Westminster Abbey.[111] Each king in the succession who identified with the same saints would reinforce the construct, and the establishment and repeat between generations of rituals and traditions of piety had a strong cementing effect.

The English realm in the Middle Ages included not only the mainland and various lands in France, but also Ireland.[112] King John was the first to style himself 'King of England and Lord of Ireland', a title that remained until Henry VIII (Bartlett, 2000: 90). The English kings wanted the government of Ireland to follow the same lines as that of the mainland, including its laws, but in reality, England had

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[108] R. B. Dobson (1986): 'The Bishops of Late Medieval England as Intermediaries Between Church and State.' In P. Genet and B. Vincent eds., *Etat et Eglise dans la genese de l'Etat Moderne*, 227-38. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 232-3.
[109] A. J. Taylor (1979): 'Edward I and the Shrine of St Thomas of Canterbury.' *Journal of the British Archaeological Association, 3rd Series* 132, 22-8.
[110] Mark Ormrod (1989): 'The Personal Religion of Edward III.' *Speculum* 64, 849-77.
[111] Andrew Hughes (1998): 'Coronation Ceremony, Music and Ritual of.' In Paul E. Szarmach, M. Teresa Tavormina and Joel T. Rosenthal eds., 209-10. *Medieval England: An Encyclopaedia*, 209-10. New York: Garland, 209.
[112] An early example of scholarship regarding English-Irish relations in this period is Maud Violet Clarke (1926): 'Irish Parliaments in the Reign of Edward II.' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 4th Series* 9, 29-62.

little to do with Ireland for most of this period and followed a hands-off approach before the fourteenth century.[113] Hamilton has gone as far as saying that although 'Ireland was under English control in 1308 . . . in principle this was hardly the case'.[114] Following the Declaration of 1308, in which Edward II was forced to exile his favourite, Piers Gaveston, in the face of baronial disquiet, Edward made Piers the king's lieutenant of Ireland.[115] Piers took his large household with him on sailing from Bristol, and it is thought that his time in Ireland was relatively peaceful (McKisack, 1959: 8). This was, to some extent, typical; the Anglo-Irish, or 'English of Ireland' as they styled themselves, did not become assimilated with the Irish during this period. Frame has argued that:

> In the fourteenth century the British Isles contained two 'English' political communities, markedly unequal . . . in size and wealth . . . but nevertheless sharing a great deal besides their allegiance and appellation 'English'. . . . Among England's neighbours, Ireland had the distinction of being overseas, and yet not foreign (or indeed wholly English).

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[113] The general neglect by historians of medieval Irish affairs may contribute to this picture. Robin Frame (1989): 'England and Ireland, 1171 – 1399.' In Michael Jones and Malcolm Vale eds., *England and her Neighbours, 1066-1453: Essays in Honour of Pierre Chaplais,* 139-55. London and Ronceverte: Hambleton Press.
[114] J. S. Hamilton (1988): *Piers Gaveston Earl of Cornwall 1307-1312, Politics and Patronage in the Reign of Edward II.* Detroit, Michigan: Wayne State University Press, 57.

(Frame, 1989: 155)

The relationship between England and Scotland during the latter Middle Ages especially was far more stormy. The wars of independence in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries comprised small and larger battles in which territories were won and lost alternately. Between 1272 and 1327, there was 'no agreement between the English and the Scots as to the relative standing of their countries', a factor that lay at the heart of the conflict.[116] Edward I's successful invasion in 1296 did not result in him appending 'Lord of Scotland' to his official title. From at least 1305, the English expressly avoided acknowledging the existence of the kingdom of Scotland, despite the fact that its king was a descendant of Queen Matilda.[117] This is curious in the light of the way in which St Margaret was later used in politically-motivated English literature, which drew on her Anglo-Saxon familial links (Prestwich, 1989: 192). It was not until 1 March 1328 that Edward III renounced his claim to the Scottish throne and accepted Robert Bruce's position as king, a position that Bruce has held since 1306 (Prestwich, 1989:

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[115] Gaveston had been knighted in 1306, by which time he already held land in ten counties; Edward had given him the earldom of Cornwall on 6 August 1307 (Hamilton, 1988: 33, 37). Piers was also granted land in Aquitaine during this period; he received the title Lieutenant of Ireland on 16 June 1308, and was required to set sail by 25 June of that year; see especially McKisack, 1959: 1-31.

[116] Michael Prestwich (1989): 'England and Scotland During the Wars of Independence.' In Michael Jones and Malcolm Vale eds., *England and her Neighbours, 1066-1453: Essays in Honour of Pierre Chaplais* 181-97. London and Ronceverte: Hambleton Press, 182.

[117] Queen Matilda was the daughter of King Malcolm Canmore and Queen (later Saint) Margaret of Scotland.

186-7). This was not a lasting peace, and the two countries fought on until 1371 when Robert II's accession dashed English aspirations to the Scottish throne for good.

Music and the arts played a significant role during these troubles, commenting on events, helping to construct the Scottish throne's image of kingship, and even in provocation. Matilda of Scotland was celebrated for her piety as well as her patronage of poetry and music for the church (Bartlett, 2000: 38). During the fourteenth century, several political lyrics alluded to Anglo-Scottish troubles such as the battle of Bannockburn. In 1303, Edward I was greeted in Scotland by 'a small choir, as used to be done in King Alexander's day' which Prestwich argued was 'no doubt stage-managed, and suggests that Edward was deliberately beginning to take on the attributes of a Scottish monarch' (Prestwich, 1989: 185).[118] Other tales related how William Wallace forced his English captives to sing naked before him in order to humiliate them (Prestwich, 1989: 189).

Robert II was the first Scottish king to be anointed at his coronation, a practice that Edward II had reinstated for his coronation in 1308. This sacrament emphasised the quasi-divine status of the ruler, a primary feature in late-medieval kingship, and encouraged parallels to be drawn between the king's anointing and Christ's

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[118] Lbl 8835, f.42r-v.

baptism.[119] This practice escalated in England, since from Edward II's reign in particular:

> English Kings had been thought to be under the special protection of the Virgin, anointed with a special oil she had given to Thomas à Becket, and Richard [II] sought to have himself reanointed with that oil in 1399.[120]

The importance of sacred oil for the anointment of kings was linked to the belief in prophecies and a certain hierarchy of oils.[121] English kings had always been anointed with the oils of St Nicholas and of St Mary of Sardinia, not rare enough to be considered particularly powerful, but French kings were blessed with 'the most famous and potent of all coronation oils, that in the *saint ampoule* which the Holy Spirit itself had brought straight from heaven for the baptism of King Clovis in 496' (Wilson, 1990: 183). The search in England for the holy oil of the Virgin Mary, reputedly given to St Thomas of Canterbury during his exile in Normandy, was part of the growing need for English kings to compete with France. Richard II 'found' this oil in the Tower of London, but Archbishop Arundel refused to

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[119] Andrew Hughes (1988): 'Antiphons and Acclamations: The Politics of Music in the Coronation Service of Edward II, 1308.' *JM* 6/2, 150-68; Ralph A. Griffiths (1998): 'Monarchy and Kingship.' In Paul E. Szarmach, M. Teresa Tavormina and Joel T. Rosenthal eds., *Medieval England: An Encyclopaedia*, 520-1. New York and London: Garland; Hughes (1998).

[120] Dillian Gordon (1992): 'A New Discovery in the Wilton Diptych.' *Burlington Magazine* 134/1075, 662-7, cited from page 667.

[121] Christopher Wilson (1990): 'The Tomb of Henry IV and the Holy Oil of St Thomas of Canterbury.' In Eric Fernie and Paul Crossley eds., *Medieval Architecture and Its Intellectual Context*, 182-90. London: Hambleton Press.

reanoint him with it; he did, however, use it in the coronation of Henry IV in 1399. St Thomas's oil was used from this date until at least the end of the fifteenth century. As Wilson has pointed out, the significance of the oil was no small matter:

> The claim to have received unction by the oil of St Thomas put the Lancastrian succession under the patronage of Canterbury's and England's premier saint in the most public and unambiguous manner.
>
> (Wilson, 1990: 186)

'England' was neither one stable nor identifiable space in the later Middle Ages, nor were its boundaries necessarily defined by aspects of its vernacular, but the English people saw themselves increasingly as one nation. The effective and unopposed government of the kingdom required constant reference to England's own heritage, and music was one of the key ways through which this could be achieved. The task of deliberately constructing an ideal of what England and its culture was created the need to introduce and reinforce some particularly problematic ideas to the population, such as the adoption of foreign saints as patrons of England, or Anglo-Saxon saints who had little direct ancestry with kings after the Conquest. This type of reworking of the country's political and religious history was not new to the twelfth century. A prime example can be found in the support given to the cult of St Edmund,

King and Martyr, before the Conquest by the conquering Danes. It was the Danish Vikings who had been responsible for the murder of Edmund in the ninth century. By at least the tenth, they appear to have adopted Edmund to the extent that they issued special coinage with his image, since over ninety percent of what survives has been found within Viking archaeological sites.[122] Since the coins were minted and used within the Danelaw of Eastern England, the very area Edmund had governed, the Danes seem to have appropriated the saint's image for their own purposes. By the tenth century, they had converted to Christianity, but this alone cannot explain the phenomenon, nor, as Ridyard points out, did it mark a humble apology for previous wrongs against the area (Ridyard, 1988: 216); rather:

> Their adoption of St Edmund may have been, like their conversion to Christianity, a product of diplomacy, a negotiated, perhaps enforced, concession which might help to stabilise their political power. . . . Edmund seems to have been the last reigning monarch . . . of the ancient ruling dynasty of the East Angles. Quite possibly his Danish 'successors' hoped that by showing themselves to be patrons

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[122] Susan J. Ridyard (1988): *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England: A Study of West Saxon and East Anglian Cults.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 214; C. E. Blunt (1967-9): 'The St Edmund Memorial Coinage.' *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology* 31, 234-55.

> of his cult they might suggest their own legitimate succession to the kingdom and might accordingly buttress their somewhat anomalous political position.
>
> (Ridyard, 1988: 216-7)

Ridyard regards St Edmund's cult as a bargaining chip between the East Angles and their new rulers. By appropriating East Anglia's main hero, and political weapon, the Danes played a subtle but ingenious game. Having neutralised the strength of Edmund's symbolic opposition to their power, they were free to knit themselves into the area's political history, despite the fact that no hagiographical account relating to Edmund's cult declined to mention who was responsible for his death. The situation in tenth century East Anglia can be seen as directly analogous to that in England as a whole following the Conquest, and by the later Middle Ages these constructs were responsible for shaping not only the religious and political history of the country, but the people of England's sense of their own nationality.

It will be demonstrated that the cultural productions of the monasteries and other religious houses reflected this awareness of the need for national identity in the music that they produced during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Music, like other art forms, was a central part of the transmission of these ideas across the country, but it may be possible to distinguish a localised flavour within some texts

and music, since the cults of some saints were widely popular and spread more naturally than others. Caldwell states that:

> The major centres for the cultivation of polyphonic music at this time were the larger monasteries, and in particular the cathedral priories such as Worcester, Canterbury and Durham. Towards the end of this period the contribution of the 'secular' establishments—cathedrals, collegiate churches, and the household chapels of the royalty and nobility—comes more clearly into focus, although it is only rarely that the cultivation of polyphony can be ascribed to them with certainty.
>
> (Caldwell, 1991: 35-6)

Caldwell's position is typical of the literature surrounding the emergence of polyphonic music across England during the Middle Ages, in that he separates the cathedrals from the households, the royal from the religious.[123] Many authors separate the contributions of one type of monastery or even one house from another (Benedictines from Augustinians, for example). Some scholars have also put forward arguments that depend on the dubious generalisation that all religious institutions acted as one politically, and as such their music was a homogenous corpus reflecting general and universal

trends in ecclesiastical circles.[124] In this thesis I will attempt to demonstrate that lay and religious institutions were linked at the highest and lowest levels, and that royal patronage cannot be disentangled from monastic polyphony (or *vice versa*) in the later Middle Ages. This follows the argument recently put forward by Thorlac Turville-Petre that 'it was in the interests of the clergy to promote a sense of national identity as a way of claiming common interest with their lay audience' (1996: vi). I will show that within this picture, local and regional concerns can be detected in the promotion of ideas through polyphonic music.

Music was an important part of cultural and religious life in medieval England. Both the language of its text(s) and the literacy needed to compose and perform this repertoire made polyphonic music one of the highest possible modes of cultural expression. Since the national identity of England was forged gradually, often self-consciously, between the reigns of Henry III and Henry VI, it is the 'long' fourteenth century that forms the focus of this thesis. It will be shown that music played a pivotal role in the expression of this new identity, and its maintenance, in the face of political opposition. I will argue that texted polyphonic music was the vehicle for subtle royalist

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[123] Caldwell back-pedals slightly in his argument by later stating that 'the Chapel [Royal] may well have been at the forefront of musical developments throughout the fourteenth century' (Caldwell, 1991: 36).

[124] One such study is Peter M. Lefferts (1981): 'Two English Motets on Simon de Montfort.' *EMH* 1, 203-25; see chapter 4 of this study for an alternative interpretation of the evidence.

and anti-royal propaganda across this period, with specific reference to the saints with which those kings associated themselves in their piety. English kings were well aware of the fluidity of the English identity. The manipulation of themes of kingship and piety in the cultural productions of composers, authors and artists reflected these political trends closely. As a medium requiring more than an adequate level of textual literacy, polyphonic music can be seen as representative if not of the popular concerns of English people, then especially of those who had most to gain, or lose, by changes of political circumstance. These sentiments are found not so much in evangelical Dominican and Franciscan English lyrics, but in Latin-texted, high-status musical texts.

The veneration of specific saints by individuals and larger communities carried an important symbolic message. Throughout this period, kings and other members of the nobility (especially those in line to the throne) became increasingly aware of the power of identifying themselves or their causes with specific saints, chosen for the virtues they needed to be seen to possess. These deliberately constructed identities were expressed in many formats, such as painting, literature, and music. Since most political leaders were men, the saints chosen to promote their causes most often shared their gender. As a result, the overwhelmingly female-centred veneration of virgin martyrs acquired an unlikely bedfellow, the

rising prominence of male 'virginal' saints in hagiographical literature. Only the Virgin Mary seems to have been deemed an appropriate intercessor for both male and female royal rulers during this period.[125] Queens such as Eleanor of Provence and Anne of Bohemia used their patronage to promote an image of personal piety in relation to female saints such as St Katherine of Alexandria, St Margaret of Antioch, St Anne, St Ursula and the Virgin Mary.

This thesis concentrates mainly on those saints considered to be useful, or a potential threat, to the English throne during the period *c.*1260 – *c.*1400. The second chapter assesses the various ways in which royalist establishments cultivated king saints such as Edward the Confessor and Edmund King and Martyr. It poses the question: can music be seen – in the same way as hagiographical literature – to have played a distinctive role in the development of the cults of these saints for political ends? It also seeks to trace the decline in popularity of these saints amongst the monarchy towards the end of the fourteenth century. A further theme is the link between divine English kingship and ideal forms of masculinity as constructed by literature including the texts of several motets and conductus.

Chapter 3 examines the interplay between constructions of queenship and the music composed in honour of female saints such

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[125] See especially John Carmi Parsons ed. (1994): *Medieval Queenship.* Stroud: Alan Sutton; John Carmi Parsons and Bonnie Wheeler (1996): *Medieval Mothering.* New York: Garland.

as St Katherine of Alexandria and St Edburga. The cults of female virgin martyrs were particularly strong in England, and were a feature of many different hagiographical texts. Female saints were also used as a role model for laywomen, whose lives were dominated by the need to show ideal combinations of nobility, beauty, chastity and wisdom. These themes are particularly evident in polyphonic works written in honour of St Katherine, whose cult is the focus of this chapter.

The fourth chapter considers individuals who were cultivated as saints, or popular saintly heroes, by various sectors of the populace during the same period. To what extent the cult of these figures was a threat to the dominance of rulers can be observed in the ways in which the king/royalist establishments reacted to their development. The composition of motets and office items in honour of Simon de Montfort, for example, showed the spectacular failure of Henry III to contain and wipe out his cult. Fourteenth-century pretenders to the throne used symbols of sanctity in order to bolster their own images, and promoted those men killed in rebellions as heroes to establish their own claims. The 'martyrdom' of 'St' Thomas of Lancaster was a central theme to many of the arguments against Richard II at the end of the fourteenth century, and Richard reacted to this by attempts to promote the cult of his brutally murdered grandfather, King Edward II.

In seeking to promote a specific image of Englishness, sanctity, strong military leadership or regal power, it was perhaps inevitable that many sectors of the population were deliberately removed from the construction of English identity. The first such group was women, whose role in governmental and ecclesiastical policy was marginalised from the thirteenth century, and whose secular and religious life continued to be controlled by patriarchal systems. Examining the 'female voice' in writings of this period has already enriched the understanding of literature and theology in other disciplines, but has yet to be achieved in the sphere of medieval English music. The female voice is found in so few English pieces from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that its implications have yet to be fully explored.[126] Chapter 5 seeks to address that issue, with specific relation to the motet *Zelo tui langueo.*

The second group excluded from the message of literary and musical constructions of the English nation were the Jews. Expelled from major cities on several occasions, and restricted to careers on the fringes of society (such as usury), the Jews were treated as 'other' to both men and women of the Christian faith. In 1290 Edward I formally expelled the Jewish people living and working in England. Motet texts, particularly those centred on Christ's Passion, frequently

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[126] There are many examples in continental collections, such as the Montpellier Codex, and the implication of a female subject position in religious and secular motets is something that warrants further attention.

used anti-Semitic language and imagery. It has been shown elsewhere that misogyny and anti-Semitism have gone hand in hand in some literary products, where an implied female subject of such a text has been identified convincingly as Judea.[127] Music must inevitably be considered as one of many agents in anti-Jewish sentiment that permeated Anglo-Christian culture.[128] A careful exploration of these issues is approached in the final chapter, which seeks to show the importance of the 'other' to those wanting to promote their own superiority.

Those who sought to construct images of dominance and legitimacy in late medieval England used powerful associative devices.[129] The studies that follow seek to explore the effect, desired, perceived and realised, of building such identities through text, especially in those texts set to music. That music was at least expected to be transmitted outside of an individual's experience and into the world by performance (whatever form this may have taken) might suggest that we can see it as potentially more powerful symbolically than texts which may not have had an audience *per se*

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[127] Ann Lewis (1994): 'Anti-Semitism in an Early Fifteenth-Century Motet: *Tu nephanda.*' *PMM* 3/1, 45-55, especially page 52.
[128] Christopher Page (1996): 'Marian Texts and Themes in an English Manuscript: A Miscellany in Two Parts.' *PMM* 5/1, 23-44.
[129] See the interest in this topic as it relates to the fifteenth century, for example G. L. Harriss ed. (1985): *Henry V: The Practice of Kingship.* Oxford: Oxford University Press; Paul Strohm (1998): *England's Empty Throne: Usurpation and the Language of Legitimation, 1399 – 1422.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press; John Watts (1996): *Henry VI and the Politics of Kingship.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

other than those who studied them individually and inwardly.[130] Regardless of whether a piece of votive polyphony was performed, the nature of the genre implied such a transmission of music and ideas to others. Success or survival of a piece of music was often reliant on those who transmitted it elsewhere, and its relevance and meaning would no doubt change with each rendition, dependent on location and occasion.[131]

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[130] Robert Darnton (1986): 'The Symbolic Element in History.' *Journal of Modern History* 58, 218-34.

[131] A. K. McHardy (1982): 'Liturgy and Propaganda in the Diocese of Lincoln During the Hundred Years War.' In S. Mews ed., *Religion and National Identity. Studies in Church History* 18, 215-27. In her introduction to the collected essays *Hearing the Motet,* Pesce pointed to the fact that such investigations were inevitably based on both 'tried and true musicological methods' but also 'increased focus on the texts' in most cases; she also stated that 'some of the essays [in the collection] provide multiple readings of the motet in lieu of a "definitive" one' (Pesce, 1997: 4).

Chapter 2

'This hooly martir, this blyssyd kyng so good': kingship and sanctity in English music

Monarchs have always been eager to give patronage to projects in art and literature that cast them in a good light.[1] By associating themselves with historical characters, especially saints, they present an image that people can admire and be afraid to challenge. Medieval kingship was a concept that had acquired and absorbed elements from the Christian and pagan past, frequently drawing on the Old Testament.[2] The preferred father-to-son lineage followed by medieval kings mirrored the rod of Jesse, which linked King David to Christ.

Several studies of the construction of kingship in the reigns of Henry III to Henry VI have highlighted the importance of image manipulation in England, a country governed by a frequently shaky lineage that was entangled by marriage with that of France and other

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[1] The quotation in the title of this chapter is cited from John Lydgate, *Lives of St Edmund and St Fremund,* in Carl Horstmann ed. (1881): *Altenglische Legenden, Neue Folge.* Heilbronn: Henniger, line 23.

[2] Joel T. Rosenthal (1971): 'Edward the Confessor and Robert the Pious: 11th Century Kingship and Biography.' *Mediaeval Studies* 33, 7-20, especially page 7.

European kingdoms.[3] The cultural patronage of kings, queens and other magnates directly influenced the arts, which served as a vehicle for fashioning positively themed messages of power, strength and legitimate lineage. The position of undisputed head of state relied on the maintenance of a perceived status in between that of mankind and God; an unquestionable, quasi-divine image in the eyes of the wider population. By the fifteenth century, the king 'stood at the apex of human society, looking to God immediately above and to his subjects below him' (Harriss, 1985: 10). It was, arguably, the narrowing of the gap between monarch and God that was of prime concern in most royalist propaganda.

The portrayal of the Blessed Virgin Mary in royal apparel from about the fourth century, and the subsequent adoption of such symbols as the sword, rod, orb, ring and sceptre into earthly regalia, gained significant popularity in England during the Anglo-Saxon period. Paintings and sculptures of *Maria regina* were compounded by the language used to describe her in liturgical texts, such as Alcuin's *De*

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[3] There is substantial literature on this subject, especially from the past twenty years. Fritz Kern (1957): *Kingship and Law in the Middle Ages*, trans. S. B. Chrimes. Oxford: Greenwood Press; Ernst H. Kantorowicz (1957): *The King's Two Bodies*. Princeton: Princeton University Press; Anne J. Duggan ed. (1993): *Kings and Kingship in Medieval Europe*. King's College London Medieval Studies 10. Exeter: Short Run Press; Elizabeth M. Hallam (1982): 'Royal Burial and the Cult of Kingship in France and England, 1060-1330.' *JMH* 8, 359-80; Harriss (1985); Watts (1996). A highly insightful study into themes of kingship and artistic patronage is Paul Binski (1995): *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power 1200 – 1400*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

laude Dei, which praised Mary in distinctively regal terms.[4] Marian antiphons appeared in the liturgy from about the end of the tenth century. The *Salve regina* is found in its earliest copy in a Cistercian antiphonary dating to 1140.[5] Over time, and especially from the twelfth century, the traditions of secular/royal and religious became entwined: soon the worship of a regal Mary was an act of allegiance to one's ruler on earth.[6]

The image of the coronation of the Virgin, generated from the twelfth century, does not appear to have been adopted into common exemplars until the end of the fourteenth century in England, though elements of the same symbolism, used for both male and female saints and in royal coronation ceremonies, are found much earlier. Barlow described the significance of the regalia in relation to the coronation of Edward the Confessor:

> The ring was the 'seal of holy faith' and with its help the king was to drive back his foes with triumphal power, destroy heresies, unite his subjects and bind them firmly in the catholic [*sic*] faith. The sword was for the protection of the kingdom and

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[4] Mary Clayton (1990): *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, especially pages 107-8; Nigel Morgan (1994): 'The Coronation of the Virgin by the Trinity and Other Texts and Images of the Glorification of Mary in Fifteenth-Century England.' In Nicholas Rogers ed., *England in the Fifteenth Century.* Harlaxton Medieval Studies 4, 223-41. Stamford: Paul Watkins.
[5] Marina Warner (1976): *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary.* New York: Vintage Books, especially chapter 7, 'Maria Regina', 103-17.
[6] Rosenthal states that 'kingship, like many another medieval institution or concept, underwent a profound and permanent change around the turn of the twelfth century' (1971: 7).

> the camp of God. . . . The crown was 'the crown of glory and justice', the sceptre 'the rod of the kingdom and of virtue'. . . . Finally, the king was given the rod 'of virtue and equity'.[7]

It is clear from this passage how closely enmeshed were the two ideas of earthly ruler and Christ-like majesty in the coronation ritual. Warner put it more simply: 'when kings and queens wore the sceptre and the crown they acquired an aura of divinity' (Warner, 1976: 111). In the twelfth century, John of Salisbury explained that princes were subject to God and to those in religious orders who carried out his work on earth. In England, as with many other countries, this position of authority was pushed further, and kings considered themselves to be inferior to God alone (Griffiths, 1998: 520).[8]

The rituals associated with coronation show this transition, as well as demonstrating the elements that, increasingly, became associated with sanctity and nationhood, and that form the basis of this study.[9] From approximately the tenth century, the coronation ceremony became more elaborate. Its three sections – the election by the people, the promise of the king and finally his anointment and reception of the regalia – were

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[7] Frank Barlow (1970): *Edward the Confessor.* London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 63.
[8] It was this hierarchy that was the main bone of contention between Henry II and Thomas Becket in the twelfth century; see chapter 4 below.
[9] Previous studies include Ernst H. Kantorowicz (1946): *Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship, with a Study of the Music of the Laudes and Musical Transcriptions by Manfred F. Bukofzer.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press; Hughes (1988).

followed by a Mass and a banquet.[10] That the ceremony traditionally took place at Westminster, with the Archbishop of Canterbury presiding, demonstrated the nation's ecclesiastical support for the king at the highest level. Bury St Edmunds, a royal foundation, cast its own shadow on proceedings, since from 1308 a version of the plainchant from St Edmund's Office was used for anointing the new king (Hughes, 1998: 209). Enthronement took place in the 'chair of St Edmund placed prominently on a scaffold raised in the crossing of [Westminster] abbey' (Hughes, 1998: 210). At his coronation, Richard II wore both the slippers of St Edmund and the coat of St Edward the Confessor.[11]

From the eleventh century, there are detailed accounts of how the coronation *laudes* were incorporated into the coronation ceremony in England, including textual acclamations and liturgical directions.[12] The version found in the Worcester Antiphonal is expanded slightly in the Gradual of the same provenance by the addition of St Edward the Confessor's name to those invoked on the king's behalf (Kantorowicz,

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[10] Janet L. Nelson and Peter W. Hammond (1998): 'Coronation.' In Paul E. Szarmach, M. Teresa Tavormina and Joel T. Rosenthal eds., *Medieval England, An Encyclopaedia*, 207-9. New York and London: Garland, 208.
[11] Samantha J. E. Riches (2000): *St George: Hero, Martyr and Myth.* Stroud: Sutton, 102.
[12] This discussion is reliant for its detail, though not its conclusions, on Kantorowicz (1946: 171-9).

1946: 171-2).[13] It is possible that the singing of the chant *Christus vincit* was augmented by polyphony from as early as the end of the twelfth century, since at Richard I's second coronation at Winchester (17 April 1194), 'three cantors sang the *Christus vincit* after the first collect' (Kantorowicz, 1946: 175). Henry III's payment of 100 shillings to Walter de Lenches and his assistants for the singing of the *Christus vincit* at his crown-wearing ceremony and at the coronation of his queen, Eleanor, in 1237 and 1236 respectively, suggests a special type of performance. This particular melody carried no small importance to the monarch in forging a link between himself and God. It is notable, for example, that the sixteen or more occasions on which Henry III heard the *Christus vincit* between Ephiphany 1239 and the same feast the following year included the feast day of St Edward the Confessor, Edward's translation, and the feast of St Edmund, in addition to major liturgical feasts, the queen's purification, and the birthday of Prince Edward.[14] Kantorowicz asserted that 'we should assume that from the increase of laudes days we can read off as from a fever-curve the progress of this king's religious zeal' (1946: 176). It is also possible to suggest that King Henry became more aware

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[13] Worcester Cathedral Cod. F. 160, f.201; [n.a.] (1997): *Le Codex F.160 de la Bibliothèque de la Cathédrale de Worcester, Antiphonaire Monastique (XIIIe siècle).* Paléographie Musicale 12. Solemnes: Monks of Solemnes. First published 1922, Tournai: Desclée; repr. 1972, Berne: Lang.

[14] For more on crown-wearings, see Ian Bent (1968).

of the symbolic effect of *Christus vincit* performances on feast days linked to his saintly forebears.

These features all emphasised the divine empowerment of the coronation ceremony, and embodied ideas seen as representative of the nation and the faithful within in it. It is notable that from 1189 women and Jews were banned from admission to the ceremony, according to chronicler Matthew Paris 'because of the magic arts which Jews and some women notoriously exercise at royal coronation'.[15] The crowning ceremony was potentially one of the most vulnerable points in the rule of a king, and only features acceptable to the image of English nationhood were included.

At times of political upheaval, and especially when lineage was a factor in such struggles, it became imperative for a ruler to present his or her genealogy in as many locations and through as many different media as possible. Mark Ormrod has shown that for Edward III, personal piety meant the celebration of his dynasty (Ormrod, 1989: 876). At the same time, these genealogical displays helped to confirm Edward's own reputation as saintly monarch. Ormrod has suggested that the saintly and lay features of Edward III's propaganda ensured that even 'by the middle years of his reign Edward was already commonly seen as the divinely

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[15] Matthew Paris, cited in Cecil Roth (1978): *A History of the Jews in England, 3rd Edition.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 19.

inspired instrument of English salvation, the epitome of Old Testament kingship, and an exemplar to Christian princes' (Ormrod, 1989: 849).

Through these kinds of efforts, 'the monarchy's place in society gradually broadened to become the bedrock of political and social life and the embodiment of statehood and the nation' by the later Middle Ages (Griffiths, 1998: 520). The arts were particularly adept for this purpose, since allegorical references in text and symbolism in both literary and visual arts could be used subtly or overtly to construct an image of a ruler that was not, by definition, necessarily lifelike.[16] It was far more important that the image in these productions referred to qualities of strength and authority regardless of the actual strength of their kingship or claim to the throne. As at the coronation ceremony, references to national saints or associations made between divine power and the ruler's power on earth were particularly favoured.[17] From approximately the end of the fourteenth century, the image of the Virgin Mary being crowned by the Trinity gained a substantial popularity (Morgan, 1994: 223). One of the earliest depictions is found in a Missal from the 1390s (Lbl 29704, f.152v), where Mary is being crowned above a chorus of eight angels gathered around what appears to be a roll of

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[16] Music was considered to be a science rather than an art form in theoretical and philosophical writings of this period, but here I am considering its power as a medium for expression of national sentiment in the manner of literature, sculpture and so forth.

music. In other parts of the same historiated initial, angels play a shawm and a plucked stringed instrument, perhaps a citole (reproduced in Morgan, 1994: pl. 51). It is impossible to see the interest in the coronation of the Virgin as separate from the increased importance of the sacred elements of kingship that dominated during the same period.

In France, the Capetians developed a similar allegiance to royal saints.[18] When Louis IX was canonised in 1297,

> France produced the perfect type of sacred king. His relics, lying in state at the abbey of Saint-Denis, became the focus of a cult of kingship. . . . Here Frenchmen worshipped a national saint and the nation's sainted king; royal sanctity, national loyalty, religious personality and historical identity all drew easily together.
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> (Spiegel, 1983: 160)

In England, where so many rulers had been canonised, there was a rich fabric of historical and hagiographic material ready to be crafted into symbolic narratives and lyrics. Reference to ideal forms of kingship

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[17] For the liturgies of king saints developed during the Middle Ages, see Andrew Hughes (1993): 'The Monarch as the Object of Liturgical Veneration.' In Anne J. Duggan ed., *Kings and Kingship in Medieval Europe.* King's College London Medieval Studies 10, 375-424. Exeter: Short Run Press.

[18] Gabrielle M. Spiegel (1983): 'The Cult of St Denis and Capetian Kingship.' In Stephen Wilson ed., *Saints and their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History,* 141-68. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

was made in the visual and literary arts, as well as in music.[19] Chant and polyphonic texts frequently drew on imagery concerning the endurance of the kingdom of heaven, the hierarchy of celestial bodies within the heavenly court, or Mary and Jesus enthroned. A selection of the motets in the Bury St Edmunds source Ob 7 will serve as an example, since it shows something of the range of common phrases. In *Petrum cephas*, Jesus is the 'rex clemencie', 'king of clemency', a phrase that appears in two other items, *Rex visibilium* and *Deus creator omnium* (*PMFC* 15: 188, 189, 192). *Rex visibilium* is dedicated to Jesus Christ the King, and demonstrates the interest in righteous war, a divine struggle against evil rather than a terrestrial battle, in its laudatory lines, 'Invincible king of all kingdoms, leader of the army of the citizens of heaven'. Beneath this, the tenor emphasises the infinite status quo, 'Regnum tuum solidum permanebit in eternum', 'Your firm kingdom will endure forever' (*PMFC* 15: 189). A heavenly king embodies paradox, he is visible and invisible (*Rex visibilium*), he is 'maker unmade' (*Deus creator omnium*). Hell is presented as an opposite kingdom, a court of punishment, in *Deus creator omnium* (*PMFC* 15: 193). This kind of imagery helped to emphasise the likeness of the court of kings on earth to those in heaven. The same language was used in the praise of God and Christian kings, a

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[19] For the relationship between music and fourteenth-century French kingship, see Robertson (2002), especially pages 224-56.

practice that served to emphasise the divine status of sacral kingship across Europe.

Music and politics in England

Current affairs featured less in the texts of English polyphonic compositions than in those written on the continent during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This has been viewed as a slight decline from the preceding century in which the conductus was sometimes used to discuss political matters.[20] Roger Bowers stated that fourteenth-century English music 'appears to be devoid of items commemorating recently deceased politicians and saints' (Bowers, 1990: 314). He compared this situation with the thirteenth century, from which four such pieces survive.[21] Lefferts contrasted English with continental practice:

> In the later fourteenth century the motet in both France and Italy became a vehicle for propaganda and political ceremony, honoring the kings of France, the doges of Venice, popes and antipopes. . . . With regard to the themes treated in its texts, then, the English motet may be sharply distinguished from the Latin motets written within the French or Italian traditions in the

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[20] A full bibliography can be found in Janet Knapp (2001): 'Conductus.' *New Grove 2nd Edition* 6, 276-81.

> thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. . . . an important distinction remains there as well, in the relative preponderance of texts on saints and feasts in England over those on homiletic topics.
>
> (Lefferts, 1986: 186-7)

More recently, Cumming agreed that, generally speaking, 'English motets . . . had multi-purpose sacred texts, with no political or social allusions' (Cumming, 1999: 22). This was again contrasted with the specific events referred to in many continental motets, ranging from general political concerns and successful battles to a significant number of pieces about the papal schism.

This kind of comparison does a disservice to English pieces. English motets are seen as lacking localised colour in their supposedly neutral texts, simply because they were not written with the same kind of overt references to current affairs as their continental counterparts, a feature that may have been influenced as much by their relative function as by artistic or political motivation.[22] This study will argue from a different angle, one that includes an awareness of political canonisation in music as a potential instrument of power in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Examples of polyphony will be examined not for hidden references to specific dates, but for evidence of an awareness of

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[21] Bowers' examples are the pieces in honour of Peter of Verona (canonised in 1254), Simon de Montfort (d.1265) (two motets) and Thomas of Dover (d.1295) (1990: 313).

the construction of national identity during particular periods. The political symbolism in art and literature during the reign of Edward III will be used to show how two conductus, *Regem regum* and *Singularis laudis digna*, relate more generally to the politically motivated literature of the late 1340s and 1360s. This study will be less concerned with hermeneutics than with the examination of the interrelationship between music texts and historical, dynastic, political and artistic concerns in England during the reigns of Henry III to Richard II, *c.*1260 – *c.*1400.[23]

St Edmund and St Edward the Confessor as patron saints

Before the fifteenth century, when the cult of St George rose to prominence, St Edmund, King and Martyr, and St Edward the Confessor were considered patron saints of England and the English people.[24] In life, they had ruled as secular leaders, but after their deaths they were canonised as saints. As *La Estoire de Seint Aedward Le Rei* commented:

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[22] Cumming has pointed out how the vague information available regarding the function of motets cannot be used as part of the definition of the motet as a genre (1999: 60-2).

[23] Though this date lies late in Henry III's reign, my aim is to avoid dealing with the repertoire of the 'Notre Dame' period, which lies beyond the scope of this study. In addition, the 1260s are years during which the piety of Henry III is most obvious, particularly with the near completion of Westminster Abbey. Some of the pieces of music discussed in this thesis were composed before the 1260s, or after 1400, in order to represent the repertoire in honour of certain saints more fairly. A full list of pieces of music in honour of saints other than the Blessed Virgin Mary can be found in Appendix 3.

[24] For St Edmund as patron saint of England, see especially Cynthia Hahn (1991): 'Peregrinatio et natio: The Illustrated Life of Edmund, King and Martyr.' *Gesta* 30/2, 119-39.

> In the world . . . there is not country, realm or empire where so many good and holy kings have lived as the island of England, who after their earthly reign now reign as kings in Heaven, saints, martyrs and confessors, of whom many died for God.[25]

Neither Edmund nor Edward was of native parentage. Edmund was probably born in Saxony; Edward the Confessor, described by Barlow as 'Anglo-Scandanavian, half a Viking, by birth', spent most of his early life in exile in Normandy (Barlow, 1970: 27). Yet, each was successfully accepted into the ranks of English saints: Edmund in 1013, Edward in 1161.[26]

Not all English saints were members of the royal line, and kings did not venerate their ancestors alone. Canterbury's local saints, Augustine and Thomas Becket, were not kings, and it is perhaps no coincidence that Canterbury became the focal point for much popular pilgrimage in contrast to Westminster's mainly royal attention. When kings and queens travelled to Canterbury, they did so not to visit their forebears' tombs and relics but to emphasise their affinity with the piety of the nation and to recognise formally the power of the English

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[25] Henry Richard Luard ed. and trans. (1858): *Lives of Edward the Confessor, I: La Estoire de Seint Aedward Le Rei; II: Vita Beati Edvardi Regis et Confessoris; III: Vita Aeduuardi Regis Qui Apud Westmonasterium Requiescit.* London: Longman. Original text reads: ' En mund ne est . . . Pais, reaume, ne empire / U tant unt esté bons rois / E seinz, cum en isle d'Englois, / Ki après regne terestre / Ore regnent reis en celestre, / Seinz, martirs, e cunfessurs, / Ki pur Deu mururent plursurs', page 25, lines 1-8.

[26] Bernard W. Scholz (1961): 'The Canonization of Edward the Confessor.' *Speculum* 36, 38-60.

church.[27] Chaucer's socially diverse combination of pilgrims in the *Canterbury Tales*, written at the end of the fourteenth century, is convincing as a group partly because Canterbury remained the meeting place in the English imagination for national piety and Western Christian pilgrimage to Jerusalem. For Chaucer, Canterbury was 'symbolically the heavenly Jerusalem', something that neither Bury nor Westminster could replace in the popular imagination.[28]

In the Anglo-Saxon period, Winchester was the most important royal city, and its cathedral reflected this in its veneration of St Edward King and Martyr (d.978), buried at Shaftesbury.[29] Following the Norman Conquest, and especially from the thirteenth century, the seat of royal power was concentrated on Westminster. Even by this later period, government could in fact be exercised from anywhere in the country, and parliaments during the fourteenth century were held at high status cities and monastic sites such as Glastonbury, Norwich and York.[30] The establishment of Westminster as centre of regal power and government

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[27] These ideas are discussed in more detail in chapter 4.
[28] Lillian M. Bisson (1998): *Chaucer and the Late Medieval World.* London: Macmillan, 118.
[29] The fullest account of the cult of Edward King and Martyr is Christine E. Fell (1971): *Edward King and Martyr.* Leeds Texts and Monographs, New Series. Menston, Yorkshire: Scolar Press. The Winchester Troper manuscripts contain important evidence for the study of saints and their music in the eleventh century. Some of the items in these sources are listed in Appendix 3.
[30] Mark Ormrod (2000): 'Competing Capitals? York and London in the Fourteenth Century.' In Sarah Rees Jones, Richard Marks and A. J. Minnis eds., *Courts and Regions in Medieval Europe*, 75-98. Bury St Edmunds: York Medieval Press.

brought with it unprecedented patronage to Westminster.[31] Edward the Confessor founded Westminster Abbey in the eleventh century. Henry III's adoption of the church as part of his personal devotions made it very rich. A key event in the development of Westminster's status was Henry's rebuilding and extension of the Abbey in the middle of the thirteenth century, culminating in the translation of St Edward's relics to a new shrine on 13 October 1269.[32] Perhaps just as significant was Henry's earlier command in 1237 that St Edward's main feast day (5 January) should be added to the calendar of the universal Church. The *Chronica majora* by Matthew Paris reported how 'King Henry, on St Edward's Day, went in procession, barefooted and in surplice and cope, offering to his patron [St Edward] a crystal containing the blood of the Lord' (cited in Kantorowicz, 1946: 177). It was believed that Edward the Confessor's building had been consecrated by St Peter himself, and with the translation of Edward's body, Westminster acquired a double dedication, to St Peter and St Edward. St Peter was widely venerated, but St Edward brought a special status to the Abbey. Cults attracted financial patronage, and the cult of St Edward brought significant financial advantages to Westminster, increasingly able to draw on the donations of pilgrims and other benefactors. Shaw has shown that Westminster's

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[31] See especially Binski (1995).

liturgy had both strong Edwardian and Petrine elements, reflecting the importance of the two saints in combination at the Abbey.[33]

The religious and institutional references in the architecture of Westminster Abbey were highly complex; Binski described it as 'the embodiment of various ideologies' (1995: vii). Arguably, the most subtle, and perhaps most successful in the king's eyes, were the elements in his favoured church that combined the practical requirements of liturgy with the splendour of impressive ceremony, from the fabric of the building to the lighting, images and music. Binski argued that, for Henry III, the abbey at Westminster was 'both a relic and a yardstick of relevance for Henry III's church as paradigm of virtuous patronage' (1995: 34). Even by the thirteenth century, the more widely venerated English king saint was still St Edmund. Klaniczay argued that from the twelfth century, St Edmund was 'the most significant early medieval exemplar of the Anglo-Saxon ideal of a royal saint' (2002: 89). Despite Henry III and the Westminster monks' best efforts, St Edward never acquired a popular cult, nor was Edward the only king saint to be venerated by the Plantagenet line (Binski, 1995: 3).

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[32] Laurel Braswell (1971): 'Saint Edburga of Winchester: A Study of Her Cult, AD 950 – 1500, With an Edition of the Fourteenth-Century Middle English and Latin Lives.' *Mediaeval Studies* 33, 292-333, especially page 323.

[33] A. Timothy Shaw (2000): 'Reading the Liturgy at Westminster Abbey in the Late Middle Ages.' Ph.D thesis: Royal Holloway College, University of London.

The compiler of the *South English Legendary* relates a miracle story about Edward the Confessor giving a ring to a poor man who turned out to be St John the Evangelist. The author set up the national importance of Edward, as well as his sanctity, whom he described as 'Seint Edward þat was nou late in Engelond oure king' (*SEL:* 609, line 501). This gold ring, which we are told Edward had loved, was donated to Westminster Abbey as a relic, and attracted a regular stream of pilgrims:

> þulke ring is ȝute at Westm[i]nstre in relike ido
> As me sseweþ pilgrims þat ofte comeþ þertwo.
>
> (*SEL:* 610, lines 519-20)

In the *Legenda aurea,* Voragine recounted the same events, but with St Edmund as the king in question. In this text, St John appeared as a pilgrim begging for alms, and Edmund 'cum nil aliud promtu haberet' (having nothing else to hand) gave the pilgrim his precious ring. Later, an English soldier, while travelling abroad, was given the ring back by the same pilgrim, with the message that 'He for whose love you gave this ring sends it back to you' (Ryan, 1993: 55). This demonstrates the commonality acknowledged between the stories relating to English king saints during this period. One story could easily be substituted for another; the key feature was that it concerned the sanctity, charity and

wisdom of an English king. Both episodes occur within the legend of St John the Evangelist. The Westminster 'version' in the *South English Legendary* is a rewriting of the same story, but pushing the image of St Edward.[34] Edmund's life is treated in full elsewhere in the collection; Edward's legend only appears as a separate chapter in three manuscript sources of the *SEL* (Görlach, 1974: 306-7).[35]

The Abbey of Bury St Edmunds in East Anglia housed the shrine of St Edmund King and Martyr, widely considered the patron saint of England both at home and abroad until the later Middle Ages.[36] The fortunes and prestige of Bury rested primarily on the promotion of Edmund's cult. The Abbey was a royal foundation, established by Sigbert, the first Christian king of the East Angles. After the translation of the body of St Edmund to Bury in 903, the community of monks there became increasingly wealthy, partly because of pilgrimages to the king's shrine. Shortly after the Battle of Hastings, William the Conqueror confirmed Bury St Edmund's liberties.

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[34] The provenance of the *SEL* is discussed in Manfred Görlach (1974): *The Textual Tradition of the South English Legendary.* Leeds Texts and Monographs, New Series 6. Ilkley: Scolar Press.

[35] These are manuscripts A, Ob Ashmole 43 (S. C. 6924) from Gloucestershire, before *c.*1330; B, Ob Bodley 779 (S. C. 2567) perhaps from early fifteenth-century Hampshire; and J, Lbl Cotton Julius D. IX, of unknown southern provenance, dated *c.*1425 (Görlach, 1974: 74, 76, 86-7).

[36] See John Crook (1998): 'The Architectural Setting of the Cult of St. Edmund at Bury 1095 – 1539.' In Antonia Gransden ed., *Bury St Edmunds: Medieval Art, Architecture, Archaeology and Economy,* 34-44. Leeds: Maney and Sons for The British Academy.

The popularity of Edmund in the eyes of the monarchy during the thirteenth century is most keenly demonstrated by the devotion shown by Henry III. The relationship between the Abbey at Bury St Edmunds and King Henry III was close in both a political and personal sense. Henry's reign during the 1240s and until the 1260s was, among other pressing concerns, taken up with his quest to beget an heir to the throne. His interactions with Bury and with music are documented in relation to these occasions. On the birth of his first son, Edward (18 June 1239), it is recorded that,

> Walter de Lench and his fellow clerks of the king's chapel sang the triumphal *Christus Vincit* before the king, and they held forth again on the day of the queen's purification [31 July, 1239].[37]

On the birth of Henry and Eleanor's second child, Matilda, this role was fulfilled once more during the Queen's confinement, this time by the monks of Westminster (Howell, 1992: 62). The royal couple's fourth child was another boy, Edmund (b.1245). At the queen's purification ceremony, the clerks of the royal chapel sang *Christus vincit* before

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[37] Margaret J. Howell (1992): 'The Children of Henry III and Eleanor of Provence.' In P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd eds., *Thirteenth Century England IV. Proceedings of the Newcastle Upon Tyne Conference, 1991*, 57-72. Woodbridge: Boydell, 61. This is recorded in the *Calendar of Liberate Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, 1226 – 72*, London; presumably, this is the same occasion for which Walter de Lenches received 100s (see above). A detailed survey of the occasions on which the *Christus vincit* was sung, and of the clerks involved, can be found in Ian Bent (1968). He does not mention the singing of the chant for Matilda. It could well be that the 'monks of Westminster' who sang for Matilda's birth were also the clerks of the king's chapel. I have found no information relating to the birth of Henry and Eleanor's third child.

Eleanor herself. It is in relation to this occasion that the affiliation between the King and Bury is detailed in his letter to the abbot:

> Know that on Monday after the feast of St Hilary, when our beloved consort Eleanor, our Queen, was labouring in the pains of child-birth, we had the antiphon of St Edmund chanted for her, and when the aforesaid prayer was not yet finished, the bearer of this present letter, our valet [Stephen de Salines, told us that she had] . . . borne us a son. So that you may have the greater joy from this news we have arranged for it to be told to you by Stephen himself. And know that, as you requested us if you remember, we are having our son named Edmund.
>
> (Howell, 1992: 63)

This antiphon was probably *Ave rex gentis anglorum,* whose text made a clear association between Englishness, kingship and sanctity (see below). Bury's special relationship with the monarchy rested on the perceived importance of its local saint as ancestor of the living king. Henry III's awareness of the power of invoking Edmund on such an important occasion as the imminent birth of his second son underlines the strength of this two-way relationship. Royal approval of St Edmund's cult was good for the royal family and good for Bury.

The *South English Legendary* gives us some idea of how the abbey's saint was viewed at the beginning of the fourteenth century:

> Seint Edmund þe holi king of wham we makieþ gret feste
>
> Of þat on ende of Engelond kyng he was her bi este
>
> For of Souþfolc he was kyng & of þe contray wide
>
> For þer were þo in Engelond kynges in eche side.
>
> (*SEL:* 511-2, lines 1-4)

The author draws attention to Edmund's rule of the Suffolk region of England as well as the 'contray wide', rather than England as a whole. He also states that Edmund's day is celebrated as a major feast. The word 'king' is used in each of the first four lines of text. The saint's treatment in the *SEL* comes from his reputation as a holy king, not just a holy man.

In the early fifteenth century, John Lydgate, a monk of Bury, called Edmund 'of Bury cheef patroun' (Horstmann, 1881: line 228). That Bury's fortunes rested on their maintenance of Edmund's cult can also be demonstrated by the worries created by rumours that its saint's body had been stolen or replaced by a fake.[38] In 1517, Toulouse claimed to possess 'le corps de saint aymond confesseur [*sic*] du roi dangleterre', a statement confirmed by Pierre de Caseneuve in 1631 (Scarfe, 1970:

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[38] Norman Scarfe (1970): 'The Body of St. Edmund: An Essay in Necrobiography.' *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute for Archaeology for 1969: Saint Edmund Commemorative Issue 869 – 1969* 31/3, 303-17.

314). During the Middle Ages, the presence of the relics in the tomb at Bury was 'essential to the maintenance of the fortunes of the abbey, the town and the whole liberty of St Edmund' (Scarfe, 1970: 304).

Bury St Edmunds' credentials were similar to Westminster's, in that both housed a king saint, but Bury's distance from the seat of power potentially compromised the effects of the monks' efforts to maintain Edmund as patron of both East Anglia and England. Henry III showed great interest in St Edmund's cult, and appears to have adopted it as part of his personal piety. Henry named his children after saints who had an association with royalty, including his first two sons, Edward and Edmund, and his daughter Katherine.[39] Henry's visits to Bury, up to a month long on occasions, helped to solidify the special relationship between the Abbey and the Crown.[40]

The special relationship that Henry III and his court shared with the Abbey at Bury may have encouraged the transmission of polyphonic music between these two institutions. The period of the King's first children, the 1240s, is also that of the copying of the earliest surviving fragments of Notre Dame polyphony in England and Scotland. It may be through royal channels that Bury was able to boast manuscripts reflecting the latest developments in music from northern Europe.

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[39] Howell (1992); Katherine J. Lewis (2000): *The Cult of St Katherine in Late Medieval England.* Woodbridge: Boydell.

According to the treatise of Anonymous IV, a work with strong Bury connections, one of the clerks of the royal *capella*, a man named Blacksmith, was one of the 'few singers in England capable of measuring up to the singers of Notre Dame, Paris' (Ian Bent, 1968: 90).[41] At times, the music emanating from Westminster and Bury seems to reflect common concerns and themes, and it will be demonstrated that each used the literature related to their respective royal patron as the basis for the development of their saint's Office, including the provision of polyphonic items.

The construction of identity in hagiography

There were two main ways in which hagiographical items could be designed, either to explain the minutiae of a saint's life, for example in a written legend, or by drawing attention to only the key elements of the saint's reputation. In visual representations of a saint, often the only identifying element to the image is a picture of the instrument by which

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[40] Other kings, such as Henry II and Richard I, were also known to have stayed at Bury on occasion, either as part of pilgrimage or en route to other locations in the country.
[41] 'Boni cantores erant in Anglia et valde deliciose canebant sicut magister Iohannes Filius Dei, sicut Makeblite apud Wyncestriam et Blakesmit in curia domini regis H[enrici] ultimi', Fritz Reckow (1967): *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymous IV, I.* Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 50; 'There were good singers in England and they sang very delightfully, like Magister Iohannes Filius Dei, or Makeblite in Winchester and Blakesmit in the court of the last king, Lord H[enry]' [d.1272], Jeremy Yudkin (1985): *The Music Treatise of Anonymous IV: A New Translation.* American Institute of Musicology. Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hanssler-Verlag, 44.

they were tortured or martyred. For example, St Katherine is usually shown holding a wheel, and St Margaret is depicted slaying a dragon. This was taken to the extreme in pilgrim badges and other items that showed only the saint's symbol. Both of these methods included commonplace references to the virtues of saints, using stock phrases or imagery. These similarities helped to authenticate the saintly image of individual figures by likening them to Christ.[42]

Motets, and other pieces with newly composed texts such as conductus, could draw on either the more general aspects of a saint's life or concentrate on features peculiar to one legend. Lefferts argued that some motets were designed so that the name of several saints could be used within one piece, depending on the feast in question (1986: 177).[43] This would parallel the use of pre-existent plainchants for the fashioning of new liturgical offices, and the use of one plainchant for a number of different saints (such as a chant for the common of a confessor). Plainchants falling into this second category were identifiable by the use of an 'N' in the liturgical book, indicating where the name of the saint was to be inserted. No polyphonic items exist that include this kind of marking. Manuscript sources Onc 362 and Lbl 24198 suggest the use of a motet on a particular feast by marginal rubrics (Lefferts, 1986: 160).

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[42] Karen A. Winstead (1997): *Virgin Martyrs: Legends of Sainthood in Late Medieval England.* Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1.
[43] See chapter 3 for a discussion of Lefferts' conclusions about *Virgo regalis fidei.*

The triplum text of *Opem nobis O Thoma porrige / Salve Thoma / Pastor cesus* (Lwa 33327) is found in other sources with the names of saints Anthony, Bernard and Florentius, but the motet is so geared towards Thomas of Canterbury that it would be unlikely to have been adapted as a whole for other feasts (*PMFC* 15: 241).[44]

Some motet texts resist simple name swapping, since they refer to well-attested virtues or deeds of a saint that differ from other figures, or are based on a chant specific to one feast of the church calendar. This does not necessarily mean that a motet for the feast of St Nicholas would only have been performed on 6 December. Motets in honour of particularly important or royal saints may have had a range of functions, such as performance on special occasions with which that saint had some link. Collections of saints' lives, such as the Latin *Legenda aurea*, or vernacular collections such as the *South English Legendary*, *Gilte Legend* and *Northern Homily Cycle*, used to be thought appropriate for reading aloud only on a saint's feast day. Recent research suggests that the Sunday before any feast that occurred during the week would have been an equally likely time for the narration of legends, a way of reminding the community of the week's important feast days (Lewis,

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[44] The alternative texts, otherwise identical to one another, are listed in Cyr Ulysse Chevalier (1892-1921): *Repertorium Hymnologicum*. 6 vols. Louvain and Brussels: Lefever et al., items 31308-10. The motet in Lwa 33327 is discussed in Denis Stevens (1970): 'Music in Honour of St Thomas of Canterbury.' *MQ* 56/3, 311-48, especially 334-5.

2000: 16). Perhaps motets, too, were used in this way.[45] It is also worth noting that even the most instructive motet texts, those that Lefferts defines as 'admonitory', are far from being musical sermons or homilies.[46] Their moralising elements are not part of a self-contained argument, and their texts are often obscure or general in internal references to Biblical passages and church doctrine. Most can be linked with continental examples or with liturgical feasts within the church calendar, mainly around the Christmas period.[47]

Rosenthal has noted that in kingly biographies, 'the hero was measured against an ideal figure, his perfect imaginary counterpart' (1971: 8). The king-saint motet measured its subject against the models

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[45] Lefferts has also noted the possible use of motets for memorials (1986: 321).

[46] Braswell has made a similar comment about the contents of the *South English Legendary* (cited in Görlach, 1974: 49). Lefferts included seven motets in this list *Apello cesarem, Fusa cum silencio, Vide miser, Zorobabel abigo, O homo considera, Inter amenitatis, Degentis vita* (Lefferts, 1986: 173). *O homo considera* has the same texts as a much older, thirteenth-century motet in Lbl 5958. *Apello cesarem* is set to a cantus firmus taken from the respond of *Viderunt omnes,* and may be linked with the Christmas liturgy; its source, Onc 362, shows a taste for continental ideas as well as insular ones (see chapter 3). *Inter amenitatis* and *Degentis vita* have continental concordances, and almost certainly originated in France. *O mores perditos* was excluded from Lefferts' list and assigned to the feast day of St Thomas of Canterbury on the evidence of its cantus firmus *Opem nobis. Fusa cum silencio* is found in both DRc 20 and Ob 81; it is certainly moralising, and may have been designed with some specific cause in mind, but its cantus firmus is liturgical (the melisma *Manere* is from the gradual *Exiit sermo* for the feast of St John (27 December)). *Vide miser et Iudica / Vide miser et cogita / Wynter* is a puzzling piece, seemingly based upon a secular tenor taken from a vernacular song, since lost. Yet with the wintry theme, and the opening of the upper two parts, one might expect a cantus firmus opening with 'Vide', and *Viderunt omnes* springs to mind. Its second of two double versicles opens with five notes similar to the opening of the gradual (C [C] E G A G), but this is all that matches. *Zorobabel abigo* is discussed in chapter 6 of this thesis, and may be been associated with Holy Week. Lefferts suggests that admonitory motets may have been associated with cold months, but perhaps it would be more convincing to say that they were associated with the periods around the major feasts of the church calendar, between Christmas and Easter.

of kingship and sanctity, and this image was also much more powerfully compared to that of Christ. Paul Strohm argued that texts constructed for political ends can be 'powerful without being true'.[48] He described how:

> A text's fictionality may derive from acts of commission (its imputation, for example, or motive) or omission (what it evades or excludes); its fictionality may involve its utopianism, or, in the case of Lancastrian narratives, a wilful and zestful plunge into sheer disinformation.
>
> (Strohm, 1992: 5)

Motets written in England reflected this type of fictionality when they promoted the cult of specific saints, especially when the saint carried any sense of national heroism, official or unofficial. At times of political tension, the features of historical, saintly figures could be reconstructed for political ends. Motet texts seem to be an overlooked source of this kind of information. Rosenthal has claimed that:

> Royal biographies can be a valuable source for the study of medieval kingship in the institutional sense. To read the works solely for biographical data is to miss half their value.
>
> (Rosenthal, 1971: 7)

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[47] Lefferts noted that *O vos omnes* might concern a dedication, admonition or a secular theme (1986: 174).

[48] Paul Strohm ed. (1992): *Hochon's Arrow: The Social Imagination of Fourteenth-Century Texts.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 5.

In the same way, to read motets in honour of nationally important saints as poor relations to more substantial non-musical texts such as chronicles and commissioned *vitae* is to 'miss half their value'. Texted musical items were a valued part of the English liturgy, as attested by Orderic Vitalis (1075 – *c.*1142) in his description of Folcard, Abbot of Thorney Abbey between *c.*1067 and *c.*1083, as:

> A friendly, agreeable, charitable man, skilled in the arts of grammar and music, who left England for future generations precious memorials of his skill. For he published many memorable writings and sweetly composed many delightful histories of St Oswald of Worcester and other saints born in Albion for singing [at Mass].[49]
>
> (Lbl 40000, f.11; cited in Barlow, 1962: lii)

Devotional, texted music and hagiographical literature went hand in hand in post-Conquest England, and their interrelationship warrants further scrutiny. The discussion below examines the treatment of the legends of Edmund and Edward the Confessor with reference to their reputation in literature, liturgy and hagiography during the later Middle Ages.

Virile virgins, soldiering for Christ?

Although Edward the Confessor and Edmund King and Martyr were both sainted kings of England, their individual cults were quite distinct.[50] Edmund was widely regarded as a warrior saint, crushing the enemies of the faith.[51] Edward the Confessor was regarded as a more passive peace-lover (Rosenthal, 1971). Abbo of Fleury, a French monk staying at Ramsay Abbey, wrote his life and passion of St Edmund in about 985 – 7, only 116 years after Edmund's death.[52] He described the king's

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[49] Chapter 17 of Vitalis's eleventh book about Thorney Abbey, 'On various events: abbots and priors distinguished by their piety', as it is found in Lbl 40000, *Thorney Gospels*. Orderic was an English monk of Saint-Evroult in Normandy, whose *Historia ecclesiastica* documented many aspects of Anglo-Norman social and political life; see the edition and translation of this work by Marjorie Chibnall (1984): *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

[50] Three lives of St Edward the Confessor are reproduced in Luard (1858). See also Barlow (1962); this is a more accurate edition of the *Vita Aedwardi Qui Apud Westmonasterium Requiescit*, and provides a translation. Binski discusses the evidence for the attribution of the *Estoire* to Matthew Paris, which he considers favourably, in (1991): 'Abbot Berkyng's Tapestries and Matthew Paris's Life of Edward the Confessor.' *Archaeologia* 109, 89-95. See also Aelred of Rievaulx (1652): *Vita S. Edwardi Regis et Confessoris, PL* 115, cols. 737-90, from Roger Twysden ed., *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores* 10. London: Cornelius Bee. Other descriptions of Edward's life are William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum* and Osbert of Clare's *Vita;* the relationship between these two sources and the anonymous *Vita Aedwardi* are discussed in Barlow, 1962: 85-90. See also Richard W. Southern (1943): 'The First Life of Edward the Confessor.' *EHR* 58, 385-400. Osbert's *Vita* is discussed in Marc Leopold Benjamin Bloch (1923): 'La vie de S. Edouard le Confesseur par Osbert de Clare.' *Analecta Bollandiana* 41, 5-131.

[51] Grant Loomis (1932): 'The Growth of the Saint Edmund Legend.' *Harvard Studies and Notes In Philology and Literature* 14, 83-113.

[52] Other lives were the *Liber de miraculis sancti edmundi* by Hermann, a Bury writer around 1095; Geoffrey of Wells, *De infantia sancti eadmundi*, dedicated to Abbot Ording of Bury (1148-56); Lydgate, *Legend of St Fremund and St Edmund. Memorials* gives *Ob* 240, the *Vita et Passio cum Miraculis* (last miracle 1375); Abbo's *Passio;* Galfridus de Fontibus (Geoffrey of Wells) which includes the tale of Edmund's infancy); and metrical lives by Denis Piramus, Robert of Gloucester, Lydgate and a narrative in the Curteys register. See Thomas Arnold ed. (1890-6, repr. 1965): *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey. Rolls Series* 96, xi. New York: Kraus Reprint.

eventual capture by the Danes, emphasising the fact that Edmund wanted to follow Christ's example, and would have submitted to his captors if only they had converted. John Lydgate, a prolific writer at Bury in the early fifteenth century, used Abbo's text and others to put together his *Legend of St Fremund and St Edmund;* he also produced a poem dedicated to St Edmund.[53] Lydgate's life of Edmund post-dates the music texts concerned in this study, but its reliance on much earlier exemplars suggests that it can be read as summarising many of the details which had come to be associated with Edmund's life and reputation. Lydgate's colourful verse names Edmund as Christ's soldier on earth:

> Edmond that day was Cristis champioun
>
> Preeuyng him-silf a ful manly knyht. . . .
>
> blessid Edmond, as Cristes owne knyht.
>
> (Horstmann, 1881: lines 379-80, 396)

The image of Edmund as 'soldier of Christ' or 'soldier of the faith' is often emphasised in both literary and musical sources. The description of Edmund as a strong and masculine soldier, or 'ful manly knyht', was a necessary part of building his image as a king saint. In order to be a successful king one needed to beget legitimate heirs, but Edmund was a

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[53] Karen A. Winstead (1994): 'Lydgate's Lives of Saints Edmund and Alban: Martyrdom and *Prudent Pollicie.*' *Mediaevalia* 17, 221-41.

virgin. However, his chastity was also central to his acceptance as a saint. Soldier imagery could be used to act as a mid-point between these otherwise paradoxical elements of Edmund's life; he asserted his manliness by virtue of his strength in earthly battle and, more importantly, his battle against the flesh.

Edmund was described as bearing the 'triple crown' of king, virgin, and martyr by his biographers. This symbol reflected the interplay between regalia and holiness. The triple crown was depicted in many works of art, such as the *Wilton Diptych* (*c.*1395), as well as being described in literature, such as Lydgate's *Life of St Fremund and St Edmund:*

> The firste tokne, in cronycle men may fynde,
>
> Graunted to hym for Royal dignyte,
>
> And the second for virgynyte,
>
> For martirdam the thrydde in his suffryng.
>
> (Horstmann, 1881: lines 51-4)

The musical texts likewise make reference to this triple sanctity, such as in the triplum of the motet *De flore martirum*, which states that:

> Corone triplicis / qui privilegium
>
> fert palman martiris / fert munus regium
>
> decusque virginis. . . .

Edmundus virginem / simul amplictitur

regem et martirem / sic trinus dicitur

in trino nomine.

[He bears the privilege of the triple crown: the martyr's palm, the office of the king, and the honour of virginity. . . . Edmund is esteemed at once as virgin, king and martyr; thus he is called threefold, in his triple name.]

(*PMFC* 15: 190)

Melville-Richards has drawn attention to the fact that the triplum text

Refers three times to things in triplicate: the triple crown of martyrdom (twice), and the triple name, *Ed-mun-dus* (three syllables). It also employs the specific terminology, *triplicis, trinus* and *trio.*

(Melville-Richards, 1999: 77)

She has also shown the clever punning on Edmund's name which occurs in both texts, such as 'et mundus' (and purity) (Melville-Richards, 1999: 78).

The construction of Edmund's sanctity was a complex affair, despite his advantage over Edward the Confessor who was neither unmarried nor martyred for the faith. The legitimate office of king was reliant on proven lineage, but Saints Edmund and Edward needed to

reconcile this office with the necessary chastity required by all saints.

The reliance on metaphors concerning fertility in the legends of pre-Conquest king saints is demonstrated by an occasion 'when King Edmund fell on his knees and interceded for his folk, [and] twelve springs came forth from the spot as he rose'.[54]

The problematic combination of masculinity and chastity is highlighted by the literature revolving around the life of Edward the Confessor. Edward did not die a martyr, and was not a soldier by nature; one scholar has labelled his way of life as displaying 'sedentary holiness'.[55] Issues of virginity were clouded by Edward's marriage to Edith, though they remained childless.[56] It was in fact his lack of an heir that led to the development of stories relating to the couple's alleged vow of chastity (Chamberlayne, 1999: 48). Marriage was a problem for hagiographers, and it is not surprising that of approximately two hundred saints named in the *Legenda aurea* only forty were women and only five of these had been married. In this collection, Saint Jerome states that 'there is as much difference between wedlock and virginity as there is

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[54] William A. Chaney (1970): *The Cult of Kingship in Anglo-Saxon England: The Transition from Paganism to Christianity.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 89.

[55] Paul Binski (1990): 'Reflections on *La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei:* Hagiography and Kingship in Thirteenth-Century England.' *JMH* 16, 333-50, cited from page 344.

[56] Edith's part in constructing the ideal kingship of Edward the Confessor is discussed in Joanna L. Chamberlayne (1999): 'Crowns and Virgins: Queenmaking During the Wars of the Roses.' In Katherine Lewis, Noël James Menuge and Kim Phillips eds., *Young Medieval Women*, 47-68. Stroud: Sutton Publishing.

between not sinning and being a saint' (Ryan, 1993: xviii). Edward's biographers were keen to present the king as having married to appease his people, stressing the king and queen's abstention from sex. Osbert of Clare described how,

> The virgin mother of God dwelt always in [Edward's] heart, always on his lips. He had become a temple of virginity, and brought forth the image of the Virgin to be an example for himself.
>
> (Cited in Barlow, 1962: 14)

The fifteenth-century author of the *Gilte Legend* explained that Edward's naked corpse shone brightly because 'of his virgynite' (*GiL:* 27). He described the marriage of Edith and Edward as a matter of civic necessity: 'for she was to hym in opyn placis as his wyfe and in secrete placis as his suster' (*GiL:* 26). The trope of outward lay living but private chastity was a medieval commonplace, often 'explaining' troublesome aspects in the lifestyle of a saint.

The anonymous *Vita Aedwardi* gave a detailed description of Edward's physical attributes and demeanour. Edward was:

> Of outstanding height, and distinguished by his milky white hair and beard, full face and rosy cheeks, thin white hands, and long translucent fingers; in all the rest of his body he was an

> unblemished royal person. Pleasant, but always dignified, he walked with eyes down-cast, most graciously affable to one and all.
>
> (Barlow, 1962: 12)

The Latin word 'integer', here translated as 'unblemished', may be seen to reflect Edward's moral character as well as his physical appearance (Barlow, 1962: 12). The importance of Edward's beard to his biographer may likewise have been more important than a simple observation, since facial hair has a long history of association with masculinity. A coin dating to 1053 shows Edward as bearded, where previous issues had shown him without facial hair. Barlow described this in theatrical terms:

> In 1053 . . . Edward made a dramatic change in the design of his coins. . . . the bust was turned to face right and the design was transformed. Instead of the clean-shaven profile and the hair circled by an imperial diadem appears the barbarous image of a bearded warrior wearing a pointed helmet . . . it is propaganda at variance with the accepted view of Edward's powerlessness, lethargy, and Christian resignation after the revolution of 1052.
>
> (Barlow, 1962: lxxvii-lxxviii)

For historians such as Barlow, virility was an important issue in assessing Edward's style of kingship. He was keen to emphasise that 'it

seems that Edward was a normal child of healthy parents' and states that 'we can point to nothing in his heredity which might cause him to be physically weak, unadventurous, degenerate, or sterile' (Barlow, 1970: 27). One infers from this list of possible ways in which Edward's manliness could be compromised, which seem to include lack of interest in the opposite sex, impotence and infertility (as directly comparable with virility), and homosexuality, that the main reason for Edward's lack of heirs was his chastity. However, it is Barlow's need to emphasise the saint's 'normality', and thus his legitimacy as a good king, which rings most clearly from his analysis.

It is possible to compare the modern 'problem' of reconciling childlessness and virility with similar discussions in medieval sources, such as the thirteenth-century *Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei*, attributed to Matthew Paris. Paris showed a need to resolve childlessness, sanctity and Edward's lack of military prowess. He grouped the kings of English history into two basic types, those who were renowned for militaristic virtues and those who sought to maintain peace in their kingdoms:

> Li autre, forz, e hardiz mutz, / Cum fu Arthurs, Aedmunz, e Knudz, / Ki par force e vasselage / Elargirent lur barnage: / Li autre, ki erent plus senez, / Peisibles, e atemprez, / Ki par bon cunseil e lur tens, / Cum fu Oswald, Oswin, Aedmund, / Ki au

ciel transirent du mund; / Numéement Aeduuard li rei / Teus fu, de ki escrive dei; / Ki lur char, diable, e mund / Venquirent, cis victoire unt. / Kar cist troi enemi nus sunt, / Ki jur e nuit esnui nus funt. / Hardiz e de grant emprise / Est hom ki ces trios justise; / Co fist li sages rois Aedward, / En ki Deus avoit regard / Sa char venqui par chasteté, / Le mund par humilité, / E diable par ses uertuz; / Kar par ses ovres fu apert. . . . Ne verité mest ceue, / Cum seinte iglise ben l'avue, / E cum recorde li escrit, / Ki apertement chante hom e lit.

[Some, mighty and bold, as were Arthur, Edmund and Cnut, / Who by strength and courage increased their baronage: / Others who were more wise, peaceable and moderate / Who by good counsel and their intelligence / Were powerful in their time, as were Oswald, Oswin, Edmund, / Who to heaven passed from the world; / Especially Edward the King was such, of whom I must write; / Who their flesh, the devil, and the world / Have conquered, these have the victory. / For these three are our enemies / Who day and night do us injury. / Brave and of great enterprize / Is the man who keeps down these three; / This did the wise King Edward / For whom God has regard: / His flesh he subdued by chastity, / The world by humility, / And the devil by

his virtues; / For justice he did to all, / By his sincere and sure belief, / Which by all his works was evident. . . . / Nor has the truth remained concealed, / Since Holy Church well avows it, / And since the writing records it, / Which is openly sung and read.][57]

(Luard, 1858: 25-6, 179-80, lines 14-34, 45-8)

The peaceable nature of the English kings in the second group, even Edmund King and Martyr in this case, needed to be reconciled with the ideal of militaristic strength in kingship.[58] It is interesting that the *rex pacificus* of them all, King Edgar the Peaceable (959 – 75), is not in this list, since his reign attracted some small legends of its own (Chaney, 1970: 91-2).[59] Paris suggested that it was the peacelovers' chastity that was their metaphorical fight, their own battle of the flesh replacing the need for military success on earth, and Edward is couched in the most exaggerated of these terms. The author accords some authority to texts

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[57] In Old English the phrase 'Singan ond secgan', 'to sing and say', was fairly common, and versions of it were present in English and Anglo-Latin texts for over 500 years. Elza C. Tiner (1996): '"Euer aftir to be rad & song:" Lydgate's Texts in Performance, I: Texts in Context.' *The Early Drama, Art and Music Review* 19/1, 41-52; Shirley Carnahan and Anne Fjestad Peterson (1997): '"Euer aftir to be rad and song": Lydgate's Texts in Performance, II: Texts in Performance.' *English Drama, Art and Music Review* 19/2, 85-93. These articles suggest a musical performance scenario for Lydgate's poetry, one that I do not advocate in this study. It is possible that the phrase distinguishes between private reading and oratory, rather than spoken and sung poetry, but its use is so widespread, and over so long a period, that there cannot have been only one meaning.

[58] Edmund's defeat by the Vikings perhaps undermined his warrior status in Paris' eyes.

[59] King Edgar's peaceful reign was predicted by St Dunstan who heard heavenly voices sing, 'Pax Anglorum ecclesiae exorti nunc pueri et Dunstani nostri tempore'; William Stubbs (1874, repr.1965): *Memorials of St Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury. Rolls Series* 63. London: Longman; repr. New York: Klaus Reprint, 56.

that document these concerns when they are read aloud. The peacefulness of Edward's reign was characterised by later chroniclers, such as the author of the *Gilte Legend,* who relied on earlier exemplars by Aelred of Rievaulx, Osbert of Clare and William of Malmesbury (*GiL:* 1). The *Gilte Legend* author compared Edward to the Biblical King David 'in whose tyme shalle be plentye of pees bothe to þe Churche and to the londe grete habundaunce of alle maner of cornes and frutis' (*GiL:* 5). King Edward's chastity was matched by the fertility of his land in the same way that Edmund had brought forth natural springs from the earth.

> Like St Edmund, Edward the Confessor was of foreign descent, but his biographers were keen to show his centrality to the English nation's development, and how his sanctity helped to heal the troubles that had dominated his ancestors' reigns. One of the miracles associated with Edward the Confessor was that St Peter appeared in a vision, predicting Edward's forthcoming reign, and saying:
>
> E cist te fra / Honur grant, ke poer a.
>
> Paes serra en Engleterre / En vostre tens sanz perte et were. . . .
>
> E regnera en bon pès.
>
> [He shall bring great honour to thee, since he has the power.
>
> Peace there shall be in England in your time, without loss and
>
> injury . . . [Edward] shall reign in glorious peace.]

(Luard, 1858: 44, 198, lines 670-3, 692)

By the thirteenth century, Edward had been received as an English king, not just a king of England.

Of course, Edward did not die for his beliefs in the way of so many Christian martyrs. Furthermore, his lack of interest in military campaigns prevented him to some extent from being portrayed as a traditional soldier of Christ. The acceptance of his virginity by those who sought to explain it was a vital part of his sanctity, yet his marriage to Queen Edith was an important part of history too. By the thirteenth century, hagiographers were confident that his married life was chaste:

Puis k'out regné ans xx trois

E demi, Aedward lis rois

Murut, quart jur de Jenevers,

Pucens du cors, pur se enters.

[After he had reigned twenty-three years

And a half, King Edward

Died, the fourth day of January,

Virgin of body, pure throughout.][60]

(Luard, 1858: 136, 290, lines 3951-4)

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[60] Chroniclers disagreed over the date of Edward's death. The author of this text gives 4 January, but other sources give 5 January. St Augustine's, Canterbury, celebrated Edward's feast day on 5 January (Barlow, 1962: 80).

Nationality

Having established the chaste, but manly, nature of each of these saints in hagiographical sources, the next potential stumbling block in their acceptance as patron saints of England was their lineage. Hagiographers disagreed as to whether Edmund was simply from the Saxons, or actually born in Saxony. Abbo wrote that he 'sprung from the noble stock of the ancient Saxons', but Geoffrey of Wells took his source to imply that Edmund was a continental Saxon, inventing a lengthy story to account for this. The compiler of Ob 240, the enormous collection of saints' lives compiled in Bury in 1376, even named Edmund's German town of birth.[61] Lydgate later wrote that Edmund 'was in Saxonie born of the roial blood' (Horstmann, 1881: line 87). It was Edmund's reign of East Anglia that made him a true English King in the eyes of later generations, particularly to the royal line that followed him. Until Edward III began to promote St George as patron saint of England,

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[61] Rodney Malcolm Thomson (1974): 'Two Versions of A Saint's Life from St Edmund's Abbey: Changing Currents in XIIth Century Monastic Style.' *Revue Bénédictine* 84, 383-408, especially page 385. Some of the material in Ob 240 was ascribed to Osbert of Clare, Prior of Westminster (d. after 1157), by the fourteenth-century librarian at Bury, Henry de Kirkstede. Osbert, who was friendly with Abbot Anselm of Bury, spent part of his exile from Westminster at the Abbey (*c.*1125-*c.*1134) at approximately the same time that the famous antiphons, including *Ave rex gentis,* were being written. Osbert of Clare was himself a prolific writer of hagiographical material, including lives of St Edward the Confessor and St Edburga, and it is therefore likely that this attribution is authentic. See Thomson (1974) for a more detailed account of the miracle literature in Ob 240 and other sources.

Edmund was often praised as England's, as well as Bury's 'chief patroun'.

The various *vitae* of St Edmund also give an important detail that must have helped to secure him as English in the popular imagination, his spoken language. Abbo recorded that following Edmund's decapitation by the Danes, the Vikings were careful to separate the body from its head. Then a wolf guarded the head in the woods until those faithful to Edmund were able to track it down. According to Abbo's *Passio sancti Eadmundi,* a miracle occurred: the disembodied head called out to those searching for it, 'Here, here, here!'[62]

> Ubi es? Illud respondebat, designando locum, patria lingua dicens, *Her, her, her.* Quod interpretatum Latinus sermo exprimit, Hic, hic, hic.
>
> (Arnold, 1890-96: 18)

The Office of St Edmund as found in the Sarum Breviary repeats this portion of Abbo's text word for word. The drama and humour of this miracle was clearly enjoyed by later compilers of Edmund's passion.

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[62] The fifteenth-century carol *Synge we now,* relates how it was 'a blynd man' that found the head in the woods. Though other stories include a pillar of light or other ways that aided the search, this particular detail does not appear in any other version of the story (Greene, 1962: 228-9). I would suggest that it may in fact be a corruption of the *SEL* line which states that the discoverers of the head 'urne blyue', actually meaning 'ran quickly' (p.514, line 80), mistaking 'blyue' for 'blyne'. The *SEL* uses 'blende' to 'make blind' elsewhere in the texts. The pillar of light motif is used in the legend of Edward, King and Martyr.

The *South English Legendary* made a clear statement that Edmund's 'lingua patria' was English:

> As hit among þe þornes lai & þuse wordes sede
>
> Al an Englisch. her. her. her. as þe3 hit were alyue.

(*SEL:* 514, lines 78-9)

This episode is found in musical settings too, such as in a plainchant for St Edmund's feast day, *In hoc mundo,* most probably from Bury and copied at the end of the thirteenth century.[63]

> Rex, her, dicens, in deserto
>
> Quod 'hic' sonat in aperto
>
> Lingua sub Italica.

(Onc 362, Fragment IX: f.32, verse 5b)

Unfortunately, only the first two verses were furnished with their music; the staves above the remaining verses were left blank.

Edmund's nationality was anglicised by his rule of Suffolk and through his use of the vernacular in the miracle after his death. The plainchant composed for Edmund's feast day, *Ave rex gentis anglorum,* sung at first Vespers, was written as part of a set of four antiphons by Abbot Garnier of Rebais in the first half of the twelfth century. The opening verse reflects both the 'English' status of Edmund's kingship,

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[63] The text of this chant is edited in *Analecta Hymnica,* which modernises the Latin spellings and gives an incorrect reference for the source (Onc 360 should read Onc 362).

and Pope Gregory I's alleged 'not Angles, but angels' comment. The texts of all four of Rebais's antiphons drew on Abbo of Fleury's text, as did most of the chants that made their way into Edmund's Office.

> Ave rex gentis Anglorum, miles regis Angelorum,
>
> O Edmunde flos martyrum, velut rosa vel lilium,
>
> Funde preces ad Dominum pro salute fidelium.
>
> [Hail, King of English, Soldier of the King of Angels,
>
> O Edmund, flower of martyrdom, just like a rose or lily,
>
> Pour forth your prayers to God for the benefit of the faithful.]

At Bury St Edmunds, this plainchant became a matter of local pride and political power. When Henry VI visited Bury on Christmas Eve of 1433, the monks processed him from the abbey gates to the high altar to this tune.[64] The monks also seem to have sung for Henry later in the proceedings. Lydgate's *Life of St Edmund and St Fremund* recorded that Bury was 'an hous of his [Henry VI's] fundacioun, where his preestis synge ay for him' (Horstmann, 1881: 144-5). Lydgate's poem *To Saint Edmund* includes the lines:

> Aue rex gentis shal ech day be ther song
>
> Callyng to þe for help in ther most neede.[65]

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[64] Craven Ord (1806): 'Account of the Entertainment of King Henry the Sixth at the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds.' *Archaeologia* 15, 65-71.
[65] Henry N. MacCracken ed. (1911, 1934): *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, Parts I and II. *EETS os* 192. London: Oxford University Press, cited from I: 127, and II: 95-6.

The idea of singing this specific antiphon every day at Bury was of no small significance, and certainly reflected the importance of the local saint as well as emphasising the power of Edmund as intercessor. In the fourteenth century, *Ave rex gentis* was used as the tenor part for the motets *De flore martirum*, and *Ave miles celestis curie* in honour of St Edmund.[66] It was also found as an antiphon for a variety of other saints some of whom were also kings, such as St Ethelbert, St Oswine, St Alban and Edmund's namesake, St Edmund of Abingdon.[67] Its melody was later borrowed for the popular Marian antiphon *Ave regina celorum*.

The local significance of the antiphon in Bury and parts of East Anglia is highlighted by a number of textual references to it in fifteenth-century art and literature. It is found in the fifteenth-century stained glass in Taverham church, Norfolk, in an impressive window that once preserved all six lines of the original antiphon held by six angels, of which four are still extant.[68] The prologue to the life and miracles of St Edmund by Lydgate ends with two liturgical texts. 'Alle men' are invited to 'seyn this Antephne and this Orisoun', *Ave rex gentis* and *Deus*

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[66] These motets were first described by Heinrich Besseler, who published the beginning of *Deus tuorum militum;* (1930): *Die Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance.* Potsdam: Bücken, 172. Gustav Reese published the second half of this motet; (1940): *Music in the Middle Ages.* New York: Norton, 402. Both motets were edited by Bukofzer in 1950, *Ave miles celestis* for the first time; (1950): 'Two Fourteenth-Century Motets on St Edmund.' *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music,* 17-33. New York: Norton and Company, 29-33.

[67] For the liturgy of St Ethelbert, see John Caldwell (2001): 'St Ethelbert, King and Martyr: His Cult and Office in the West of England.' *PMM* 10/1, 39-46.

ineffabilis misericordie, in return for which they will be granted 200 days pardon (Horstmann, 1881: 378, lines 73-80).[69] The performance of plainchant items by the people of Bury rather than just the monks is also suggested by one of the miracles as described by Lydgate. Following St Edmund's revival of a two-year old boy who had been run over by a cartwheel:

> The peple aroos with greet devocioun
>
> Cam to the shryne on processyoun
>
> With Joye and wepyng medlyd euere among
>
> Te Deum song, with devout knelyng,
>
> Ave Rex gentis was afftir that ther song.
>
> (Horstmann, 1881: 445, lines 436-40)

There is only one extant fifteenth-century carol in honour of St Edmund, and unsurprisingly this too uses the familiar chant text; *Synge we now, all and sum, Ave rex gentis Anglorum* as its chorus. The fourth verse notes the role of Edmund as intercessor and protector, and suggests performance of the carol on St Edmund's day 'Prey we to that worthi kyng / That sufferid ded this same day / He saf us, both eld and yyng /

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[68] Adrian Rose (2001): 'Angel Musicians in the Medieval Stained Glass of Norfolk Churches.' *Early Music* 29/2, 187-217.

[69] I have noticed that the antiphon was mis-transcribed in Horstmann's edition of the text, which reads 'Domine rex gentis', clearly a mistake since the rest of the text matches the antiphon exactly.

And sheld us fro the fendes fray'.[70] No music survives with the text, but carols beginning *Synge we now* were quite common.[71] One that bears a striking textual resemblance is the fragmentary burden from a carol in honour of Jesus, 'Synge we now both all and sum: *Christe redemptor omnium*', to which a musical line was set in the manuscript by another hand (Greene, 1977: 11, No 21 D).[72] The two lines are similar in that they each follow the English text with a Latin phrase known from liturgical chants. *Christe redemptor omnium* is the opening text to the hymn for Vespers during the Christmas season, and also opens the chant for Vespers at the feast of All Saints (1 November).[73] Considering the Christmas bias of many carol texts, the former may be the chant that served as the inspiration to *Synge we now* (although many carols deal with feasts outside the Christmas period). Further corroborative evidence is that of the other carol versions Nos 21 A – D, all have verses relating the story of the Nativity, including the conception and birth of Christ, and the death of the Holy Innocents. All of the carols which open *Synge*

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[70] Richard Greene ed. (1935, 2nd Edition, 1977): *The Early English Carols.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 190, No 312.

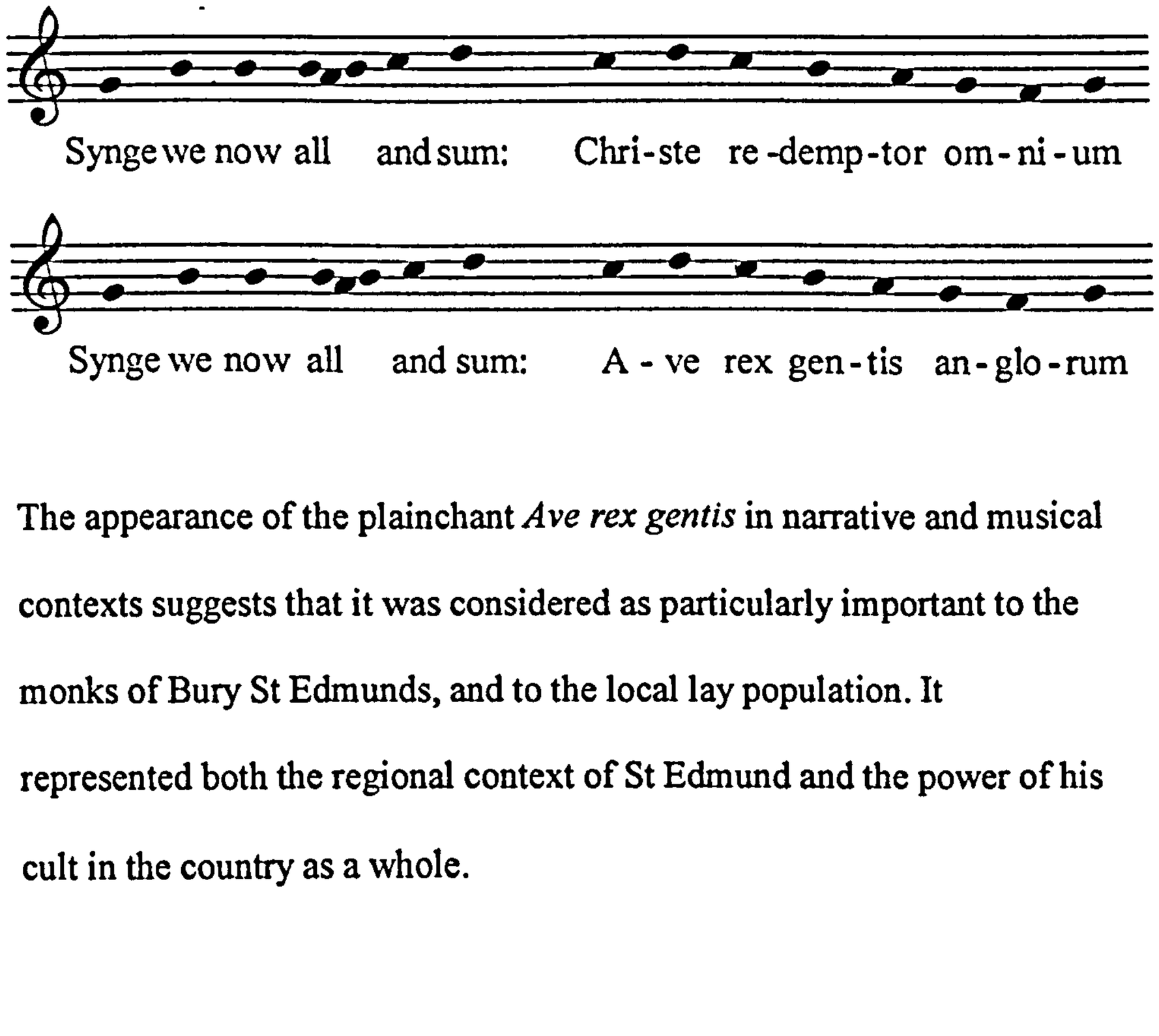
[71] Greene lists five carols with this opening, or one close to it (1977: 514). A similar carol, *Synge we now and sey we thus: Gramersy myn owyn purs* (Lbl 2593, f.6) has a different rhyme-scheme and is secular in nature, but it may relate to the same group of carols (Greene, 1962: 141-2).

[72] John Stevens (1952): Appendix, No 7A, p. 111, and the commentary on p. 123.

[73] *Christe redemptor omnium / ex patre pacis unice* for Vespers at Christmastide is a sixth-century hymn; *Christe redemptor omnium / conserva tuos familia* is attributed to Rabanus Maurus (776-856), and was sung at First and Second Vespers on the feast of All Saints.

we now or are related to it have Latin text excerpts with the same number of syllables, though these are distributed in different poetic meters. John Stevens has edited the music that accompanies Greene's No 21 D in Cu Ee.I.12, f.1. Since there were several versions of *Synge we now* about the Christmas period, it is possible that the carol to St Edmund was composed subsequently and perhaps used the same melody, and this has been applied in Fig. 1 below.

Fig. 1: Possible melody for *Synge we now* (after Cu Ee.I.12, f.1)



The appearance of the plainchant *Ave rex gentis* in narrative and musical contexts suggests that it was considered as particularly important to the monks of Bury St Edmunds, and to the local lay population. It represented both the regional context of St Edmund and the power of his cult in the country as a whole.

St Edmund: Narratives of martyrdom, soldiery and status

The texts of some polyphonic pieces were devised to refer to the specific virtues that a saint possessed in his earthly life. The three motets in honour of St Edmund praise his soldiery, his noble status, virginal life, martyrdom, and often his miraculous achievements that included healing all sorts of injuries and ailments, and setting captives free. In *De flore martyrum / Deus tuorum militum / Ave rex,* the story of Edmund's Passion is told in a non-narrative way, selecting only the most important details. The opening refers directly to the events preceding the martyrdom. Abbo of Fleury wrote that the Vikings who captured Edmund tied him to a tree and amused themselves by shooting arrows into him until he resembled a hedgehog; it was only after this game that Edmund's captors beheaded him. This episode was a feature of most related literary texts, both in English and Latin, since most of them followed Abbo to some extent. The *South English Legendary* related that:

> þe arewes stode on him þicke & al his bodi todrowe
>
> & euere stod þis holi man stille as þeȝ he lowe
>
> As ful as an illespyl is of pikes al about.[74]
>
> (*SEL:* 513, lines 45-7)

It went on to show the significance of this act of martyrdom, likening Edmund's torture to the similar treatment of St Sebastian. This is a good example of how the details that separate individual saint's lives are often immediately linked to the common experience or model of a universally accepted figure. In the fifteenth century, Lydgate's *Life of St Fremund and St Edmund* put the arrow episode in neat and dramatic rhymed form:

> The cursid Danys of newe cruelte,
>
> This martyr took, most gracious and benigne,
>
> Of hasty rancour bounde him to a tre. . . .
>
> Made him with arwis of ther malis most wikke
>
> Rassemble an yrchoun fulfillid with spynys thikke
>
> As was the martyr seynt Sebastyan.
>
> (Horstmann, 1881: 410, lines 757-9, 762-4)

The arrows, like the Danes, were wicked and full of malice. A contrast was made between the haste of the Danes' unsuccessful attempt to kill Edmund in this way, and the 'gracious and benigne' demeanour of the saint. The upper voice of the motet *De flore martirum* opens:

> De flore martirum / modum milicie
>
> quam pleno vulnerum / canamus hodie
>
> voce dulcedinis.

---

[74] illespyl, erchoun, yrchoun, urchyn = hedgehog

[Let us sing today, with a sweet voice, the song of soldiery about the flower of martyrs, how full of wounds!]

(*PMFC* 15: 190)

Here the motet refers to the torture of St Edmund by the Danes, and perhaps also to his eventual decapitation. The *Gilte Legend*, in this particular case drawing on the *South English Legendary*, provides a close textual comparison; its prose line where Edmund 'appierid fulle of arowys lyke as an urchyn fulle of pryckis' invites the reader / listener to imagine directly the body of the Saint in the same way as the motet declares in shocked terms the severity and number of Edmund's injuries (*GiL:* 149).

Ave miles celestis curie presents Edmund as Christ's soldier, in the familiar trope of *miles Christi.* The royal status of the saint is treated in the second phrase, which blurs the nationality of Edmund and the English:

Ave rex patrone patrie / matutina lux Saxonie

lucens nobis in meridie / sidus Angligenarum.

[Hail king, patron of our homeland, morning light of Saxony, shining on us at midday, star of the English people / people of East Anglia.]

(*PMFC* 15: 190)

The star motif in this text is also found in *Ave miles de cuius*, for the Translation of St Edward (Edward is 'sydus sanctatis', 'star of holiness'); perhaps this might suggest an alternative use for *Ave miles celestis curie* for the translation feast of St Edmund on 29 April? The kinds of miracles related by Lydgate and Ob 240 are referred to in the middle of the text. The cure of blindness and power to raise the dead are commonplaces, but these are superseded in importance by the final passages of text, which both focus on the intercessory powers of Edmund before God.

A third motet, *Flos anglorum inclitus / . . . nobilis* is found in the fragmentary source Omc 266 / 268.[75] Its provenance is likely to be Bury St Edmunds or somewhere in the same region. The focus of this example seems to be Edmund's Englishness and lineage. Edmund's pious infancy is mentioned in the triplum, a virtue that also appears in the motet in honour of St Edward the Confessor, *Ave miles de cuius*. The cantus firmus of *Flos anglorum inclitus* is unidentified, and is certainly not the same as the other two motets, but both triplum and duplum show the influence of Bury's most renowned plainchant. The triplum opens 'Flos anglorum', reflecting the opening of the plainchant text 'Ave rex gentis anglorum'. The duplum includes the phrase 'ut rosa sicut lilium', echoing the final phrase of the chant, 'velut rosa vel lilium'.

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[75] The text and music of this motet are transcribed in Lefferts (1983: 825-8).

During Edward I's reign (1272 – 1307), the cult of his namesake, St Edward the Confessor, attracted increased attention from poets, authors and lyricists. By the middle of the fourteenth century, regal interest in the Confessor's cult had waned. The problems of constructing a manly, virginal, English king saint affected the ways in which hagiographers and chroniclers depicted Edward. One way was to concentrate on his miraculous healing powers and miracles.[76] Such accounts are frequent in the *vitae.* The thirteenth-century *Estoire de Seint Aedward* gives a particularly long list of medical conditions that Edward was capable of curing, including physical deformity, mental problems, and various diseases (Luard, 1858: lines 4427-38). Miracle stories rarely featured in English motets, and those in honour of St Edward focused on the saint's general qualities of peacefulness, charity and humility.[77] The anonymous eleventh-century *Vita Aedwardi Regis* highlighted the examples of Edward's character that might be praised in musical form:

> Aedwardi regis carmine primus eris.
>
> Hunc dic Anglorum regem, forma speciosum,
>
> corporis arque animi nobilate bonum,

---

[76] The most detailed account of the healing powers of kings is Marc Leopold Benjamin Bloch (1973): *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France.* London: Routledge.

eius ut adventu depresso secula luctu

aurea mox Anglis enituere suis.

[You shall be the first to sing King Edward's song.

Describe him thus, this English king, so fair

In form, so nobly fine in limb and mind;

How at his coming, with all grief repressed,

A golden age shone for his English race.] [78]

In this text, physical and mental strengths were portrayed as stemming partly from Edward's 'Englishness'. The *Estoire de Seint Aedward* praised Edward's charity, and drew on Biblical imagery taken from Matthew 25: 35-46:

Ki fist les bens fors rois Aedward?

Ki vesti les poveres nuz, / Fors Aedward li seint, li duz?

Ki pesseit les fameillus, / Fors Aedward li glorius?

[Who did these good things but King Edward? Who clothed the naked in poverty, but Edward the holy, the gentle? Who fed the hungry, but Edward the glorious?]

(Luard, 1858: 78-9, lines 1894-8, my translation)

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[77] The texts of the motet *Suffragiose virgini* (Cfm, item 3) related miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Lefferts, 1986: 175). An edition can be found in *PMFC* 17, No 54.

[78] Frank Barlow (1962): *The Life of King Edward who rests at Westminster, attributed to a monk of St Bertin.* London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 3.

The same Biblical passage was used in the motet *Civitas nusquam*, which likewise praised Edward for his charity. The tenor text, 'Cibus esurientum, salus languentum, solamen dolentum' (Sustenance of the hungry ones, salvation of the feeble ones, consolation of the suffering ones), recalls the intercessory powers of Edward for those in need found in his *vitae*.

The upper text of *Civitas nusquam conditur* also drew on Jesus' teachings by the shore, as recounted in the Gospels. These specific verses were traditionally associated with the translation ceremonies of saints:

> No man lighteth a candle, and putteth it in a hidden place, nor under a bushel; but upon a candlestick, that they that come in, may see the light.[79]
>
> (Luke 11: 33)

> You are the light of the world. A city seated on a mountain cannot be hid. Neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but upon a candlestick, that it may shine to all that are in the house.[80]
>
> (Matthew 5: 14-5)

---

[79] 'Nemo lucernam accendit, et in abscondito point, neque sub modio: sed supra candelabrum, ut qui ingrediuntur, lumen videant.'
[80] 'Vos estis lux mundi. Non potest civitas abscondi supra montem posita; Neque accendunt lucernam, et ponunt eam sub modio, sed super candelabrum, ut luceat omnibus qui in domo sunt.'

> And he said to them: Doth a candle come in to be put under a bushel, or under a bed? and not to be set on a candlestick?[81]
>
> (Mark 4: 21)

There was a long history of describing saints' virtues in this manner, and Edward's in particular.[82] The circumstances of Edward's canonisation demonstrate this clearly. Aelred of Rievaulx was requested to compose a new *vita* for the occasion, which was presented to Westminster at the translation ceremony on 13 October 1163. Aelred may also have delivered a homily on *Nemo accendit lucernam* at this time (Barlow, 1962: xiii-iv).[83] Walter Daniel, who wrote Aelred's *vita*, mentioned the production of both a life and a homily. The *Estoire de Seint Aedward* drew on *Nemo accendit lucernam* when relating the miracles performed at Edward's tomb:

> Ne puet virtu tapir en umbre; / Einz se multiplie e numbre
>
> De miracles e vertuz, / Ke Deus pur li feseit a muz.
>
> Le cors puet hum ensevelir, / Mais sa vertu ne puet tapir.
>
> [Virtue cannot be hidden in shade; on the contrary it multiplies itself and numbers miracles and healing powers that God did to

---

[81] 'Et dicebat illis: Numquid venit lucerna ub sub modio ponatur, aut sub lecto? nonne ut super candelabrum ponatur?'

[82] I am grateful to Joanna Huntingdon for sharing information relating to Edward the Confessor, Walter Daniel and translation ceremonies.

[83] Luke 11: 33. Barlow draws his information from F. M. Powicke ed. (1950) *The Life of Ailred Abbot of Rievaulx by Walter Daniel.* London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, xlvii-xlviii.

many through Edward. Man may bury the corpse, but Edward's virtue cannot be hidden.]

(Luard, 1858: 137, lines 3975-81; my translation)

Biblical passages about charity and shining virtue were associated with the writings about Edward's life, miracles, and particularly his translation. Edward's tomb was elevated behind the high altar at Westminster. The chronicler, Thomas Wykes, described St Edward's relics as 'not hidden under a bushel, but raised on high like a candle, so that they might shed light on all who entered the building'.[84] The opening of the motet *Civitas nusquam* uses the same imagery, and continues with the suggestion that 'the conduct and very many doctrines of Edward's life are visible and shine, and they are not kept from plain view' (see Fig. 2). This suggests fairly conclusively that the motet was intended for performance at the celebration of Edward's Translation (13 October) rather than his feast day (5 January).[85]

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[84] H. R. Luard ed. (1869, repr.1964): *The Chronicle of Thomas Wykes.* Annales Monastici 4. *Rolls Series* 36, London: Longman; repr. New York: Kraus Reprint, 226; John Crook (2000): *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints in the Early Christian West c.300 – 1200.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 34.

[85] This contradicts the opinion of the editors of the text in *PMFC* 15: 176, who give 5 January as the feast for which the motet was appropriate.

Fig. 2: Triplum of *Civitas nusquam conditur* with Biblical references

Civitas nusquam conditur que supra montem excelsum ponitur neque lucerna rutilans accenditur et absconditur sub modio set in sublimi candelabro figitur tribuat ut lucem caliginoso populo. Quoniam qui caret lumine nescit quo tendat itinere an si vadat utiliter aut si deviet nequiter. Sicque patent rutilant Edwardi nec latitant vite mores et dogmata quamplurima.	Matthew 5
Plebi carenti lumine vere salutis prebuit lucem sapiencie atque clemencie.	Matthew 25
Et de talentis sibi commissis a Domino veluti famulus optimus respondet in centuplo. Et ideo sibi conceditur gloria quo nunquam deficiet leticia per infinita secula.	Matthew 13

[Nowhere is a city founded which is placed on top of a high mountain, nor is a shining lamp enkindled and concealed beneath a measure of corn; rather it is set in a lofty candelabrum to shed light on a darkened populace. For whoever lacks light knows not the direction of his journey, nor whether he progresses usefully or deviates wretchedly. And likewise the conduct and very many doctrines of Edward's life are visible and shine, and they are not kept from plain view. To the common people lacking the true light of salvation he held forth the light of wisdom and clemency. And to the talents entrusted him by the Lord, he responded a hundred-fold, just as the good servant. Therefore glory is accorded him, for whom joy will never be absent for ages without end.]

(*PMFC* 15: 175)

In the motet, the specific virtues of Edward's life are never actually mentioned explicitly. In order to understand the implications of the Biblical references, one must look more deeply into the triplum text, which draw on verses from Matthew chapters 5, 13 and 25. Taken out of context the verses in the motet can be seen to praise only the generally virtuous qualities of Edward. The majority of the text draws on the Biblical passages used at medieval translation ceremonies. Apart from the candlestick metaphors, the verses as they appear in Matthew 5 are preceded by the more famous beatitudes, perhaps most poignantly, 'Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God' (Matthew 5: 9). The author of the triplum appears to have drawn on a text that was directly relevant to Edward's received style of kingship.

The triplum continues to draw on Matthew, this time chapter 25: 14-30. The next phrases refer to the parables of the ten virgins and the talents. In the parable of the ten virgins, five are foolish and five are wise; Edward is thus identified with a wise virgin. The author of the motet text found a way of implying Edward's virginity without stating it outright. In the parable of the talents, one man is given a large quantity of money, one a smaller one, and one a very small one; the first two duplicate what they had by their hard work, where the third is afraid and

buries what he has been given. In *Civitas nusquam conditur,* Edward is compared not only with the wisest of these men, but is set up as an exceptional case. God has given Edward a life of wealth as king. The idea of kingship as a divine gift was emphasised by monarchs including Edward I (contemporary with this motet) and Richard II. Edward does not just duplicate his wealth for his charitable purposes, he responds 'centuplo', 'a hundredfold'. This also refers to Matthew 13: 8-23, the parable of the sower:

> And others fell upon good ground: and they brought forth fruit, some an hundredfold, some sixtyfold, and some thirtyfold . . .
>
> But he that received the seed upon good ground, is he that heareth the word, and understandeth, and beareth fruit, and yieldeth the one an hundredfold, and another sixty, and another thirty.
>
> (Matthew 13: 8, 23; also Mark 4: 14-20)

It is possible to suggest a further meaning for this reference. In the early thirteenth-century work *Hali Meiðhad,* the author discusses the hierarchy of status between virginity, marriage and widowhood:

For wedlac haueđ [hire] frut þrittifald in heouene; widewehad, sixtifald; meiđhad wiđ hundretfald ouergeađ baþe.[86]

In this passage, whose imagery is not uncommon in medieval texts, the relative positions of these three states are mapped onto the parable of the sower, giving those who have a sexual relationship within wedlock the least status of all (only thirtyfold). In higher regard is widowhood; they who experience sexual abstinence in this more enforced manner receiving 'sixtyfold' reward in Paradise. The prize in heaven, the hundredfold reward, is reserved for those who remained chaste throughout life, regardless of marital status at any point in time. This comparison appears in Aelred's *Vita Aedwardi* (cols. 739-40), and this vita may have provided the stimulus for the motet lyric.[87] The composer of *Civitas* was again implying that, regardless of his marriage, Edward's chastity remained constant and his virginity was to be rewarded in heaven one hundredfold.

The motet *Civitas nusquam conditur*, on the surface only drawing on Edward's reputation as generally saintly, can be read more closely as emphasising Edward's hagiographical image as peacemaker, wise and

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[86] Frut = reward, benefit; ouergeađ = surpasses; baþe = both. Bella Millett ed. (1982): *Hali Meiđhad. EETS os* 284. London: Oxford University Press, 11, lines 27-9. Millett considers the date of the work to be *c.*1190 – 1220, and probably toward the end of this period (1982: xvii).

[87] I am grateful to Joanna Huntingdon for this reference. For the use of this passage in relation to virginity, see Pierre J. Payer (1993): *The Bridling of Desire: Views of Sex in the Later Middle Ages.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 175-7.

divine ruler, and even virgin. Having established that the textual references in *Civitas nusquam* are both subtle and refined in affirming the traditional, or at least approved, Westminster view of Edward, we might pause to consider the musical setting (see Fig. 4). Harrison has previously remarked upon the fact that though the cantus firmus, presumably once a portion of plainchant once associated with St Edward's liturgical Office, has so far proved unidentifiable, its opening phrase is repeated intact to finish the piece (*PMFC* 15: 159). He also showed that by interpreting the 'bar line', found simultaneously in all vocal parts, as a *longa* rest, the tenor proves to be isorhythmic, in five *talea* of ten *longa* (*PMFC* 15: 159). The cantus firmus is arranged into a distinctive pattern of sound and silence, represented below by the number of longs before each rest (see Fig. 3).

Fig. 3 Tenor pattern of *Civitas nusquam conditur*

3 — 5 — 3 — 5 — 8 — 3 — 5 — 3 — 5

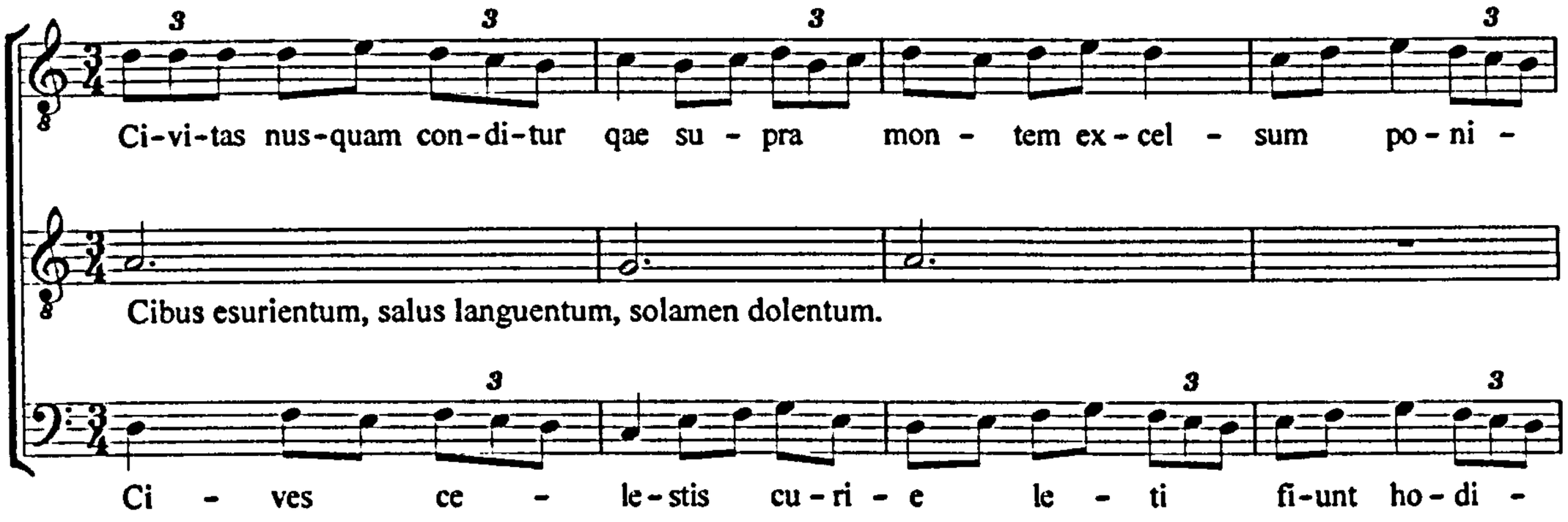
This arrangement is based upon the number eight, not only through the addition of three and five, but also through the central placement of the eight, uninterrupted *longae.* This might possibly relate to the number of letters in 'Edwardus', whose name appears three times in total. Five is

also a featured number, in the division of the eight into three and five, and in the fivefold *talea*. To add five to eight gives 13, the date of Edward's translation feast in October (which while not the eighth month, retains a significance through etymology). A further explanation might be the widely adopted feast day of St Edward, 5 January. On the other hand, these numbers might hold a different significance, or simply provide a convenient starting point for the structure.

When the opening phrase of the cantus firmus repeats at the end of the motet, the harmonies of the upper two parts are also retained, providing a coda. The musical coda is complemented by both triplum and duplum texts, which close in typical dedicatory formulae of Edward's sanctity lasting forever and guiding others heavenward. The melodies and metre of the texts in these sections differ, but a reduction of the harmonic framework reveals their similarity (see square brackets in Fig. 4). This harmonic reduction also shows a careful limitation of thirds and sixths. Bars that start with an imperfect sonority are shown the harmonic detail in (Figs. 5a-l). The majority of these occur at points where the texture is reduced to two voices because of a rest in the tenor part. Throughout the piece, important words in the text are marked by directed progressions to perfect sonorities. These are most striking when they occur at the end of a section relating to a specific Biblical passage

('quamplurima' in bars 27-8, 'clemencie' in bars 33-4, 'centuplo' in bars 40-1), but their placement is not restricted to line endings. Thirds and sixths are used most markedly in the focal point of the motet's cantus firmus patterning, the central, uninterrupted eight tenor notes (see interrupted square brackets in Fig. 4). This section of the motet contains the highest density of imperfect sonorities. It cannot be a coincidence that this occurs at the central point of the motet as a whole, and at one of the three occurrences of Edward's name in the text (and the only to be found in the triplum). A further two, equally proportioned but musically contrasting, sections of music (bars 10-20 and 29-39), frame this central section.

Fig. 4: *Civitas nusquam conditur* (after *PMFC* 15)



14

ca - li - gi - no - so po - pu - lo Quo - ni - am qui ca - ret lu - mi - ne ne - scit

con - so - nat et re - do - let me - li - us iun - ctu - ra bo - no -

18

quo ten - dat i - ti - ne - re. an si va - dat u - ti - li - ter, aut si de - vi - et ne - qui - ter.

rum me - ri - to. hie et in fu - tu - ro se - cu - lo.

24

Sie - que pa - tent et ru - ti - lant Ed - war - di nee la - ti - tant vi - te - mo - res et

Dul - cis est a - du - na - ci - o, quam dul - ce

27

dog - ma - ta quam - plu - ri - ma. Ple - bi, ca - ren - ti lu - mi - ne ve - re sa

con - tu - ber - ni - um in sub - li - mi - pa - la - ci -

31

-lu - tis, pre-bu-it lu-cem sa-pi-en-ci-e at-que ele- men - ci - e. Et de ta-

-o co - ram re - ge ce - le - sti - um, u -

35

len - tis si-bi com mis - sis a Do - mi-no, ve-lu-ti fa-mu-lus o - pti-mus

-bi Ed - war - dus ho - di - e sub-li-ma-tur ad

39

re - spon - det in cen - tu - plo. Et i-de-o si-bi-con-ce-di-tur glo-ri-a,

gau - di - um. Pre - ci - bus cu - ius per - du - ca - mur ad e-o

44

quo nun-quam de - fi - ci - et le-ti-ci - a per in-fi-ni-ta se-cu - la.

rum con - sor - ci -um quo ma - ne-bunt in per - pe - tu - um.

Fig. 4 Harmonic framework of *Civitas nusquam conditur*

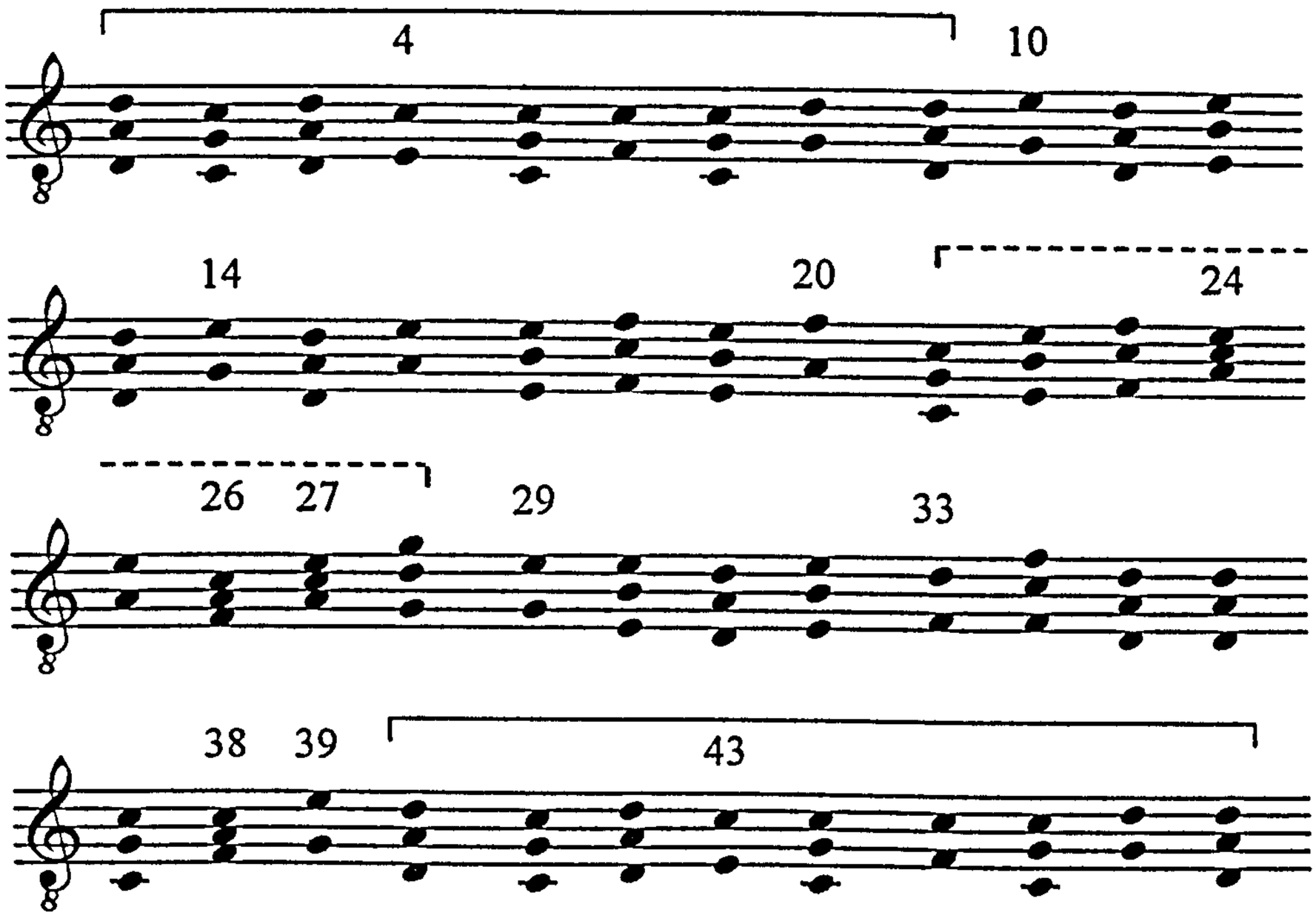


Fig. 4a

4

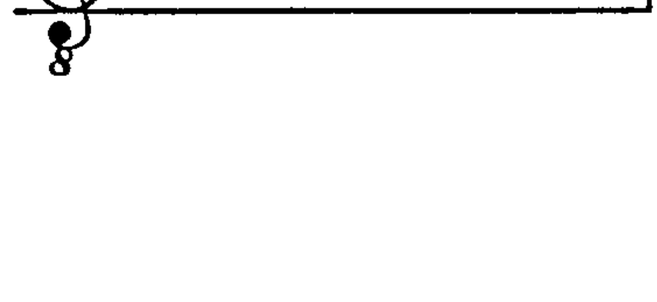


Fig. 4b

10

Fig. 4c

14

Fig. 4d

20

Fig. 4e

24

Fig. 4f

26

Fig. 4g

Fig. 4h

Fig. 4i

Fig. 4j

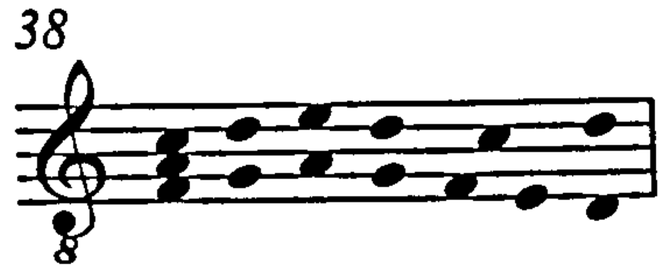


Fig. 4k

Fig. 4l

Structurally, the harmonic framework underlines and reinforces the setting of the texts in triplum and duplum, and their relationship with one another. A new section of text and music at bar 24 is marked by 'bar lines' in all parts, and this separates the two, roughly equal, sections of the triplum text (111:117 syllables); the former, paraphrasing the light under a bushel metaphor, the latter developing it with reference to Edward and to other parables. The setting of some individual words and phrases is heightened by the music. The most striking also occurs at this point, bar 24 (the product of 8 and 3), where the lower voice (the duplum) rises above the tenor for the duration of the bar, setting the text,

'sweet is the reunion'. This is the only point where the duplum crosses the triplum in this way.

To summarise, the most important structural points of text and music – the iteration of the holy name 'Edwardus' in the triplum; perfections which are factors of 8 and either 3 or 5; the mid-point of the composition and its triplum text; the text sections based on Biblical passages; and the coda – are emphasised and heightened by elements in the musical setting. The two structures, musical and textual, were designed in this complementary manner, and suggest great subtlety of art on the part of the composer.

As discussed earlier, Edward rarely attracted the attribution of 'soldier of the faith' in the same terms as other saints such as St Edmund. One motet, *Ave miles de cuius milicia / Ave miles O Edwarde / [Miles Christi gloriose . . .] ablue,* does emphasise Edward's virtuous qualities in militaristic terms. To some extent, this can be seen as reflecting the tenor melisma, whose source is a chant for the birth of a confessor abbot or confessor bishop (*PMFC* 14: 246). *Ave miles de cuius milicia* is also based on a chant that would have been performed on Edward's Translation feast. The legends of king saints were full of miracles suggesting the healing powers of the royal touch. Often, water in which a saint had washed his hands was proven to possess the same

miraculous properties as his direct touch. The duplum and triplum end on the word 'ablue', which tropes the tenor melisma. This makes the washing away of sins the focus of the motet as a whole. The triplum states that the church is soldiering in Edward's glory, but this image is contrasted by the duplum that concentrates on the saint's life of piety. Overall, the militaristic opening of the motet is softened by the text that follows.

By the middle of the fourteenth century, royal interest in the cult of St Edward the Confessor had fallen considerably. In the light of this shift, it is interesting that at least one polyphonic piece of music from this period can be associated with his cult. A second piece appears to be dedicated to a different Edward altogether, King Edward III, either living or recently deceased. The manuscript that contains both pieces, NYpm 978, has attracted a fair degree of attention because it is thought to have been copied for the royal household chapel, evidence for which included the two cantilenas in honour of 'Edward'.[88] The dedication of these pieces is itself of interest, since Lefferts has previously shown that,

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[88] NYpm 978 was discovered by Albi Rosenthal in 1971, and was first described in detail in Frank Harrison (1978): 'Polyphonic Music at the Chapel of Edward III.' *ML* 59, 420-8. The music is also discussed and edited in the following sources: Harrison and Wibberley (1981); Frank Harrison (1993): 'Plainsong into Polyphony: Repertoires and Structures *circa* 1270 – *circa* 1420.' In S. Rankin and D. Hiley eds., *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy*, 303-54. Oxford: Clarendon Press (published after Harrison's death in 1988); Ernest Sanders (1980): 'English Polyphony in the Morgan Library Manuscript.' *ML* 61, 250-1; Bowers (1990); Roger Bowers (1999): 'In Brief: Fixed Points in the Chronology of English Fourteenth-Century Polyphony: A Postscript.' *ML* 80, 269-70.

English cantilenas are almost exclusively devoted to the BVM.

Exceptions include settings for Saint Margaret, *(Virgo vernans velud rosa)*. . . . and for king Edward III *(Singularis laudis digna* . . . and *Regem regum)*.

(1986: 349, fn.59)

While Lefferts cited Edward III as being the proposed candidate for the dedication of *Regem regum,* following previous scholars, he also pointed towards the possibility of it being associated with Edward the Confessor (Lefferts, 1986: 349, fn. 59). Bowers accepted that *Regem regum* could only have been composed in honour of St Edward the Confessor, or St Edward, King and Martyr (1990: 315). In relation to the manuscript Onc 362, Hohler considered a dedication in honour of Edward the Confessor as 'hardly thinkable except in or near Westminster or a Royal chapel' (cited in Lefferts, 1986: 181). Lefferts argued that although texts in honour of local saints 'provide our most important internal clues to the provenance of sources and pieces', it would be foolish to assign all collections with an Edward the Confessor dedication to Westminster or the royal chapel (1986: 180). Hohler's assignment of Onc 362 to Westminster has since been refuted in favour of Canterbury, given the inclusion of motets in honour of St Thomas and St Augustine of Canterbury (Lefferts, 1986: 181). Perhaps it is a little safer to suggest

that the compositions dedicated to the Confessor are likely to have originated in royal circles, and been based on hagiographical material composed for Westminster, but that given the itinerant nature of the king's household during the fourteenth century their pattern of transmission may have been wide. Peter Lefferts has suggested that all the cantilenas in Occc 144, the source that provides a concordance for *Singularis laudis digna,* might have been composed at St Albans (Lefferts, in Lefferts and Bent, 1982: 348-9).[89]

Scholars have disagreed over the copying date of NYpm 978, which has been placed within the period 1337 – 1355 (Harrison, 1993: 306) and *c.*1369 – 75 (Bowers, 1990: 313-35). This discrepancy was due to the interpretation of topical references in the two pieces for 'Edwards', the cantilenas *Singularis laudis digna* and *Regem regum collaudemus.* Sanders' interpretation of the evidence in *Singularis laudis digna* placed that piece of music in October 1347. His study considered *Regem regum* to have been written after 21 June 1377 because he thought it referred to the dead Edward III, adding that 'the relative frequency of flagged semiminims would make an earlier dating unlikely

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[89] Occc 144 was discovered by Malcolm B. Parkes, who passed the information on to Roger Wibberley for inclusion in his unpublished thesis; Roger Wibberley (1976): 'English Polyphonic Music of the Late-Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries: A Reconstruction, Transcription and Commentary.' 2 vols. DPhil thesis: University of Oxford, Appendix II, 56-7. The first published discussion of Occc 144 was Peter Lefferts' article in Lefferts and Bent, 1982: 347-51.

in any case' (Sanders, 1980: 173).[90] Generally, a date in the second half of the fourteenth century seems plausible for the copying of the items in NYpm 978, though several these may have been composed quite a bit earlier in the century.

The source NYpm 978 contains nine cantilenas (or sequences), four Mass movements and just one motet, and has been described as a 'series of diverse liturgical and extra liturgical pieces randomly assembled' (Summers, 1990: 661). The majority of pieces are in three parts; of the remainder, one is in two parts, one is in four, and one provides a single line to be interpreted canonically. Concordances with Occc 144 (St Albans), Cgc 512/543 (Norwich), NWr 299 (Flitcham / Walsingham priories) and Cpc 228 (provenance unknown), link it to collections from some of the most prestigious Benedictine institutions in the country. These concordances do not help with the precise dating of the manuscript. Cgc 512/543 and Cpc 228 have been associated with the early 1300s, yet NWr 299 has been placed at the very end of the fourteenth century; Occc 144 belongs to the second half of the century. The diverse content of NYpm 978 is intriguing, since it suggests that the copyist drew on music which was both old and new, some of which may have been quite old repertory by the time it was entered (see Fig. 6).

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[90] Lefferts has noted that very few English cantilenas are dedicated to anyone other than the BVM. He also says that of *Singularis laudis digna* and *Regem regum*, 'the second Edward setting could also be read as pertaining to Edward the Confessor' (1986: 349).

Fig. 6 Contents and concordances of NYpm 978

NYpm 978	Concordance
Singularis laudis digna (à3)	Occc 144, item 1
[?Gaude] virgo immaculata (à3)	
Regem regum (à3)	
Generosa iesse plantula (à3)	
[Sala]monis inclita mater (à3)	Cgc 512, item 10
S[anctus] (à3)	
Credo (à3)	NWr 299, item 5
Credo (à3)	
Deo Gratias (à4)	
Sanctus (à3)	
Ut arbatum [*sic*] *folium* (à3)	
Candens crescit lilium (à4)	Ob 862, item 8 Cpc 228, item 4
Agnus Dei (à3)	
Gloria (à1, canonic)	
[Victimae Paschali laudes] (à3)	

As stated above, the dating of NYpm 978, as well as its provenance, has rested on the topical references within the cantilenas *Singularis laudis digna* and *Regem regum collaudemus.* Though the dates proposed by Harrison (1337 – 55), Bowers (1369 – 75) and Sanders (post 1377) vary by up to forty years, Harrison and Bowers at least agreed in principle that the copying of the manuscript coincided with the reign of Edward III (1337 – 77). Sanders' later date rested on his assumption that the dead King Edward in *Regem regum* was Edward III, and can be discounted. Their suggested provenance likewise varied not in essence, since each believed it to have originated at a chapel of

Edward III, but in the specific location; Harrison believed it to have been for his 'household chapel' before the building of St George's, Windsor. Sanders accepted that 'the king's household chapel seems the most likely' (Sanders, 1980: 173). Bowers could not choose initially between six royal foundations, but later suggested the household chapel of Princess Isabella herself (Bowers, 1999a, Commentary and Corrigenda: 8).

The fullest exploration of the dating of the two cantilenas is found in Bowers' discussion (1990: 314-5). *Regem regum* has a text that is only partially preserved, due to the trimming of one edge of the manuscript and the failure of the scribe to enter the second half of each double versicle; it is therefore likely that less than half of each verse has survived (Bowers, 1990: 314). The translation of this portion reads:

> Let us together praise the king of kings in whom let us sing the praises of Edward the king . . .
>
> He is a being dear to God, the whole manner of whose life shone with sanctity . . .
>
> And therefore, O citizen of heaven, from this exile [lead] us up to the certain abode of your soul to venerate [you as] worthy in all respects to be exalted with praise.

(Bowers, 1990: 314)[91]

So, who is the King Edward mentioned in the text? There are five main candidates: Edward I, Edward II, Edward III, Edward the Confessor (d.1066, canonised in 1161), or Edward the Martyr (murdered in 978). Harrison and Sanders' assumption that this was Edward III perhaps rested on the topic of *Singularis laudis digna,* the Hundred Years War. However, Bowers stated that:

> The overall character of the terminology of this text makes it plain that it is addressed not to a recently deceased King Edward III (ruled 1327-77) but to a canonised King Edward, already a saint.[92] In particular, the (apparent) reference to its addressee as a 'citizen of heaven', able to guide others thither - that is, as one not awaiting the Day of Judgement but already admitted to the company of saints in heaven - rules out any identification with Edward III, to whom in any event the terms of the second stanza ('the whole manner of whose life shone with sanctity') were conspicuously inapplicable.
>
> (Bowers, 1990: 315)

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[91] Sanders (1980: 172-3) and Lefferts (*PMFC* 17: 215) have also published translations of this text.

[92] Bowers is arguing against Sanders (1980: 173) and Harrison (1978: 421) (Bowers, 1990: 315).

Certainly the campaign of aggression and frequent battles in the reign of Edward III would support Bower's opinion that he was not in fact the subject of this musical setting. Edward I acquired no cult following after his death in 1307, and can be discounted. Nothing in the text or music seems directly relevant to the life of Edward, King and Martyr, to whom little attention seems to have been paid during this period. The cult of Edward II, who was promoted for canonisation (ultimately unsuccessfully) by Richard II, is also a fairly unlikely scenario for the topic of *Regem regum.* Outside of this bid, contemporaries did not consider Edward II's life to have 'shone with sanctity'. McKisack summarised Edward II's character as 'feeble, incompetent and irresponsible', a view that accords with most chronicles of the period (1959: 103). Despite presses for Edward II to be canonised during the fourteenth century, Bray remarks that:

> Edward II's life was not notably edifying: his failure as a king was not compensated for by extraordinary piety, although he was a supporter of the Dominicans, or domestic devotion. The attempt to number him amongst the saints was based solely on his unfortunate death and the miracles which allegedly occurred at his tomb.
>
> (Bray, 1984: 60)

Therefore, though in Gloucester Cathedral (where Edward was buried) and in royal circles towards the end of the fourteenth century, Edward II's cult attracted slightly more attention, it is unlikely to have generated the composition of this, or any other, piece of polyphony in his honour.

The vague references in *Regem regum* to Edward's venerable qualities are typical of the depiction of the Confessor saint in the literature of the period. They contrast with the descriptions of King Edward in *Singularis laudis digna,* who is 'so excellently capable of combat'. Bowers accepted that though Edward the Confessor was perhaps the most likely candidate for the dedication of *Regem regum,* even this 'offers no assistance in identifying the date of the composition of [this] music' (1990: 315). Bowers states later in his article, in reference to the manuscript as a whole, that:

> By the late fourteenth century, in fact, neither saint [Edward the Confessor nor Edward the Martyr] seems to have been revered at all widely; however, a chapel in the lower ward of the royal castle at Windsor had been dedicated to St. Edward the Confessor since at least the 1240s, and Edward III felt enough devotion to his royal predecessor and namesake to retain this dedication when the building was elevated to the status of a

Royal Free Chapel for his newly founded College of St. Mary, St. George and St. Edward in 1348.

(Bowers, 1990: 317)

Looking back to the discussion of hagiographical material relating to the cult of Edward the Confessor, I would suggest that the text of *Regem regum* lends itself very well indeed to association with this figure above all other possible candidates. The idea of Edward's life 'shining' with sanctity is reminiscent of the translation texts that influenced the motet *Civitas nusquam conditur.* Edward III had little time for the cult of Edward the Confessor, concentrating instead on the mythical St George in the way that his grandfather had identified with King Arthur.[93] However, the cult of Edward the Confessor was ongoing in royal patronage, and became central to the later kingship of Richard II (ruled 1377 – 1399). Richard empathised with the Confessor's peacefulness, and, like Henry III, patronised Westminster Abbey (home to the relics of St Edward the Confessor) in an extravagant yet personal way.[94] There is much evidence to suggest that Richard considered Westminster his

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[93] The fullest description of the various ways in which Richard showed his affection for Edward the Confessor at Westminster Abbey is Nigel Saul (1996): 'Richard II and Westminster Abbey.' In John Blair and Brian Golding eds., *Cloister and the World: Essays in Medieval History in Honour of Barbara Harvey,* 196-218. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 199.

[94] Henry III had moved the relics of Edward the Confessor to Westminster in 1269. This new resting place became a place of national importance and pilgrimage, Dillian Gordon (1993): *Making and Meaning: The Wilton Diptych.* London: National Gallery Publications, 54.

personal church, visiting it at key moments in his reign.[95] Scheifele has noted that:

> Two accounts from the *Westminster Chronicle* record that in 1390 and again in 1392 for the feast day of the Translation of Edward the Confessor, 13 October, Richard apparently sat crowned in the choir.[96]

Despite the fact that by the middle of the 1380s, St George and his flag were accepted emblems of national identity, Richard II did not appear to take a personal interest in his cult. St George was still a popular, not officially-sanctioned, patron saint during this period, as can be seen by the way in which his flag had been displayed by the rebellious peasants in 1381.[97] They would surely not have used it had it symbolised the heritage of the King in the way that might the flag of a king saint.

Richard's dedication to Edward the Confessor is perhaps best known from the Wilton Diptych (*c.*1395), in which he is pictured

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[95] Richard visited Edward's shrine at Westminster following his tour of the north in 1386, even before returning to his home; see Michael J. Bennett, (1999): 'Richard II and the Wider Realm.' In Anthony Goodman and James L. Gillespie eds., *Richard II: The Art of Kingship,* 187-204, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 191. The Wilton Diptych may even have been commissioned to heighten the personal devotion of Richard for his visits at Westminster, a view first expressed by Francis Wormald (1954): 'The Wilton Diptych.' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute* 17, 191-203; and restated by Saul (1996: 208-9).

[96] Eleanor L. Scheifele (1999): 'Richard II and the Visual Arts.' In Anthony Goodman and James Gillespie eds., *Richard II: The Art of Kingship,* 187-204. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 265.

[97] John Harvey (1961): 'The Wilton Diptych: A Re-Examination.' *Archaeologia, 2nd Series* 98, 1-29, especially page 21. That Richard viewed St George as a national patron by 1385 can be seen in the expedition to Scotland, for which the army were all to carry the sign of the arms of St George (Goodman and Gillespie, 1999: 11).

flanked by Edward, St Edmund and John the Baptist (Richard's other patron saint).[98] The Diptych's outer decoration includes the royal arms of England and France impaled with those of the Confessor (martlets with a cross fleurie). From about 1395 Richard permanently included Edward's arms in his own; this has been linked with the death of his first wife, Anne of Bohemia (d.1394), after which his Edwardian fervour appears to have grown (Gordon, 1993: 54).[99]

Richard's dedication to the cult can be seen more widely. From October 1395, Richard employed a signet of St Edward; as early as May 1393, the Masters of London Bridge included three shields above the bridge itself, those of the King, Queen and Edward the Confessor (Harvey, 1961: 5). Following the Revenge Parliament of 1397, the five new dukes of Hereford, Norfolk, Surrey, Aumarle and Exeter, each assumed the arms of the Confessor themselves (Clarke, 1937a: 275).

Richard's personal dedication to St Edward far exceeded that of Edward II or III, though there is likely to have been some continuation of

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[98] There is a vast literature about the Wilton Diptych, reflecting its enigmatic nature. The fullest account in recent years is Gordon (1993). See also Maud Violet Clarke (1937a): 'The Wilton Diptych.' In L. S. Sutherland and May McKisack eds. *Fourteenth Century Studies*, 272-92. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Richard II's dedication to John the Baptist also showed its influence at Westminster Abbey. Gordon states that 'On 6 November 1392 the king gave the manor of Aldenham to Westminster Abbey. In return the monks were to celebrate yearly on the king's coronation a Solemn Mass with music at the altar of Saint John the Baptist for himself and his queen, Anne, during their lifetime and also after their death' (1993: 56).

[99] The arms of England and France ancient, used from 1340-*c.*1406, comprised those of the Kingdom of England (gules three lions passant guardant or) quartered with those of the Kingdom of France (azure semé with fleurs-de-lis).

support for the cult between the reigns of Edward I and Richard II. It is quite likely that polyphonic music once existed from the end of the fourteenth century in dedication to the Confessor. Unfortunately, the accepted copying date of NYpm 978 cannot be extended late enough to suggest any association between the composition of *Regem regum* and the reign of Richard II. Although Bowers is right to consider St Edward the Confessor as not a particularly large part of Edward III's piety, I would suggest that he is the only valid candidate for such a text during this period.

The cantilena *Singularis laudis digna* venerates an altogether different type of hero. Its text is rich with metaphor, and has sufficient evidence to associate it with the reign of Edward III, in whose honour it is thought to have been composed. Amongst published analyses of the text, Sanders' and Bowers' have been the most thorough, seeking to place the text within a strict chronological framework based upon the mapping of Biblical characters onto fourteenth-century figures. I would like to suggest a further possible reading of the text, which, while not altering the general conclusions regarding date and provenance, would place the cantilena within other literary and hagiographical frameworks. The full text and translation is given below:

Singularis laudis digna

dulcis mater et benigna,

sumas ave gracie.

Stella maris apellaris

Deum paris expers paris

loco sedens glorie.

Hester flectit Assuerum

vindex plectit ducem ferum

precis in oraculo.

Tu regina regis regem

Er conserva tuum gregem

Maris in periculo

Cesset guerra iam Francorum

quorum terra fit Anglorum

cum decore lilii

Et sit concors leopardo

per quem honor sit Edwardo

regi probo prelii.

[Sweet and kind mother, worthy of singular praise, please accept this thankful greeting. You are called 'star of the sea', you gave birth to the Lord and, equalled by none, you sit in the place of glory. Esther is winning Ahasuerus over, Judith manipulates a fierce general [Holofernes] through the divine power of prayer. You, O Queen, rule our king; and preserve your flock in peril of the sea. Let the warfare of the French now cease; may their land become that of the English, with the adornment of the lily. And may it [the lily] be acquiescent toward the leopard, through which let there be honour to Edward, worthy king of battle.][100]

The 'warfare of the French' in *Singularis laudis digna* is the Hundred Years War, as has been suggested by previous scholars. The first element of the text that is linked specifically to the reign of Edward III is the linking of the arms of England and France, described here as the lilies (or fleurs-de-lis) of the French bowing to the leopard of the English flag. Bowers considered 1337 as the *terminus ante quem* because of the obvious reference to heraldry and the Hundred Years War, but this is perhaps three years too early (Bowers, 1990: 315). Edward III officially

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[100] This translation draws on *PMFC* 17: 215; Bowers, 1990: 315; and Page, 1999: 10.

joined the coats of arms, adopting the fleurs-de-lis upon declaring his title as King of England and France, in 1340, thereby making his claim to the throne of France official after three years of animosity.[101] The allegorical reference to this moment in the literature of Edward's reign was relatively common. Edward III was described in one lyric as 'Ad bona non tardus, audax veluti leopardus' (not slow to do good, bold as a leopard), but it is where the two symbols are used in contrast to one another that the imagery is more powerful.[102] This type of lyric is most typical of the period of English victory in the wake of the battles at Crécy (August 1346) and Calais (1347). Coote is keen to point out that these successes were followed 'by the catastrophe of the bubonic plague', so the positive note to lyrics with a political sentiment was relatively short-lived in the first instance (Coote, 2000: 121). However, by the early 1350s, this kind of sentiment relating to the joining of arms was enjoying a revival. Around 1352, Laurence Minot collected songs now preserved as Lbl E. IX. One alliterative verse in this collection, *How gentill Sir Edward, with his grete engines / Wan with his wight the castell of Gynes,* includes the lines:

That somer suld shew him

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[101] Lesley A. Coote (2000): *Prophecy and Public Affairs in Later Medieval England.* Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 121.
[102] Thomas Wright (1859-61): *Political Poems and Songs Relating to English History, Composed During the Period From The Accession of Edward III to that of Richard III.* 2 vols. *Rolls Series* 14. London: Longman, 137.

In schawes [woods] ful schene;

Both the lely and the lipard

Suld geder on a grene.

(Wright, 1859: 89)

Cottle has noted that the nature of this 'gathering' is deliberately obscure, in that it could refer to the English and French joining physically on a battlefield or symbolically on the English coat of arms (Cottle, 1969: 66). From the same manuscript, an anonymous invective against France, written in Autumn 1346, includes the following lines:

Rex leopardinus est juste rex Parisinus . . .

Alia rubescunt, leopardis lilia crescunt;

Per se vanescunt, leopardis victa quiescunt.

Alia miscentur, leopardis regna tremiscunt . . .

Anglicus angelicus Edwardus.

[The leopard-king is rightly the Parisian king . . . [The lilies of the French] grow red [with blood], the lilies increase for the leopards; through them [the French] vanish, the vanquished are quiet for the leopards. [The lilies of the French] are thrown into confusion, their kingdoms tremble for the leopards . . . Edward the English Angel.]

(Wright, 1859: 31; trans. Robertson, 2002: 203)

As is evident from the examples above, the strength of the leopard was a powerful symbol because it exceeded the possible strength of the French lily. This symbolism was emphasised in the prophecy literature of the same period, ascribed to 'John of Bridlington', but probably originally written by John Erghome, a canon at York, who provided it with a lengthy and complex gloss.[103] Erghome's text was written for Earl Humphrey de Bohun (1361 – 1372), so the whole text was probably prepared at some point during the 1360s (Strohm, 1998: 9). Coote places the commentary no earlier than 1361 and probably *c.*1363 (2000: 139). Its historical focus lies in the reigns of Edward II and III, up to the early 1360s, and it dwells on the Battle of Crécy (October 1346). Erghome's text relating to Crécy opens:

> Iam crescit bella, crescunt ter trina duella,
>
> Alma maris stella, fre nunc vexilla, puella.
>
> Bis dux vix feriet cum trecentis sociatis
>
> Phi. falsus fugiet, non succerret nece stratis.
>
> [Now battles increase, thrice three duels increase,
>
> Bear now the standard, kind star of the sea, maiden.

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[103] John of Bridlington (d.1379), an Augustinian canon, was canonised in 1404. See P. Meyvaert (1966): 'John Erghome and the *Vaticinium Roberti Bridlington.*' *Speculum* 41, 656-64; K. W. Humphreys (1982): 'The Library of John Erghome and the Personal Libraries of the Fourteenth Century in England.' *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society* 18, 106-23. A Mass in honour of St John of Bridlington, the Mass *Quem malignus spiritus,* dates to the 1470s; see the transcription in Margaret Bent ed. (1979): *Fifteenth-Century Liturgical Music 2: Four Anonymous Masses. EECM* 22. London: Stainer and Bell.

Twice the leader will strike with 300 companions.

The false Philip [IV] will flee, nor will he succor those overthrown by slaughter.]

(Cited in Strohm, 1998: 10-11)

Notable in this passage is the combination of historical battles with the plea to the 'kind star of the sea', the Blessed Virgin Mary, just as in the cantilena, *Singularis laudis digna.* Erghome's gloss states that 'Bridlington:'

> In primo dicto ostendit auctor multitudinem bellorum futurorum implorando auxilium Marie virginis pro rege Edwardo, dicens, *Iam crescunt bella*. . . . auctor invocat auxilium beatae Virginis sicut prius solebat, dicens, *Alma maris stella,* scilicet virgo Maria, *puella Christi* . . . regis Edwardi contra inimicos suos.

(Wright, 1859: 156-7)

[Begins by showing many future battles, imploring the aid of the blessed virgin Mary for king Edward, saying *Now battles increase*. . . . the author invokes the help of the blessed Virgin as before, saying *Hail star of the sea,* namely the virgin Mary, *daughter of Christ* . . . to aid Edward against his enemies.]

(My translation)

As is clear from these passages, Erghome uses the symbolism of a contrived prophecy text, combined with his own gloss, in order to present a plausible historical explanation for events. His text is comparable to the cantilena *Singularis laudis digna* in several ways. The use of the leopards and lilies in order to represent, as he states, the joining of the arms of England and France, symbolises not only Edward III's physical joining of the heraldry, but also the coming together in battle of the knights of these nations for many years. The nature of Erghome's text enables this allegory to be just as powerful in the 1360s as it would have been in the 1340s when Edward adopted the French arms.[104] Erghome's view, expressed in his commentary, that 'peace is the ultimate objective of the war with France' is one which reflects some hindsight in the aftermath of less fortunate times, which would have been out of place in the victorious years of 1346-7 and before the Black Death hit England (cited in Coote, 2000: 142). Perhaps the most striking similarity between the two types of text is the common use of the intervention of the Virgin Mary, or at least an invocation for her to come to the aid of the English. With Erghome's hindsight, the invocation of the Virgin can be seen to have achieved its aim in the victories at Crécy and elsewhere. As such, the victors could claim to have been fighting with God and the Virgin on their side.

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[104] Edward III stopped using the title 'King of France' in the early 1360s (Coote, 2000:

Both Sanders and Bowers placed some importance on identifying the Biblical characters named in *Singularis* with historical figures and particular events. Sanders saw the queen who was governing the king in the second double versicle as Queen Philippa of Hainaut, since in 1346-7 she negotiated the pardon of six citizens of Calais against the death sentence issued by her husband. He therefore concluded that 'Esther and Ahasuerus could hardly stand for anyone other than the queen and king; and the poem could only have been written in 1347, presumably October of that year, when Edward returned to England' (Sanders, 1980: 173). Sanders' dating of the poem rested on his belief that it was designed for performance in front of King Edward, not just in his honour.

Bowers criticised Sanders' interpretation, perceiving the necessity to find a candidate who is 'a woman of *our* race deflecting an enemy from his hostile purposes' to match the reference to Judith (Bowers, 1990: 316). He also argued that this woman need not be a queen, and offered Princess Isabella, Edward III's eldest daughter, as the solution to this allegorical puzzle (Bowers, 1990: 316). Bowers relates the text of *Singularis laudis digna* to 'certain important transactions of the year 1369, Esther/Judith representing Princess Isabella . . . and Ahasuerus her husband Enguerrand VII, lord of Coucy and Count of Soissons in the Kingdom of France' (1990: 316). Their marriage was a

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141).

useful tool in maintaining the neutrality of the French soil governed by Enguerrand VII in the context of an English attack on France. As a result of this analysis, Bowers concluded that the composition of the music and text of *Singularis*

> may thus be ascribed to the year 1369, and particularly to the months of August and September, as Enguerrand set off for foreign parts to distance himself from the fighting, and as a military expedition left England under John, Duke of Lancaster, to brave the perils of the sea (cf. line 12) and cross the Channel to Calais. The text would have lost its impact after 1375, when the resumption of the Hundred Years War that had begun in 1369 was concluded by the Truce of Bruges.
>
> (Bowers, 1990: 317)

I would suggest that none of the characters should be too readily associated with specific fourteenth-century figures. Evidence from Marian lyrics spanning the thirteenth to the fifteenth century shows that a broader interpretation is more likely, especially given the common trope of addressing the Virgin by means of the name of a female Old Testament figure (Judith, Esther, Sara, etc.).[105] The substantial repertory

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[105] *Risum fecit Sare* (found in the thirteenth-century source Lbl 248) honours the Virgin Mary but makes allusion to the Old Testament woman Sara, the barren handmaiden of Abraham who conceived by a miracle. John Capgrave's lengthy fifteenth-century life of St Katherine includes reference to Esther's persuasive tactics, perhaps implying a

of carols from fifteenth-century England gives a number of particularly appropriate examples. *Sancta Virgo Maria* reads:

> O stronge Judith
>
> O Hester meke,
>
> Tha the serpentes hede did streke
>
> At nede of the conforte we seke,
>
> Dei genitrix pia.[106]

(Greene, 1977: 127-8, No 194, verse 8)

Here one can see the juxtaposition of a plea for Mary's intervention with the use of the same characters as found in *Singularis.* I do not propose any direct link between these two sources; the identification of Mary with the Biblical women is symbolic of her status as representing the good in all women. *O virgin marie, quene of blis* (Greene, 1977: 127, No 193) is found in the same source as *Sancta Virgo Maria,* and reflects similar concerns when it addresses Mary as, 'O quene Hester moost meke of myende', and, 'O stronge Judith that Holoferne decapitate' (Greene, 1977: 128, No 194).[107] The idea of Mary embodying both the

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commonality between the intercessory powers of female saints (Book 4, line 1185; see Winstead, 1999: 306).

[106] Cu Ee.I.12 (c.1492) by James Ryman, f.16.

[107] Cu Ee.I.12, f.15-6.

meekness and persuasive powers of Esther and the 'masculinised femininity' of Judith is a powerful combination.[108]

In *Singularis laudis digna*, Esther wins over Ahasuerus, which Bowers considers to signify Isabella winning over Enguerrand, a further development of the idea 'You, O Queen, are governing our king' (Bowers, 1990: 316). The political expediency of the marriage was not something for which Isabella herself was likely to have been praised, since she had little to do with the arrangement. She is also not a queen but a princess, which Bowers ignored but which I see as an important distinction. One final example from the carol repertory, *There sprunge a yerde of Jesse moore*, sheds light on another possible interpretation:[109]

King Assuere was wrothe, iwis,

When Quene Vasty had done amys,

And of her crowne priuat she is;

But, when Hester his yerde did kis,

By hir mekenes

She chaunged his mood into softness.

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[108] *Salve regina glorie*, also by James Ryman and found in Cu Ee.I.12 (f.88), opens with these two verses: 'O stronge Judith so full of myght / By thy vertu we be made fre / For thou hast putte oure foo to flyght / *Mater misericordie;* O meke Hestere so fayre of face / Kyng Assuere for love of the / Hath take mankynd until his grace; *Mater misericordie*' (Greene, 1977: 136, No 209). There are other examples of this too numerous to mention here (including Greene, 1977: 142, No 223; 146, No 226. The phrase quoted is Paul Strohm's (1992: 110).

[109] Cu Ee.I.12, ff.25-6.

King Assuere is God Almyght

And Quene Vasty synag[ogu]e hight

But, when Vasty had lost hir lyght

Quene Hester thanne did shyne full bright

For she forth brought

The Sonne of God, that all hath wrought.

(Greene, 1977: 132, Nos 203, Verses 2-3)

In this setting it is explained that Esther is identified with the Virgin Mary and that Ahasuerus is God the King/Father. The explanation is that Mary is interceding with God on our behalf, since only she has the supreme power to persuade him and win him over to the cause. Paul Strohm discussed the various characterisations of female intercessory power in his book *Hochon's Arrow*. Singling out Mary and Esther as the 'two most influential exemplars' of intercession, he demonstrated the paradoxical elements of devotional texts that employ their names (1992: 96). Mary, he noted, is both 'victorious queen' and '*mediatrix*, or humble intercessor with the divine' (1992: 97). Esther presents the precisely opposite case of a queen known primarily for her sage counsel, but who nevertheless knows the full syntax of self-abasement. Esther first appears as a shrewd counsellor to the king on her people's behalf [Esther 7: 1-7] . . . the abject Mary and the

sage Esther coexist with timorous Esther and Mary magistrate of heaven. . . . Esther the good counsellor nevertheless petitions the king by falling at his feet and breaking into tears (Esther 8: 3), and Esther the abject intercessor nevertheless removes her mourning garments and rearrays herself in royal robes before visiting the king (Esther 15: 4-5).

(Strohm, 1992: 97-8)

The combination of female biblical characters in the cantilena supports the idea of a general dedication to the Virgin, who represented the virtues of all female saintly intercessors. I would argue that there is no change of direction in the figure to whom *Singularis* is addressed, it is always the Virgin Mary, the *virgo regia* of the medieval imagination, though given the political circumstances of the battles with the French, the figure of Judith is emphasised a little more than usual.

It is in the light of political writings and Marian lyrics that I would suggest we read the cantilena text. Bowers and Sanders sought to place *Singularis laudis digna* within a precise chronological framework. Bowers has offered a complex, in some ways quite persuasive, reason why it could be linked to the specific events of August and September of the year 1369. I would argue that *Singularis laudis digna* may have been written some years previous to the year 1369, and that it related to the

victorious politically motivated corpus of texts written between Crécy and *c.*1375. I would further suggest that, like chronicles, prophecies and other retrospective texts, this cantilena would have retained, if not compounded, its powerful meaning in the years following Crécy. The real dedication of this piece is not Edward, who only appears at the end of the text, it is the Virgin Mary as powerful pro-English intercessor. She is called 'sweet and kind mother', 'star of the sea', and named, as in many other contemporary texts, as the Old Testament characters Esther (for her persuasive intercessory manner) and Judith (for her militaristic strength). No queen but she could have been 'governing our king' in this battle and be celebrated for doing so. The 'peril of the sea' in the fourth stanza may, as Bowers has suggested, contain a double meaning, relating specifically to the warfare across the Channel in 1369. I would view it rather as a continuation of the 'Stella maris' trope given in the second stanza.

In summary, *Singularis laudis digna* has been examined by previous scholars from the starting point of the appearance of Edward III's name at the end of the text. Lefferts drew attention to the unusual dedication of the cantilena, since, as he pointed out, most pieces in this genre were Marian. This piece is no exception to that rule. Mary, and allegorical or metaphorical representations of her name, appears in the

first four stanzas of the six. It is her intervention on the side of the English that allows the honour to be given to 'Edward, worthy king in battle' in the final double versicle. As demonstrated above, this cantilena uses imagery that was commonplace in the middle decades of the fourteenth century, but certainly not restricted to the immediate aftermath of individual battles. Indeed, the retrospective nature of prophecy texts, which gained popularity especially from the rule of Edward III onwards, endowed their message with meaning well after the time when events took place. The currency of *Singularis laudis digna* may therefore not have been especially short-lived, and its composition need not necessarily have coincided with any specific year or battle. While this does not in itself alter Bowers' conclusion that the source NYpm 978 was compiled between 1369 and 1375, it may be that the cantilena *Singularis laudis digna* was composed some years before this, and that its copying date within the early 1370s reflected ongoing interest in reading past military successes as indicative of the blessed English nation. Erghome's commentary to the prophetic verses of 'Bridlington' exists in three copies, one with no fixed provenance, but two from the London area and one from Bury St Edmunds.[110] *Singularis laudis digna* is found in manuscripts that have been linked to a royal

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[110] Ob 89 is probably from London; Ccc 404 is of unknown provenance; Lbl C. XVII can be linked with the library of Bury St Edmunds in the fourteenth century, since it includes the handwriting of Henry de Kirkstede (Coote, 2000: 144).

chapel and to the great chronicle-producing abbey at St Albans. It may be that wherever the source NYpm 978 originated, its copies of *Singularis laudis digna* and *Regem regum* were also amongst several circulating in the southeast of England during this period.

Conclusions

The texts set to the polyphonic music associated with Saints Edmund and Edward the Confessor elucidate some of the more interesting details of their lives and legends. Edmund's, as Christian virgin-martyr and first accepted patron of England, ensured his acceptance as a saintly figure, a reputation bolstered by an abundance of hagiographical writings. Edward was a confessor saint, whose married life proved problematic for his biographers. The text of *Civitas nusquam* shows how cleverly pre-existing ideas from hagiographical and Biblical sources could be worked to reflect themes of kingship, wisdom, peace and virginity both explicitly and with subtlety. Interestingly, the one piece which refers to warrior-like virtues in Edward is found in a source from the reign of Edward I, a king who could not afford to identify too closely with a peace-lover in the face of wars on both Scottish and Welsh borders. By the beginning of the fifteenth century, England had adopted a new patron saint, neither

Edmund nor Edward, but the mythical and valiant St George.[111]

England's new hero was to dominate nationalist discourse until the present day. A theme that runs through all of these pieces, and their readings, is the special favour that the English believed to be granted to them from God and the Virgin Mary. Edward III was 'Anglicus angelicus', and his saintly forebears were 'kings of the English and soldiers of the king of angels'. The music written in honour of these men played a vital role in maintaining this view, and endowed the English with the idea that they were a divinely favoured nation. *Singularis laudis digna* is really a Marian cantilena with a final dedication to Edward III, but as the only temporal ruler to be venerated in polyphonic music from this period, his kingship was given the status of his saintly ancestors, St Edmund and St Edward the Confessor.

[111] A source from approximately 1416, a list of music to be performed in honour of Henry V and Emperor Sigismund at Canterbury Cathedral, contains items in honour of all four of the patrons of the Order of the Garter, the Trinity, the Virgin Mary, Edward the Confessor and St George, as well as St John the Baptist (Thomas Elmham, attr., chapter 17; cited in Bent, 1981: 8). Bent's reconstructed choirbook from approximately the same period includes an isorhythmic motet with the text: ' . . . *a serva regnum Anglie virtute /. . . ndorum lilii rosa sine spina. Edwardus /...ne miles vigorosus. Insignis in /*' (Cu 4435) (see Appendix 3). This is likely to have been written for a royal chapel or perhaps for a garter occasion (Bent, 1972: 262).

Chapter 3

Queenship and female sanctity

So far, this study has focused on the impact of the idea of kingship on the religious music composed in England during the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This chapter will consider the ways in which its counterpart, queenship, was born out in the same repertory. In recent years, there has been an increased interest in the piety of noblewomen, focusing on their identification with Biblical figures and female saints such as Esther, Judith, St Katherine and St Margaret. Over the last decade, the work of John Carmi Parsons has brought to light many of the ways in which this sort of religious devotion was linked to historical events, particularly concerning the role of queens as intercessors, and he and other scholars have looked at the reigns of individual queens from late medieval England.[1]

In the previous chapter, I suggested that the idea of kingship relied upon the iconography of the Blessed Virgin Mary as queen of heaven. Mary continued to be the most popular intercessor for all sectors of the population, and it seems that noblewomen aspired to

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[1] See Parsons (1994); John Carmi Parsons (1998): *Eleanor of Castile: Queen and Society in 13th-Century England.* New York: St Martin's Press; Carmi Parsons and Wheeler (1996); Anne J. Duggan ed. (1997): *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe.* Woodbridge: Boydell; Margaret J. Howell (1997): *Eleanor of Provence: Queenship in Thirteenth-Century England.* Oxford: Blackwell; Helen E. Maurer (2003): *Margaret of Anjou: Queenship and Power in Late Medieval England.* Woodbridge: Boydell.

reflect Marian ideals in their lifestyle and personal piety. Other female saints, from less humble backgrounds, also provided useful archetypes for queens and ladies. There are several motets in honour of female saints from this period, and these are likely to be no more than a sample of the ways in which holy women were portrayed in music. There are recurring themes in these pieces that are specific to female saints, or are perhaps emphasised more than in the motets in honour of male saints, which tend to focus on militaristic strength and virility. Virginity, an aspect common to the majority of texts about both sexes, is treated in a different way in lyrics concerning women. This chapter will examine the key themes relating to queenship in English motets, particularly those of nobility, virginity, lineage, chastity, beauty and wisdom.

Two female saints who were especially popular following the rise of lay piety in the later Middle Ages are St Margaret and St Anne. Unfortunately, little polyphonic repertory survives for either of these women. The earliest English office of St Anne is found in the Stowe Breviary, which dates to the second quarter of the fourteenth century, but her feast was not officially adopted in England until 1381. St Anne's cult flourished following the marriage of Richard II to Anne of Bohemia the following year.[2] No thirteenth- or fourteenth-century motets in her honour survive; two three-part hymns are

preserved in Lli 1, a source from *c.*1400 that mixes readings, chant items and polyphony for use at Vespers and Matins (Lefferts and Bent, 1982: 323-8). From the fifteenth century several composers wrote polyphonic works in honour of St Anne, in line with the increased importance of her feast.[3]

Only two polyphonic works survive in honour of St Margaret, which is perhaps surprising given the popularity of her cult in England. Perhaps this reflects the emphasis on her intercessory powers during childbirth, which would perhaps not have been of such importance to the monastic community.[4] The motet *Absorbet oris faucibus* is found in the Fountains Fragments (Lbl 40011B*, item 1*); Lefferts suggests that this may have belonged with item 6* in the same source. A source that may have belonged to the abbey of St Albans, Cgc 230/116, preserves part of a cantilena in St Margaret's honour, *Virgo vernans velud rosa.*[5] *Virgo vernans velud rosa* is fairly general in its textual references to the threatened virginity of St Margaret. *Absorbet oris faucibus* includes the dramatic episode

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[2] See Samantha J. E. Riches (1991): '"The pot of all oure hope:" Images of St Anne in the Late Medieval World.' DPhil thesis: University of York.
[3] See Appendix 3 for a list of late-medieval works in honour of St Anne.
[4] Bella Millett and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (1990): *Medieval English Prose for Women from the Katherine Group and Ancrene Wisse.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, xxii.

preceding St Margaret's martyrdom, when she fought off a dragon and a hideous monster, which turned out to be the Devil.[6] Its reference to the legend is also fairly standard in language. It mentions the defeat of the first beast with the sign of the Cross, and how Margaret wrestled the monster to the ground, treading on his head with her foot.

Case study: St Katherine of Alexandria

The cult of St Katherine of Alexandria was destined to appeal to members of the royal family of any country.[7] Reputedly born in Greece in the fourth century, Katherine was the only daughter of

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[5] The source Cgc 230 / 116 was described by M. R. James (1907-8): *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Gonville and Caius College Cambridge.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 268. David Howlett identified it as containing polyphony, and brought it to the attention of Margaret Bent. This cantilena has been described and edited by Margaret Bent (Bent, in Lefferts and Bent, 1982: 301-5). The sequence on which the polyphonic work was based is also found in a version in honour of St Wenefred (Bent, in Lefferts and Bent, 1982: 295-306, 300).

[6] ' . . . Absorbet oris faucibus / sed crux tam invincibilis / crevit miris intentibus [or nuris trentibus] / qua draco divisibilis / tacet sub pedibus / virgo sancta venustatis / servas cruces previum / extra portas cititatis / patitur martirum / preces egit pietatis / pro statu peccancium / et per palmam dum beatis / optinet consorcium (Lefferts, 1983: 671).

King Costus, a fair and just ruler by all accounts, and she travelled with him to Alexandria at the command of Emperor Maxentius when she was perhaps just eighteen years of age. Her noble status has always been emphasised in her legend, a story copied and translated into manuscripts all over Europe and beyond throughout the later Middle Ages. Though Katherine's existence cannot be verified by historical evidence, the period from the earliest extant narrative, compiled for the use of Emperor Basil the First (d.886), to the Reformation witnessed a huge dedication to the recording, translation and enlargement of her legend.[8]

Elements of the cult of St Katherine that are most famously associated with her in iconography include the spiked wheel on which she was tortured. By the third quarter of the thirteenth century

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[7] There is a large corpus of literature relating to the cult of St Katherine, particularly since the growth of feminist medieval literary research in the 1980s. The fullest and most recent account of her significance in England is Lewis (2000). Studies which draw on the significance of St Katherine's legend in the culture of female patronage and piety during the Middle Ages include Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (1991): 'Saints' Lives and the Female Reader.' *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 37, 314-32; and Wogan-Browne (2001). See also Joanna Chamberlayne (1999), and Katherine J. Lewis (1999): 'Model Girls? Virgin-Martyrs and the Training of Young Women in Late Medieval England.' In Katherine J. Lewis, Noël James Menuge and Kim Phillips eds., *Young Medieval Women*, 25-46. Stroud: Sutton Publishing. See also Bella Millett (1996): '"Ancrene Wisse," The Katherine Group and the Wooing Groups: A Bibliographical Guide.' *Annotated Bibliographies of Old and Middle English Literature* 2, 5-45.

[8] Einenkel reproduces this Greek life in the introduction to his edition, taking it from the oldest extant edition published at Urbino in 1717. See Eugen Einenkel ed. (1884, repr.1973): *The Life of Saint Katherine from the Royal MS 17 A. XXVII With Its Latin Original from the Cotton MS. Caligula A. VIII, &c. EETS os* 80. London: Trübner & Co, viii; Millwood, New York: Kraus Reprint, viii; S. R. T. O. D'Ardenne and E. J. Dobson (1981): *Seinte Katerine, Re-Edited from MS Bodley 34 and the Other Manuscripts. EETS ss* 7. Oxford: Oxford University Press, xiii. Of two further Greek legends, by Simeon Metaphrastes and Athanasios, the former is considered the prototype for the Latin legend (Einenkel, 1884: viii-ix).

this had become her identifying emblem (Lewis, 2000: 61). This detail was probably borrowed and adapted from the legend of St Charitina who was tied to a wheel suspended above hot coals; it had not been present in the ninth-century Greek life, nor did it appear in all Middle English versions of the text, nor in all French lyrics of the thirteenth century (Einenkel, 1884: viii; D'Ardenne and Dobson, 1981: xv; Everist, 1994: 135). Other miraculous events during her short lifetime, culminating in her eventual decapitation when milk flowed from her neck rather than blood (in the manner of St Paul), included the conversion and martyrdom of fifty of the wisest men of the East, the wife of her tormentor, Maxentius, and his army, led by Porphyrius. After Katherine's death, oil emanated from her body (in the manner of St Nicholas). Her remains were buried at Mount Sinai, and this location quickly established itself as the epicentre of her cult. A monk of Rouen who brought back a finger of St Katherine following a seven-year pilgrimage to Sinai was largely responsible for spreading her cult to northern Europe.[9] By the end of the fourteenth century, St Katherine had become associated with the idea of her mystical betrothal to Jesus in heaven; earthly princess became heavenly queen and completed the picture of the enthroned God the

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[9] See the brief account in the *Golden Legend* (Ryan, 1993: 339).

Father, his Son, his handmaiden and his Son's 'spouse' (God, Jesus, Mary and Katherine).[10]

The monastery at Mount Sinai was founded in the early sixth century, and no trace of St Katherine's cult appears to have been present until her body was 'discovered' there in *c.*800. D'Ardenne and Dobson point to a comparable 'rediscovery' of King Arthur's body in England by Edward I, who sought to identify with Arthur's legendary status (1981: xiv). The story of St Katherine was told in many languages, from Latin and French to Czech and Arabic, and was known in some clerical circles by the ninth century (D'Ardenne and Dobson, 1981: xiii).[11]

Elements of variation existed between versions of Katherine's life, especially concerning the events leading up to her eventual martyrdom, but the basic elements remained uniform. Katherine was regarded as a powerful intercessor, second only to the Blessed Virgin Mary herself, and her regal status on earth and in heaven made her of interest to kings, and more especially queens. St Katherine was held as a role model for female piety, particularly amongst the nobility, since she was seen to combine the ideals of faith, beauty, wisdom and

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[10] Naoë Kukita Yoshikawa (2000): 'Veneration of Virgin Martyrs in Margery Kempe's Meditation: Influence of the Sarum Liturgy and Hagiography.' In Denis Renevey and Christiania Whitehead eds., *Writing Religious Women: Female Spiritual and Textual Practices in Late Medieval England,* 177-96. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

[11] Bruce A. Beatie (1977): 'Saint Katherine of Alexandria: Traditional Themes and the Development of a Medieval German Hagiographic Narrative.' *Speculum* 52, 785-800.

chastity with her earthly wealth and rank.[12] Her cult gained popularity in England following the Norman Conquest, and from the twelfth century onward its success was formidable. Part of this rise can be put down to the prominence granted to St Katherine in the piety of high status individuals and institutions, such as Queen Matilda (who made Katherine patron of her hospital), and the abbey at St Albans (Lewis, 2000: 62).[13] A twelfth-century Anglo-Norman Life of St Katherine is attributed to a female author, Clemence of Barking.[14]

It is little wonder that St Katherine attracted the attention of the English king Henry III, by whose reign her cult had flourished considerably.[15] As early as 1236, Henry ordered scenes detailing the life of St Katherine to be painted in Queen Eleanor's chapel of St Katherine at Clarendon Palace (Lewis, 2000: 63).[16] There is evidence to suggest that St Katherine was Queen Eleanor's patron saint (Lewis, 2000: 64). The Anglicisation of St Katherine's cult seems to have started from the period of Henry's reign, and once she had gained

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[12] See Katherine Lewis (2000); Berenice Fisher (1988): 'Wandering in the Wilderness: The Search for Women Role Models.' *Signs* 13, 211-33.

[13] The earliest reference to a play about St Katherine is found in the writings of Matthew Paris, who notes that Geoffrey, a Norman, and later abbot at St Albans, wrote a work intended for performance there by his scholars (Einenkel, 1884: x). In the fifteenth century, Dunstable wrote music in honour of St Katherine, which may have been influenced by the importance of her cult in this nearby abbey; see the discussion of motets based on the tenor *Agmina*, below.

[14] William MacBain ed. (1964): *Clemence of Barking, The Life of St. Catherine. Anglo-Norman Text Society* 18. Oxford: Blackwell.

[15] See Tancred Borenius (1943): 'The Cycle of Images in the Palaces and Castles of Henry III.' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 6, 40-50.

royal approval her cult continued to gain momentum until the Reformation. By the thirteenth century her legend began to appear in collections of saints' lives whose contents were dominated by English or British saints, such as in the Campsey manuscript, and she might even have been regarded as more of a female patron saint than St Ursula, who was the daughter of a British king.[17]

Henry and Eleanor's daughter, born on 25 November 1253, was named after St Katherine whose feast day it was; their first two sons were named after the king saints Edward the Confessor and Edmund King and Martyr. Though it is clear that the King and especially the Queen had shown a dedication to St Katherine from the 1230s, the birth of Katherine may have been something of a turning point in their personal devotions. Sadly, Princess Katherine appears to have suffered from a physical condition that reduced her life-span to a mere four and a half years; the chronicler Matthew Paris described her as 'muta et inutilis' (cited in Lewis, 2000: 64).[18] Her father had doted on her, and both her parents mourned her illness and death greatly. The love for their daughter, both during and after her short life, affected their donations to places such as Westminster Abbey; in 1256 they had a silver gilt image of their daughter placed

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[16] Lewis notes many other instances of this kind of patronage by Henry III and Queen Eleanor throughout their reign (2000: 63-6).
[17] For the contents of the Anglo-Norman Campsey manuscript (Lbl 70513) see Wogan-Browne (2001: 8). Campsey (founded 1195) was an Augustinian community of nuns in the Norfolk diocese.
[18] Lewis cites Howell (1997: 101). See also Howell (1992).

upon the altar of St Edward the Confessor (Lewis, 2000: 64). Henry arranged for his daughter's own tomb in Westminster Abbey to be adorned with her silver effigy, and he paid for a chaplain to sing for her soul (Lewis, 2000: 64-5). It may be possible to trace the earliest English polyphonic music composed in honour of St Katherine to this period, if not to the events surrounding the princess's death themselves, then to the rise in prominence of Katherine's cult during the later thirteenth century, and during Henry and Eleanor's reign in particular.[19]

There were a number of polyphonic items in honour of St Katherine in English manuscripts between *c.*1250 and *c.*1420, and I have listed fourteen of them in Table 1. They occur in a substantial number of the larger collections of motets from this period, such as DRc 20, Cgc 512/543, Onc 362, the Worcester Fragments, the Fountains Fragments and Old Hall, testimony to her popularity across the country as a whole and her adoption by this time as one of the highest-ranking saints in the Christian calendar.[20] This tallies with the idea that motets were associated with mainly or only these kinds

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[19] The St Victor manuscript, which dates to the second half of the thirteenth century, contains music in honour of St Katherine; Ethel Thurston (1959): *The Music in the St. Victor Manuscript, Paris lat. 15139.* Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2. Thurston does not mention these pieces, though that could be attributed to a misinterpretation of texts that she associates with St Paul (1959: 1). The early repertory of polyphonic music on the continent in honour of St Katherine warrants further attention, particularly given the importance of her cult in northern France.

[20] C. R. Cheney (1961): 'Rules for the Observance of Feast-days in Medieval England.' *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 34, 117-47.

of feasts, and that 'internationally popular' saints were most likely attract polyphonic items in their honour (Lefferts, 1986: 167). As Lefferts has shown, four of these pieces are known only from the index to the lost source of thirteenth-century music found in Lbl 978, though one of these, *Virgo sancta Katerina,* may just possibly be identified with one of the two extant motets bearing that text.[21] Among these pieces we find many polyphonic sub-genres represented, including conductus (*Katerina progenie*), three-part rondellus-conductus with *cauda* (*O laudanda virginitas),* voice-exchange motets on a *pes* (*Virgo regalis fidei*), three-part motets on a *pes* (*... recolet ecclesia Katerine*) and three- and four-part motets (including *Rota versatilis*).[22] A group of related motets from French sources are based on the same tenor as a motet in DRc 20, *Virgo Sancta Katerina / De Spineto / Agmina* (Everist, 1994: 135).[23] Everist and others have stated that the tenor incipit of the French items

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[21] Efforts have been made to identify 'lost' pieces from the Lbl 978 index with other sources, particularly the repertory known as the Worcester Fragments. Losseff states that 'if the list styles incipits consistently, and refers to the triplum, then it is unlikely that the *Virgo sancta Katerina* referred to [in the Lbl 978 index] is the same as that in the Worcester Fragments, as this is the motetus incipit' (Losseff, 1994: 78).

[22] The three part pieces include the incipits given in Lbl 978 as 'Item cum duplici littera', *Virgo sancta Katerina, Katerina lex divina* and *Clericorum sanctitate,* as well as *Mulier magni meriti, En Katerine solennia,* and the Onc 362 *Virgo sancta Katerina.* Four-part settings include *Rota versatilis, Flos regalis,* and the DRc 20 *[Virgo sancta Katerina] / Virginalis concio.*

derives from the final word of a Marian Alleluya *(Alleluya. Corpus beate virginis)*, and that several of the thirteenth-century motets contain references to both the Virgin Mary and St Katherine (of which more later). An isolated fragment of a tenor preserves part of a setting on the same responsory, '*Virgo flagellatur crucianda fame religatur: carcere clausa manet lux caelica fusa refulgent. Fragrat odor dulcis cantant caeli agmina laudes. V. Sponsus amat sponsam, Salvator visitat illam.*'

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[23] According to Everist, the quadruplum of *De la virge Katerine / Quant froidure / Agmina milicie / Agmina* (Cl, f.377) concerns St Katherine, though the other motet texts and its tenor relate to Marian devotions; an earlier, three-part version of this motet is *[Agmina milicie] / Agmina milicie / Agmina* (I-Fl Plut. 29.1, f.396v). A further part of this complex is found in the Bamberg Codex, and Everist considers its dedication to be mainly Marian (Everist, 1994: 135-6). The dedication of these pieces is reassessed below. See also Patricia P. Norwood (1990): 'Evidence Concerning the Provenance of the Bamberg Codex.' *JM* 8/4, 291-504.

Table 1: Sources of polyphony in honour of St Katherine
(brackets) = 13th-century repertoire
* = non motet (e.g. conductus)

(Virgo sancta Katerina)	Lbl 978, 7.26[24]
(Katerina lex divina)	Lbl 978, 7.27
(Clericorum sanctitate)	Lbl 978, 7.28[25]
**Katerina progenie*	Lbl 978, 3.36
* *O laudanda virginitas*	Ob 591, f.iv-1[26]
(Virgo ... manet lux)	Cjec 5, 2[27]
(Virgo regalis fidei)	WOc 68, Fragment XXVIII = WF, Reconstruction 1, 12
(... recolet ecclesie / Virgo sancta Katerina)	Ob 20, f.18 = WF Reconstruction 1, 33
**(... na angelorum agmina)*	WOc 68, Fragment XIX, f.a2[28]
Mulier magni meriti	Lbl 978, 2.26; Cgc 512/543, 1[29]
Rota versatilis	Lbl 24198, 1; Lbl 40011B, strips 6v and 7v; Ob 652, 1; Lbl 4909
Virgo sancta Katerina / De spineto / Agmina	Onc 362, 11
[Virgo sancta Katerina] / Virginalis concio	DRc 20, 10; OH uses same duplum text
Flos regalis	Lbl 40011B*, 2*
En Katerine solennia / Virginalis concio	OH, 145

[24] Losseff also notes that 'Roger Wibberley points out that . . . as *Virgo sancta Katerine* [*sic.*] already exists in two versions it cannot be certain that the index refers to the version in the Worcester Fragments' (Wibberley, 1976: 6-7; cited in Losseff, 1994: 78). Several pieces in honour of St Katherine apparently drew on the antiphon *Virgo sancta Katerina* (see *BS*, 3: 1103), and that as such the existence of a further piece with this fairly standard incipit is quite likely (*PMFC* 15: 178).
[25] May perhaps have been in honour of St Nicholas, also a patron of scholars. Lefferts places it with the pieces in honour of St Katherine (Lefferts, 1986: 171).
[26] The provenance of this piece is considered to be England, even though its source contains a variety of English and French pieces, or at least pieces with continental concordances (Everist, 1992: 11).
[27] The item appears in Cjec 5, on fol. b recto (fol. 138). What survives is a fragment of the tenor of a later thirteenth-century 'whole-chant' motet, probably a setting of the Katherine responsory *Virgo flagellatur*. My thanks to Peter Lefferts for this information.
[28] The possible association between this fragmentary conductus and St Katherine has not been made before, and is discussed below.
[29] The poetic and musical structure of *Mulier magni meriti* is examined in Lefferts, 1986: 199-201).

As Bent has previously noted, an interesting statistic is the prominence of some kind of repeating device in the music written for St Katherine, from the employment of a recurring *pes* to what is surely the crowning example of canonic invention from the period, *Rota versatilis,* composed between *c.*1300 and 1326 (Bent, 1981b).[30] At least three items have texts that mention the mechanical wheel or wheels designed for Katherine's torture. It would be tempting to see a connection between this and the 'rotating' structures of voice-exchange and other related sub-genres of motets and conductus. The tenor incipit *Rota Katerina* in *Rota versatilis* can be translated as a reference to both its musical implications and its literal translation, the 'Katherine wheel', though the piece itself is a motet, not a *rota* in the manner of *Sumer is icumen in.*[31] The motet is an adventurous five-section piece, employing rondellus technique in the upper two voices over two freely-composed tenor lines. It is found in two distinct versions across four fragmentary sources, including the preservation of one of these in a parchment roll (*rotulus*) (Bent, 1981b: 65). Since voice-exchange and rondellus were particularly

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[30] Margaret Bent edited this piece in her detailed article, upon which much of my discussion relies (1981b). One of the sources preserves an incipit of the missing upper voice in the treatise of Robertus de Handlo, whose text ends with the date 1326. The original copy of this treatise (Lbl B.IX) was much damaged by the fire at Cotton's library in 1731, but happily it had already been copied into a source made for Pepusch, Lbl 4909 (Bent, 1981b: 76-7); see also Lefferts (1991). A reference to a now lost tract relating the details of how this piece was composed appears on f.1v, the contents page of the composite manuscript Lbl 12.C.VI, which reads 'Modus componendi rotam versatilem'.

[31] A pilgrim badge in Katherine's honour, and possibly cast in the image of her wheel, was referred to as a 'Rota Katerina'.

popular compositional devices in English motets throughout the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, occurring in pieces honouring saints for whom the wheel held no particular significance, the possibility of conscious reference to the wheel through 'round' compositional techniques must remain speculation.

The texts of these pieces are sometimes more narrative in structure than is found in other examples of devotional motets, perhaps because of St Katherine's particularly well-known, detailed and gruesome legend. Many rely on passages from her Office.[32] However, not all of them agree as to the details of her life and martyrdom, and some contain evidence of influence from outside the usual sources.[33] It is helpful to compare them with one another and with some of the more widely circulated *vitae* from northern Europe, in order to see what kinds of features were emphasised, which skimmed over, which embellished, and which excised completely.

Of the pieces listed in Table 1, nine have enough text extant to examine some basic themes, and eight have one or more texted vocal parts that are substantial or complete. The text *Virginalis concio*, which appears in both DRc 20 and Old Hall, will count as one text, but *En Katerine solennia* will be counted separately. This leaves us with twelve or thirteen individual texts, some complete, some

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[32] The Office of St Katherine is printed in the Sarum Breviary and can be found in facsimile in *AS* 6, plates V-Z.

fragmentary, which are substantial enough to make some general observations about subject matter:

Rota versatilis
. . . flos regalis
. . . recollet ecclesie
Mulier magni meriti
Multum viget virtus
Virgo regalis fidei
En Katerine solennia
Virginalis concio
O laudanda virginitas
Virgo sancta Katerina (Onc 362)
Virgo sancta Katerina (WF)
De spineto rosa crescit
. . . na angelorum agmina

Lineage

The Office of St Katherine dwells on her royalty in detail, mentioning her father and his status. In Bittering's text *En Katerine solennia,* for example, Katherine is the 'only daughter of King Costus', a feature which may reflect Katherine's status as female counterpart to Jesus, only son of the Virgin Mary. The first antiphon at first Nocturn of Matins contains the text 'Virgo sancta Katerina Greciae gemma urbe Alexandrina Costi regis erat filia' (*BS,* 3: 1104). The triplum of *Virgo sancta Katerina,* a motet in Onc 362, is based upon this antiphon, opening 'Virgo sancta Katerina gemma nitens

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[33] There were many lives of St Katherine written in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in Anglo-Norman, Middle English and Latin. The most popular and influential sources were the *Legenda aurea* and the *South English Legendary.*

Grecie', and goes on to ask 'Qui parentes, Rex, regina, grandis excellencie' ('Who are her parents? A king and queen of great excellence'). In fact, both texts make reference to Katherine's Greek origins, but this is hardly surprising considering the relationship between the plainchant texts in the Office and the motet texts that evidently drew on them (Lefferts, 1986: 197). Interestingly, the tenor of this same piece draws on a different chant; *Virgo flagellatur* is a respond from First Vespers and the sixth respond in the second Nocturn of Matins. Lefferts notes that the closing verse of the duplum of this motet appears similar in language to the fourth respond at Matins:

> Demum cedit et Augusta
>
> fitque martir post angusta
>
> cesa cum Porfirio.
>
> (*PMFC* 15: 179)

> R.4 O quam felices per te, sanctissima, plures. Quos jubet occidi pro Christo turbidus hostis.
>
> V. Cum duce Porphirio: fit martyr Caesaris uxor.
>
> (*BS*, 3: 1109)

Incidentally, the wife of Maxentius, having been referred to as just that in Latin versions, acquired a 'name' only in later redactions of the legend. The English version (*c.*1200 – 1210), for example, medievalises proper names (such as *Franclond* for Gaul);

Maxentius's wife is called *cwen* (queen) and her title 'Augusta' is adopted as her forename (D'Ardenne and Dobson, 1981: xxxvii). She appears as 'þe cwen Auguste' in the three manuscript copies of the early thirteenth century.[34]

Wisdom

Katherine was schooled, at the request of her father, from the age of five, and her *vita* suggests that she received a full grounding in 'syllogystic reasoning', 'allegory and metaphor [and] logical and mystical inference' (Ryan, 1993: 335). As patron saint of learning, St Katherine stood in direct opposition to the accepted dominance of men in this field. Women of the later Middle Ages had mixed opportunities regarding learning, and access to education was patchy even in the higher status households and nunneries to which it was generally restricted.[35] One of the most important aspects of St Katherine's legend is her success in outwitting the fifty orators brought from across the East to argue with her by the Emperor Maxentius. He had expected them to use their combined skills in rhetoric and reason to silence Katherine and win her over to his

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[34] D'Ardenne and Dobson (1981) is an edition of Ob 34 (f.10), Lbl A. XXVII (f.27) and Lbl D. XVIII (f.142).

[35] Joan M. Ferrante (1980): 'The Education of Women in the Middle Ages in Theory, Fact and Fantasy.' In Patricia H. Labalme ed., *Beyond Their Sex: Learned Women of the European Past*, 9-42. New York and London: New York University Press.

pagan ways, something which they themselves thought would be an easy task, but instead she outsmarted them and they converted to the Christian faith. Maxentius condemned the orators to death by burning, where legends generally record that they died but that their bodies or hair and clothing remained incorrupt. *Virginalis concio,* for example, appears to refer to the orators who were 'killed without a mark'. Other versions suggest that heaven sent rain or a miraculous dew which spared the men, but that of course defeats the object of their place in the stories as martyrs. The text *Virgo sancta Katerina,* as found in Onc 362, records how the orators are 'given to the fire to be burned, but it does not hurt them; rather the fire gives way to them by means of the dripping dew of heavenly grace and the Holy Spirit'.[36] *Rota versatilis* gives a similar reading: 'in the burning heat the breeze had comforted the clerks with dew' (Bent, 1981b: 86-7).

Of the polyphonic texts from England, seven give some degree of importance to Katherine's quality of wisdom and rhetoric, the motet *Virgo sancta Katerina* drawing attention to the fact that this was exceptional for a member of her sex:

> Ultra morem [femina]rum / fit magistra literarum / fidei catholice.

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[36] A motet in honour of St Wenefred, *Inter choros paradiscolorum,* compares the virgin martyr's survival of carnal threats with boys who were not injured by flames.

> Beyond the custom of women, she becomes master of the literature of the Catholic faith.
>
> (Onc 362; *PMFC* 15: 178)

A phrase in praise of Katherine's wisdom, such as 'sapientia grecie' *(Agmina milicie)* appears in several items, and the 'great merit' of Katherine's character is closely tied to her wisdom and sanctity (*Mulier magni meriti).* The metaphor of shining was often used to describe divinely inspired wisdom, and the descriptions of Katherine as a shining jewel of Greece also draw on her reputation for knowledge.

Chastity and strength of faith

Katherine's strength of faith, notably in the light of her many and varied tortures, was frequently seen as one of her most noble qualities. Combined with this is Katherine's preservation of her chastity, which, though not being put at risk explicitly by any kind of physical threat, was still pivotal since it made her a virgin-martyr, a double attribute of great significance. The *South English Legendary* makes the clear association between the colour of the milk that poured from Katherine's neck and her virginity. For this author, it was the 'whit mulc þer orn out of þe wounde & noȝt o drope of blode / þat was signe of maidenhod' (*SEL:* 542, lines 296-7). In the

Legenda aurea, Voragine remarked that chastity did not come naturally to women like Katherine, since they were threatened on five fronts: through abundant wealth, opportunity, youth, freedom and beauty (Ryan, 1993: 341). Several texts juxtapose (and therefore contrast) Katherine's physical attributes with her constancy, none more so than the text that appears in both the fourteenth-century motet in DRc 20 and Bittering's setting in Old Hall, *Virginalis concio:*

> Virginalis concio virgini canonice martirum constancia martirum concinite. Que martirum et virginium constancia in bravium floruit prevaluit et viguit astancia versucia deleta en at leta sine meta.Regni solio gaudet cum Dei Filio. O Katerina stabilis fide laudabilis pregenie amabilis in specie, nos amari collaudari juva Dei facie. Amen.

> [O maidenly gathering for the Christian virgin, sing to the martyr about the constancy of martyrs. And her constancy flowered in the reward of martyrs and virgins, it prevailed, and won over those standing near, who were destroyed by a trick but, behold, killed without a mark. She rejoices with the Son of God on the throne of his kingdom. O Catherine, steadfast in faith, praiseworthy in lineage, lovely in

appearance, who is to be loved, to be praised. Help us by your godly nature. Amen.]

(Hughes and Bent, 1969-73, vol. 3: 43)

The address in the opening of this motet to the 'maidenly gathering' is one that appears to be at odds with the male-dominated performance scenario of the monastic Office, particularly since the fourteenth-century version can be linked with the Cathedral Priory at Durham. However, it is possible that the virginity of Katherine was held as a model for the chastity of those in monastic orders, so is not necessarily a problem. Maidenhood was a term often used to denote virginity in general, rather than necessarily the chastity of young women, and it is clear that Katherine's virginity was a model for all to follow, not just the women with whom her cult is most often associated.

Virgo sancta Katerina: Evidence of cross-channel exchange?

The Onc 362 motet *Virgo sancta Katerina* is not as straightforward in its textual composition as this survey of its liturgical references might suggest. There are some unusual aspects of the legend in this source, such as the fact that both texts refer to France, the triplum calling rhetoric 'the French art' and the duplum praising Katherine for the 'salvation of France'. Significantly, these

references occur simultaneously in the motet structure as a whole, and the previously accepted English origins of at least the texts must therefore be questioned. It would have been likely for such pro-French textual references to appear in a continental source, perhaps from Rouen itself, or another part of northern France. The proximity of Canterbury, the proposed home of the choirbook Onc 362, to Dover and therefore Calais, may be seen as the most likely route for such a transmission. Onc 362 has concordances with the Montpellier Codex and the source Lbl 24198.[37]

It is possible to provide more circumstantial evidence for this cross-Channel link by relating the Onc 362 motet with a continental motet complex. This motet complex is based on the tenor *Agmina*, and Van der Werf and Everist state that its origin lies in the two-part organum setting M65, *Alleluya. Corpus beate virginis et martyris sanguineum et lacteum deferebant cum cantico agmina*, which is found only in StV (f.286v).[38] That English theorists were aware of

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[37] Onc 362, items 4 and 15 concord with motets found in Mo (*RISM* BIV/1: 588-93). The upper voices of item 4, *Balaam de quo / Balaam de quo / T. Balaam*, are preserved as separate motets in *Mo*. Dublin is the accepted provenance of Lbl 24198.

[38] Van der Werf's incipit reads 'cum cum cantico agmina', but this is the editor's error; Hendrik van der Werf (1989): *Integrated Directory of Organa, Clausulae and Motets of the Thirteenth Century*. Rochester, New York: Author, 89-90, and the facsimile edition (Thurston, 1959: 39-40). Ludwig stated that the motet cantus firmus *Agmina* drew on the melisma from a (lost) plainchant *Alleluya. Corpus beate virginis*, and this has been perpetuated by Rokseth, Van der Werf and Everist. Harrison raised some doubts to Ludwig's conclusions; see Frank Harrison (1960): 'English Church Music in the Fourteenth Century.' In Dom Anselm Hughes and Gerald Abraham eds., *New Oxford History of Music* 3, 82-106. London: Oxford University Press, 84. I compiled this *Agmina* 'complex' from the sources listed in Van der Werf (1989), and items from the thirteenth and fourteenth-century English

the continental pieces in honour of St Katherine is attested by the treatises of Walter Odington and Robert de Handlo, which cite pieces based on the *Agmina* tenor that are partly identifiable with existing motets.[39] Other pieces in honour of St Katherine can be found in continental codices, but they are unrelated to the *Agmina* complex.[40] In the treatises, the dedication of the music examples is St Katherine (Everist, 1994: 136); the texts used in the examples are all in Latin. Everist concludes that there is a close relationship between the English treatise examples and the French motet complex (Everist, 1994: 137). In total, and including the two Onc 362 motet texts individually, there are twelve motet lines in honour of St Katherine in English and French manuscripts composed to the tenor *Agmina*.[41] There is no difference between the *Agmina* melisma as found in the organum *Alleluya. Corpus beate virginis* and that found in the St Katherine chant *Virgo flagelletur.* Everist's comments about the

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repertoire known to me. Cross-referencing this list with other continental music may provide useful information about the use of the tenor in items in honour of other saints (or on secular themes), or the importance of St Katherine's cult outside England.

[39] Frederick F. Hammond ed. (1970): *Walteri Odington Summa de Speculatione Musicae*. Corpus Scriptorum de Musica 14. Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 143; Lefferts (1991: 174-5).

[40] Two such pieces are motet 948 *[O] Katerina Costi regis filia / Gloria laus honor virgo / T [not designated]* (Lbl 27630, f.67v); and motet 120, part of the M13 *Haec Dies* complex, *Salve virgo Katerina regis filia / Sicut solis radium / Haec Dies* (Bamberg Codex, f.55), whose melody is found with a secular French text (designated motet 117), *Lonc tens ai mise m'entente en amer loiaument,* in other sources (W2, f.198v; Mo, f. 126; Cl, f.373). There are also conductus in the St Victor manuscript that are devotional works in St Katherine's honour.

[41] There may have been more pieces to the tenor *Agmina* in honour of other figures, such as *O decus predicancium /T. [Agmina],* the thirteenth-century motet in honour of St Peter of Verona (WF, 37; see Appendix 3).

relationship between Marian- and Katherine-dedicated texts therefore warrant further investigation.

Let us start with the plainchants themselves. *Alleluya. Corpus beate virginis* is found set with a newly-composed (and unique) discantus in the St Victor Manuscript. I have not located a plainchant manuscript that contains the chant, and it is possible that the melody was an especially composed plainsong, a trope or a local variant of the well-known St Katherine melody *Virgo flagellatur.*[42] The words of the tenor in StV seem to be not Marian in dedication at all: they describe martyrdom where blood and milk pour from the body of a virgin, amidst a host of singing angels.[43] This is surely St Katherine's body, not that of the Virgin Mary. Compare the *Legenda aurea's* version of events:

> Deinde cum decollata fuisset, de eius corpore pro sanguine lac emanauit. Angeli autem corpus eius accipientes ab illo loco ad montem Sinai itinere plus quam dierum uiginti deduxerunt et ibidem honorifice sepelierunt. . . . lactis effusio, quod fuit in beato Pauli.

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[42] Frank Harrison was also unable to locate a liturgical source for any chant with the text *Alleluya. Corpus beate virginis* (1960: 84).

[43] As stated above, St Paul's body flowed with milk following his martyrdom, also interpretable as a sign of his chastity. The *Legenda aurea* records that 'De eius autem uulnere unda lactis usque in uestimenta militis exiliuvit et postea sanguis effluxit, in aere lux immense emicuit, de corpore odor suauissimus emanauit'; Giovanni Paulo Maggioni ed. (1998): *Legenda aurea: edizione critica a cura.* 2 vols. Millennio Medievale 6. Florence: Sismel, 581; 'From his wound a stream of milk spurted upon the soldiers' clothing, followed by a flow of blood' (Ryan, 1993: 355). This does not concord as well with the StV organum as with the martyrdom of St Katherine.

(Maggioni, 1998: 1211-12)

> [When the saint had been beheaded, milk flowed from her body instead of blood, and angels took up the body and carried it from that place a twenty-days' journey to Mount Sinai, where they gave it honorable burial. . . . an outpouring of milk [just as] Saint Paul.]

(Ryan, 1993: 339, 341)

This passage reflects the same key elements as the text found in the two-part organum: its focus on the body of St Katherine; the milk that poured from its wounds; the host of angels that carried it to the mountain. There is a certain instability in the legend of St Katherine regarding the flow of milk from her decapitated neck, which is sometimes in place of blood, sometimes before blood, and sometimes as well as blood; this need not concern us, since the *Legenda aurea* makes the comparison with St Paul whose neck spurted milk and blood. In this way, I would suggest that the text in *Alleluya. Corpus beate virginis* was written in honour of St Katherine, and that it is therefore not remarkable that motet texts were composed in her honour on the final melisma. This suggestion also removes any sense of Mary/Katherine double dedication. There are no motets in this complex that praise the Virgin Mary; Everist's description of *Agmina milicie celestis omnium* as a motet with 'Marian tenor and a single Marian upper voice text that glosses it' is incorrect, since *Agmina*

milicie begins with text that is equally appropriate for the Virgin Mary but goes on to compare the 'wisdom of Greece' with the 'fallacies of the sophists', surely a reference to St Katherine's conversion of the Persian rhetoricians.[44] Other lyrics are based on traditional courtly love themes, with the exception of one that may have a Good Friday or Easter connection. This latter example may have used the idea of bodily suffering as a stimulus for writing about the death of Christ on the Cross; its text loosely tropes *Victimae paschali laudes*.

To my knowledge, the plainchant *Virgo flagellatur* was associated with the feast of St Katherine alone; only the melisma *Agmina* is held in common between this chant and the one set as organum in *StV*. That it was known in England, regardless of the origin of the motet *Virgo sancta Katerina* in Onc 362, is attested by the fifteenth-century isorhythmic motet, *Sancte scema sanctitatis / Salve salus servulorum / T. Cantant celi agmina / Tenor secundus*, by Dunstaple (d.1453), whose additional tenor text demonstrates conclusively its link with St Katherine's feast day and *Virgo*

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[44] This text refers to its virginal object as a 'martyris victorie', and lists her attributes as wisdom, modesty, patience and interpreter of the law, suggesting that a Marian dedication is less likely than one to St Katherine. See the full translation by Elizabeth A. Close as it appears in Cl, ed. Gordon A. Anderson ed. (1975): *Motets of the Manuscript La Clayette, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouv. acq. f. fr. 13521. CMM* 68. [Rome]: American Institute of Musicology, LXXI.

flagellatur.[45] An anonymous Gloria *Virgo flagellatur* is found in the fifteenth-century source Cpc 228.[46]

Many Latin lyrics from the later Middle Ages refer to the same details of St Katherine's martyrdom as are found in StV tenor (a host of singing angels, blood and milk). A fourteenth-century breviary held in Prague is particularly close, and was perhaps based on the *Virgo flagellatur* text; its final verse reads:

Decollatam te mons Sina

Sepelivet per agmina

Angelorum canentia:

Christo semper sit Gloria.

(Prague, MS VI E 4 a; *AH,* 1888: 167)

Festus sereni luminis, a hymn thought to date to the thirteenth century, links the unicum *Alleluya. Corpus beate virginis* with *Virgo flagellatur* and the *Legenda aurea.* Its language seems to owe much to the Office chant, as well as using similar words to the tenor of the StV manuscript:

Virgo flagellis caeditur / Carcere caesa clauditur

Fame quoque confligitur / Pane coelisti pascitur.

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[45] This self-indulgently alliterative motet (whose poetic texts appear to be unique) can be found in Manfred Bukofzer ed. (1953): *John Dunstable, Complete Works. MB* 8. London: Stainer and Bell, no.32, 81-6. A translation can be found in the CD booklet that accompanies the recording by the Hilliard Ensemble, *Dunstable Motets* (EMI 1984, reissued for Virgin Classics, 1997, VER 5 61342 2), track 5. Of course, given Dunstaple's continental links, he might have been inspired to write this motet by music or circumstances elsewhere than England.

Post haec exspectans frameam / Cervicem flectit lacteam

In signum pudicitiae / Lac effundit pro sanguine.

Mox angelorum agmina / Corpus levant in aera

Et in Sinai culmine / Divino locant numine.[47]

(Verses 4, 8 and 9; *AH,* 1888: 171-2)

The inclusion of the words 'angelorum' and 'agmina', especially in close proximity to one another, might also provide an identification for a fragmentary piece in the Worcester Fragments that has not so far been connected with Katherine's cult, . . . *na angelorum agmina* (Dittmer, 1959: 13).[48] Other hymns in honour of St Katherine found in fifteenth-century manuscripts support the themes already associated with this episode.[49]

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[46] See Appendix 3 for a full list. I am grateful to Margaret Bent for drawing my attention to this piece of music.

[47] The oldest source of this hymn is a manuscript held in Düsseldorf, Codex Düsseldorfian C. 58 B, a thirteenth-century Psalter 'Ms Veteris Montis'; for other sources, see *AH,* 1888: 172.

[48] Dittmer (1959: 42) provides a facsimile. This piece is a conductus, and it does not draw on the liturgical melody *Virgo flagellatur,* but 'agmina' is such a prominent word elsewhere in hagiographical items that I would consider it a convincing piece of evidence.

The dedication of *Virgo regalis fidei*

Virgo regalis fidei, a thirteenth-century voice-exchange motet based on a *pes*, is found only in the Worcester Fragments, with the text proper including the dedication to St Katherine. A marginal note associated with this piece, 'Ut iubar in tenebris Edburga refulsit in arvis', is basically a copy of the second quarter of the text but substituting one name for the other, suggesting that it was also suitable for performance in services dedicated to St Edburga (*PMFC* XV: 225). It is worth considering, then, whether the original dedication was to St Edburga or to St Katherine. Lefferts singled out this motet as an 'unequivocal example' of a piece whose text was 'so general in reference that it was suitable for any number of institutions' (1986: 177). He stated that the majority of the text is 'more or less appropriate for any virgin-martyr with a four-syllable name'.[50] However, the truth cannot be that simple, if only because St

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[49] For example, the hymn *Gaude, mater ecclesie* (to be sung at second Vespers) states that the flow of milk and blood from the body of St Katherine was proof of her virginity: 'Decollata virgine / lac manat cum sanguine / Sic ostendi, Domine, / Signum innocentiae' (verse 6) (*AH*, 1888: 172). There may also be a link with the liturgy of the feast of the Holy Innocents here: the sequence *Celsa pueri concrepent melodia* contains the text 'Ira fervet, fraudes auget Herodes sevus, ut perdat piorum agmina. Castra militum dux iniquus aggregat: ferrum figit in membra tenera: Inter ubera lac effudit antequam sanguinis fierent coagula.' See Nick Sandon ed. (2000): *The Use of Salisbury 2: The Proper of the Mass from Advent to Septuagesima.* Newton Abbot: Antico Edition, 74-6.

[50] This claim was also made in Lefferts' article about the textual context of motets, where he tempered the statement a little by the qualifier that evidence is 'by no means clear cut', but also called *Virgo regalis fidei* the 'most unequivocal example' of a motet with an open dedication (1984: 176).

Edburga was not a virgin-martyr, despite her relatively short life.[51] It is worth quoting the text in full:

> Virgo regalis / fidei merito specialis
> ut iubar in tenebris / Katerina refulsit in arvis
> hind animo forti / pro Christo subdita morti
> celorum castis / glomerata choruscat in astris.
> [The regal virgin Katherine, outstanding in the merit of her faith, has shone throughout the lands like a heavenly light in darkness. Strong in soul she was delivered to death for Christ; therefore she was formed into a sphere in the castles of heaven and glitters among the stars.]
>
> (*PMFC* 15: 225)

This text would be most relevant to the translation of a saint, or to a place that held relics of that saint in a high place (such as in, on or above an altar) since it contains the familiar imagery of light shining from darkness.[52] Like many other saints, Edburga's *vitae* included reference to the passage from Matthew 5:15 in which it is said that a light, like a saint's holy life, should not be hidden, but allowed to shine (in this case through the retelling of her life).[53] It is

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[51] See *PMFC* 14: 98-9. Lefferts notes that Hohler has previously drawn attention to the fact that Edburga was not martyred, and thus the text is more suitable for Katherine (Hohler, 1978: 24-5; Lefferts, 1986: 346).

[52] See chapter 2 for more detailed discussion of light imagery in translation texts.

[53] 'Set quia ciuitas supra montem posita non potest abscondi nec lucerna sub modio solet reponi subsequentibus temporibus patuit quantam uita sancte Edburge propinqua deo fuit.' Chapter 4 of the anonymous Latin text of the mid-fourteenth century, *De sancta Edburga uirgine*, Lbl 436, edited by Braswell, 1971: 331.

unfortunate that the date of Edburga's translation feast does not survive. The starry motifs were a commonplace in hagiographical writing and visual imagery, though it is interesting that stars and the image of St Edburga formed part of Pershore's twelfth- and thirteenth-century seals.[54] The line about being transformed into a sphere may reflect Thomas Aquinas's theory that since all souls were perfect, their shape must be spherical in heaven, and is therefore applicable to any saint. St Katherine's royal status and constancy of faith were tropes commonly found in her legend, and, unlike St Edburga, she was 'delivered to death for Christ' by martyrdom. Since Edburga was not put to death for her beliefs, it would certainly appear more likely that the music and text were first designed for the feast of St Katherine. So, perhaps the question should be: what made whoever copied or owned the St Katherine version think that it was in any way suitable for a saint who was hardly known outside of certain parts of England?

St Edburga (whose feast was celebrated on 15 June) was the daughter of King Edward the Elder, himself the son of Alfred the Great.[55] At just three years old, this princess was said to have chosen the gift of a chalice, paten and Bible over gold and jewellery, and so, interpreting this as a sign of holiness, her father sent her to live as a

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[54] M. M. C. Calthrop (1906): 'Pershore Abbey.' In J. W. Willis-Bund and William Page eds., *The Victoria History of the County of Worcester, Volume 2*, 127-36. London: Archibald Constable and Co. Ltd, 136.

nun in the Nunnaminster in Winchester.[56] Edburga's fellow nuns saw her as particularly holy, perhaps because she undertook humble tasks on their behalf such as washing their shoes overnight. Evidence of significant musical talent is suggested by her anonymous Latin legend of the mid-fourteenth century which states that she composed seven songs a day, and though Braswell has shown this aspect of her life may be a trope on Psalm 118:164 ('Seven times a day I have given praise to thee, for the judgements of thy justice'), Wogan-Browne believes that 'it partly encodes the ability of a house to carry out its liturgical duties' (Braswell, 1971: 303; Wogan-Browne, 2001: 199).[57] Other accounts are less specific about the nature of Edburga's musical talent, though Osbert of Clare notes her ability to sing (f.91v), and a sanctorale from Hyde Abbey describes this in lessons 5-6 (Braswell, 1971: 303, 309). Braswell also shows how the sanctorale texts

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[55] The information relating to St Edburga is reliant on Braswell (1971). See also Ridyard (1988), especially chapter 4 and Appendices 1-2.

[56] The legend of St Edburga is found in the twelfth-century *Life of Edburga of Winchester* by Osbert of Clare, and the thirteenth-century manuscript Lbl 436, one of the versions of the *South English Legendary*. Later versions are found in Pynson's *Kalendre of the Newe Legende of Englande* (1521) and Ralph/Robert Buckland's *Lives of Women Saints of our Contrie of England* (1610-15, based on Capgrave) (Wogan-Browne, 2001: 66, fig. 2.2).

[57] 'Septies in die laudem dixi tibi, super judicia justitiae tuae' (Ps. 118: 164). An ability in singing and reading is not uncommon in the lives of women saints during the twelfth century, such as the *vita* of Ethelfleda of Romsey which states that she excelled 'in cantendo et legendo' (Lbl 436, f.44). However, it was somewhat more unusual to find reference to the actual composition of music, perhaps because it was not essential to the maintenance of the Divine Office. In the light of these kinds of descriptions, the exceptional accounts of female religious such as Hildegard of Bingen can be viewed as part of a wider context, in which musical ability was an essential part of the saintly reputation and holiness of a woman, especially a nun.

> recount her special talent for music, how her father requested her to sing during a royal banquet, and how she hesitated out of shyness but at last began to sing the psalm 'Eripe me de inimicis meis deus meus'. For this her father made large gifts to Nunnaminster.
>
> (Braswell, 1971: 309)

This phrase appears in several places in the Psalms, the closest being Psalm 59, 'Deliver me from my enemies, O my God: defend me from them that rise up against me'.[58] The Psalm in the sanctorale text may have reflected the political circumstances of Edburga's father as much as her sanctity.

Edburga was Abbess at the Nunnaminster until her death in *c.*960, when she was buried in the Abbey's church and became revered as a saint. One of the signs of her sanctity was that the nuns of the Abbey were unable to close the window overlooking her grave, and her body was therefore reburied in a new tomb beneath the high altar, later covered with precious metals and topaz. Though Edburga's shrine remained at the Nunnaminster, her relics were translated to Pershore Abbey in Worcestershire *c.*970. By the twelfth

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[58] Psalm 142: 9-10: 'Eripe me de inimicis meis Domine ad te confugi: Doce me facere voluntatem tuam, quia Deus meus es tu' ('Deliver me from my enemies, O Lord, to thee have I fled: teach me to do thy will, for thou art my God. Thy good spirit shall lead me into the right land'). It is possible that this was the Psalm sung by Edburga, because it was of greater importance in the liturgy, as the last of the seven penitential psalms.

century, Edburga's relics may have been widely disseminated.

Osbert's vita, for example, is keen to point out that:

> Licet enim per partes in suis sit diuersa reliquiis, uirtus tamen eius tota abundat in singulis.
>
> [Although her relics are divided in many parts, yet her whole virtue abounds in each one.]
>
> (Ob 114, f.85v; cited in Ridyard, 1988: 260)

This idea was not uncommon, but it may point to the possibility of the house for which Osbert wrote having owned a small relic of the saint.

The relationship between the Nunnaminster and Pershore Abbey may have been that a co-founder of Pershore, such as one of the noblemen whose names appear as signatories to its royal charter, purchased the relics from the Nunnaminster; several candidates are plausible but the true story has been clouded by legends and chronicles which all give contradictory information (Braswell, 1971: 295-6). Since Edburga was of royal birth, her life is found as a detail in several chronicles, including the Anglo-Saxon chronicle. Of the Latin lives composed about St Edburga during the Middle Ages, the two most prestigious authors represented were William of Malmesbury, whose *Gesta pontificum anglorum* dates from *c.*1125, and Osbert of Clare, who perhaps only fifteen years later wrote his *Vita et translacione et miraculis beatae virginis Abburgae*

premissa.[59] Only three copies of the *SEL* contain the vernacular life of St Edburga, whose texts largely agree and point to a composition date of *c.*1280.[60] Indeed, one of these copies of the *SEL* contains the date 1280, so this must in fact be the latest date at which it could have been written; moreover, the importance of this date is that it would work against the possibility of any direct influence of the *Legenda aurea* (Braswell, 1971: 324).

At Pershore, St Edburga's remains were enshrined in her own chapel in the south transept, which was extended *c.*1300 in order to cope with the great numbers of pilgrims visiting her tomb. Her miracles were well attested by writers such as Osbert de Clare, and included healing blindness amongst other typical cures. Though in general terms, across the country and the rest of Europe, St Edburga was indeed a 'minor Anglo-Saxon woman', her place in local veneration, centred in at the beginning of the fourteenth century at Pershore Abbey and attracting pilgrims no doubt from elsewhere in Worcestershire in particular, must also be recognised as more than average (Lefferts, 1986: 167).[61] The parish church of St Andrew

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[59] For Osbert's interest in St Edburga's cult, see also E. W. Williamson (1929): *The Letters of Osbert of Clare, Prior of Westminster*. London: Oxford University Press.
[60] The Middle English life of St Edburga, *De sancta Edburga virgine*, is found in Lbl 1991, f.160-1; the Vernon Manuscript, f.32-32v; and Ob 779, f.282-3v. The text is edited in Braswell (1971: 325-9).
[61] This description also applied to St Wenefred, who was in fact a virgin-martyr (Lefferts, 1986: 167). Her cult was concentrated mostly within the province of Canterbury, until her status was 'nationalised' (with Saints David and Chad) following success at the Battle of Agincourt in the same changes that made St George's Day a double feast; Jeremy Catto (1985): 'Religious Change under Henry

opposite the Abbey was used by tenants of Westminster, and its lands had been granted by Edward the Confessor and William the Conqueror (Braswell, 1971: 297). Braswell, who appears to have been unaware of the motet in question, recounts how Edburga's cult was centred on Hampshire (especially Winchester), Oxfordshire and Worcestershire. She goes on to describe how:

> Although evidence for a cult at Worcestershire cannot be verified, it should be noted that . . . the fifteenth-century manuscript of the Middle English life, had some connection with Worcester because a cathedral document was used in the binding. . . . Although Winchester denied that there were major relics at Malvern [Benedictine Priory, south-west of Worcester], the fact remains that the latter was closely allied with Pershore; both belonged to the diocese of Worcester and both were partially administered by St. Peter's, Westminster.
>
> (Braswell, 1971: 298)

The motet firms up these Worcester connections, and might even have played a part in the transmission of her cult from Pershore; the Westminster connection is tantalising, given the importance of St Katherine's cult there. During a period when the English nobility were looking to draw as many parallels as possible between themselves and their Anglo-Saxon predecessors, this motet may also

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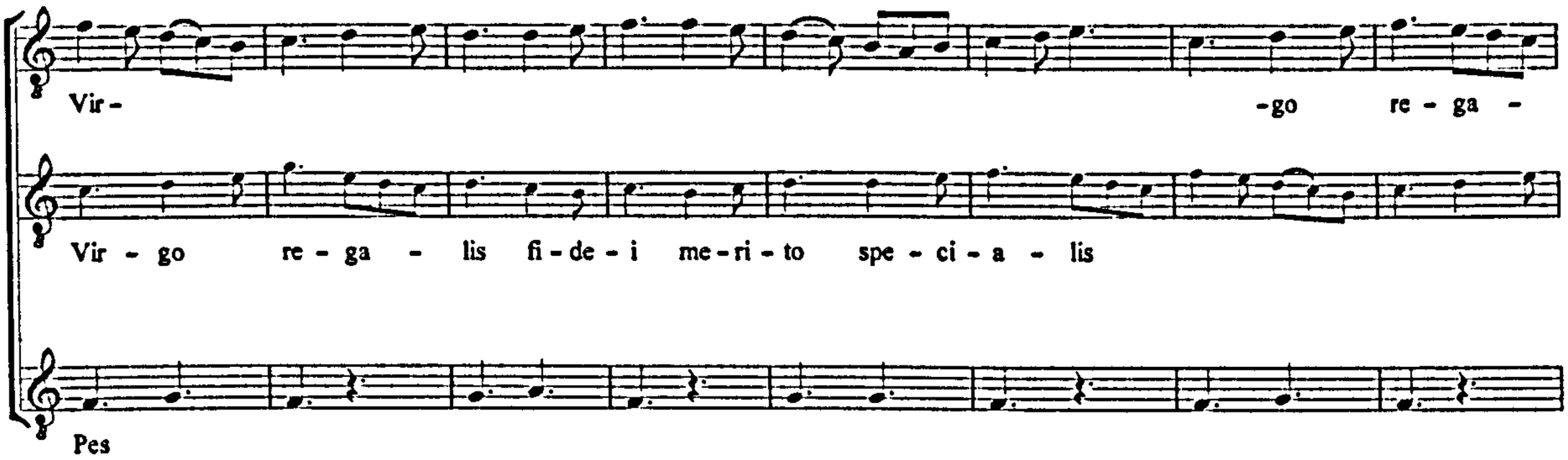
V.' In G. L. Harriss ed., *Henry V: The Practice of Kingship*, 97-115. Oxford:

be seen as part of an overall royalist programme of veneration. Certainly the liturgical calendars in which Edburga's feast day is commemorated emanate from some of the most prestigious foundations, such as Bury St Edmunds, Canterbury and Sherborne, whereas her name is absent from similar Sarum and York documents; frustratingly, no liturgical manuscripts from Pershore itself contain the date of Edburga's translation (Braswell, 1971: 299).

A closer look at this motet reveals a little more evidence to suggest that it was originally conceived with St Katherine in mind (see transcription, Fig. 7).

Oxford University Press, 107-8.

Fig. 7: *Virgo regalis fidei* (after *PMFC* 14)



18

ut iu - bar in te - ne - bris Ka - te - ri - na re - ful - sit in ar - vis

ar - vis hinc a - ni - mo for - ti

27

hinc a - ni - mo for - ti pro Chri - sto sub - di - ta

pro Chri - sto sub - di - ta mor - ti

35

mor - ti

ce - lo - rum ca - stris glo - me - ra - ta cho - ru - scat in a - stris.]

43
ce - lo - rum ca - stris glo - me - ra - ta cho - ru - scat in a - stris.

49

The text and music of *Virgo regalis fidei* are exchanged by the singers every twelve bars, creating a piece twice the length of the musical and textual substance itself. The *pes* over which this voice-exchange takes place is a highly balanced series of notes, with the only A, the highest note of the three that make up the melody, occurring at the mid-point (see Fig. 8).

Fig. 8: *Pes* for *Virgo regalis fidei*

The *pes* occurs nine times, the final section providing the basis for a textless coda in the upper parts. (The nine sections may signify the underlying number of 3 squared.) The mid-point of the music, bar 27 in the modern transcription (3 cubed), contains the text 'pro Christo' as heard for the first time. The same words are two-thirds of the way through the text itself, at syllables 39-41 of 61 in total. This implies that the text was more carefully crafted than its rather uneven double-line lengths of 15, 14, 17, and 15 syllables would suggest. As such, I have examined it in detail for evidence of its construction and poetic structure. The first and final lines, though not designed to be heard simultaneously, open with homosyllabic words (see Fig. 9a-b).

Fig. 9a: Poetic elements of the text *Virgo regalis fidei*

Vir- go re- ga- lis
Ce- lo- rum ca- stis

A similar pattern can be found in the ends of lines 1, 2 and 4 (see Fig. 7b).

Fig. 9b: Poetic elements of the text *Virgo regalis fidei*

spe- ci- a- lis
bris- Ka-ter-i-na re- ful-sit in ar-vis
tis glo-mer-a-ta cho-ru-scat in as-tris

The name 'Edburga', containing the same number of syllables as 'Katerina', would not fit as well with this evident commitment to poetic sonority and alliteration; however, since the lines are not superimposed in performance, the scribe responsible for the marginal inscription may not have been aware of that. This would suggest that the motet was designed for the name Katerina first, since it fits more convincingly with the other lines.

A motet dedicated to St Edburga would have been most relevant either to Winchester or to Pershore Abbey and the surrounding area. The presence of *Virgo regalis fidei* in the

Worcester Fragments makes the association with the latter more convincing, particularly if we see it in the context of the rising prominence of Edburga's cult *c.*1300 in this area, though this association is most attractive in the version to St Edburga. Certainly, the text of *Virgo regalis fidei* is general, especially in the context of other pieces from the same time period in honour of St Katherine. It fails to mention, for example, any of the symbols and themes generally associated with her, even her wheel (though note that it does employ voice-exchange). However, this is not to say that the relationship, between it and the presumably derivative version with the substitution of Edburga's name, was not made without good reason. Relying on the well-attested strength of St Katherine's cult, the copyist or patron of the source of the Worcestershire motet was inviting parallels to be drawn between the princess-saint Katherine and the princess-saint Edburga. By choosing an appropriately general text, the motet could be used on both occasions, raising its profile in the overall picture of polyphonic repertoire. The music for each version was the same, the text was the same; by implication, then the importance of St Edburga was put alongside that of the accepted primacy of St Katherine in the local imagination. As such, I would argue that far from being an example of a motet with possibilities for performance on the feast of 'any virgin-martyr with a four-syllable name', the appearance of the marginal reference to St Edburga was a

conscious effort by someone, perhaps the composer, to highlight the ranking of her feast day (Lefferts, 1984: 176).

Conclusions

The music in honour of St Katherine complemented the ideas pushed in the portrayal of male king saints, as a result of her own privileged background. This relationship was heightened by the conscious adoption of her cult by the English nobility, especially Henry III and Queen Eleanor of Provence, from the thirteenth century. Her story was one of a virgin-martyr princess saint, who converted all from soldiers and orators to Augusta, the wife of Emperor Maxentius, by virtue of her wisdom and rhetorical skills. Katherine's constancy of faith and virginity were to be both admired and emulated by those dedicated to her cult. As a female and a patron saint of learning, the reputation of St Katherine inspired women religious and lay to compose or commission literary texts chronicling her life; this feature of her cult may also have encouraged the composition of one of the most complex large-scale voice-exchange motets of the period, the *Rota versatilis*. King saints were held as examples of virginity, and at the same time had to show strength in the ideal image of *miles Christi.* Katherine, like other female saints, showed constancy by conserving her virginity in the face of torture and the threat of her

innate sinfulness, pride and beauty. The emphasis on the virility of king saints, who needed to show that they *could* produce an heir if they so wanted is not found in female legends. Their lineage is passive, St Katherine, for example, was praised for being the daughter of legitimate rulers of Greece. Women wanted to be likened to her, and saints, such as St Edburga, could benefit in prestige by association with her liturgical music. St Katherine was no pale female reflection of the king saints at the heart of royal public image-making, she was the bride of Christ, and thus held a position in the celestial hierarchy which could not be achieved by male equivalents. If other female saints, such as St Margaret, were relatively neglected by composers, this was largely in accordance with the patterns of veneration across the country as a whole, which continued to be dominated by male figures, particularly among the nobility.

Chapter 4

Regional and political saints and the development of national identity

After Simon de Montfort was defeated and killed in 1265, Henry III made a statement to other traitors of the realm. Rather than putting Montfort's head on a spike in London (as was common practice for those found guilty of treason), he sent it to the wife of Roger Mortimer who, with her husband, had supported the rebellion.[1] The bodies of traitors were both beneficial to royalist propaganda and a danger to it. When in control of the corpse of a rival, the king could display it as a warning to the populace. If enemies of the crown gained possession of the body, then control was lost, and their support easily and often slipped into veneration. The body, or body part, of the dead person was transformed from trophy to relic, whatever its state of preservation.

The cult of Simon de Montfort, and others who were enemies to the throne during the later Middle Ages, posed such a threat to political power that kings were keen to either discredit and quash such cults or gain control of them through a manipulation of their key

elements. In this chapter, I want to emphasise the perceived rather than 'authentic' saintly or powerful nature of such relics, the associations of which could be built upon by the addition of other elements relating to sanctity, such as the placement of the body parts in a reliquary or a church, the development of miracle literature or the composition of a rhymed Office. Those for whom an anti-establishment figure might provide a potent symbol and intercessor could consciously construct a saint's reputation by these means.

This chapter deals firstly with Simon de Montfort, whose cult was a thorn in the monarchy's side for well over fifty years. It also considers other potentially subversive 'saintly' figures, such as the enormously popular St Thomas of Canterbury (slain at the command of Henry II, and the only canonised member of this group). Kings attempted to control and counteract the rising popularity of these men by the cultivation of figures such as Edward the Confessor and Edmund, King and Martyr. Alongside this was the recognised role of universal saints and holy figures in devotion, amongst which female characters such as the Virgin Mary and St Katherine seem to have captured both the royal and 'popular' imagination. Provincial saints, including St Cuthbert and St Wenefred, seem to have achieved only

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[1] The Mortimers had supported de Montfort during his rebellion. Clanchy sees this episode as indicative of Maud de Mortimer's antipathy towards the Earl, in the manner of Salome who demanded the head of John the Baptist; Michael T. Clanchy (1998): *England and its Rulers 1066 – 1272, 2nd Edition, with an epilogue on Edward I (1272 – 1307).* Oxford: Blackwell, 203. I would see it more readily as an act of defiance against previous and possible opposition to the Crown.

limited popularity either with the monarchy or with the wider population, and their cults remained relatively localised.

There seems to have been an increasing sense of urgency in the minds of rulers to identify themselves and their country with more mythical but virtuous and militaristic figures such as St George (a universal saint of the Roman calendar) and King Arthur. Motets in England were most often composed in honour of saints or holy figures.[2] The music created for the Office of saintly laymen heightened, by implication, the feasts on which they were celebrated; the singing of a motet could be viewed as an exercise in hagiography. Providing such music, in the same way as compiling a book of alleged miracles, reinforced this with every performance or copying.[3] Through the manipulation of symbolic and narrative elements, especially in the literary and visual arts, the images of both authentic and inauthentic saints were consciously constructed and reconstructed for political purposes. This chapter considers the effect of music on the cults of these 'political saints', whose lives and reputations varied from men who died excommunicate (and were thus prevented from canonisation) to arguably the most popular national saint before the Reformation, St Thomas of Canterbury.

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[2] Of 123 motets from fourteenth-century England, a little over two thirds (83 out of 123) are in honour of saints, God, Jesus or the Blessed Virgin Mary (Lefferts, 1984: 171).

Simon de Montfort

The most ubiquitous political rebel in England during the late thirteenth century was Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester (d.1265). The baronial struggles of the 1260s were a source of much distress to Henry III and to his successors. There are two extant motets associated with the cult of Simon de Montfort, leader of the baronial struggles in the early 1260s, until his death at the battle of Evesham.[4] De Montfort could never have achieved canonisation since he died excommunicate. Peter Lefferts has pointed out that these two motets hold a special significance in that few contemporary pieces within this genre refer to political events in such an explicit manner, and the power stemming from their textual imagery is thus potentially very strong.

It is thought that Walter Cantilupe, Bishop of Worcester, was responsible for lending the country's ecclesiastic support to Montfort's cause from 1263, and it was this support that prevented Cantilupe's own canonisation, according to chronicler Thomas

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[3] Some political saints were successfully canonised. See Simon Walker (1995): 'Political Saints in Later Medieval England.' In R. H. Britnell and A. J. Pollard eds., *The McFarlane Legacy: Studies in Late Medieval Politics and Society*, 77-106. Stroud: Alan Sutton; Theilman (1990).

[4] These pieces are edited in the fullest account of the music associated with Simon de Montfort's cult (Lefferts, 1981). See also Claire Valente (1995): 'Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, and the Utility of Sanctity in Thirteenth-Century England.' *JMH* 21, 27-49.

Wykes (Lefferts, 1981: 208, fn.16).[5] Montfort's posthumous cult was centred in the region around Worcester: the Franciscans at Evesham to the southeast, and the area around Wharleton Castle in the Cleveland Hills to the west.[6] Unfortunately, no music relating to these events appears to have survived from Worcester itself (Lefferts, 1981: 208).[7] The sources that preserve each *unicum* are Cjec 5 (item 7) and Cjc 138 (item 4). Each appears to have formed part of the medieval bindings of items once belonging to Durham and Bury St Edmunds respectively, and Lefferts therefore came to the reasonable conclusion that both *Miles Christi gloriose / Plorate cives Anglie / [T.]* and *[Salve Simonis quia hic] / Salve Symon Montfortis / T. de Salve Simonis* had formed part of the repertory of these monastic

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[5] Walter Cantilupe is to be distinguished from Thomas Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford (d.1282), who was canonised in 1320. A motet in honour of St Thomas Cantilupe was written by John Benet in the fifteenth century, and exists in an Italian manuscript dating to the 1440s, I-MOe α X.1.11, f.135v-136. Benet also wrote motets in honour of St Mary Magdalene and St Alban, and Mass movements based on the Thomas Becket chant *Iacet granum;* Brian Trowell and Andrew Wathey (1982): 'John Benet's 'Lux Fulget ex Anglia—O Pater Pietatis—Salve Thoma.' In Meryl Jancey ed., *St Thomas Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford: Essays in His Honour,* 159-80. Hereford: The Friends of Hereford Cathedral.

[6] There is evidence to show that Simon de Montfort's cult flourished in the area of Worcester in particular, probably on account of the geographical proximity of Evesham to the city. The castle of Wharleton lies equally close to Worcester, a couple of miles south of Leominster; it was here that as late as 1323, two women, Alianore le Rede and Alice de Whorlton, are recorded as having sung songs about Montfort to King Edward II during his stay in August of that year, for which they were paid 3 shillings; see F. M. Powicke (1962): *The Thirteenth Century, 1216 – 1307.* The Oxford History of England 4. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 203; Christopher Page (1983): 'The Rhymed Office For St Thomas of Lancaster: Poetry, Politics and Liturgy in Fourteenth-Century England.' *Leeds Studies in English, New Series* 14, 134-51, especially 139. Leominster, a cell of Reading Abbey, has long formed part of discussions relating to English polyphony of the putative 'westcuntre' school (Losseff, 1994: 64). Not all songs necessarily showed Montfort in a good light, and it could be that unfavourable songs were sung to Edward as a form of flattery.

choirs, and may represent music composed in these places. He argued that the motets were likely to have been composed in the 1270s (Lefferts, 1981: 221-2). Lefferts also noted that the motets had been used in bindings dating from the very end of the thirteenth century, and that although that would have left the motets with a very short life-span, this was 'not surprising, since the motet was the most volatile and progressive of all genres of polyphonic music . . . at this time' (Lefferts, 1981: 221). Losseff, referring to the same sources, also made the point that such short periods of time during which a motet might have been used emphasise that the motet cannot always be assumed to have had a longevity beyond that of the *conductus,* a genre more readily associated with political concerns (Losseff, 1994: 100).

In a more recent study of the manuscript Cjc 138 and its binding, Antonia Gransden expressed an interesting concern relating specifically to its political significance, one which may have wider implications for our understanding of how the Montfortian motet arrived in its current home.[8] In agreement with Lefferts' observations, Gransden considered that the front pastedown and flyleaf iii were a *bifolium,* probably from the cellarer's account roll, and dated from

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[7] R. F. Treharne (1971): *Essays on Thirteenth Century England.* London: Historical Association, 28.

[8] Antonia Gransden (1998a): 'Some Manuscripts in Cambridge from Bury St Edmunds: Exhibition Catalogue.' In Antonia Gransden ed., *Bury St Edmunds: Medieval Art, Architecture, Archaeology and Economy,* 228-85. Leeds: Maney and Sons for The British Academy.

the late thirteenth century; and that the music forming the endleaf and rear pastedown was probably copied during a similar period (Gransden, 1998a: 267-8). The host volume, a thirteenth-century copy of Guilelmus Peraldus' (d.1271) *Summa de Vitiis* was not originally designed as part of the library collection, but was 'a good example of a work-book owned by an individual monk which later joined the convent's collection' (Gransden, 1998a: 267). This move had been made by the late fourteenth century as the volume appeared as item S. 26 in the recently reconstructed catalogue by Henry de Kirkstede, monk and later prior of Bury between 1338 and 1378.[9] The music had thus been removed from a manuscript belonging to the institution as a whole, and placed at the very back of a personally-owned copy of Peraldus' text, probably during the latter years of the thirteenth century rather than the early years of the fourteenth.

Gransden argued that although Lefferts may be correct in assuming that the original music source was 'scrapped soon after transcription', it could be suggested that 'only the leaves containing the Montfortian motet were removed from the collection of motets',

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[9] Richard Sharpe (1998): 'Reconstructing the Medieval Library of Bury St Edmunds Abbey: The Lost Catalogue of Henry de Kirkstead.' In Antonia Gransden ed., *Bury St Edmunds: Medieval Art, Architecture, Archaeology and Economy*, 204-18, especially pages 205 and 214. Leeds: Maney and Sons for The British Academy. It is possible that Kirkstede did not die until 1379; Antonia Gransden (1991): 'John de Northwold, Abbot of Bury St Edmunds (1279 – 1301) and his Defence of its Liberties.' In P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd eds., *Thirteenth Century England III. Proceedings of the Newcastle Upon Tyne Conference 1989*, 91-112. Woodbridge: Boydell, 99.

as a result of 'political expediency' (Gransden, 1998a: 268). The reason for this would have been the well-documented suppression of Simon's cult from 1266, following the Dictum of Kenilworth on 31 October of that year: not only would his supporters face automatic excommunication, they would also face corporal punishment for referring to alleged miracles. Lefferts had raised this point as a reason why the motet would have become unpopular fairly quickly, but Gransden's comment raised a further possibility. Perhaps the motet was excised from the collection during the late 1260s, the earliest time at which the music could conceivably have been written. Moreover, could this piece have been removed without having formed part of a codex in Bury's library, or having been sung there?

To consider this point, it is necessary to explore the political situation of Bury St Edmunds during this period, one marked by frequent and hostile clashes between the town and its abbey. Many other settlements containing both lay and religious witnessed popular uprisings during the thirteenth century, but Bury's turbulent years lasted far longer than most, as a result of its 'monastic lords, who resisted every attempt to diminish [the townsmen's] authority'.[10] Settlements with an especially powerful or royalist abbey, such as St Albans, seem to have shared prolonged periods of unrest during this period. Long after such issues had been resolved elsewhere, tensions

came to a head at Bury and St Albans as late as the great uprisings of 1327 and 1381.[11] An equally disastrous conflict arose in Bury St Edmunds around Easter of 1264, which may be seen to have repercussions on the discussion of Cjc 138.[12] During that year, supporters of Simon de Montfort's cause set up a special Guild of Youth, which resisted the judicial powers of the town and abbey, using violence to draw attention to their cause. The rioting reached a head with attacks on the great gates and cemetery gates of the abbey, and with violent assaults on the monks (Lobel, 1935: 126-7). Although the town, which gave passive support to the actions of Guild members, was later fined, thus temporarily re-establishing the supremacy of the monastery, these events must surely have weighed heavily on the minds of the abbacy.

It may be significant that William le Blund, one of Simon de Montfort's main supporters, is believed to have been in Bury at the time, and may have helped to provoke the rising. The townsmen were associated with the cause of Simon de Montfort, and the Abbey had strong links with Henry III. From 29 October 1267 until 9 March 1268, Henry revoked Bury's liberty from royal intervention, which had been granted originally by Edward the Confessor, in order that

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[10] M. D. Lobel (1935): *The Political Life of Bury St. Edmunds.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 118.
[11] The uprisings at Bury St Edmunds are described in William Page ed. (1907): *The Victoria History of the County of Suffolk*, 2. London: Constable and Company Ltd, 62-5.
[12] Easter fell on 20 April in 1264.

the situation could be controlled. The abbot, Simon de Luton, had specifically requested royal assistance (Gransden, 1991: 108). Relations between the monastery and the royal court appear to have remained as cordial as the years preceding the troubles, during which the abbot and King Henry shared a close relationship.

Success at the Battle of Evesham provided Henry III with the excuse to take swift action against all those who had supported Montfort during the troubles. One chronicler, Matthew of Westminster, wrote that:

> After [1265], a sentence of confiscation was pronounced at Westminster, on the feast of the translation of the blessed Edward [the Confessor], against the king's enemies, whose lands the king bestowed without delay on his own faithful followers. But some of those against whom this sentence was pronounced redeemed their possessions by payment of a sum of money, others uniting in a body lay hid in the Woods, living miserably on plunder and rapine.[13]

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[13] From D. C. Yonge II ed. (1853): *The Flowers of History,* collected by Matthew of Westminster. London: Henry G. Bohn, 414-7, this from page 417; reprinted in Archibald R. Lewis ed. (1970): *The High Middle Ages, 814 – 1300.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall. It is possible that some of the earliest Robin Hood stories originated from tales regarding the plundering of the disinherited at this time; see J. R. Maddicott (1986): 'Edward I and the Lessons of Baronial Reform: Local Government, 1258 – 80.' In P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd eds., *Thirteenth Century England I. Proceedings of the Newcastle Upon Tyne Conference, 1985,* 1-30. Woodbridge: Boydell; and R. B. Dobson (2000): 'Robin Hood: The Genesis of a Popular Hero.' In Thomas Hahn ed., *Robin Hood in Popular Culture: Violence, Transgression and Justice,* 61-77. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer.

Of course, Matthew of Westminster's pro-Henry bias, particularly given his enclosed life as a monk at Westminster Abbey, is a prominent feature of his writings. It is certainly worth noting that he attaches significance to the fact that the king's re-establishment of authority took place at his rebuilt foundation, and his pronouncement against the disinherited was made on the feast day of Edward the Confessor to whose cult Henry was dedicated. Royal authority was therefore mixed symbolically with divine authority invoked through his ancestor, the saintly King Edward.

> The disinherited came to cause trouble in many locations.[14]

Many families who had been dispossessed in Norwich in 1266-7 fled to Bury, where they anticipated protection. With the threat of a fine hanging over the religious and lay population, Montfort's supporters were thrown out. There is clear evidence that within one or two years of Montfort's death, even the townspeople of Bury were distancing themselves from their role before Evesham. But can such evidence show the true feelings and loyalties of the abbey itself? For this information, we must look carefully at the records of the parliament held at Kenilworth in 1266, and other documents relating to contemporary events. A summons for military service of 1 April 1260, intended to gather those who would defend the realm against

Simon de Montfort, named only a handful of clergy, 'possibly because they were mostly neutral or sympathetic to Simon' as a whole.[15] Amongst those summoned, presumably because their loyalty to Henry was seen as unquestionable, were Simon de Luton, Abbot of Bury St Edmunds, as well as the Abbot of Glastonbury, and the Bishops of Salisbury, Exeter and Norwich. The Bishop of Norwich, Simon Walton, has been described as 'an active royalist', a term that might be applicable to the other clergy summoned (Treharne and Sanders, 1973: 182). We have noted above, for example, that Simon de Luton had requested the assistance of the King against the pro-Montfortian rebels in 1264.

In 1266, Henry III chose a remarkably democratic mixture of both pro-royalists and those who had sided with the rebels for his committee meeting 'to procure what they understand to be necessary for the reformation of the peace of the land'; these were the bishops of Exeter and Bath and Wells, as well as the bishop-elect of Worcester, and six more of their own choice (Treharne and Sanders, 1973: 56). This council of twelve consisted of four bishops and eight knights (which included Montfort's chief ally Gilbert de Clare, Earl

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[14] Clive H. Knowles (1986): 'Provision for the Families of the Montfortians Disinherited after the Battle of Evesham.' In P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd eds., *Thirteenth Century England I, Proceedings of the Newcastle Upon Tyne Conference, 1985*, 124-7. Woodbridge: Boydell.

[15] Reginald Francis Treharne and I. J. Sanders eds. (1973): *Documents of the Baronial Movement of Reform and Rebellion, 1258-67.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 182.

of Gloucester), and, having met at Coventry, they announced their decisions at Kenilworth on 31 October:

> The *Dictum of Kenilworth* was not a negotiated settlement; it was an offer by the royalists to the besieged garrison. Initially, the terms of the *Dictum* were not popular on either side.
>
> (Treharne and Sanders: 1973: 57).

Clause 8 of the council of twelve's recommendations is that which is of most consequence here, since it states:

> Humbly begging both the lord legate and the lord kind that the lord legate shall absolutely forbid, under distraint of the Church, that Simon, earl of Leicester, be considered to be holy or just as he died excommunicate according to the belief of the Holy Church. And the vain and fatuous miracles told of him by others shall not at any time pass any lips. And that the lord king shall agree strictly to forbid this under pain of corporal punishment.
>
> (Quoted in Treharne and Sanders, 1973: 323)

In this way, it would seem unlikely, if not impossible, that the monks of Bury St Edmunds would ever have sung a motet in Simon de Montfort's honour, even before the 1266 ban on his cult, but particularly following the battle of Evesham when the threat of fines

and other punishments was very real.[16] Simon de Luton had relied on the King's intervention in disputes with the rebellious townsmen in 1264, and had been one of the few clergy believed to be loyal to the crown when Henry was summoning supporters in 1260. The enormous popularity of Simon de Montfort, centred on Evesham but condemned by the Dictum of Kenilworth, post-dated his death in 1265, a fact which would suggest that it would have had problems taking root in Bury St Edmunds where both abbey and perhaps even the town respected (albeit nominally) the decisions of the council of twelve enough to drive out the disinherited who sought refuge within their walls in 1266-7. The monks of the abbey would have had no wish to sing a piece of music whose political sentiment was so alien to their own, especially in the wake of the uprising two years earlier.

In summary, from 1264, there is good reason to suggest that the political situation of Bury may have contributed to the premature removal of an offending *bifolium* from its latest musical collection.[17] Only one fragment of this piece (assuming there was only one

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[16] Lefferts stated that 'a host of bishops and abbots, including those of Durham and Bury St Edmunds were later cited for misdoings against the peace and other acts of hostility (Lefferts, 1981: 208-9; drawing from C. Bémont (1930): *Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester 1208 – 1265.* Translated by E. A. Jacob. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 248-9. However, this would perhaps add to the reasons why it would have been important to have been seen to suppress the cult, rather than be associated with it, during this period.

[17] The upper parts of the motet would most likely have been continued onto the opposite side of the opening in the original source, though the copying patterns of both this and Cjec 5 are unusual. Presumably, the *pes* would have been written underneath them. Both include a double column format for some pieces (including *Miles Christi*, the motet for Simon in Cjc 138), considered as 'uncommon' for this period by Peter Lefferts (1981: 218).

originally) now survives, as a result of its reuse in the rear of Cjc 138, from which it has since been extracted for purposes of examination. I would suggest that the most likely scenario behind this might be that Bury procured a music collection from elsewhere (perhaps Norwich, Durham, Peterborough or Worcester), during the 1270s, but removed this section immediately as it would have been inappropriate for inclusion or performance.[18] Certainly, the suppression of Simon de Montfort's cult was less successful in the East Midlands, where some 190 miracles associated with his tomb were reported between 1265 and 1280 (Maddicott, 1986: 4). It is hardly surprising, then, that the fragment of music appears not as the front flyleaves of a text destined for the library shelves, but as the rear flyleaf and pastedown in a then personally-owned text.[19]

It is important to analyse these two motets, *Miles Christi gloriose* and *Salve Symon,* because they are typical not only of the language relating to previous saints, but also of that used in the composition of new texts honouring official and inauthentic saints during the following century. Of the two incomplete motets in honour of Montfort whose texts are extant, *Salve Symon* concords with a Latin poem found at the end of the Office compiled for the unofficial

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[18] Norwich Cathedral is thought to have owned a manuscript containing votive items in Simon's honour from the fourteenth century, and Peterborough had a copy of a rhymed Office (Lefferts, 1981: 210-11).

feast of Simon de Montfort (4 August) (Lefferts, 1981: 303).[20] A close examination of the imagery in these texts reveals their dependence on that familiar from the suffrages of other martyrs, especially Thomas Becket. Several writers made this association, including the author of an Anglo-Norman poem that reads:

> Mes par sa mort / Le cuens Mountfort
>
> Conquist la victorie;
>
> Come ly martyr / De Caunterbyr
>
> Finist sa vie.
>
> [But by his death, Montfort claimed victory; he ended his life like the martyr of Canterbury.]

(Cited in Bray, 1984: 65)

The comparison between Simon and Thomas, who were both killed by the king, was easy to make, and some also made the link that each had died protecting the authority of the church, though Thomas's reasons were more pious.

The themes of nationalism and sanctity in musical items for the feast of Simon de Montfort touch on several of the areas that we

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[19] Very little is known about the *scola cantorum* that was run by the Douzegild of St Nicholas in Bury during this period – there is a vague possibility that they could have sung polyphony, but there is nothing to link them with either of the two motets or the carols in honour of St Edmund and St Nicholas from the fifteenth century.
[20] The source of Simon's miracles and Office is Lbl A VI, f.162-83. The poem is a well-known setting, edited by Wright (1839: 124). Lefferts suggests that the verse was originally conceived as a motet text (Lefferts, 1981: 212). Barry Cooper has edited the motet *Salve Symon*, based on its use of canonic techniques. He has also considered the possibility that the composer of the motet knew the rota, though no further evidence has so far come to light that might support this; see Barry Cooper (1981): 'A Thirteenth-Century Canon Reconstructed.' *MR* 42, 85-90.

have already considered relating to the cults of Saints Edmund and Edward the Confessor. Aspects of his lineage, such as his French nationality, are sidestepped, and in their place there are statements that place him as the hero of the (and by implication his) English people. The author of the Melrose Chronicle wrote that Simon fought 'pro iusticia Anglie', and it is English subjects, rather than royalty, who appear to have mourned most greatly for him (cited by Lefferts, 1981: 215). In *Miles Christi gloriose,* the text orders its listeners:

> Plorate cives Anglie / magnanimum Leicestrie
>
> Qui ballands pro iusticia / prostratus est in Anglia.
>
> [Bewail, you citizens of England, the magnanimity of
>
> Leicester, who fighting for justice was laid low in England.]
>
> (Lefferts, 1981: 223)

The association with aspects of Becket's cult, when the sword of evil men falls on the faithful (lines 10-11), combined this 'English' heroism with the image of the earl as defender of the rights of the Church in England against a tyrannical king. The opening text links Simon's reputation with the imagery of saints as soldiers of Christ, which had been particularly popular in England from the twelfth century.[21]

The martyrdom of Simon de Montfort was particularly gruesome, including the amputation of his head, hands, feet and

genitals. The scribes at Oseney Abbey referred to Simon's penis as his 'membra virilia'; this phrase, the standard Latin translation in this period, encapsulates the association between genitals and masculinity. *Salve Symon Montisfortis* is a good example of the importance of this aspect of his death, since it works through the removal of body parts to end with Simon's penis:

> Manus pedes amputari
>
> Capud corpus vulnerari
>
> Abscidi virilia.
>
> [To have one's hands and feet cut off, to have one's head and body wounded, to have one's manhood chopped away.]
>
> (Lefferts, 1981: 223)

The music is fragmentary, but of the places where it appears that the tenor was silent beneath the duplum, two phrases seem significant (see Ex. 1a and 1b). The first is found in bars 13-14, at the words 'pro statu gentis Anglie', a third of the way through the piece; the second is at the words 'abscidi virilia' at bars 28-30, three-quarters of the

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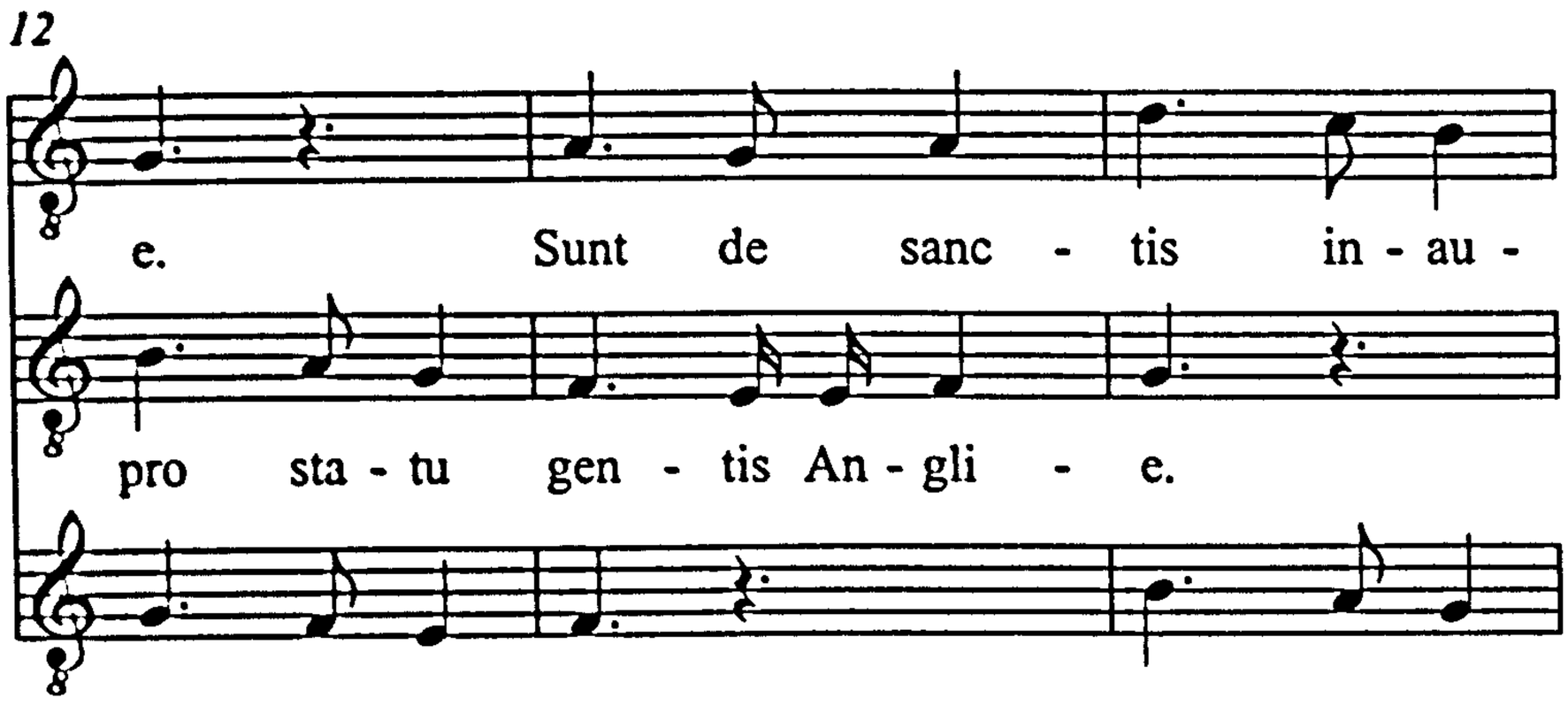
[21] Joyce Hill (1980-1): 'The Soldier of Christ in Old English Prose and Poetry.' *Leeds Studies in English, New Series* 12, 57-80.

way through.[22] The texture foregrounds Simon's struggle for English justice, and highlights the atrocities enacted upon Simon's body.

Ex. 1a *Salve Symon Montisfortis*, bars 12-14



Ex. 1b *Salve Symon Montisfortis*, bars 27-30

The same melodic intervals are used at the end of each of these phrases, but the second is heard a fifth higher. It may be reading into

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[22] Margaret Bent, and other scholars, have shown the importance of mid-point and other structural point references in motets as conscious compositional devices. See Margaret Bent (1998): 'The Grammar of Early Music: Preconditions for Analysis.' In Cristle Collins Judd ed., *Tonal Structures in Early Music*, 15-59. New York and London: Garland, especially page 20. See also Margaret Bent (1991): 'Deception, Exegesis and Sounding Number in Machaut's Motet 15.' *EMH* 10, 15-28; Margaret Bent (2003): 'Words and Music in Machaut's Motet 9.' *Early Music* 31, 363-88.

the text a little too far to suggest that the rising shape of the phrase and its higher pitch suggest Simon's virility in music. There is also a hint in the hagiography that the removal of his genitals in effect 'made' Simon a virgin, removing the evidence of his secular life and purifying his body. By the work of the authors of these poetic lines, the image of Simon de Montfort was transformed into an English virgin, even a second Thomas of Canterbury.

St Thomas of Canterbury and Thomas of Hale

The cult of St Thomas of Canterbury, martyred on 29 December 1170, canonised in 1173, and translated on 7 July 1220, attracted enormous attention from Christians across Europe, many of whom came on pilgrimage to Canterbury to visit his shrine.[23] Reames has noted that St Thomas' Office was celebrated 'almost everywhere in England and in some continental churches as well' (2000: 561). The saint's death, at the hands of Henry II's knights, put him in the position of saviour of the church from the hands of the jealous

[23] For pilgrimage to Canterbury, see Bisson (1998). For the Office of St Thomas, see Reames (2000).

English crown.[24] Like Simon de Montfort, Thomas' reputation was twofold, as hero of the rights of both the church and the country in the face of a despotic king.[25] One might expect veneration of St Thomas to be found amongst only anti-royalists, but this did not prove to be the case. Mindful of his guilt, Henry II is reported to have walked barefoot to Canterbury from Harbledown in order to be absolved of his sins, receiving a flogging from the monks as penance (Bisson, 1998: 111). This no doubt helped to mend the rift between the popular hero status of St Thomas and his reputation as opposing the king's will. There is some evidence that Thomas was adopted as a patron saint. Ergome's prophetic text of *c.*1363 predicted that the 1377 celebrations for Edward III's jubilee would take place at Canterbury. As Coote has argued:

> This does indicate . . . Becket's status as a national saint, despite Edward III's espousal of St George, and the special relationship that he was seen to have with the nation's ruler and representative.
>
> (Coote, 2000: 143)

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[24] The fullest account of the biography of St Thomas is Frank Barlow (1986): *Thomas Becket.* London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson. See also Michael Staunton (2001): *Lives of Saint Thomas.* Manchester: Manchester University Press; Anne J. Duggan (1982): 'The Cult of St Thomas Becket in the Thirteenth Century.' In Meryl Jancey ed., *St Thomas Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford: Essays in His Honour,* 21-44. Hereford: Friends of Hereford Cathedral; Richard Eales (1993): 'The Political Setting of the Becket Translation of 1220.' In Diana Wood ed., *Martyrs and Martyrologies. Studies in Church History* 30, 127-39. Oxford: Blackwell.

[25] St Thomas's cult was strong across Europe, mainly because of his role as defender of the rights of the Church, rather than the English people.

Ann Duggan viewed Thomas as a powerful symbol of the church's supremacy, suggesting that the saint became 'an inspiration to the leaders of churches struggling in similar circumstances to free themselves from secular restraint', and that the 'propagation of his cult became a symbol of ecclesiastical resistance' (Duggan, 1982: 24). However, the nobility also showed a clear enthusiasm for his cult, perhaps partly in order to show their appreciation of the relatively peaceful status quo between church and state during this period. I have found no evidence in the musical items from fourteenth-century sources that shows revolutionary zeal against the king.

Many pieces survive in honour of St Thomas of Canterbury, including a full liturgical Office which has been attributed to Benedict of Peterborough, who may have written it as early as the official canonisation of Thomas in 1173 (Reames, 2000: 561).[26] A large corpus of hagiographical material attests to Thomas' saintly life, to the miracles that he allegedly performed during his own lifetime, and to miracles wrought at his tomb. The Office has been published in a full critical edition, whose editor has shown its complex artistry, including 'paradoxes, wordplay, [and] unexpectedly rich combinations of images and allusions' (Reames, 2000: 561).

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[26] Stevens gives a complete list of all the hymns, sequences and rhymed Offices in honour of St Thomas of Canterbury as appendix 1 to his article about the saint, which also includes discussion of carols (1970: 346-8).

Reames and Andrew Hughes describe the music as 'unusually effective' (cited in Reames, 2000: 562). Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury until his death in 1228, may have composed, or been responsible for the compilation of, the lessons for the Translation feast during the last years of his life; both text and music relate to that written fifty years previously for Thomas' main feast day (Reames, 2000: 562). In 1970, on the anniversary of Becket's death, Denis Stevens addressed the specific music in his honour in a lengthy article published in the *Musical Quarterly.* It seems that there was a long tradition of writing exceptional music for the celebration of St Thomas's feast days, not least at Canterbury itself. Though Stevens has pointed to the problem of identifying his music as opposed to that written for eponymous saints (Thomas the Apostle, Thomas Aquinas, Thomas Cantilupe, 'Saint' Thomas of Lancaster, Thomas of Dover), close readings of Mass, motet, carol and conductus texts and their tenor melodies have often created a strong case for association.

Like other saints in this study considered as national heroes of some sort despite their foreign family origins, Thomas Becket was born of Norman parents in London. Nevertheless, he was also the first Archbishop of Canterbury to have been born in England rather than France or Italy. Becket studied at an Augustinian house of canons in Surrey, and then travelled to Paris, Bologna and Auxerre to

pursue his education to the highest levels in canon and civil law (Stevens, 1970: 313). It was on returning from his studies that Thomas was made deacon at Canterbury Cathedral. He was soon made Chancellor to the King, Henry II, and fought on the English army against the Welsh and the French in the 1150s. Stevens has noted a possible link between the involvement of Thomas in these wars and the liturgical Office. In one life of St Thomas, we are told that he played a narrow trumpet during the war of Toulouse as a signal. In the rhymed Office, this became the *tuba cornea* for the line 'Let the shepherd sound the curved trumpet, that the vine of Christ may grow abundantly'; Stevens also shows the use of the same phrase in a carol *Clangat tuba martyr Thoma / ut liberat se Christi vinea* ('Let the trumpet resound, O martyr Thomas / that the vine of Christ may free itself') (Stevens, 1970: 314-5).[27] The opening of this carol is distinctly fanfare-like, and Thomas' name is sung with an elaborate flourish.

Thomas' election to the Archbishopric of Canterbury in 1162 seems to have marked the point when he decided to shed his worldly possessions and live a monastic life. This combination of the two highest political and ecclesiastical offices in the country, along with his increased religious fervour, appears to have been at the heart of the forthcoming hostilities between himself and Henry II. Many of

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[27] The carol is found in Lbl 5665, f.41v, and is edited Stevens (1952: 98).

the following years were spent in exile. One Icelandic saga relates how a heavenly voice sang to a sleeping clerk warning of Thomas' martyrdom with the chant *Anima nostra sicut passer erepta est de laqueo venantiam; laqueus contritus eit, et nos liberati sumus,* used either for the feast of the Holy Innocents which was to precede St Thomas' own feast day, or for the Mass of several martyrs (Stevens, 1970: 316).[28] This text is taken from Psalm 123: 7: 'Our soul hath been delivered as a sparrow out of the snare of the fowlers. The snare is broken and we are delivered'. This is not the only source of the story containing reference to the heavenly chant in question. The passage is found in English versions of Thomas' legend, such as the *Gilte legend,* in which its origin in the Psalms is made explicit:

> And the same nyght that Seint Thomas went so awey fro Northampton, on of his men dremyd that those verses of the Psauter were rehercid to hym: *Anima nostra sicut passer.*
>
> (*GiL:* 299-300)

Elsewhere in the *Gilte legend,* other liturgical melodies feature prominently as comments upon the events of Thomas' life or his sanctity. For example, shortly before fleeing from Northampton to

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[28] Eirikr Magnusson ed. (1875-83; repr. 1965-6): *Thomas Saga Erkibyskups: A Life of Archbishop Thomas Becket. In Icelandic, With English Translation, Notes and Glossary. Rolls Series* 65. 2 vols. New York: Kraus Reprint, 239. Herbert of Bosham provides another version of this story; see James Craigie Robinson and J. B. Sheppard eds. (1875-85; 1965): *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury. Rolls Series* 67. 7 vols. Volume 3, page 313.

Rome, he celebrates a Mass of St Stephen, a martyr to whom he is often compared in the literature:

> And anone he made hym redi to sey masse and [bygon] the office of Seint Steuyn, *Etenim sederunt principes et adversum me loquebantur.*[29]
>
> (*GiL:* 297)

The indirect reference is made here between Thomas's actions and the fact that his life was to end in martyrdom. It also served to give a liturgical and chronological framework to the story, using the feast of St Stephen as a specific feast in the church year. The liturgical text draws on Psalm 118: 23, and is clearly intended to allude to King Henry as the 'prince'.

The same legendary preserves a passage which is not found elsewhere, but which again contains a liturgical reference. Whilst in exile, Thomas dreamed of his death. He then:

> Went forth to here masse and bade his prest to sey a masse of Requiem, for he would not kisse the pax with Seint Thomas.
>
> (*GiL:* 311)

Following Thomas's actual death, the Canterbury monks said a Mass in his memory and buried his body. Meanwhile, in Rome, the Pope realised that Thomas had died, and:

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[29] Ps. 118: 23, 'For princes sat, and spoke against me: but thy servant was employed in thy justifications.'

commaundyd that a solempne masse of Requiem schuld be seide for him and as the quere began the masse of Requiem, and angel of owre lorde began þis masse: *Letabitur iustus in Domino etc.* And the quere folowid after the angel.

(*GiL:* 315-6)

As Hamer and Russell note, the point of this intervention is to prevent an unnecessary Requiem Mass from being performed.[30] Martyrs do not need their souls to be commended to heaven, as the manner of their death means that they are immediately received there as saints. The alternative Mass celebrated by the angels and the Papal curia is signalled by the text excerpt, which is the Introit to the Mass for a Martyr, further confirmation of Thomas' status.

Perhaps unsurprisingly there are many pieces of music, including liturgical chants, conductus, carols (including three with music), motets and votive Masses written for the celebration of St Thomas' feast day and his Translation. Two lost pieces, *Pastor gregis* and *Salve Thomas flos,* are traceable from the index in Lbl 978. Polyphonic items in honour of St Thomas appear from the thirteenth century, when they are found in such substantial sources as F, W1, the Las Huelgas Codex and Ma. These earlier, mainly Continental, examples have been excluded, because of the temporal

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[30] Richard Hamer and Vida Russell eds. (2000): *Supplementary Lives in Some Manuscripts of the Gilte Legend, EETS os* 315. New York: Oxford University Press, 510.

and geographical limits of the present study and because they have been discussed elsewhere.[31]

One of the most impressive pieces in honour of Thomas, *Thomas gemma / Thomas cesus / Primus Tenor / Secundus Tenor*, appears in three versions across the fragmentary sources.[32] Of these copies, only Cgc 512/543 preserves all four parts, and there are many errors and contradictions between all three. Sanders argued for the priority of Ob 20, in English mensural notation, for transcription, and pointed out features in the other two copies that suggest them to be later versions (*PMFC* 14: 243).[33] Since the duplum text can be specifically set to a date after 2 August 1295 (the death of Thomas of Hale at Dover), even this may not place Ob 20's copy of the motet much earlier than, for example, Cgc 512/543.[34] The use of a non-liturgical *pes* in the lower two parts relates the piece to the English thirteenth-century tradition. Losseff observed that the leaf onto which *Thomas gemma* was copied in Ob 20 is a palimpsest, and therefore the date of the copying of this piece may be somewhat later than others in the same codex (1994: 155).

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[31] These include pieces known from the St Andrew's source, W1, such as *Christi miles* and *In Rama sonat gemitus.* For *In Rama* see Stevens, 1970: 316-9; Jacques Handschin (1932/3): 'A Monument of English Mediaeval Polyphony: The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel 677 (HELMST. 628).' *MT* 73, 510-13 and 74, 697-704.
[32] Cgc 512/543, f.254v-255, the only source to preserve all four parts; US-PRu 119/A, f.4a, 3b, 2a, 5b; Ob 20, f.34 [WF no 67; Reconstruction 2, item 27]. For the Princeton University source, see Kenneth Levy (1951): 'New Material on the Early Motet in England: A Report on Princeton Ms. Garrett 119.' *JAMS* 4, 220-39.
[33] It may be that Sanders' positioning of Ob 20 as a more authentic text relates to the historiographical position of the Worcester Fragments, whose contents are sometimes treated as an English *Magnus liber*.

Hohler has criticised the poetic merit of *Thomas gemma.* Lefferts' and Stevens' analyses of *Thomas gemma* showed its poetic and musical structures to be sympathetic, and it seems likely that they were composed concurrently and by the same author. Stevens described the metrical form as 'rather odd', but suggested that the way in which the composer put together music and text gave the motet 'great charm and ingenuity' (Stevens, 1970: 342). The duplum text is somewhat more confused than the triplum in its language and meaning, leading Hohler to describe it thus:

> The piece is frivolous; it can never have made much sense. The upper voice looks like a farsing of a poem in honour of S. Thomas of Canterbury (though if it is, I have never met the poem) but the second voice is really plain nonsense.
>
> (Cited in Lefferts, 1986: 46)

Hohler's negative view of the duplum text has been criticised by Lefferts for ignoring the complexities of the foregrounding of individual voices and hocketing that characterise the piece (Lefferts, 1986: 46-8). Since only Cgc 512/543 preserves the complete duplum text (from its incipit), it is not inconceivable that the motet originated with both texts honouring St Thomas of Canterbury, or perhaps one in honour of a saint such as St Thomas Aquinas who was at least a doctor of divinity (though not the doctor of medicine described in the

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[34] Thomas of Hale was killed at Dover Priory by French pirates (see below).

duplum). The mention of Romulus and Remus in the duplum is reminiscent of other pieces in honour of Canterbury saints, such as Thomas Becket and Augustine of Canterbury (see below). Perhaps more likely is that the duplum text was compiled before the cult of Thomas of Hale acquired any 'standard' features, and before the collection of miracles had been compiled. The generalised manner in which the monk is praised, as well as its more confusing reference to what appears to be a reputation for curing shivering, would support this. The text also concentrates on the beautiful location of Thomas' remains, the church of St Mary and St Martin at Dover, suggesting that the author may have known the church.

It may be possible to place the composition of this motet more accurately. The earliest time at which this motet could have been written is 2 August, because of the dedication of the duplum text, *Thomas cesus in Doveria.* Summers states that the feast day of this St Thomas is 29 November, implying a possible liturgical placement for the motet in the calendar, but this is misleading (Summers, 1990: 226). Thomas of Hale was never in fact canonised, nor does his name appear in a single surviving calendar or martyrology.[35] Other dates in the literature inaccurately state that Thomas was murdered on the 5, 6 and 12 August, and the 20

December. Of the two lives of 'St' Thomas to have survived, the older of the two carries the information that the feast fell on the same day as the martyrdom itself, as one might expect, on 2 August (Grosjean, 1954: 189).[36] The monk's remains appear to have been buried in a permanent tomb rather than translated to a more prestigious altar; this would suggest that the only possible liturgical occasion for celebration of the feast was 2 August. Along with the matching forenames of Becket and Hales, settling on 2 August 1295 reminds those singing that both saints were martyred on a Tuesday, a weekday which was an important part of St Thomas Becket's legend.

A more troubling question is how to reconcile the apparent double dedication in the motet *Thomas gemma* with a specific performance context, a problem that occurs regardless of the agreed date of Thomas of Hale's feast. It has been suggested above that the composition or copying of the motet might have coincided with one of the fifty-year celebrations of Becket's jubilee. It is also possible that the motet's composition had more to do with Hale's reputation. In a register from Dover priory dating from 1370, an indulgence,

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[35] P. Grosjean (1954): 'Thomas de la Hale, Moine et Martyr à Douvres en 1295.' *Analecta Bollandiana* 62, 167-91, especially page 187. A bid for Thomas's canonisation was made *c.*1380 – 82, though it was unsuccessful (Grosjean, 1954: 182).

[36] The two lives are edited in Carl Horstmann ed. (1901): *Nova Legenda Anglie: As Collected by John of Tynemouth, John Capgrave, and others, and First Printed, with New Lives, by Wynkyn de Worde, 1516.* 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 403 and 555-8. They are translated in Charles Reginald Haines (1930): *Dover Priory: A History of the Priory of St Mary the Virgin, and St Martin of the New Work.* London: Cambridge University Press, 469-76.

granted by at this time by the Archbishop of Canterbury, was recorded, stating that those visiting St Martin's priory church in Dover in order to give alms were to receive 40 days off purgatory. This indulgence matched one previously granted on 11 January 1296, named the *Tumba fratris Thome de la Hale*, and may have been intended to go some way toward recompensing the monks of St Martin's, Dover, following the French raid during which Thomas lost his life (Grosjean, 1954: 182).[37] Grosjean viewed Canterbury's role in the cult of the monk Thomas with suspicion, considering it a sly way of promoting their own, more famous (and lucrative) relics. A more generous interpretation might be that the Archbishop and monks of Canterbury saw not only a chance to gain further recognition for Becket's cult, from the influx of new pilgrims to the area, but also an opportunity to help out a local house in need. The two lives of Thomas of Hale date from before about 1307, and were written by John of Tynemouth. The longer version emphasises Hale's strict obedience to monastic rule, the shorter one concentrates on miracles (Bray, 1984: 63). It is possible that the motet texts were also written or inspired by John of Tynemouth, though there is no evidence of direct quotation from either version of the legend.

The similarities between the two cults (the saints' forenames, the days of their martyrdom, the regional significance of Dover, the

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[37] Details of the indulgence can be found in Llp 241, f.52-3.

opposition to the French 'enemy') are emphasised in the motet by the reference to storms at the end of each text, voice exchange and the water metaphors in each voice. The literary and musical features of the cults are in this way entwined to form a more powerful whole, which emphasises the pre-eminence of the English of Dover and Canterbury over the French enemy across the channel. It is possible that a Canterbury monk wrote the motet in time for the first anniversary of Hale's death, eight months after the indulgence was first granted, so that it could be performed on 2 August 1296; this would place its first performance ahead of St Thomas's own feast day (29 December). Another possibility is that it was composed for a jubilee celebration. Stevens has previously argued that the significant amount of repertory in honour of St Thomas, particularly from the early fifteenth century, might have been associated with the fifty-year jubilee, which was celebrated from 1220 (Stevens, 1970: 326-8). Neither of the dates 1270 or 1320 would sit particularly comfortably with the musical style or notation of the motet, or with the history of Thomas of Hale's cult. However, aside from the English custom, in 1300, Pope Boniface VIII declared a new Roman Jubilee for St Thomas of Canterbury (Duggan, 1982: 23). This celebratory year fell within the timeframe already considered for the date of composition (*c.*1296 – *c.*1307), and would have provided ample opportunity for performance. If the same motet were performed on 2 August, the

five-year anniversary of Hale's martyrdom, and for Becket's feast day(s), the two saints' legends and reputations would have been linked not only in name, but liturgically as well.

A brief mention must be made of the fact that there are a variety of pieces, including carols, Mass movements and motets, from the fifteenth century, in honour of St Thomas of Canterbury. Many have been discussed elsewhere, and lie beyond the remit of the present study.[38] One particularly curious motet, attributed to Philippe de Vitry, *O creator Deus pulcherrimi,* exists without music but was set to the most ubiquitous of St Thomas's plainchant items, *Jacet granum.*[39] Its tenor and contratenor, considered together, translate 'The grain lies smothered by the chaff, which the Frenchman with blow from the threshing-floor' (Stevens, 1970: 332). Stevens and Schrade have commented on its extreme anti-English sentiment, made all the more potent by its adoption of a chant associated with one of England's most popular native saints.

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[38] See especially Stevens (1970); Trowell and Wathey (1982); and Jean-Marc Evans (1998): 'A Unique Cantus Firmus Usage in a 15th-Century English Mass Movement.' *EM* 26/3, 469-76. There is also scope for an investigation into the piety of Thomas, Duke of Clarence, patron of Old Hall, and whose own forename was probably deliberately reflected in some of the St Thomas pieces copied there.

[39] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 3343, ff.71v-72 preserves the texts of this motet. *O creator Deus pulcherrimi* was first described in E. Pognon (1939): 'Du nouveau sur Philippe de Vitry et ses amis.' *Humanisme et Renaissance* 6, 48-55; and later in the commentary to *PMFC* 1, published separately from the main volume (*PMFC* 1: 119-121). See also Stevens, who dates the work between 1346 and 1360, and points out that it is not possible to know whether the tenor or contratenor used the melody of the chant (1970: 332).

St Augustine of Canterbury

The monasteries, friaries and churches of Canterbury housed more than one important set of relics, and Becket's shrine was not the only one in the area to gain reputation for miracles. Though it is fairly clear that St Thomas dominated the piety in the city, attracting the bulk of its pilgrims from across the country and elsewhere, other institutions benefited financially from the reflected glory of his cult. St Augustine of Canterbury, who introduced monasticism to the country, played no small part in the religious space of Canterbury, not least because the cathedral church was dedicated to him. St Augustine of Canterbury (d.604; feast day 27 May) is to be distinguished from the eponymous founder of the Augustinian religious order, St Augustine of Hippo (d.430; feast day 28 August). St Augustine of Hippo is celebrated in *Assunt Augustini* (LIc 52, item 3) and *Jhesu redemptor* (Cfm, item 3, from Coxford in Norfolk) (Lefferts, 1984: 185; Bowers in Lefferts and Bent, 1982: 282-6).

Two motets survive from *c.*1300 in honour of St Augustine of Canterbury, *Augustine par angelis* (Ob D. 6, item 2) and *Solaris*

ardor Romuli (Onc 362, item 10) (Lefferts, 1984: 185-6).[40] *Solaris ardor Romuli* is only found in this Canterbury source, so was presumably composed there. Since Ob D. 6 was owned by an institution associated with St Augustine of Hippo, *Augustine par angelis* may have originated in Canterbury and been transmitted to Daventry because of the similarity of names of their respective dedicatees. *Solaris ardor Romuli* is jointly dedicated to St Gregory 'the Great' (Pope Gregory I, 590 – 604). *Augustine par angelis* has a textual concordance with a fourteenth-century hymnal from St Augustine's, Canterbury.[41]

The legend of St Augustine of Canterbury received a moderate degree of attention from writers of the later Middle Ages. In the *Golden Legend,* he was mentioned alongside 'Mellitus, John, and some other missionaries' who were sent to England by Pope Gregory *c.*600 in order to convert the country to Christianity (Ryan, 1993: 174). Augustine's story is treated more fully in insular sources,

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[40] *Augustine par angelis* is described and edited in the appendix to Lefferts' thesis (1983: 728-33). Lefferts observes that 'the motet was copied into empty pages of a 14th-century cartulary preserving late 13th-century charters of the chapel of St. Mary at the Cluniac priory of St. Augustine's, Daventry (which was apparently functioning as a free Benedictine house with a close relationship to the Benedictine priory at Coventry not far away). One can only wonder at the relationship of the motet to Canterbury, and its presence at a house dedicated to the "other" Augustine' (1983: 729). The motet *Princeps apostolorum* is not dedicated to St Augustine, but Melville-Richards notes that both the number of syllables in each stanza and the overall length of the piece totals 52, the sum of 40 and 12 (1999: 311). Twelve presumably refers to the twelve apostles, but forty might link this with the forty companions of St Augustine who preceded the twelve bishops from Rome. This might help to account for why only the triplum is preserved in the two sources of this motet, DRc 20 (item 4, appears *Princeps apostolice)* and Cgc 512/543 (item 2). I have no further evidence to support this theory.

such as the *South English Legendary* (*SEL:* 214-7), and it is found in abridged version in the fifteenth-century *Gilte Legend* (*GiL:* 169-72). These histories told that 'Seynte Augustyne with fourtye felowys aryved in the cuntre of Kente' whereupon they baptised many men, including King Ethelbert, to the faith (*GiL:* 171).[42] Augustine then travelled to tell the Pope in Rome, who granted him two helpers, Mellitus (made Bishop of London) and Justus (Bishop of Rochester), who remained in England until Augustine's death, when they left for Gaul. The Pope sent Augustine to England for a second time, ordering him to ordain twelve bishops of whom he would be the thirteenth, the Archbishop of Dover 'that nowe is clepyd Canterburye' (*GiL:* 171). The significance of St Augustine was twofold: firstly for the conversion of the nation as a whole, centred in three areas; and secondly for the establishment of the Canterbury See, granting Canterbury a special power over all other English religious centres from the early Middle Ages.

Solaris ardor Romuli has attracted attention for various reasons, particularly for its use of the secular song 'Mariounette douche', which also appears in the Marian motet which precedes it in Onc 362, *Caligo terre scinditur / Virgo mater et filia,* where the secular melody has words in honour of the Virgin. The use of

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[41] Cjc 262, f.74v.
[42] Ethelbert's Queen, Bertha, was the daughter of the King of France, and already a Christian.

metaphor in the upper parts of *Solaris ardor Romuli* is of interest. In the quadruplum text, the 'sunny warmth of Romulus' that 'melts the frost of Britain' is clearly a reference to the Pope in Rome whose influence, through Augustine, resulted in the conversion of the English. In the same text, the forty monks who followed Augustine to Dover are likened to stars, and a further heavenly firmament motif is found in the reference to a 'starry-tailed comet' which 'imparted the light of moderation in the Kentish dawn' perhaps also signifies the Saint. The triplum also uses this astrological metaphor, describing Pope Gregory as 'the sun of his age' who 'sent Jove [St Augustine] from Cancer of Romulus [Rome] to Libra of England', removing the 'moon of unbelief'. St Augustine is told to have crossed through the Zodiac three times, 'shining without obscuration' before remaining in the latitude and longitude of Canterbury (*PMFC* 15: 178). This crossing clearly refers to the journey made by Augustine from Rome to England, back to Rome to request help from Pope Gregory, and then finally to Canterbury once more where he remained until his death.

Comets feature throughout history as signifiers of various types, and it could be that the choice of metaphor was linked to the sighting of an actual comet.[43] The earliest manuscript to describe a torquetum, an instrument for measuring the positions of comets, is

dated 1284.[44] In 1299, Peter of Limoges used this device to measure the position of a comet. A more famous example is Halley's comet, which was sighted in 1301, and appears in place of the star of Bethlehem in a nativity scene painted by Giotto, *c.*1303.[45] The language of *Solaris ardor Romuli* may reflect a heightened interest in comets based on such sightings around 1300, a theory that would accord with the purported date of Onc 362.

These starry, astrological metaphors are not uncommon, but their use in motets is interesting from a literary point of view. As I have shown in the literature in honour of the king saints Edmund and Edward, and will show below with political saints such as Thomas of Lancaster, individuals were frequently associated with their saintly namesakes in order to give authority to text. The earliest English source of the *Golden Legend* has been traced to *c.*1299, and is roughly contemporary with the music collection Onc 362. In the legend of Augustine of Hippo, Voragine states that:

> Other doctors are compared to the stars: 'They that instruct many to justice [shall shine] as stars for all eternity' [Daniel 12: 3]. But Augustine is compared to the sun, as is clear from the epistle that is sung in his honour, since 'as the sun when it

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[43] One of the most famous examples is the depiction of a comet, perhaps Halley's comet, in the Bayeux Tapestry.
[44] The description is by Franco de Polonia, and is now kept in the Ashmolean Library at Oxford.

shines, so did he shine in the temple of God' [Ecclesiasticus 50: 7].

(Ryan, 1993: 116-7)

Ryan suggested that this epistle was a reference to an ancient mass for Saint Augustine's feast day. Perhaps what we might take from this is the possibility that St Augustine of Canterbury's Office drew in some part on that of his namesake. There is also some similarity with the type of language used in the twelfth-century monophonic conductus *In Rama sonat gemitus,* in honour of St Thomas of Canterbury and dating to perhaps over a century before the motet, which employs similar metaphors, in this case Biblical ones: Canterbury is Rama, the English church is named as the Rachel of England, and so forth.[46] It is interesting that each of these relates to a piece of music with Canterbury connections, though the conductus may have originated in Normandy since it dates from Thomas' exile (Stevens, 1970: 317).

The duplum of the same motet differs from the upper two parts in that it lacks light-based metaphors. Its opening, 'Petre, tua navicula vacillat aliquociens, resultat set pericula post plurima multociens' (Peter, your little boat falters sometimes, but it rebounds very often after many dangers) might have a double meaning. Its

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[45] For a discussion of the relationship between music and this chapel, see Eleanora M. Beck (1999): 'Marchetto da Padova and Giotto's Scrovegni Chapel Frescoes.' *EM* 27/1, 7-23.

primary function is a metaphor for the Church, which Gregory and Augustine recovered from pagan threat. It might also refer in some small part, since the motet is in honour of Augustine's foundation of English faith rather than the Christian church as a whole, to the church of Westminster, dedicated to St Peter. In this light, St Peter's church might falter at times, but the strength and governance of the See of Canterbury keeps it in line. There is some delight at the similar beginning of words such as 'Cantuarie', 'Cancie' and 'cancro' which mix the importance of Canterbury and Kent with the description of Rome as the 'Cancer of Romulus' in the quadruplum and triplum; Rome, through St Augustine, gives Canterbury ultimate authority, since the saint 'located himself firmly to remain eternally in the degree of Canterbury' (triplum). Finally, St Augustine's importance as a saint for the English nation as well as the church is emphasised through geographical definitions of the population. The words 'Anglos' for the English (quadruplum) and Anglie (triplum) show an interesting defining line between the people and land of the English, in comparison with the island of Britain ('insula Britannie') mention in the duplum. The quadruplum defines the English population by its coastline, ignoring the land boundaries with Scotland and Wales. It opens by describing the way in which Augustine converted the pagans of Britain ('Britannie'), but closes by

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[46] In W1, the conductus appears on f.168v.

stating that there is faith 'quocumque fluctus hodie claudent Anglos equorei', 'wherever today the waves of the sea enclose the English'. There is identification in these texts that the main people of Britain are the English, and that the people of Kent and Canterbury are especially linked to the powers of the church in Rome.

'St' Thomas of Lancaster

The political songs of the medieval period were collected and edited in the nineteenth century by Thomas Wright (1839). Peter Coss has since remarked that:

> Many of them are not really songs at all, and are most unlikely ever to have been sung. There are, of course, exceptions, the robust *Song against the King of Almaigne* for one. *Vulneratur Karitas* has a line of musical notation associated with it in the manuscript, although it is later than the text, while the songs on the death of Piers Gaveston were parodies of known hymns and hence could certainly have been sung.[47]

It is likely that some of Wright's 'songs' were associated in their time with melodies of a popular or liturgical nature, but their importance

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[47] Peter Coss (1996): Introduction to *Political Songs of England from the Reign of John to that of Edward II*, by Thomas Wright (1839). London: Camden Society, republished by the Royal Historical Society, xii.

to this discussion is marginalised by a lack of evidence linking the lyrics with actual notation. The satirists of the period certainly had a wealth of material for inspiration: the deaths of Edward II and his favourites Piers Gaveston and the young Hugh Despenser; the death of Thomas of Lancaster; the wars with Scotland and Wales; the Hundred Years War; the taxation policies of Edward I and Richard II; the Good and Merciless Parliaments. From the available evidence, it would seem that such compositions had little to do with schools of polyphonic music, though they may have had some circulation there.

An example of a political figure who did find his way into Latin vocal music is Thomas, Earl of Lancaster (?1277 – 1322), the enemy of Edward II since he had had Edward's favourite Piers Gaveston killed in 1313.[48] Following Thomas's execution on 22 March 1322, a popular cult flourished first in York, and then in London. As part of a bid for canonisation, several monophonic songs were composed in his honour, which were *contrafacta* of known hymn tunes, though none survive with their music. Christopher Page has shown that one of these, *Summum regem honoremus,* is a parody of a chant 'with strong Hereford connections (Bishop Thomas of Hereford was 'spiritual father' to Thomas of Lancaster)' (Page, 1999:

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[48] A useful survey of the cult of Thomas of Lancaster is John Edwards (1992): 'The Cult of "St" Thomas of Lancaster and its Iconography.' *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 64, 103-22.

5).[49] Thomas' alleged miracles are centred on healing the sick by way of their prayers to him, a fairly common saintly feature but one that may have echoed the widespread acceptance at the time that kings of England were able to cure scrofula, thus emphasising his regal status.[50] Though Thomas was never actually canonised, despite petitions to the Pope from Edward III in 1327, 1330 and 1331, a myth developed, *c.*1390, that he had been made a saint; this date is significant, since it was a period full of uncertainty about royal lineage. An association between Thomas, his namesake, St Thomas Becket, and John the Baptist (all beheaded by royal enemies), strengthened his cult. The office for Lancaster stated this clearly:

> Rejoice, Thomas, ornament of earls, light of Lancaster,
>
> Who by your death-by-killing do imitate Thomas of
>
> Canterbury;
>
> Whose head is crushed for the peace of the Church,
>
> And yours is struck off for the sake of the peace of England:
>
> Be to us a pious protector in every trial.[51]

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[49] Page (1999) includes all five songs, *Summum regem honoremus, Copiose caritas, Sospitati dat egrotos, Vexilla regni prodeunt* and *Pange lingua.* Page notes that both *Copiose* and *Sospitati* were originally associated with the Office of St Nicholas.
[50] For the healing powers of kings, see Bloch (1973), and Joanna Huntington (2003a): '"Touched by Your Presence:" How Royal was the "Royal Touch" in 12th-Century English *Vitae?*' Paper presented at the *International Medieval Congress,* Leeds, July 2003.
[51] Josiah Cox Russell (1929): 'The Canonization of Opposition to the King in Angevin England.' In C. H. Taylor ed., *Anniversary Essays in Medieval History, by Students of Charles Homer Haskins, Presented on his Completion of Forty Years of Teaching,* 279-90. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 285; reprinted in Josiah Cox Russell (1978): *Twelfth Century Studies,* 248-59. New York: AMS Press. Russell's arguments have been superseded by Theilman (1990).

The bolstering of a 'political' saint's reputation by reference to a canonised saint proved to be a common practice during this period; likewise, parallels were drawn between figures such as Lancaster and Simon de Montfort (Edwards, 1992: 113). Borrowed chant melodies had been a common feature of newly composed offices for centuries.[52]

Militaristic themes were especially popular in the period following England's success at Agincourt. The early fifteenth century saw the most substantial blossoming of the cult of St George, by whose guidance the English army believed they had won. The two motets in honour of St George have been linked with the rogation days in May 1415, during which the French and English held negotiations (Bent, 1968a: 22-3). The cult of St Thomas of Lancaster was also emphasised at the court of Henry VI, whose military campaigns were generally disastrous in comparison with those of his father, Henry V.

One fifteenth-century polyphonic antiphon exists in honour of St Thomas of Lancaster, no doubt the product of Lancastrian propaganda efforts and intended to gain the highest recognition for his cult. Its text, which opens *Miles Christi gloriose,* recalls the language of lyrics in honour of many other saints, such as St Edmund

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[52] Rodney Malcolm Thomson (1984): 'The Music for the Office of St Edmund, King and Martyr.' *ML* 65, 189-93; Bukofzer (1950).

King and Martyr, St Thomas of Canterbury and St George, because it draws on the opening of the responsory sung on the feast of a confessor and bishop.[53] Schofield's examination of the manuscript Ob 26 suggested that this collection included the 'well-known Agincourt carol and . . . a song (in Latin) assumed to be in honour of St. George', and favoured a Windsor provenance for the music overall (Greene, 1954: 3).[54] Schofield's view was rejected by Greene, on the grounds that not only was there a further copy of the Agincourt carol elsewhere, and a carol relating to Henry VI which could be associated with Haghmond Abbey in Shropshire, but also that the antiphon on which the piece *Miles Christi* is based appears in a rhymed office for St Thomas of Lancaster.[55]

Greene's rejection of the Windsor provenance of Ob 26 relied on the fact that Thomas was 'a powerful Yorkshireman who rebelled against the crown and was beheaded by a traitor' (Greene, 1954: 4). A link between royal veneration and his cult was seen as untenable.

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[53] Andrew Hughes ed. (1964): *Fifteenth-Century Liturgical Music I: Antiphons and Music for Holy Week and Easter.* London: Stainer and Bell, no. 6, p. 10-11. The source of this piece of music is Ob 26, f.8v. See Richard L. Greene (1954): 'Two Medieval Musical Manuscripts: Egerton 3307 and Some University of Chicago Fragments.' *JAMS* 7, 1-34, especially p.3.

[54] The provenance of fifteenth-century manuscripts associated with royal household chapels is discussed in Bertram Schofield (1946): 'A Newly-Discovered 15th-Century Manuscript of the English Chapel Royal—Part I.' *MQ* 32, 509-36; Manfred Bukofzer (1947): 'A Newly-Discovered Fifteenth-Century Manuscript of the English Chapel Royal—Part II.' *MQ* 33, 38-51; Manfred Bukofzer (1950a): 'Holy week Music and Carols at Meaux Abbey.' *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music,* 113-75. New York: Norton and Company.

[55] *AH* (1898: 321), from Cologne 28; Greene points to the earlier and larger Office for St Thomas of Lancaster, Lbl Royal 12. C. xii, edited by Wright (1839: 268-72).

This conclusion appears to rely too heavily on the anti-royal stance of Thomas during his lifetime, particularly the murder of Edward II's favourite Piers Gaveston, and avoids the enormous shift in political history that rewrote and reconstructed these same events from the accession of the Lancastrian dynasty in 1399. The legitimation of this branch of the family's rule relied on finding appropriate family saints in order to maintain stability and promote their lineage. Greene has warned that 'the implication of Windsor's dominant claim to pieces about St. George needs cautious review', which is certainly a trap worth avoiding; a substantial quantity of literature in honour of the saint cannot be associated with the royal chapel there, and music cannot be considered too much of a special case (Greene, 1954: 4).

During the reign of Edward II, the apparent miracles performed at Thomas' tomb had been a source of annoyance to the King, who, despite closing the priory at Pontefract and making an appeal to the Bishop of London, was unable to prevent the rapid spread of the Earl's saintly reputation (Bray, 1984: 56). Generally positive though the material offered for the support of Thomas' canonisation was, including record of many miraculous cures, it was nonetheless deemed insufficient by the papal curia. Unsurprisingly, some of the most ardent supporters of Thomas' proposed canonisation included those standing in opposition to Edward II, and, after 1327, those seeking to justify his violent deposition. It was in

the fifteenth century that Lancastrian support was offered in order to promote and institutionalise the cult, though it was by no means restricted to royal circles. As Simon Walker has described:

> The patronage of two powerful noble families, the houses of Bohun and Lancaster, provided sufficient publicity and resources to maintain the shrine as a place of pilgrimage until the end of the fourteenth century. . . . The advent of the Lancastrian dynasty . . . inevitably reinvigorated the cult.
>
> (Walker, 1995: 83)

Henry IV is known to have presented the chapel of St George at Windsor with vestments in 1401, and these depicted the *historia* of Lancaster's martyrdom (Walker, 1995: 83). It would seem that there is no real barrier preventing the association with the antiphon *Miles Christi,* in honour of Thomas of Lancaster, or the manuscript in which it is contained, with St George's. I do not intend to suggest that the provenance of Ob 26 needs to be returned to St George's chapel, Windsor, on these grounds; but it is important to maintain a clear distinction between the reputations of political saints at different points in history. The possibility of a royal link to the polyphonic antiphon *Miles Christi* is quite plausible in the fifteenth century. I would argue that the performance of *Miles Christi* would have been particularly suitable in a royal or noble chapel, such as the one at Windsor.

Mythical English Heroes: St George, King Arthur and Robin Hood

In 1348, Edward III dedicated the Order of the Garter, and rededicated the royal chapel, to St George, a figure of only modest importance to previous English rulers. Since the fifteenth century, St George's status as patron saint of England has been unrivalled; he has continued to maintain popularity with both royal dynasties and the wider population. St George does not feature in the extant sources of vocal polyphony in England until the fifteenth century; his cult took off following the success at the Battle of Agincourt. Two motets in honour of St George are found in the Old Hall manuscript, which mainly includes Mass Ordinary items.[56] King Arthur was not a saint, and with the few exceptions already discussed, no music in honour of an Englishman who was not a saint (authentic or inauthentic) seems to have been written during this period. One late fourteenth-century motet, Alanus' *Sub Arturo* [or *Arcturo*] *plebs / Fons citharizancium / In omnem terram,* describes the English nation being guarded by the northern star 'Arcturus', quite possibly implying a double meaning

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[56] The motets in the Old Hall manuscript are in honour of St Thomas of Canterbury, St George, the Virgin Mary, Pentecost, and St Katherine (Lefferts, 1984: 173).

since the name appears in different spellings in extant sources.[57] Coote has suggested that Edward I saw himself and his queen as a second Arthur and Guinevere (2000: 43). The earlier efforts of Edward I to identify himself with mythical and militaristic figures, such as Arthur and to some extent St George, may have had some impact on the language and symbolism found in the motets honouring official king saints *c.*1300.

Edward I had been named after Edward the Confessor. St Edward was traditionally a peaceful figure, neither waging wars nor dealing with popular revolts in the name of Christianity. The biographer of Edward, writing for Eleanor of Provence *c.*1245, made some attempt to rectify this image of passivity by suggesting that Edward had battled against the demons of fleshly desire, constructing themes of virginity and chastity in marriage around this. However, this was not an adequate role model for Edward, who faced the specific political problem of war at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Re-identification with a more physically active saint was an increasing priority. Edward regarded himself as the new Arthur,

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[57] The motet is edited by Margaret Bent, who gives 'Arturo' as the Latin reading, but 'Arcturus' as the preferred translation (1977: 1). The sources are Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS Q15, f.225v-226 (the same manuscript carries the triplum only on f.342v); Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 564, f.70v-71; Yoxford (Suffolk), MS in private ownership without shelf-mark, f.ii (duplum and tenor only). The latter source was discovered by Adrian Bassett and reported in Lefferts (1986: 300-02). Both versions in the Bologna source read 'arturo', the Chantilly codex 'arcuro', and the Yoxford manuscript version is transcribed by Bowers as 'Arcturo' (Bowers, 1990: 321). Harrison's edition, in the supplement to *PMFC* 5, gives A. G. Rigg's translation, 'The people protected by King Arthur applaud song' (*PMFC* 5: 20).

chivalric and mythical in his own eyes, and a strong and powerful leader.

> The cult of St George was perhaps an unusual one for an English king in which to take a special interest, since the historical George was probably a Roman soldier who lived in third-century Nubatia.[58] His martyrdom, celebrated on 23 April, formed one of the most gruesome tales: having been tortured with scourges, his wounds scraped with haircloth, placed in a gibbet, given shoes with iron spikes inside and his brains crushed by a clamp, George was finally beheaded. Dragons did not appear in the hagiographical literature until the twelfth century, and their earliest depiction is on a tombstone in Yorkshire, a fact that may support an English origin for this part of the legend. St George was a figure of pan-European popularity, venerated in nearly every country already. To take this saint's image and rewrite it as English, or even royalist, was quite a challenge, especially since his story has nothing to do with English history.[59] However, this task was certainly achieved by the fifteenth century. Bengtson suggests that:

> Saint George's cult was central in the formation of a collective imagination in England and the creation of a sense

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[58] The fullest accounts of this topic are Jonathan Bengtson (1997): 'Saint George and the Formation of English Nationalism.' *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 27/2, 317-40, especially page 318; and Riches (2000).

[59] According to Charlton, St George was made England's national saint as early as 1222, but this is not a particularly reliable article; Peter Charlton (2000): 'For England and Saint George!' *English Dance and Song* 62/1, 2-4, 3.

of national community. The monarchy made Saint George a divine hero and through his cult established an intimacy with the people which it could not otherwise have achieved.

(Bengtson, 1997: 317)

This Anglicisation had begun around the eleventh century, when Aelfric, archbishop of York, described George as an 'ealdormann' living in the 'shire' of Capadocia (Bengtson, 1997: 319). 1348 was a turning point in the transformation of George from a figure of minor to national importance, but Edward III's piety towards St George, and the coupling of the cult with that of Edward the Confessor, was not without historical precedent. Edward I had shown some allegiance to the saint during his reign, one that was, like Edward III's, dominated on occasion by conflicts on English borders and on the continent.

Evidence of Edward I's interest in St George, and his manipulation of the imagery around his cult, exists from the last decades of the thirteenth century. In 1285, Edward donated a group of figures to the shrine of St Thomas of Canterbury whilst on pilgrimage there.[60] His pilgrimage marked the feast of the translation of St Thomas, and his son and daughters accompanied him. Along the journey between Westminster and Canterbury, the party made several offerings of alms to the poor, but once at their destination their donations became more elaborate. The crowning gift of this

expedition were three figurines, a pair showing St Edward the Confessor and a pilgrim, and one of St George mounted astride his steed.[61] These are mentioned by an early fourteenth-century chronicle from Canterbury, as well as in the wardrobe account of their maker, the king's goldsmith William of Farndon.[62]

Taylor cites several examples of offerings made to the shrine of St Thomas by King Edward, including the stolen Scottish crown jewels in 1299. Edward had previously offered Scottish regalia to the shrine of Edward the Confessor at Westminster, and this may have been a different set. On the day of Edward's marriage to Margaret of France in 1299, Archbishop Winchelsey 'celebrated the nuptial mass at the altar of the shrine of St Thomas' (Taylor, 1979: 26).[63] Rather than viewing these acts of piety as evidence necessarily for Edward's personal dedication to St Thomas, I would suggest that they had far more to do with asserting his royal authority in the context of a church that was seen as the most important in England. The placement of the figures of St Edward the Confessor and the pilgrim, and of St George and his horse, onto the shrine of St Thomas was most probably a politically-motivated gesture, reconciling the peace-

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[60] [n.a.] (1893): *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office . . . Edward I, vol. 2* (1281 – 1292), London: H. M. S. O., 198.

[61] It is quite possible that the image of St Edward and the pilgrim was in reference to the legend of the ring of St Edmund/Edward mentioned earlier, given to him by St John the Evangelist.

[62] These are Lbl 636, f.219 d., and Lpro E101/372/11, m.3, respectively. The relevant sections are printed in Taylor (1979: 24, 27-8).

[63] The reference is to Lbl 636, f.225.

loving, saintly 'ancestor' with the populist but valiant St George.[64] These two became one in his own image, and were representative of his power as king of England by association with one of the most popular saints in England and indeed Christendom.

There are certainly good reasons for believing that this may have been the case. Again, the evidence is provided by pilgrimages or journeys made by Edward I to York (January, 1284), St David's (November, 1284),[65] Bury St Edmunds,[66] Westminster (1285) and Walsingham. At Westminster, the King had processed to the Abbey with the Archbishop of Canterbury and various bishops to see the Welsh relic of the true cross. Edward III later gave this relic to St George's, Windsor.[67] At all of these locations, money or gifts had been made to the establishment or its main shrine. No better example of the association between an act of piety and the assertion of authority can be given than the fact that at Walsingham, the donation to the Lady Chapel was not a saintly figurine, but an image crafted in silver gilt of King Edward I himself (Taylor, 1979: 26).

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[64] See chapter 3 for a similar gesture when Henry III donated a figure of Edward the Confessor to the shrine of St Katherine of Alexandria at Westminster Abbey.
[65] This may have been, as Taylor suggests, Edward's idea of a 'fitting conclusion to a year which had seen the constitutional settlement promulgated at Rhuddlan in March, the birth of his son Edward at Caenarvon in April and the victory at Nevin in August' (Taylor, 1979: 25).
[66] Here he provided money for improvements to be made at the shrine of St Edmund, totalling £42 6*s.* 8*d.*(Taylor, 1979: 26); Lpro E372/135, rot. 1d.
[67] See A. J. Taylor (1976): 'Royal Alms and Oblations in the Later Thirteenth Century.' In F. G. Emmison and R. Stephens ed., *Tribute to an Antiquary,* 119-20. London: Leopard's Head Press.

The people's adoption of St George into vernacular culture can be compared with the generation and transmission of popular stories about Robin Hood from the thirteenth century. By the fifteenth century, in some parts of the country, these heroes were equally as popular as one another.[68] Local Robin Hood pageants shared their basic elements with saints' lives and miracle stories, as they revolved around a narrative in which the virtue of the protagonist was demonstrated in a number of valiant episodes. At Exeter St John's, in 1508, the actors in a Robin Hood play paid for the renovation of 'St Edmund's arrow' in order to use it as a prop in their production, probably as the prize for the archery contest which Robin usually wins in disguise in such tales (Wasson, 1980: 68). Here we can see a direct link between the relic status of an arrow, probably having once signified those that pierced Edmund's body in his torture by the Danes, and the equally heroic status of the popular figure of Robin Hood.[69]

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[68] See John Wasson (1980): 'The Saint George and Robin Hood Plays in Devon.' *Medieval English Theatre* 2/2, 66-9.

[69] For a discussion of the 'popular' appeal of Robin Hood, see Richard Almond and A. J. Pollard (2001): 'The Yeomanry of Robin Hood and Social Terminology in Fifteenth-Century England.' *Past and Present* 170/1, 52-77.

St Wenefred

St Wenefred is one of the two female Anglo-Saxon saints about whom motets were written in the late thirteenth century. [70] Born in Wales, Wenefred's cult flourished after 1138, when her relics were translated from Gwythern to Shrewsbury.[71] Her legend was popular in English and Welsh sources from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, the earliest Latin life dating from the twelfth.[72] Unlike St Edburga, Wenefred was martyred after a complex attempt to escape being raped by Cradok, the son of King Alan. Desperate to preserve her virginity, Wenefred pretended to Cradok that she was going into the next room to get dressed for him, but instead escaped through the back door and ran to the church (where her parents were). Cradok caught her, and, after Wenefred had explained how she was already espoused to Christ, decapitated her. When Cradok saw how upset Wenefred's parents were, he (or her uncle, depending on the version of the legend) joined the head back to the body and she was returned to life. According to her legend, there remained 'aboute hir necke a

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[70] There are many different spelling variants for Wenefred (Winefred, Winifrede, etc.), because of the problem of her name having been translated from the Welsh, *Gwenfrewi*, through Anglo-Saxon spellings and into modern editions.
[71] The fullest account is Thomas S. J. Meyrick (1878, repr. 1996): *Life of St Wenefred, Virgin, Martyr and Abbess, Patroness of North Wales and Shrewsbury.* Facsimile Reprint, first published London. Felinfach: Llanerch.
[72] A lengthy carol in honour of St Wenefred, *Wenefrede, thou swete may*, exists in the fifteenth century source Ob 302, f.26 (Greene, 1977: 191-3, No. 134).

rednesse lyke a red silkyn threde in signe and tokyn of hir martirdome' (*GiL:* 42).

The four-part motet in honour of St Wenefred, *Inter choros paradiscolarum / Invictis pueris,* survives only in a fragmentary state, but has been transcribed by Sanders.[73] The triplum text names Wenefred as one of the virgins in paradise, and praises her in general terms. The duplum concerns the miracle of her 'martyrdom', comparing her immortality with the boys who were not injured by flames. The rest of this text is sadly missing, and may have continued along the same kind of theme. The 'boys' are unlikely to have been the Holy Innocents, who were hacked to death with swords. A more convincing idea is that they were the three young men in Daniel 3: 8-30, who were cast into a fiery furnace by King Nebuchadnezzar, but remained unharmed.[74] The duplum makes an association between the two crimes of murder and rape. The author uses the metaphor of physical intactness (her head restored to her body) for the integrity of Wenefred's virginal state. This accords with the medieval idea of virginity as a fragile vessel, easily broken, and rape as a crime defined by 'assaulted body' rather than 'unconsenting will'.[75] Medieval legal and fictional texts consider the raped body as

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[73] *PMFC* 14 (Appendix): 230-31; translation in volume 15: 248.
[74] My thanks to Katherine Lewis for suggesting this textual concordance.

bleeding, deflowered and/or abducted, since to some extent virginity was the property of the individual women and could therefore be stolen (Phillips, 2000: 129). In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, romance narratives focused increasingly on the bleeding body, and we can see some evidence of that in the motet text's own focus on the attacked but uninjured body of Wenefred as proof that she had been assaulted yet remained a virgin.

St Frideswide's cult has always been most prominent in Oxford, where her relics are still enshrined. Joanna Melville-Richards suggested that the motet *Inter choros paradisicolarum* in the Worcester Fragments might have been intended for her cult, though she did not give a clear reason why (1999: 274).[76] This was a curious suggestion, since the text names Wenefred explicitly, and she may have been influenced by Lefferts' views on *Virgo regalis fidei* (see chapter 3). St Wenefred's legend was popular in English and Welsh sources of the late thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. The especial popularity of Wenefred in North Wales and the western part of England sits comfortably with the Worcestershire provenance

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[75] See Kim Phillips (2000): 'Written on the Body: Reading Rape from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Centuries.' In Noël James Menuge ed., *Medieval Women and the Law,* 125-44. Woodbridge: Boydell, 125; and Corinne Saunders (2000): 'A Matter of Consent: Middle English Romance and the Law of *Raptus.* ' In Noël James Menuge ed., *Medieval Women and the Law,* 105-24. Woodbridge: Boydell.

[76] Since Melville-Richards' thesis is unpublished, I shall reproduce the paragraph in question: 'Six insular saints appear in the British musical repertory: one, by implication, St Edward; another, Winifred, possibly identifiable with St Frideswide, is mentioned in only one piece; Thomas of Dover appears in tandem with Thomas à Becket, who also has his own pieces. Likewise, both Cuthbert and Edmund have several works addressed to them' (Melville-Richards, 1999: 274).

associated with the majority of the Worcester Fragments. There do not seem to be any reasons why the motet *Inter choros paradiscolarum* should be associated with a saint other than St Wenefred.

St Cuthbert

St Cuthbert's cult attracted a substantial amount of attention in the pre-Conquest period, and continued to do so until the Reformation. The music for his Office was probably written for services on 20 March (feast day) and 4 September (translation), as well as weekly Masses on Thursdays, and has been described as including some of the 'most remarkable compositions of the tenth century' (Hiley, 2001: 29, 31).[77] Lbl 4664, a thirteenth-century breviary and noted hymnal, contains chants in honour of Cuthbert that describe him as a great soldier for Christ, such as the tenth-century hymn for Vespers, *Magnus miles mirabilis* (Lbl 4664, f.187). Other items, such as the Matins hymn, *Anglorum populi plauditi,* describe his popularity amongst the people of England (Lbl 4664, 187v). This is particularly interesting considering St Cuthbert's popularity in Scotland, and

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[77] Christopher Hohler and Dom Anselm Hughes (1956): 'The Durham Services in Honour of St Cuthbert.' In C. F. Battiscombe ed., *The Relics of St Cuthbert,* 155-91. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Laura M. Sole (1998): 'Some Anglo-Saxon Cuthbert *liturgica:* The Manuscript Evidence.' *Revue Bénédictine* 108, 104-44. David Hiley dates the Office of St Cuthbert to *c.*930; (2001): 'The Music of Prose Offices in Honour of English Saints.' *PMM* 10/1, 23-37, 23.

perhaps more so considering the provenance of Lbl 4664, Coldingham Priory (a cell of Durham). The late fourteenth-century polyphonic troped Kyrie (whose text is unique), *Kyrie Cuthberte,* was doubtless composed to embellish the proceedings on important days. By the end of the fifteenth century, new polyphonic Masses were being composed at Durham in Cuthbert's honour; a contract of 1496 required the composition of 'unam novam missam Mariae Virginis et Sancti Cuthberti'.[78] Portions of four manuscripts containing polyphonic music of the fourteenth century are housed today in the university and cathedral libraries in Durham.[79] Lbl 4664 contains a two-part setting of the hymn *Nunc sancte nobis spiritus.* [80] The evidence in its liturgical calendar, including references to Coldingham, northern saints and several additions relating to the

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[78] Dom Anselm Hughes (1956): 'Medieval Polyphony at Durham.' In C. F. Battiscombe ed., *The Relics of St Cuthbert,* 192-201, cited from page 201. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Crosby states that this first appears in the contract of Tildesley, who was employed by the Cathedral 1501-6, so perhaps this is the first named individual to be given this specific duty (Crosby, 1992: 105).

[79] These manuscripts are DRc 20, DRc 8, DRc 11, DRu Comm. Cart. See Brian Crosby (1986): *A Catalogue of Durham Cathedral Music Manuscripts.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. The fullest discussion of DRc 20 is Harrison, 1967: 67-85, but many of his ideas have since been refuted in Bent (1973), Lefferts (1986), and Melville Richards (1999). DRu Comm. Cart. is discussed in William Summers (1977): 'A New Source of Medieval English Polyphonic Music.' *ML* 58/4, 403-14 (which includes a facsimile and transcription). Lefferts criticises elements of this transcription based on notational evidence (1979a): 'Medieval English Fragments.' *ML* 60, 250-1. Facsimile editions can be found in *EECM* 26 and Summers (1983). Editions of the music can be found in *PMFC* 1, 14 and 15, together with textual translations. The texts of the motets *Musicorum collegio* and *Jesu fili* have also been translated by Page (1999).

feast day of St Frideswide, suggests that the book or its contents had some use at Oxford or by Durham monks who had studied there.[81]

Cjec 5 contains polyphony in its binding, but the relationship between this and its host source is unknown. The polyphony was once thought to refer to St Oswald, a factor that would strengthen its link with Durham, but the music has now been linked with the cult of Simon de Montfort (Hughes, 1956: 201; Lefferts, 1981).

Choral singing at Durham can be traced in records that stretch as far back as the mid-fourteenth century, though the first detailed contract for a choral instructor does not appear until 1430.[82] These records have been addressed most fully by Brian Crosby in his doctoral thesis, 'The Choral Foundation of Durham Cathedral c.1350 – c.1650' (1992). Payments to individual musicians are occasionally found in the account rolls, the earliest being 'Nicholao cantori' (to

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[80] Hughes states that the Durham version of this hymn tune is Scandinavian, on the evidence that it is also 'found in a late-thirteenth-century Roskilde manuscript in unison, and it occurs also in a closely similar two-part form at York' (1956: 192); these sources are given as Kiel, University Library, SH 8 A 8vo, and London, Sion College, MS Arc. L 40. 2. The latter example, the Ordinal of St Mary's Benedictine Abbey in York, is now Cjc D.27, f.141. A facsimile of Lbl 4664 is published in Wooldridge and Hughes (1897: pl.39).

[81] There are several indications of provenance on the calendar. Both St Oswald and St Cuthbert's feast days, and the translation of St Cuthbert are written in gold (the octave of St Cuthbert's translation is given in blue, and the octave of St Oswald is rubricated in red). A dedication to the altar of St Michael in Coldingham appears on 29 April. An obit in memory of Thomas Hatfield appears as an addition in May. Confusingly, additions indicating various feasts for St Frideswide are found in February, May, and on 19 October (her accepted feast day). The possibility that music may have been transmitted to and from Durham and many other monastic houses via the University of Oxford has long been accepted (Bent, 1973: 75).

Nicholas the singer) in 1387/8.[83] The fairly substantial sum of two shillings and sixpence suggests that this payment was perhaps for ongoing services rather than for one particular occasion, though other unnamed 'cantors' were paid 13*s.* 4*d.* between 1382/3 and 1385/6 (Crosby, 1992: 162). In 1395/6 an *infirmator puerorum* is mentioned as receiving a sum of 6*s.* 8*d.* (Crosby, 1992: 163).[84]

A complaint made during a visitation of the monastery in *c.*1390 confirms that polyphony was being cultivated by these singers, if not always successfully:

> Item compertum est quod solebant esse clerici cantantes organum et adiuvantes monachos in cantu qui dicitur trebill et iam non sunt in magnum nocumentum et tedium fratrum cantancium in choro.
>
> [There used to be clerks singing the organum and assisting the monks in the song that is called 'trebill', and they are no

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[82] On 22 December 1430, John Stele was contracted to instruct in 'Pryktenote, Faburdon, deschaunte and counter' (Crosby, 1980: 9). Crosby suggests that there is evidence of choral singing as far back as 1356/7 (1992: 42). A historiated initial for Psalm 97, found in DRc A.II.10 (thirteenth century), includes a picture of four clerics singing, rather than the traditionally portrayed three.

[83] The full entry from the Hostiller's Account reads: '1387/8: Item cantoribus ad natale, vs., uni libro organi, iii s. iiii d., uni processionario vi s. viii d. et Nicholao cantori, ii s. vi d'. (Wathey, 1988: 5). See also Joseph Thomas Fowler ed. (1898 – 1901): *Extracts from the Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham from the Original Manuscripts.* 3 vols. *Surtees Society* 99-100, 103.

[84] The detailing of specific payments to musicians seems to have been current practice from *c.*1375 onwards in the major institutions. Durham can be seen as fairly typical in this respect. Ely, for example, records payments to four visiting secular singers for services in 1375/6, 1379/80, and 1383/4; Roger Bowers (1975): 'Choral Institutions Within the English Church: Their Constitution and Development 1340 – 1500.' DPhil dissertation: University of East Anglia, 4077.

> longer there, to the great inconvenience and frustration of the brothers singing in the choir.][85]

'Trebill' might refer to three-part singing in general, the need for a clerk to sing the uppermost part (Bowers, 1995: 17), or the reinforcement of the triplum part, a practice also recorded in 1351 at a chantry in Epworth, Lincolnshire (Bowers, 1983: 178).[86] Bowers associates the doubling of parts with experiments in choral singing in 1397-9 at Westminster Abbey, anticipating the true development of choral singing that occurred from the fifteenth century (1995: 17). Alternatively, assisting with the singing of 'trebill' might refer to the addition of an improvised part or parts to create a three-part texture. This is supported by evidence from Durham's collegiate church at Hemingbrough, where a certain William Watkynson was recommended for a post as vicar there on the basis that he was,

> of connynge sufficiante in redynge and sigynge [*sic*] of playnsong and to syng a tribull til faburdun.[87]

The document DRc XXVII, no. 35, also mentions the fact that the 'dignity of divine worship' was enhanced by 'musical polyphony'

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[85] The translation is my own (after Pantin, 1937: 84). The Latin is quoted in Crosby (1992: 35).

[86] Bowers takes the quotation 'unus tenorem, et alius medium, et ceteri duo cantum tertium sciant canere competenter' from Foster and Thompson (1921); the original document is Lincoln, The Castle, Lincolnshire Archives Office, Archives of the Dean and Chapter, MS Dij 51/3(4).

[87] Richard Cliff's letter to John Wessyngton on 27 November 1432, DRc XXV, no. 18; quoted in R. B. Dobson (1973): *Durham Priory, 1400 – 1450.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 162. The meaning is somewhat ambiguous, but may imply an element of improvisation in the creation of a third part to a pre-existent polyphonic piece.

(organa musicalia) during the final decade of the fourteenth century (Crosby, 1992: 58).[88]

All of the musical pieces contained in DRc 8, DRc 11 and DRu Comm.Cart. are *unica*.[89] This makes any investigation as to their origins problematic, but may also be indicative of the possibility that, like the Kyrie in DRc 11, some of the music was composed, or at least copied, at or for Durham specifically. *Kyrie Cuthberte* has been problematic to editors who have tried to rationalise its wash of accidentals, which include G sharps and E flats. The musical style is at times bizarre, leading one editor to comment that 'we may take the view that fourteenth-century ears enjoyed progressions and dissonances which are intolerable to us' (Hughes, 1956: 198). The editors of this Kyrie in *PMFC* 16 also noted its 'astonishing range of pitch inflections' (*PMFC* 16: 267).

A different case arises with manuscript DRc 20, which has concordances for ten of its twenty-eight pieces, relating to fourteen other sources from both England and the Continent. The host source is framed by two nested bifolia at the front and rear of the volume. The flyleaves contain polyphonic pieces and single voice parts from polyphonic works, and clearly once formed part of one or more substantial musical collections. While the opening leaves, folios 1-4v,

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[88] This manuscript was originally known by the shelf mark DRc Miscellaneous Charter 7071 (c), and may date from 1392 (Crosby, 1992: 67).

include music known to some extent from other English sources, the later ones preserve concordant pieces of French music alongside *unica*. Harrison, the scholar who first studied this manuscript closely, was in no doubt that its leaves all once formed part of the same volume (Harrison and Wibberley, 1981: xi). He also drew attention to the fact that the music fragments bound into Ob 7 were similarly divided into 'English' and 'Anglo-Norman' sections at the beginning and end of the volume respectively, a feature Bent has described as 'no more than a coincidence' (1973: 80). Melville-Richards has been the most recent scholar to challenge Harrison's distinction between the front and rear leaves of both Ob 7 and DRc 20, based largely upon analyses of the textual structures of the motets. She concluded that 'the two groups of flyleaves [in DRc 20] did not emanate from the same source volume' (1999: 26). Bent has raised concern regarding the term 'English' for the opening four flyleaves of DRc 20 (1973: 66-7). Lefferts noted that the upward stems of *Herodis in atrio,* in the front flyleaves, follow the rules of Philippe de Vitry (1986: 123). The 'Frenchness' of pieces in the rear flyleaves is made ambiguous by the use of English rest forms in *Mon Chant* as well as the English piece *Apta caro* (Lefferts, 1986: 152). One of the texts in the motet *Virginalis concio / Contratenor de Virgo sancta Katerina*

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[89] The cantus firmus for the Gloria *Spiritus et Alme* in DRu Comm. Cart. is Sarum Gloria 9, the same as that used in F-Pa MS 135, f.235v.

(rear leaves) was also used in a much later motet by Bittering, which might suggest an insular provenance. However, Melville-Richards points out that previous editors of *Virginalis concio* seem to have been unaware of the red coloration in this piece, a feature that showed awareness of continental practices. She concluded that the motet was 'copied in England—possibly from a Continental exemplar—and that the piece was originally conceived on the Continent' (1999: 196). Bowers considers all the pieces in the rear leaves of DRc 20 to be of continental origin, and copied abroad (1983: 168).[90] This conclusion agrees with Bent's statement that the 'indigenous English repertory from between the Worcester Fragments and Old Hall has no demonstrable continental links, and seems to have remained quite separate in style, techniques and notation until the very late 14th century' (Bent, 1978: 65).

It is quite likely that Durham had more links with the rest of Europe than did other locations, particularly considering its proximity to Scotland and the high number of cathedral staff who worked and travelled with members of the royal family on military expeditions. In general, the motets in DRc 20 lack the localised dedication of those found in sources such as Onc 362. Even those in honour of saints popular in England, such as *Virginalis concio,* may have

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[90] Bowers' statement that the motets on folios 336*-339 'never . . . belonged within any tradition of performance in England' is ambiguous (1983: 168).

originated on the continent. The troped Kyrie in honour of St Cuthbert is unusual in both its harmonic language and melodic style, and cannot be easily compared with other examples found in English sources. It seems that Durham's motet collections were influenced by both English and French music, either in terms of copying pieces found elsewhere or using aspects of their notation and compositional style as a model. There is no way of knowing what other music once existed at Durham in terms of motets in honour of king saints, and it is possible that its polyphonic music was less concerned with such figures, whose cults were centred in the south and east of the country. After all, the saints whose relics were buried there, Bede and Cuthbert, seem not to have been venerated in motets in the south of England. Instead, Durham manuscripts show both a localised preference for unusual forms (the troped Kyrie in honour of St Cuthbert, for example) and a significant understanding of continental music and compositional processes.

Chapter 5

Women's voices in fourteenth-century English music

In his exploration of the performance context of the French medieval motet, Christopher Page discussed how this genre above all others led theorists of the period to view it as a special product, to be consumed by only those of the highest intellectual calibre, the so-called *literati.* Page summarised one theorist's position as follows:

> Johannes de Grocheio's *literati* would certainly have included some very erudite individuals—Masters of Theology, for example—but the term *literati* does not include such men only (though it does include only men).[1]

It is generally accepted that music composed in England during the Middle Ages was the product of male authors. Lack of access to education has been viewed as one of the key reasons why women would have been prevented from composing, or indeed from undertaking any sort of cultural activity associated with the *literati* defined above. Johannes de Grocheio expected, perhaps hoped, that the audience for high status would consist of only the most learned, and by implication male, individuals.[2] The special value of the motet

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[1] Johannes de Grocheio, cited by Christopher Page (1993): *Discarding Images: Reflections on Music and Culture in Medieval France.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 73.

[2] For discussion of women's musical traditions in the Middle Ages, see Yardley (1986).

repertoire was supported in part by its exclusion of the 'lewed', or unlearned, from participation, either as listeners, performers or composers.[3] Women were, in general, at the bottom of the hierarchy for high status literary dissemination.[4]

This distinction is important in the accurate and objective consideration of the female 'voice' in medieval song.[5] The reclamation of repertoire with a female lyric subject in trouvère song, as a possible product of female authors, has sought to rescue early women composers from anonymity.[6] Important though this task is, it would be foolish to accept all attributions on this evidence alone. Women's authorship is 'notoriously hard to identify' partly because the gender of authors 'need not automatically match those of their narrative voices'.[7] As in fiction, there is often a sharp distinction between author and protagonist or subject position. Men and women wrote texts, including lyrics, with no obvious personal references

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[3] For definitions of learned and lewed, see Michael T. Clanchy (1979, 1993): *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066 – 1307.* Oxford: Blackwell.

[4] For a wider discussion of this issue, see Zieman (2003). The literacy of the Nuns of Syon, a fifteenth-century foundation, is discussed in Ann M. Hutchison (1989): 'Devotional Reading in the Monastery and the Late Medieval Household.' In Michael G. Sargent ed., *De Cella in Seculum: Religious and Secular Life and Devotion in Late Medieval England,* 215-27. Cambridge: Brewer.

[5] For an excellent discussion of noblewomen's involvement in the production of lyrics, see Paula Higgins (1991): 'Parisian Nobles, a Scottish Princess, and the Woman's Voice in Late Medieval Song.' *EMH* 10, 145-200. See also Anne L. Klinck and Ann Marie Rasmussen eds. (2002): *Medieval Woman's Song: Cross Cultural Approaches.* Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press.

[6] This is the case with Aglal Doss-Quinby, Joan Tasker Grimbert, Wendy Pfeffer and Elizabeth Aubrey eds. (2001): *Songs of the Women Trouvères.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

during this period. A woman may have written from an androgynous or male perspective in order to give her composition a wider application, and a man may have done the opposite in order to express some specific point. The majority of lyrics from this period are, in any case, anonymous, so the contrast between author and narrative voice is rarely distinguishable.

Writing from a different viewpoint

Women's 'voices' in English motet texts were written almost entirely from a male perspective, because men produced them. When groups excluded from the canon, through lack of literacy or access to certain cultural products, do appear to voice their ideas, they are usually being spoken for rather than addressing the audience directly. Only a handful of pieces of music from this period have been linked with female owners, through a copy being linked to a queen's royal

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[7] Julia Boffey (1996): 'Women Authors and Women's Literacy in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century England.' In Carol Meale ed., *Women and Literature in Britain, 1150 – 1500, 2nd Edition*, 159-82. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 159, 169.

chapel, a nunnery, or a private female owner.[8] It is unlikely that internal evidence in a piece of music, details such as musical style or vocal range, could ever be taken as firm evidence of female production. A small number of pieces of music include a female subject position in their text which cannot be rationalised by understanding it as the direct speech of a saint or Biblical character, and in combination with other circumstantial evidence, might at least be considered as possible exceptions to the male-dominated culture.

This chapter focuses on the voicing of women by, presumably, male textual authors in English polyphony, but seeks to avoid any simple delineation between male and female authors and their 'voices' in song. It was not unusual for an author to use the device of speaking from the point of view of someone from a different social position in order to instruct or explain religious ideas.

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[8] A legal document from 1282 records a woman's claim that her service book worth 20*s.*, manual worth 6*s.* 8*d.*, and two rolls of songs, worth 6*d.* and 2*d.* respectively, had been snatched from her on the king's highway on Easter Day; see R. Malcolm Hogg (1995): 'Some Thirteenth-Century English Book Prices.' In P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd eds., *Thirteenth Century England V. Proceedings of the Newcastle Upon Tyne Conference, 1993*, 179-94. Woodbridge: Boydell, 190. In 1466, Alice Chaucer, granddaughter of Geoffrey Chaucer, requested a number of manuscripts to be sent from her castle of Wingfield in Suffolk to her house at Ewelme in Oxfordshire. These included several service books and a book of polyphony for her chapel; see Carol Meale (1996a): '...alle the bokes that I haue of latyn, englisch, and frensch': Laywomen and their Books in Late Medieval England.' In Carol Meale ed., *Women and Literature in Britain, 1150 – 1500, 2nd Edition*, 128-58. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 134. The manuscript source is Ob A.VIII.47. From the fifteenth century, there are many records of women bequeathing liturgical books to their daughters (Meale, 1996a: 128-31). In the 1390s, Isabel, Duchess of York, left her 'marchart' to her son Edward, though it is unclear whether this can be identified with Guillaume de Machaut's poetry or music (Meale, 1996a: 139). From the fifteenth century, there are many records of women bequeathing liturgical books to their daughters (Meale, 1996a: 128-31).

By personalising the experience in a text, regardless of the actual experience of its author, a greater connection could be made between author and audience. Thus, many poems and lyrics are best viewed as genres of fiction rather than didactic texts expressing the concerns and experiences of their authors. An example would be the poem from the Vernon Manuscript that narrates a moralising tale of a man who hears his church choir singing *Deo Gracias*, and asks the priest to explain the meaning of the text to him.[9] The text of this poem is in English, and is likely to have been the product of the Franciscans who cultivated vernacular texts in order to spread the word of God amongst those who did not understand Latin.

In a Chirche, þer I con knel
þis ender day in on Morwenynge,
Me lyked þe seruise wonder wel;
ffor-þi þe lengore con I lynge.

I seiȝ a Clerk a book forþ bringe,
þat prikked was in mony a plas;

ffaste he souȝte what he scholde synge:
And al was Deo Gracias.

Alle þe queristres in þat qwer.
On þat word fast gon þei cri.

þe noyse was good, & I drouȝ neer
And called a prest ful priueli,

And seid: 'sire, for ȝor curtesi

Tel me, ȝif ȝe habbeþ spas,
What his meneþ, and for whi

ȝe singe Deo Gracias?'

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[9] F. J. Furnivall ed. (1901): *The Minor Poems of the Vernon Manuscript, Part II. EETS os* 117. London: Oxford University Press, 664-6. The poem is also discussed in Cottle (1969: 187-8).

In selk þat comeli clerk was clad,
And ouer a lettorne leoned he;
And wiþ his word he maade me glad,
And seide: 'sone, I schal telle þe:
ffader and Sone In Trinite,
þe holy gost, ground of ur graas,
Also oftesiþe þonke we
As we sei Deo Gracias.'

(Furnivall, 1901: 664-5, verses 1-3 of 11 verses)

This poem is written from the point of view of a young male, his gender made known to us by the clerk having addressed him as 'son'. He stands for the layman wishing to know more about God. We know that he is a churchgoer, but again the specific church is not mentioned, further emphasising the universality of the message. We are told that these events take place in 'a church', not 'my', 'the', or 'a local' church, and that it was 'one morning' but not any more specifically than 'the other day'. The credentials of the protagonist are confirmed by his judgements of what he hears and sees. He says that 'I liked the service very much', which is why he lingered behind at the end. As it happens, one of the clerks brings forth a book brimming with music to the extent that he has to choose what to sing from it. The rest of the choir join in the song, which did not play a part in the service itself. There is a possibility that a polyphonic setting is being described, though plainchant is more likely, since it is first intoned by the clerk and then joined in by the choristers. Our listener comments that 'the noise was good', implying a certain

amount of knowledge or at least good taste. The sound of the choir inspires him to seek the advice of the clerk dressed in fine silk, who leans over a lectern to explain the message of the text. The chivalric language of the protagonist implies a good upbringing; he addresses the clerk as 'sire' and politely asks 'for your courtesy' to explain the text if he has time to do so.

This lyric was almost certainly written by a clerk of the type being described in the text, but from the point of view of the layman to whom the message was directed. By providing a scenario with which such a layman might associate, a morning church service, the author is able to paint a vivid picture of an ideal situation within the audience's perhaps more modest experience. After all, the service itself, the vestments of the 'comely' clerk, the fullness of the repertory of the choirbook and the noise produced by the singers are all described in the most glowing of terms, but are contrasted with the fact that the text invites contemplation of the grace of God, the suffering of Christ and the humility to which mankind should aspire. The power of this verse comes from the fact that the author speaks on behalf of his intended audience, shaping their phrases and thoughts.

This situation happens only rarely in English motets, since only a few include direct speech or any sort of personalised narration other than the most general invocation to a saint. Where it does occur, those spoken for include Biblical characters, as well as those

unable to, or prevented from, contributing to the musical or textual canon, namely laymen, women and non-Christians. Given that much attention has been given to the male, royal or saintly subject of most motets in this study, the discussion below will focus on the voices of women in the texts written primarily by and for male singers during this period.

Models of womanhood

In assessing the extent to which women played a role in the development of music during the later Middle Ages one is faced with two main sectors of the female population with different yet related problems to address. The first are women religious, whose experience was most often shaped by an enclosed life in a nunnery or other religious environment. Musicologists have considered it unlikely that even these women, by their vocation more likely to be literate and involved in religious, liturgical and cultural developments, experienced singing or hearing a piece of polyphony, or owned a manuscript in which such a piece was copied. Laywomen suffered similar restrictions based upon conventional gender roles. Increasingly, throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, ladies from the wealthier end of lay society portrayed themselves as pious

individuals, not simply as virgin, wife, mother or widow.[10] All women's lives were shaped by the patriarchal systems that governed them, and on many levels the experience of women religious and lay in the later Middle Ages can be seen as interwoven.

The role model for all women was the Blessed Virgin Mary, though her standards were unattainable for anyone, since she embodied the paradox of wife, mother and virgin. Even women residing in convents could not live up to this model, since their chastity was not tested by marriage or proved miraculous through virginal childbirth.[11] In the secular world, a widow would sometimes redefine herself as virginal, either by entering a religious house or through building her secular life around a books of hours, private chapel, prayers and patronage of holy works.[12] Maidenhood, in the medieval sense, could include a wide spectrum of experience, including physical intactness and the state of being vowed to a life of chastity, regardless of previous sexual experience (Salih, 2001: 16).

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[10] See Cindy L. Carlson and Angela Jane Weisl eds. (1999): *Constructions of Widowhood and Virginity in the Middle Ages.* New York: St Martin's Press.

[11] This was even more of an issue for those women who turned to the religious life after marriage or widowhood. See Clarissa W. Atkinson (1983): 'Female Sanctity in the Late Middle Ages.' Originally part of *Mystic and Pilgrim: The Book and the World of Margery Kempe.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 151-61, 168-79, 190-94. Reprinted in Lynn Staley trans. and ed. (2001): *The Book of Margery Kempe,* 225-36. New York and London: Norton.

[12] The most frequently cited example of a woman who defined herself in virginal terms, regardless of her numerous children and secular life, is Margery Kempe. See Sarah Salih (2001): *Versions of Virginity in Late Medieval England.* Cambridge: Brewer, 166-241, for a full discussion of this topic. See also Kathleen Coyne Kelly (2000): *Performing Virginity and Testing Chastity in the Middle Ages.* London and New York: Routledge.

In many cultural and didactic products, women were readily compared to the opposite image, that of Eve, the seductive temptress blamed for the fall of Mankind. Medieval literature abounds with misogyny, not least in some of the most popular texts such as the *Roman de la Rose*. It has been argued that one of the most confusing issues in late-medieval preaching and other related literature was the dichotomy between the images presented to audiences of woman as gate of both hell and heaven through the characters of Eve and the Virgin Mary.[13]

Late medieval carols frequently speak of women in these terms, not as individuals but in relation to those (men) on whom they were dependent. A typical lyric, from the carol *By reason of two and poore of one* claimed:

> Of womanhede, lo, thre degres there be:
>
> Widowehede, wedlocke, and virginnitie.
>
> Widowehede clamed heauen; her title is this:
>
> By oppressions that mekelie suffrethe she,
>
> A[nd] wedlocke by generacion heauen hires shuld be,

---

[13] This idea was expressed by Eileen Power, and has been developed by Karin Boklund-Lagopoulou (2000): *'Yate of Heven:* Conceptions of the Female Body in the Religious Lyrics.' In Denis Renevey and Christiania Whitehead eds., *Writing Religious Women: Female Spiritual Practices in Late Medieval England,* 133-54. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. Taylor demonstrated that denouncing the literature of the period as against women ignores the subtlety of many texts and the genuine respect that some male writers had for women. See Larissa Taylor (1992): *Soldiers of Christ: Preaching in Late Medieval and Reformation France.* New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.

And virgins clame by chastite alone.

Then God thought woman should set them at one

And cease their strife,

For Marie was maden, widowe, and wife.[14]

(Greene, 1977: 51, No. 95, verse 6)

Here we can see the ideal woman, the Virgin Mary, the saviour of womankind through her threefold role of virgin (maiden), wife and later widow; she is described as embodying the only roles available to women.

The fifteenth-century author Christine de Pisan criticised such works for their generalisations and anti-female sentiments. In *The Book of the City of Ladies*, for example, the protagonist despairs about 'all manner of philosophers, poets and orators too numerous to mention, who all speak with one voice and are unanimous in their view that female nature is wholly given up to vice'.[15] Throughout this work, various ladies are discussed who have lived virtuous lives, and Christine turns the misogynist literature on its head, quoting from similar sources to prove her own arguments. Women, she points out, are not all like Eve; history was full of marvellous and holy women, from goddesses in mythology to virgin martyrs. Her argument is balanced, suggesting that although some women, and indeed some

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[14] Lbl A. XXV, f.131v, a sixteenth-century manuscript.
[15] Rosalind Brown-Grant ed. (1999): *The Book of the City of Ladies by Christine de Pisan.* London: Penguin Books, 6.

men, have a wicked nature, the fact that women and men had been made by God suggests that they are, in essence, good. She explores the reasons why men have attacked women in their writings, such as 'because of their own bodily impediments, such as impotence or a deformed limb' and 'out of bitterness and spite' for those women with whom they are acquainted who are 'cleverer and more virtuous than they are' (Brown-Grant, 1999: 19). It is the evil in men that is responsible for their slander of the reputation of all women.

Traditionally, female spirituality has been viewed through the lens of literature condemning women for their vices, and as such many preconceptions regarding the involvement of women in scholarly, religious and other such circles have been left untouched.[16] Examples of this include generalisations about women having no experience of complex musical practices, based upon vague statements relating to women's lack of access to literacy or a Classical education.[17] The work of many scholars has shown the flaws in such arguments, but has yet to be applied convincingly to music, and to English music in particular. In order to explore this area, the case study that follows touches on several aspects of

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[16] Alcuin Blamires ed. (1992): *Woman Defamed and Woman Defended: An Anthology of Medieval Texts.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

[17] Millett has shown that 'the educational level of anchorites might fall anywhere on a continuum running from complete illiteracy to a high level of scholarship'; see Bella Millett (1996a): 'Women in No Man's Land: English Recluses and the Development of Vernacular Literature in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries.' In Carol Meale ed., *Women and Literature in Britain, 1150 – 1500, 2nd Edition,* 86-103. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

women's involvement in polyphony in the fourteenth century, focussing on the motet *Zelo tui langueo / Reor nescia / T. Omnes de saba,* which caused so much controversy in the literature of the late twentieth century.

Case Study: *Zelo tui langueo*

The motet *Zelo tui langueo* is important to the understanding not only of the female voice and the way it featured in compositions of this period, but also in our perception of the role that women played in the cultivation of polyphonic music. It reveals some of the prejudices that have clouded modern scholarship in relation to manuscript copying and transmission, and it blurs the delineation so often made between music cultivated in monasteries and that generated for and by the laity in the early part of the fourteenth century. Its value lies not in its complexity or exceptional craftsmanship as a piece of music, say, in relation to other motets of a similar period, but in the way in which it is often assumed that anything good must have been highly valued, and that music of a lower level of sophistication must have been less important to its owners and singers (its audience, its receivers). It is this two-fold story of the reception of *Zelo tui langueo* that forms the backbone of this discussion, firstly in its fourteenth-century context and secondly in the reception of this piece

of music by musicologists of the twentieth century. While I will not be arguing that this piece of music is typical or representative of the best of early fourteenth-century motets, I hope to highlight areas of discrepancy between the ways in which music could be important, valued and powerful in the fourteenth century in ways that are not reflected in the literature.

Manuscript sources

There are two copies of *Zelo tui langueo*, Lbl 1210 (f.143) and Y xvi.N.3 (f.10v). Y xvi.N.3 preserves only the triplum and tenor lines; all three parts are found in Lbl 1210. In the most recent edition of this piece, and the only one to take into account the readings from Y xvi.N.3, Christopher Page used Lbl 1210 as the base manuscript on account of it being the only 'complete' copy (see Fig. 10).[18] Both Y xvi.N.3 and Lbl 1210 lack some material that has been cropped from the edges of each manuscript. Page's commentary shows that Y xvi.N.3 gives the more reliable reading of the two with regard to the text and melody of the triplum, where lines 6-7 'are garbled in the Sloane manuscript' (Page, 1997: 22). Bar 54 of the triplum part relies on the readings from Y xvi.N.3 because Lbl 1210 gives parallel sevenths (Page, 1997: 26). Page's edition is more reliable than the

one available in *PMFC* 15, but it prioritises the fuller version of the motet over the more 'reliable' source. If the exemplar available to the copyist of Y xvi.N.3 was the more accurate copy, and if this was backed up by evidence of provenance, we might be able to say something about the transmission of this motet more generally.

Fig. 10: *Zelo tui langueo* (after Page, 1997)

[18] The other edition available is *PMFC* 15, which could not take the recent discovery of the York source into consideration in time for publication.

26

-se - ri - a pa - tris A - de gra-vis et trans-gres-si - o!

-fi - ci - a vir - gi - nis, que tot [sal] - u - bri - a,

32

qui ci - be - ri - a tot a - me - na

in - gra - ra so - la - ci - o, ab - stu -

38

pos-se-dit pro li - bi - to et non pla - cu - it

lit, per su - a mer - ri - ta, ho - mi - ni[s] de me - di - o,

44

ve - sci ni - si ve - ti - to po - mo

nam pro vi - ci - o e - je - ctus de

50

de - o per quod in - tu - lit gra - ve pre - ju - di - ci - um

pa - ra-d[i-si] gau-di - o pri - mus gen - si - tor

56

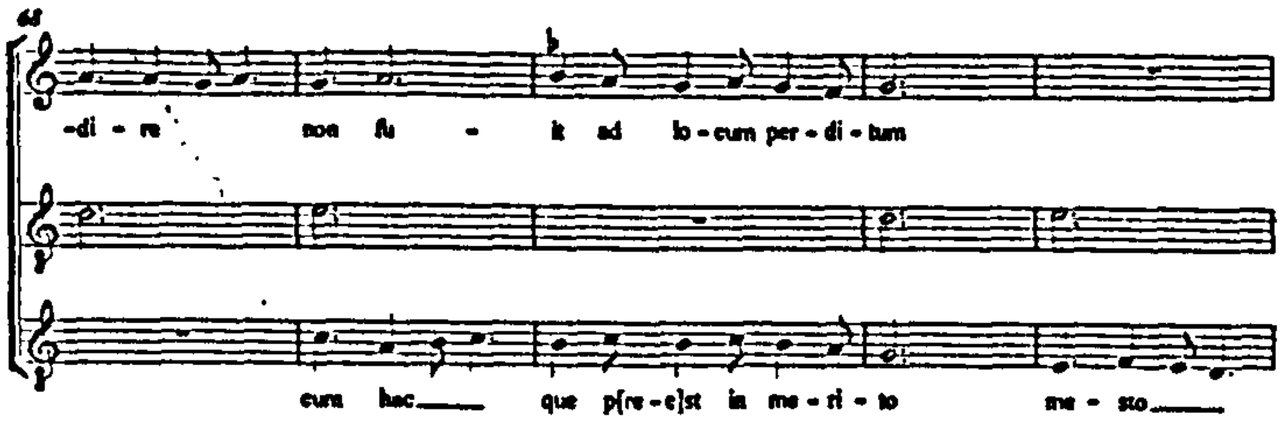
un - de gau - di - um per - di - dit et

man - sit in ex - i - li - o; pri - va -

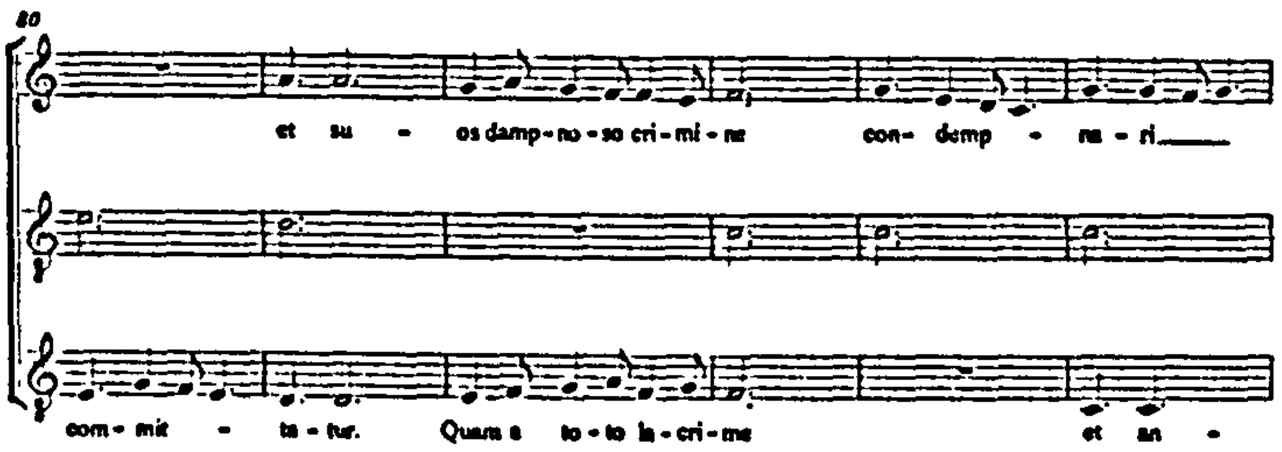
62

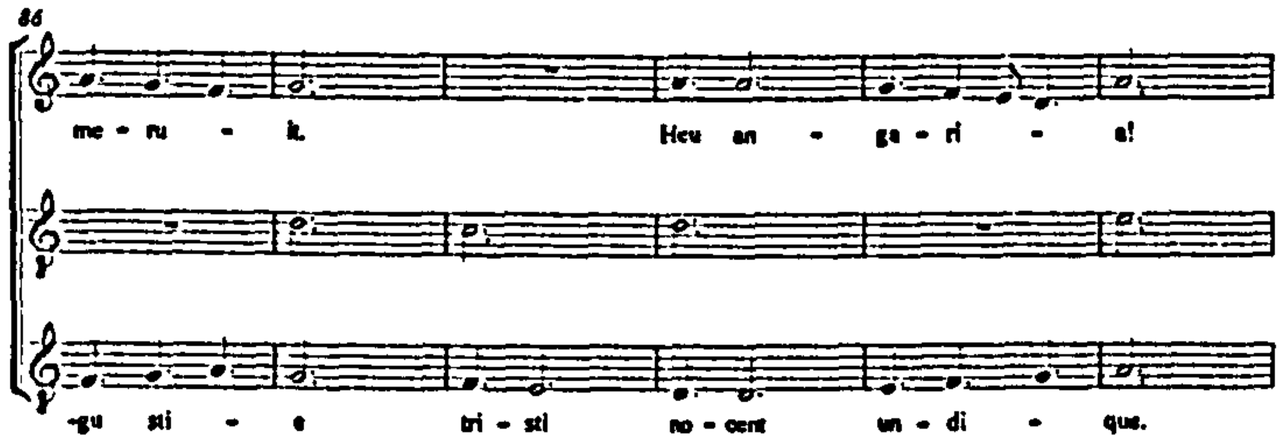
fu - git in ex - i - li - um a quo li - ci - tum re -

tus gran-di do-mi - ni - o, pau - per, et tam sub - i - to,


-di - re non fu - it ad lo - cum per - di - tum
cum hac que p[re - e]st in me - ri - to me - sto

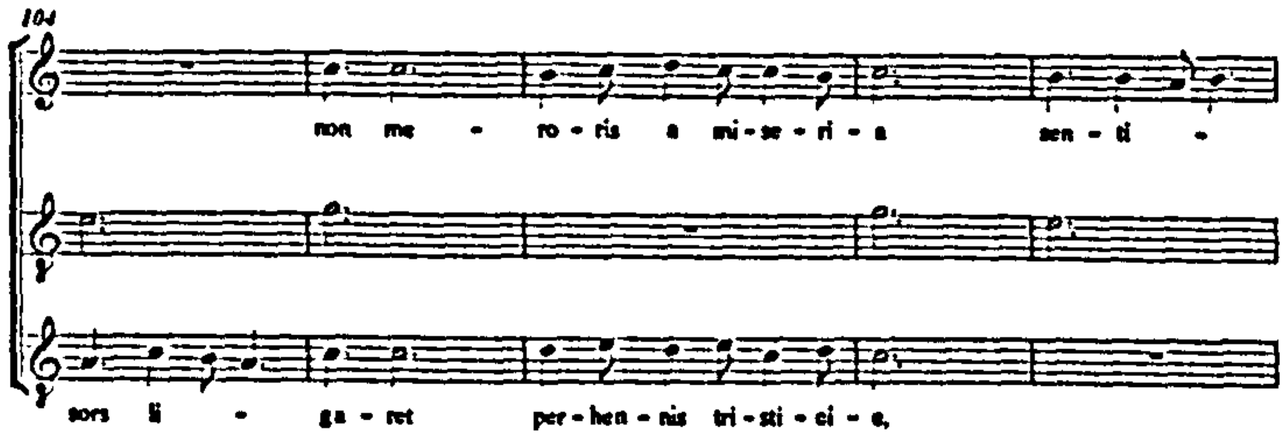
sed - mi - se - n - e ju - gum hic su - sti - nu - it
fle - vit a - ni - mo. Hec mi - se - ri - e


et su - os damp - no - so cri - mi - ne con- demp - na - ri
com - mit - ta - tur. Quum a to - to la - cri - me et an -


me - ru - it. Heu an - ga - ri - e!
-gu sti - e tri - sti no - cent un - di - que.

NI - SI pu - er - pe - ri - um tu - um
NI - SI ma - ter gra - ci - e pro - tu - lis - set

fer - ret, vir - go re - gi - a, damp - na - tis sub - si - di - um,
fus mi - se - ri - cor - di - e re - es u - ti - que


104
non me - ro - ris a mi - se - ri - a sen - ti -
sors li - ga - ret per - hen - nis tri - sti - ci - e,
109
- ret re - me - di - um. Er - go, Da - vid ca - ra fi - li -
sed sol___ gra - ci - e o - ri - tur ex___ si - de - re le - ti - ci -
115
-a, que lau - dum pre - co - ni - a ti - bi
-e: si[c] de car - ce - re fa - cit___ vin - ctos
122
con - de - - cent ap - te___ di - ci
sur - ge - - re, car - ta
126
ob tot___ be - ne - - fi - ci - a!
da - ta___ vi - te___ glo - ri - e.

This would all continue to be no more than conjecture, were it not for several intriguing items of iconography from the fourteenth century that cast light on the historical background of the motet in a unique way. The depictions for consideration are the Howard Psalter (Lbl 83 I, f.63v, Plate 1), the Harnhulle Psalter (Downside Abbey, MS 26533, f.158, Plates 2 and 5), the Longleat Breviary (Longleat House, MS 10, f.150, Plate 3), Oas 7, f.89 (Plate 4), and the Ellesmere Psalter (US-SM EL 9 H 17, f.129v, Plate 6).[19] All these manuscripts can be traced to the first decades of the fourteenth century when at least the first two, and probably the others, were apparently illuminated by the same East Anglian artist, who sought, for reasons unknown, to portray the conventional singing figures in the historiated initial to Psalm 97 in an unparalleled amount of detail.[20] I added the Longleat Breviary to the examples previously addressed by Page and Michael after reading Lucy Freeman Sandler's description of the manuscript:

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[19] Colour facsimiles of the Howard and Harnhulle Psalters are given in Page (1997: 8), though the lithography is faulty. The image from the Howard Psalter is frequently reproduced, but is given here as Plate 1. It is also used as the cover design for Nicolas Bell (2001): *Music in Medieval Manuscripts.* London: The British Library, and on page 47 of the same book, where it is accompanied by a similar image from Lbl 2888, f.98v. The Harnhulle Psalter is discussed in Michael A. Michael (1981): 'The Harnhulle Psalter Hours: An Early Fourteenth-Century Illuminated Manuscript at Downside Abbey.' *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 134, 81-99; and Dom Aelred Watkin (1940): 'Some Manuscripts in the Downside Abbey Library.' *Downside Review* 58, 438-51. The Psalm 97 initial from the Harnhulle Psalter is reproduced here as Plate 2. There is no published copy of the Longleat Breviary initial, which is reproduced below by permission of the Marquess of Bath, Longleat House, Warminster, Wiltshire (Plate 3). Oas 7, f.89 is pictured in black and white in James W. McKinnon (1976): '*Canticum novum* in the Isabella Book.' *Mediaevalia* 2, 207-22, page 216; it is also given here as Plate 4.

[20] The convention of illustrating Psalm 97 with singing clerics is discussed in McKinnon (1976) and Page (1997).

Plate 1 The Howard Psalter. London, British Library,
Arundel 83 I, f.63v
Reproduced by permission of British Library Images Online.

Plate 2 The Harnhulle Psalter. Downside Abbey,
MS 26533, f.158
Reproduced by permission of Downside Abbey Library.

Plate 3 The Longleat Breviary. Longleat House,
MS 10, f.150
Reproduced by permission of the Marquess of Bath,
Longleat House, Warminster, Wiltshire.

adorant sculptilia: et
qui gloriantur in
simulacris suis.
Adorate eum omnes
angeli ei: audiuit et le
tata est syon.
Et exultauerunt fi
lie iude: propter iudicia
tua domine.
Quoniam tu dominus
altissimus super omnem
terram: nimis exaltatus
es super omnes deos.
Qui diligitis dominum
odite malum:
custodit dominus
animas sanctorum suorum.
De manu peccatoris
liberabit eos.
Lux orta est iusto:
et
rectis corde letitia.
Letamini iusti in
domino: et confitemini
memorie sanctifi
cationis eius.
Ante
te do
mino
cam
quoniam
nouum: quia mira
bilia fecit.
Saluauit sibi dextera
eius: et brachium sanc
tum eius.
Notum fecit dns
salutare suum: in co
spectu gentium reue
lauit iustitiam suam.
Recordatus est misericor

Plate 5 The Harnhulle Psalter. Downside Abbey,
MS 26533, f.255
Reproduced by permission of Downside Abbey Library.

Plate 6 The Ellesmere Psalter. San Marino, Huntington Library,
MS EL H 17, f.129v
Reproduced by permission of the Huntington Library.

> Among East Anglian manuscripts the breviary is closest to the Howard Psalter. . . . Despite differences in type of book, in format, and in pictorial subjects, the smallest details of draughtsmanship and colour are so similar that it must be concluded that the same artist worked on both books. . . . Where the Longleat Breviary and the Howard Psalter have subjects in common – as for example in most of the historiated psalm initials – the miniatures are nearly identical except in size, which is invariable smaller in the breviary. Comparison may be made of . . . the three singing clerics of Psalm 97, especially the one who cups his hand to his ear.[21]

Neither Oas 7 nor the Ellesmere Psalter have been picked up elsewhere in musicological literature relating to the motet *Zelo tui langueo* (see Plates 4 and 6).

In the Howard and Harnhulle Psalters, the motet *Zelo tui langueo* is identifiable by its triplum text and, in the Harnhulle Psalter, triplum melody. Several *Cantate domino* initials from the later Middle Ages contain images of singing clerics that include text or a representation of notation on a book or parchment roll.[22] Yet, since no other motet from this period appears in iconographical sources with an identifiable piece of polyphony, the value of this

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[21] Lucy Freeman Sandler (1976): 'An Early Fourteenth-Century Breviary at Longleat.' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 39, 1-20 and plates, cited from page 11.

chance survival is obvious.[23] In the article which accompanies his edition of *Zelo,* Page carefully explored the traditional convention of illustrating Psalm 97 with a picture of singing clerics, one that tropes the text of the psalm itself 'Cantate domino canticum novum', 'Sing unto the Lord a new song'. He also posited the kind of situation that may have led this artist to the motet *Zelo tui langueo* in the first place:

> It is not difficult to imagine how the artist of the Howard and Downside psalters . . . might have found a motet to copy. He was perhaps a layman travelling through East Anglia or working in a purely secular 'shop' in a great monastic centre such as Norwich, Bury, Ely or Peterborough. . . . Many such scenes in 'shop' and cloister can be imagined, but none of them will diffuse our sense that [these pictures] show something quite unusual . . . no other English *Cantate* initial has come to light which copies material from an identifiable polyphonic work.
>
> (Page, 1997: 9)

It is important to explore the historical information that is available about the genesis the Longleat Breviary (Plate 3) and Oas 7 (Plate 4),

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[22] Several stained glass images and manuscripts from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries include text from the Gloria or Sanctus with or without music.

because they portray what can be demonstrated to be similar clerics singing from a book without precise notation, and were composed under similar circumstances.

The distinctive style of this active East Anglian artist has been admired by many scholars, who have traced his work and that of his collaborators in several sources from the early part of the fourteenth century.[24] Such sources are typified by their delicate artistry and by their combination of vibrant colour and composition, and seem to have been produced for some of the wealthiest patrons of the period.[25]

The Howard Psalter is perhaps the most famous of the three books in question.[26] Named after its sixteenth-century owner, it can be further linked to East Anglia through the inclusion of a 'calendar of uncertain East Anglian destination (fols.6-11v)' (Sandler, 1983:

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[23] Ob A.I, f.127v (Fig. 7 in McKinnon, 1976: 215) shows three clerics from the middle of the fourteenth century, holding a book that is at a highly impractical angle. McKinnon states that the text is 'Et in terra' (McKinnon, 1976: 214), but it could also be the word 'Granum' on the verso, suggesting a chant/piece of music in honour of St Thomas of Canterbury, setting the popular text *Iacet granum.*

[24] Sandler (1976). Examples of several artists from East Anglia are given in Lucy Freeman Sandler (1986): *Gothic Manuscripts, 1285 – 1385.* 2 vols. London: Miller. For discussion of earlier Psalters, see Günther Haseloff (1938): *Psalterillustration im 13. Jahrhundert: Studien zur Geschichte der Buchmalerei in England, Frankreich und den Niederlanden.* Kiel: [n.p.].

[25] See Otto Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander (1973): *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford* III, *British, Irish, and Icelandic Schools.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

11). Coats of arms through the manuscript refer to the Howard, Freville and Fitton families. Sir William Howard had manors at East Winch and Wiggenhall. John Fitton and his wife Alice were also from Wiggenhall, and had masses said for them after their deaths at Wiggenhall St German's (Sandler, 1976: 12-13).[27] Wiggenhall comprises the villages of Wiggenhall St Mary the Virgin, Wiggenhall St Germans, Wiggenhall St Peter and Wiggenhall St Mary Magdalene, which lie next to one another in Norfolk, under five miles from the Gilbertine priory of Shouldham, as well as in close proximity to several other religious houses (see Appendix 1). It may be significant that Shouldham was responsible for many of the affairs of the church of Wiggenhall St Peter, where it held the advowson.[28] The location of this Gilbertine double house will be discussed further below, since it has been a contested point that its nuns or canons once owned the manuscript Y xvi.N.3.

The historiated initial in the Howard Psalter contains three clerks, dressed in boldly-coloured vestments, and gathered around an

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[26] The De Lisle Psalter (Lbl 83 II), which was bound to the Howard Psalter in the sixteenth-century, does not share its artist with the Howard Psalter. It was donated by its patron, Robert de Lisle, to two of his daughters, Audere and Alboron, who were nuns at the Gilbertine priory of Chicksands in Bedfordshire where it was to be held in perpetuity. This is indicated by an inscription on f.122, 'Et apres remeyne a tous iours a les dames de Chikessaund'; Lucy Freeman Sandler (1983): *The Psalter of Robert de Lisle in the British Library*. London: Harvey Miller Ltd, Oxford University Press, Plate 1, page 34.

[27] St German is also known as St Germanus or Germain, and is likely to be St Germanus of Paris (28 May) rather than St Germanus of Auxerre (31 July).

[28] William Page ed. (1906): *The Victoria History of the County of Norfolk*, 2. London: Constable and Company Ltd, 413. Advowson was the right held by an institution to appoint clerical staff at another place.

unusual lectern suspending a parchment roll on which black notation is inscribed on red, four-line staves (Plate 1). The text between these staves reads 'Zelo / tui / la*n*gue / v*ir*go / regi / a. / S*ed* no*n*' which concords exactly with the opening of the motet, minus the 'o' on the end of 'langueo'. The artist seems to have fancifully placed the lectern on what appears to be green grass; the lectern itself is distinctive in its angled stem (here left or painted white) and its leafy red upper portion. The clerk furthest from the lectern holds a second *rotulus,* whose contents are not revealed but imply a further collection of music.[29] The gestures of all three men are suggestive of musical performance; all open-mouthed, one clerk follows the opening of the text with his finger, a second looks over his shoulder, and the first and third cup their ears with their hands, perhaps to hold pitch. Although the notation in this example shows only approximate pitches on the staves, the style of notation is comparable to that current in the first half of the fourteenth century, a point which confirms the overall impression that the music was entered as an integral part of the image.

The second example of the depiction of *Zelo,* in the *Cantate domino* initial of the Harnhulle Psalter, is even more remarkable, since it appears to preserve some sense of the relative pitches of the

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[29] There may be an association here between polyphony and music sung from parchment rolls, rather than books, but since polyphonic music (and pictures of it) is most frequently found in the remains of books this must remain speculation.

melodic line of the triplum (see Plate 2) (Page, 1997: 8). Its detail is extraordinary, and might be taken to imply an improvement in artistic technique in relation to the Howard Psalter example. Again, three clerks in similar bright vestments to the Howard Psalter, gather to the left of a lectern with an angled stem, this time painted green and with a plain white upper portion.[30] These clerks also sing *Zelo* from a parchment roll. The second *rotulus* has vanished, to be replaced by a small green book in the left hand of the clerk nearest to the music. He looks towards his fellow singers, but gestures with his right hand in the direction of the lectern.

The origins of the Harnhulle Psalter are unclear, since feasts within its liturgical calendar seem to be contradictory, but its provenance has been accepted as being East Anglian, perhaps somewhere in Suffolk.[31] Aelred Watkin suggested a provenance of Ely, but the calendar's Ely saints, Etheldreda (17 October), Ermenilda (13 February), and Withburga (8 July), would be as likely to appear in books from elsewhere in the diocese (Watkin, 1940: 443). Other East Anglian saints (St Felix and St Botolph), are accompanied by St Winwaloy, a Cornish saint whose cult was also active in parts of Norfolk (Watkin, 1940: 439). Michael's discussion

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[30] Page discusses the relevance of the vestments of the clerk furthest from the lectern in his article, demonstrating the link between the stars that decorate the fabric and those stipulated for clerks during Epiphany. This is corroborated as significant by his identification of the tenor of *Zelo* as an Epiphanal gradual, *Omnes de Saba* (Page, 1997: 18-20).

[31] Watkin (1940) describes the Harnhulle Psalter as 'The Ely Psalter'.

of this source related its provenance to other manuscripts containing artwork by the same East Anglian anonymous.[32] He suggested that the owner of the manuscript was Henry of Harnhulle (d. by 1345) who can be linked with Suffolk, since he owned a manor at Bramfield.[33] Michael has also traced Henry of Harnhulle in a charter from 1329 regarding mortmain (witnessed by John Fovas, a vicar of Claxton, Norfolk). Harnhulle's property was to pass to the prior and convent of Blythburgh in Suffolk, in return for Masses to be sung for Henry and his wife, Isabella, after their death. The cartulary of Blythburgh Augustinian Priory, Lbl 40725, also contains the names of Henry of Harnhulle and John Fovas, and contains a second grant of land to Blythburgh (Michael, 1981: 94). The Blythburgh Cartulary is already well known to musicologists for its inclusion of late fourteenth-century polyphonic settings of the Ordinary of the Mass, which appear on the front flyleaf.[34] The host document ends with a copy of an agreement made in 1278/9 for the provision of a daily, rather than twice weekly, Mass, though this is perhaps a century later than the original agreement.[35] There appears to be no connection between the surviving polyphonic Mass items and the web of sources

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[32] These include a Bible concordance (Lbl 3. B. III) that was given to the Gilbertine house at Sempringham, Lincolnshire, by Johannes de Glynton, a man who had donated another three books to this establishment (Michael, 1981: 84-5).
[33] An obit relating to the death of Isabelle, daughter of John of Lindhurst and wife of Henry of Harnhulle, may suggest that she was the original owner of the manuscript (Michael, 1981: 94).
[34] Edited in *PMFC* 16, items 35 and 48.

relating to *Zelo tui langueo* other than the patronage of Harnhulle at Blythburgh and for the Psalter at Downside Abbey.[36]

The Longleat Breviary has been described most fully by Lucy Freeman Sandler (1976). Its historiated initial for Psalm 97 seems to have escaped the notice of Michael, and therefore Christopher Page who drew on Michael's information (Michael, 1981; Page, 1997). Measuring just 185mm x 122mm, the Breviary was probably created for the Bohun family's manor in Kimbolton, for use by the priest of St Andrew's church, and later adapted for use in Lincolnshire (Sandler, 1976: 2). Its compilation can be dated between 1316 and 1322 (when its patron, Humphrey de Bohun, was killed in the Battle of Boroughbridge) (Sandler, 1976: 3). Unfortunately, the size of the *Cantate domino* initial (with the singing figures only 18mm in height) seems to have meant that actual features of the manuscript book from which the monks are singing are not as detailed as the other two examples, and no words or music are given (though wavy lines indicate a text of some sort, see Plate 3). As suggested by Sandler, the picture is comparable to the images in the Howard and Harnhulle Psalters in many ways, even though the singers perform from a book rather than a parchment roll (Sandler, 1976: 11).

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[35] Christopher Harper-Bill (1980-1): *Blythborough Priory Cartulary.* 2 vols. Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer.

[36] Michael stops short of suggesting a provenance for the actual composition of the manuscripts that he discusses, other than East Anglia, which he uses to denote the dioceses of Ely and Norwich and the Lincolnshire fens (1981: 81).

All three clerks in the Longleat Breviary initial have slightly longer beards than are evident in the previous examples, particularly the man standing in the centre. The clerk who had been nearest the lectern now stands furthest from it, but is identifiable through his same red vestments with a green lining and large gold clasp. He also seems to be directing the performance, as before. The other two clerks point towards different pages of the manuscript, and their eyes appear to focus on different areas of the book, suggesting that they are singing together but from different parts of the open pages. This is interesting, since it suggests a *cantus collateralis* layout, one consistent with the music manuscript copies of *Zelo* but lacking from the other two iconographical sources (which clearly show a parchment roll). The lectern acting as their music stand appears with a red and white leafy upper portion, similar to that in the Howard Psalter; it is also shown with an angled stem, in green like the one in the Harnhulle Psalter. In the left hand margin of the Longleat Breviary is a figure bearing a close resemblance to the clerks who cup their hand to their ears in all of these images. The image as a whole looks a little less sophisticated in terms of composition and articulation, though the size of the manuscript is so small that its detail is still impressive. The singers' feet are enclosed within the initial, suggesting that the Howard and Harnhulle images developed this feature by making the singers seem to come forward from the

page. The expressive faces of the singers, and their surprised eyebrows, contain the same liveliness. The singers' cartoonish hands also draw attention to the difficulties facing the singers in their new song.

Oas 7 differs from the images that show *Zelo tui langueo* being sung (see Plate 4). Page has argued that the blue, starred vestments shown in the Howard and Harnhulle Psalter images are appropriate to the season of Epiphany (Page, 1997: 18-20). The *Cantate domino* image in Oas 7 appears to refer to Christmas. This is implied by the appearance of a shepherd's crook under the right elbow of the clerk furthest from the music, which has been read as part of a convention of images containing references to the shepherds at nativity in some Psalm 97 initials (McKinnon, 1976: 214). Elements of the artist's style, such as the articulation of the drapery, are different, somehow more refined, than in the Howard Psalter. Other elements in the artist's work that differ from the Howard Psalter include the facial features of the clerics in the centre and on the left, and the rounded eyebrows in comparison with the surprised expressions consistent between the Howard and Harnhulle images. Yet, I would suggest that the same artist appears to have been involved in the production of the image, and that it was based upon the same exemplar as those showing the motet *Zelo tui langueo.* I would tentatively propose that the Epiphanal image might have been

adapted to refer to Christmastide by the addition of the crutch, which appears to be an afterthought in that it is placed in the space created by the clerk cupping his hand to his ear visible in the other examples. Three clerics, one of whom has the same face as the singer in the centre of the Howard Psalter example, gather to the left of the leafy music stand (with a straight stem this time), on which is placed a choirbook. The clerk closest to the music holds down the pages on the left and right, and the others peer over his shoulder at the music, unfortunately only a series of unpitched longs between red stave lines on each page.[37] The singers are all robed in cloaks this time (there are no starred vestments), with more modest clasps than the leader of the choristers in the Howard Psalter. Above the singers, traces of monastic architecture place the performance inside a religious building. At the base of the image, the right foot of each singer points gracefully to the side and slightly backwards; some or all of the singers' feet are portrayed in this way in the Howard and Harnhulle Psalters.

Oas 7 is a Psalter dating from *c.*1320 – 30, and originated in East Anglia where it was almost certainly executed for a local house

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[37] There is no evidence that this is intended to be a tenor part to a motet.

or noble family.[38] Variations from standard entries in the liturgical calendar (f.1-6v) include St Winwaloy, St Wilfrid (Ely) and St Botolph.[39] A fifteenth-century obit for Maria de Packenham (d.1361) strengthens the East Anglian connection further, since Pakenham is only a few miles from Bury St Edmunds in Suffolk (Watson, 1997: 17). The translation of Edward the Confessor (13 October) is marked in red, as is the translation of Etheldreda (17 October).

The Ellesmere Psalter is an English manuscript donated by Isabella Vernun to the Cistercian nuns at Hampole, and contains a *Cantate domino* initial in which the clerics sing from music whose text reads 'Quare fremu'. A figure in the margin sings from a similar book, also containing the text incipit (see Plate 6). This is clearly Psalm 2, *Quare fremuerunt gentes et populi,* which is a source for part of the text of a polyphonic setting in Lbl 1210, item 9. The owners of the manuscript had Derbyshire connections, but the liturgical calendar seems to me to be strongly East Anglian, since it includes the feasts of Sexburga and Withburga. This manuscript image does not contain any music notation, but it is certainly tantalising that the polyphonic version of the psalm text exists in the

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[38] Andrew G. Watson (1997): *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts of All Souls College, Oxford.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 15-7. See also Michael A. Michael (1990): 'Destruction, Reconstruction and Invention: The Hungerford Hours and English Manuscript Illumination of the Early Fourteenth Century.' In Peter Beal and Jeremy Griffiths eds., *English Manuscript Studies 1100 – 1700* 2, 33-108. Oxford: Blackwell.

same manuscript as one of the copies of *Zelo tui langueo.* There is also a two-part piece in the *Roman de Fauvel* that opens *Quare fremuerunt,* which is interesting considering the appearance of *Inter amenitatis tripudia* in Y xvi.N.3 *(PMFC* 1: 4). Perhaps most fascinating of all, but probably completely unrelated, the Cistercian nuns at Hampole housed the recluse Richard Rolle, who wrote a poem opening *Zelo tui langueo* (see below).

The illumination of this initial is richer in colour, and more similar to Oas 7 than any of the Howard, Harnhulle or Longleat initials. Yet there are several details that correspond closely between several or all sources, not only in terms of composition. The clerk closest to the music wears red vestments with a green lining, which feature in all of the images under discussion. The music stand is plain, but the form of its base section is similar to that shown in the Howard and Harnhulle Psalters and the Longleat Breviary. The clerk furthest from the music holds his head back further than in any other images, but cups his hand to his ear in a similar way. The colour of the vestments seems to be identical between Oas 7 and the Ellesmere Psalter.

Page suggested two main conclusions relating to his examination of the Howard and Harnhulle initials. Firstly, he made

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[39] Watson notes that St Botolph is also found entered into the calendar of the Hungerford Hours (Lbl 61887), 'which have a strong Ely connection' (Watson, 1997: 16-7).

the link between the Epiphanal chant *Omnes de Saba* used as the tenor in *Zelo tui langueo,* and the Epiphanal vestments of the cleric in blue.[40] He deduced that the artist in question had made the link between the motet and its liturgical significance. He further posited that this man and the one in red and green may have been the outer rulers of the choir, and went on to suggest that this indicated a specific moment was being shown (Page, 1997: 21). There was a historical convention for decorating Psalm 97 with three male singing clerics, but there is a possibility that the artist had a specific performance scenario in his mind (though this need not have been something that he had witnessed 'live'). The image in Oas 7 shows that the exemplar itself may not have been liturgically focused, and could be adapted to suit a passage of text or even a date in the church calendar through the manipulation of symbols in the clerks' attire and actions. The addition of a shepherd's crook linked the image to the shepherds at the Nativity, and the insertion of the motet text, in combination with the starred vestments, shifted it to Epiphany.

Page's conclusions are possibly undermined by a second image in the Harnhulle Psalter. In the final portion of the manuscript, the Mass for the Dead is decorated with a historiated initial in which three clerics

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[40] There are some differences between the tenor of *Zelo* and the plainchant *Omnes de Saba,* but in general there are enough similarities to support Page's suggestion. There is no relationship between the motet and any surviving plainchants opening on a 'Z', such as *Zachae festinas descende, Zelo Christi succensa, Zelus domus tuae, Zeno pontifix inclite,* or *Zoe uxor Nicostrati.*

sing (see Plate 5). The image of the clerics is badly rubbed, but the altar cloth next to the singers is in the same blue fabric, and decorated with the same stars, as in the initial to Psalm 97. This time, the clerks perform from a book, presumably meant to represent music suitable for a Requiem service. No polyphonic settings of the Requiem survive before the fifteenth century, so there can be no link between the music and the altar cloth. The appearance of the same starred material in both images argues against a clear association between vestments and the liturgical significance of the music performed, unless of course it referred to a specific memorial held during Epiphany.[41]

The provenance of Y xvi.N.3

The possibility that the images in these Psalters portray a specific performance scenario is important because textual details of *Zelo tui langueo,* and the provenance of one of the two sources that contains it, Y xvi.N.3, have been used to suggest that *Zelo* was sung by women. This is possible, but is it plausible in a medieval

[41] The only obit mentioned in the liturgical calendar is on 9 August (Michael, 1981: 94).

context?[42] Mary Dominica Legge first aired this idea, and her conclusions were later published by Harrison (Harrison and Wibberley, 1981: xiii-xv).[43] The textual aspects of *Zelo* will be explored later. When Legge published her article in 1929, observing the appearance of the music in Y xvi.N.3, she was chiefly concerned with the manuscript's main contents, the *Lumière as Lais* by Peter d'Abernon of Peckham.[44] This text, an Anglo-Norman verse treatise on sin, was circulated widely during the last quarter of the thirteenth century, and about sixteen copies have been preserved (Legge, 1951: 191). Of these, it has been suggested that Y xvi.N.3 'outclasses all the rest in interest and value', since it was once considered to be an autograph on account of its colophon stating that:

> Les quatre livres de cest romaunz furent fetz a Novel Lyn en Surie E les deus dreyns a Oxneford. Si fu comence a la Pasche al Novel Lyn e termine a la Chaundelure apres a Oxeneford. Le an nostre seygnur mil e deus cenz e seisaunte setyme.

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[42] All-women vocal ensembles such as Trio Mediaeval and Anonymous 4 regularly perform medieval repertory for three or four voices with women only. My own experience as a choral director of the University of York Centre for Medieval Studies choir, *Rosa Alba,* confirms that the vast majority of pieces from this period work for female voices, including *Zelo tui langueo.*

[43] M. Dominica Legge (1951): *'La Lumière as Lais* - A Postscript.' *The Modern Language Review* 46, 191-5, especially page 192.

[44] Nothing is known of this author other than he was rather prolific and that his writings were widely circulated. It has been supposed, on the evidence of the colophon in Y xvi.N.3 that he was an Augustinian canon from Newstead priory in Surrey who went on to study at Oxford. Peckham, Fetcham and Abernon, the names by which he is variously known in manuscripts of his works, are all places in Surrey (Legge, 1951: 193).

> [The first four books of this story were made at Newstead in Surrey and the other two books at Oxford. It was started at Easter at Newstead and completed the following Candlemas at Oxford. The year of Our Lord 1267.]
>
> (Cited in Legge, 1951: 191; my translation)

Legge argued that this colophon referred to copying rather than composition. Evidence for this includes several corrections made to the copy by a reviser and the original scribe and, more conclusively, the fact that several lines are omitted from this source which are found in other copies of the same text (Legge, 1951: 192). Her study then focused on the evidence provided by the fragmentary liturgical calendar forming the first part of the manuscript, which runs from March to October. Legge believed that the calendar was probably written by the same scribe as the main text, though she 'would not take an oath' to that effect (1951: 192). It is fairly clear from observing this manuscript that the calendar and table of contents that precede the text of the *Lumière as Lais* were appended at a considerably later date, perhaps during the first half of the fourteenth century. Illustrations representing the labours of the months are certainly more modern than the delicately drawn scribe at the head of Peckam's text. However, the fact that the calendar and table of contents in the first part of Y xvi.N.3 and the main text belonged

together during this later period brings us back to the evidence of provenance provided by the calendar itself.

Most entries on the calendar name feast days celebrated as standard across Europe; several of the saints are English, such as St Edward King and Martyr.[45] Others display an East Anglian flavour. The entry for St Botolph, for example, is rubricated. The body of St Botolph was of importance to the monastery of Bury St Edmunds where Abbot Leofstan translated his relics in the eleventh century.[46] Several entries relating to St German may also be relevant here, since Wiggenhall St German's lay in close proximity to Shouldham. The only feast labelled in blue is the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary (25 March). Legge has noted that the 'thirty-five commemorations in our *Kalendar* which find no place in the one from Norwich Cathedral Priory', all but eight can be found in one of the other extant Gilbertine calendars (1951: 193). The most interesting references in the calendar are the 24 September, which is labelled 'Dedicatio ecclesie Norwic', and the translation of St Gilbert (13 October). These pieces of evidence can place the calendar as being specifically relevant to the only Gilbertine establishment in the

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[45] For a full list of calendar entries, see Appendix 2.
[46] Dom André Wilmart (1930): 'The Prayers of the Bury Psalter.' *Downside Review* 48, 198-216, especially page 199.

Norwich diocese, the priory at Shouldham, and that it must therefore have been compiled for or at that house (Legge, 1951: 193).[47]

Wathey and others have called the evidence of the calendar into question on account of its date, which is certainly later than the main book. The hand of the table of contents is also of a later date, and the motets are copied onto the verso of its final leaf. It is vital to understand the collation of the first part of this manuscript to assess the order of compilation and whether or not the evidence of provenance in the calendar can be applied at all to the music. Wathey was clear that it could not. His examination for *RISM* stated that:

> It can be shown that Item 1 [the calendar] was a later addition to the collection, since earlier sewing holes in fols. 1-4 do not match those of fols. 5-234.

(Wathey, 1993: 98)

Since it is within folios 5-234 that the music is found, including a fragment of a Marian cantilena *Ad rose titulum* on f.122v, Wathey's observations suggested that only the calendar itself could be in any way related to Shouldham.

On re-examining Y xvi.N.3 myself, it became clear that none of the previous scholars had really looked at the collation of the first

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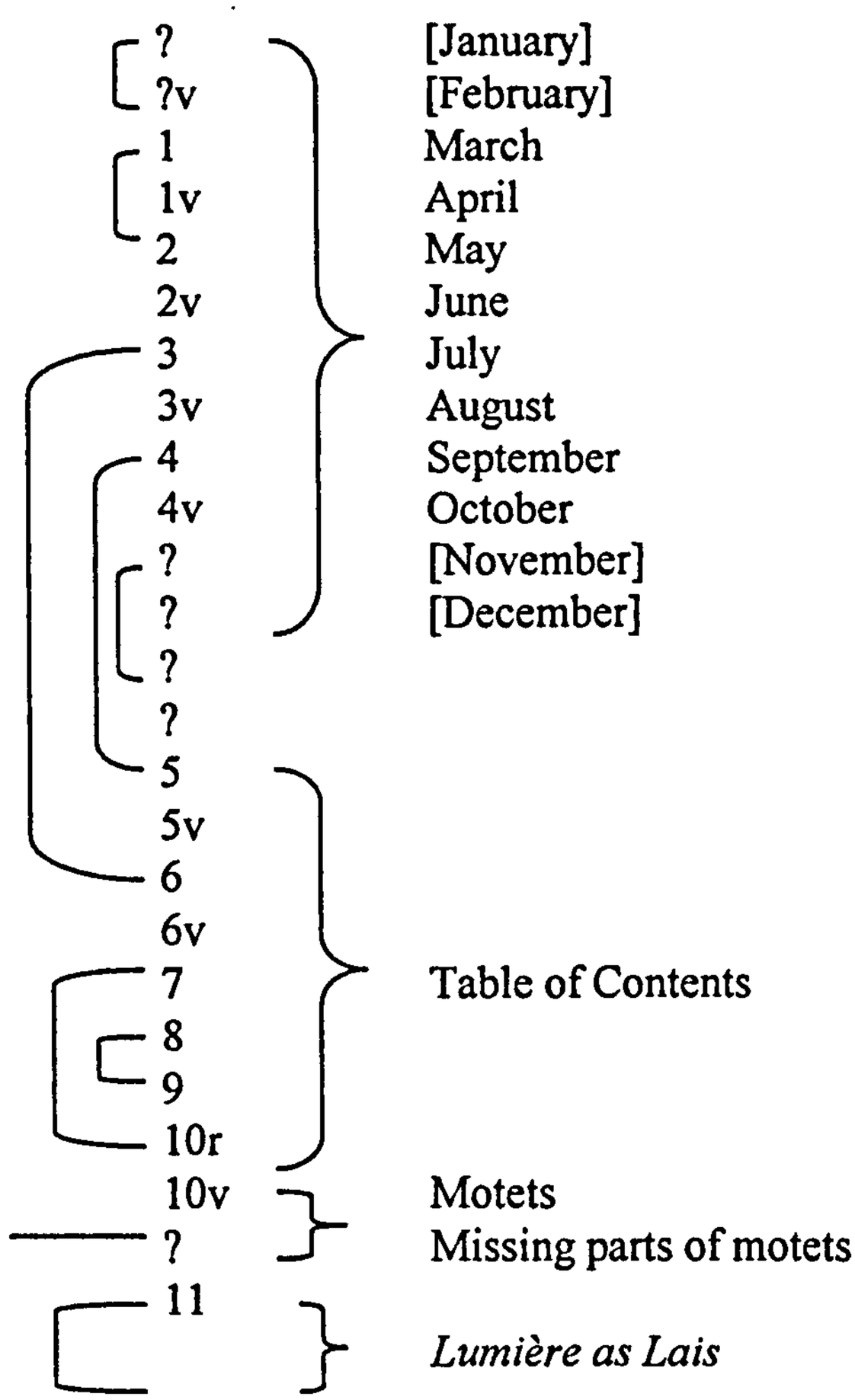
[47] For female religious houses in East Anglia, see Robert Gilchrist and Marilyn Oliva (1993): *Religious Women in Medieval East Anglia. Studies in East Anglian History* I. Norwich: Centre for East Anglian Studies, University of Norwich; Marilyn Oliva (1998): *The Convent and the Community in Late Medieval England: Female Monasteries in the Diocese of Norwich, 1350 – 1540.* Woodbridge: Boydell.

section of the manuscript in enough detail, a task made more difficult by its rebinding during the early nineteenth century, which had concealed it with glue (see Fig. 11).[48] It can be demonstrated that folios 4 and 5 are two halves of the same bifolium, and therefore that the provenance of the calendar can be shared by that of the table of contents for the *Lumière as lais.* The evidence supports Legge's original theory that the manuscript at some point all belonged to the Gilbertine priory of Shouldham.

[48] It may be that the evidence of rebinding that Wathey observed belonged to the nineteenth-century stage of the manuscript's history.

Fig. 11 The Collation of Y xvi.N.3, f.1-11



The later date of the first section of the manuscript, comprising the calendar and table of contents, suggests that they were appended to the main text at a date at the end of the thirteenth century or the early part of the fourteenth. Why was this done? There could be several reasons, such as the loss through wear and tear of an earlier version of the same information, or the donation of the main text to the library at Shouldham by another institution or a member of the laity.

The *Lumière as Lais*, based on the *Eludidarius* by Honorius Augustodunensis and drawing on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, whilst popular with monastic establishments, was primarily aimed at a lay audience who could not access writings in Latin. The text was very popular in the Middle Ages, but modern scholars consider it to possess little artistic value. Legge suggested that editors avoided this text because it is 'extremely long—about 14,000 lines—extremely dull, and exists in an extremely large number of manuscripts' (Legge, 1951: 191). Bell has described it as 'a dull and dreadfully written catechetical work'.[49]

The *Lumière as lais* was an appropriate text for Anglo-Norman-literate nuns. A second copy, the fourteenth-century manuscript Dublin, Trinity College 209 (B.5.1), belonged to the Cistercian nunnery of Tarrant Keynston in Dorset.[50] An inscription from *c.*1400 states that its owner was Joan Kingston, abbess of Tarrant Keynston in 1402 (Bell, 1995: 210). Bequests of land and property to nuns and nunneries were fairly common, particularly from members of the nobility whose ancestors had founded individual houses. Shouldham was supported by one of the most

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[49] David N. Bell (1995): *What Nuns Read: Books and Libraries in Medieval English Nunneries.* Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 69.
[50] This manuscript is described in M. Esposito (1914): L'inventaire des anciens manuscrits français des bibliothèques de Dublin.' *Review des bibliothèques* 24, 188-9. For Tarrant Keynston, see William Page ed. (1908): *The Victoria History of the County of Dorset,* 2. London: Constable and Company Ltd, 87-90.

wealthy and influential of families, the Beauchamps.[51] William Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (d.1298) sent two of his daughters to become nuns there, and left fifty marks to them in his will (Page, 1906: 413). Margaret de Montfort, daughter of Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (d.1369), spent her widowhood at Shouldham, and received money and property after her father's death. Margaret's niece, Katherine, was also enclosed at Shouldham. From 1324, the eldest daughter of Sir Roger de Mortimer was sent to Shouldham, her sisters being sent to the Gilbertine houses of Sempringham and Cockersand; these three establishments received regular financial contributions from the royal treasury towards food and clothing (Page, 1906: 413-4). It is quite likely that a family like the Beauchamps, whose female members were sent to austere Gilbertine and Cistercian establishments, donated this copy of Peckham's text to Shouldham, or that it was brought along with one of the nuns on her enclosure. The language of the texts within Y xvi.N.3, Anglo-Norman, was commonly used within religious establishments housing daughters from noble families; the only texts in Latin (apart from the calendar) are those set to polyphony.[52]

The second item on f.10v, *Inter amenitatis tripudia,* is found in two parts in the *Roman de Fauvel* (written in or around Paris in

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[51] The fullest account is still Page (1906).

two stages, the first book by 1310, the second by 1314), and three parts in other continental sources.[53] There are no further copies of this motet, whose subject is heresy, from England. The missing folio in Y xvi.N.3 would have contained only the duplum of *Zelo,* leaving plenty of space for the remaining music of the three-part version of *Inter amenitatis tripudia,* and it could also be argued that its copy owed more to other continental sources than it did to *Fauvel.*

The music on f.10v was probably copied into Y xvi.N.3 at the same time as, or shortly after, the contents and calendar were sewn onto the *Lumière as lais* text. Lefferts placed their copying before *c.*1349, though he favoured the end of this period rather than a date closer to 1300 (Lefferts, 1986: 25). The evidence of the iconographical sources of the motet performance have all been dated to the first two decades of the fourteenth century, and have demonstrable links with the nobility of East Anglia. Since Shouldham is the closest religious establishment to Wiggenhall, I would suggest that the motet *Zelo tui langueo* had a certain relevance to this location, and may have been composed nearby. It is not

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[52] The literacy of members of the Gilbertine community at Shouldham is supported by archaeological finds at the site such as a bronze tool for lifting pages. Oliva describes this as suggestive of 'an active readership' at Shouldham (1998: 69).

difficult to imagine the transmission of music between Shouldham and other religious establishments in the area. Among the items on the inventory of the patron of the Longleat Breviary, Humphrey de Bohun (d.1322) is listed 'j Rotulum de diversis cantibus' (Wathey, 1988: 14).[54] The church of St Mary in Wiggenhall, patronised by the Howard family who owned one of the manuscripts depicting *Zelo,* itself also owned 'j quaternus de cantu' among its possessions *c.*1367 (Wathey, 1988: 12).[55] Given the local provenance of both musical and iconographical sources of *Zelo tui langueo,* it seems at least plausible that one of the documents described contained a copy of the motet. The provenance of the music preserved in Lbl 1210, the other source for *Zelo,* has also yet to be established beyond the basic area of East Anglia.[56] It is possible that, as important as the motet was to the area around Shouldham, *Zelo tui langueo* was unknown to anyone outside of East Anglia.

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[53] Two-part version edited in Leo Schrade (1956, repr.1974): *The* Roman de Fauvel; *The Works of Philippe de Vitry; French Cycles of the* Ordinarium Missae. *PMFC* 1. Monaco: Editions L'Oiseau-Lyre, 42. Three-part version, *Inter amenitatis tripudia / O livor / T. Revertenti* edited in Rudolf von Ficker ed. (1960): *Trienter Codices VI. Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* 76. Graz: Akademische Druck, 1. For the *Roman de Fauvel,* see Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey eds. (1998): *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS français 146.* Oxford: Clarendon Press; Emilie Dahnk (1935): *L'Hérésie de Fauvel.* Leipzig: Wartburg.

[54] *Archdeaconry of Norwich, Inventory of Church Goods*, ii: 125.

[55] The original reference to the gathering of music is in Lbl 65243.

[56] In the fifteenth century this manuscript was in the possession of several owners at Tattershall, Lincolnshire, including Johannes Gigur (or Cigur), a master of the College, who passed it to Master William Stokes, and at some point belonged to Master John Palmer. These names appear on folios 134v and 141v.

The female voice in *Zelo tui langueo* as evidence that women sang polyphony

This leads to the even more thorny issue of whether or not nuns at Shouldham may have performed these motets. Harrison felt that the provenance of Shouldham for Y xvi.N.3, which has now been reconfirmed, in addition to the female subject position of the duplum, provided adequate evidence that nuns sang polyphony.[57] As has been pointed out by subsequent authors, Gilbertine priories were double houses, in which both nuns and canons resided but had no actual contact with one another. Harrison's suggestion that women were capable of performing polyphonic repertory, and that elements relating to this piece of music proved that they did so, has been forcefully contested by Bowers (1983: 188-92). Bowers believes that women played no part in polyphonic singing during this period; his research has shown that the standard, indeed only, ensemble for the performance of polyphony until the middle of the fifteenth century was three adult males (Bowers, 1983: 179, 192). Page commented that his own examination of the *Zelo* iconography confirmed Bowers' conclusions, even allowing for the 'female voice' in the duplum (Page, 1997: 20).

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[57] Harrison and Legge discovered the music in Y xvi.N.3 independently of one another (Lefferts, in Lefferts and Bent, 1982: 359).

It has been the female subject position in the duplum that has remained a sticking point in the arguments relating to *Zelo.* Appendix 4 gives a full list of textual translations offered by previous scholars, the most recent of which is Page (1997). The feminine word-endings of *nescia* (line 1) and *ignara* (line 4) place the text of this part directly into the mouth of a female protagonist.[58] Her opening statement translates: 'I deem the kind actions of the Virgin to be responsible for the unbinding of Eve', but is personalised by protestations of her own ignorance of 'wisdom, praise, glory and all worldly joy' (Page, 1997: 24). As such, the possible identification of the speaker with Mary or Eve can be safely ruled out, since neither character would speak about herself in the third person. Furthermore, St Katherine, celebrated for her wisdom and learning, though divinely inspired as much as learned in her *vita,* seems an unlikely candidate for this kind of opening disclaimer. Page's more sensible and otherwise attractive suggestion of the duplum representing a kind of Magnificat from the point of view of Elizabeth, mother of John the Baptist, seems too specific in contrast to the anonymous voice of the triplum (Page, 1997: 23).[59] There is nothing in the text of either the

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[58] Page noted that the word *ignara* in line 4 was 'emended away' by the editors of *PMFC* 15 (1997: 24).

[59] See Appendix 3 for music in honour of Elizabeth and the BVM from *c.*1500.

triplum or the duplum that might relate them to the hagiography of any specific saint or religious figure, male or female.[60]

It is possible to consider the female in the duplum as a personalised example of a universal 'female voice'. Such direct speech from the mouth of a female (or indeed male) protagonist was fairly common in secular French motets of the late thirteenth century, especially those preserved in Mo, but was more rare in England where sacred Latin texts predominated. Lefferts has pointed to only one other example of a discernible female voice, *Maria mole pressa* (Ob 7, item 1a), where the person speaking is identifiable as Mary Magdalene (Lefferts, 1986: 167).[61] There is a long tradition of the association of women singing with lascivious behaviour and loose morality, although this was probably not a factor in this case.[62]

Looking at literary works produced by women in the Middle Ages, it is notable that the idea of professing one's innocence of

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[60] I have examined several other possibilities for the identification of the speaker of this text, none of which have provided a satisfactory explanation. Other female saints listed in the Y xvi.N.3 calendar include Saints Felicitas and Perpetua, two rather feminist Roman martyrs, one of whom sang a hymn during her martyrdom; however, this has proved unrelated to the text of *Zelo tui langueo.* For these saints, see W. H. Shewing (1931): *The Passion of Perpetua and Felicity. A New Edition and Translation of the Latin Text. Together with the Sermons of St Augustine upon These Saints.* London: Sheed and Ward.

[61] The story of Mary Magdalene at Jesus' tomb is a feature of both *Maria mole pressa* and *Valde mane diluculo* (Lefferts, 1986: 167). Her cult was especially prominent in East Anglia, and the appearance of *Maria mole pressa* in the Bury St Edmunds source Ob 7 supports this local interest.

[62] The sermons of the fifteenth-century French Franciscan preacher, Farnier, include the extreme example of a young woman whose garrulous nature, including singing around the house, resulted in rape by her father and subsequently an incestuous relationship with him, the murder of both of her parents, and her own death (cited in Taylor, 1992: 168 and 305 fn.135). This story also appears in two fifteenth-century English sources, which are edited in Horstmann (1881: 334-8).

learning or even divine power was a common trope and rhetorical device. Despite her prolific output, Hildegard von Bingen, for example, expressed her visions as representations of God's message, not her own creations but a channelling of heavenly grace. In *Scivias,* she recounted:

> And behold! In the forty-third year of my earthly course, as I was gazing with great fear and trembling attention at a heavenly vision, I saw a great splendour in which resounded a voice from Heaven saying to me, 'O fragile human, ashes of ashes, and filth of filth! Say and write what you see and hear. But since you are timid in speaking, and simple in expounding, and untaught in writing, speak and write these things not by a human mouth, and not by the understanding of human invention, and not by the requirements of human composition, but as you see them on high in the heavenly places in the wonders of God.'[63]

No one could argue that Hildegard was, in later life at least, timid or lacking in knowledge. Although Hildegard 'wrote learned Latin works, she was nevertheless described as *laica et illiterata* by a Cistercian monk who visited her towards the end of her life in 1172' (Millett, 1996a: 90). It was important in such writing to state one's relative ignorance of divine power in relation to the omniscience of

God, in order to show humility; it was an awareness and expression of human limitations which helped to create an authority for this type of text. For a woman, forbidden from preaching by St Paul, this type of disclaimer was therefore even more vital. In late medieval England, Julian of Norwich *(c.*1342 – ?1429) stated in the short text of her *Shewings:*

> But God forbid that you should say or take me for a teacher for I don't intend nor ever did so, for I am a woman, ignorant, weak and frail.[64]

Wogan-Browne warned that 'the claim of female hagiographers to be writing in inadequate French . . . should not be taken as a literal claim to incapacity' (1996: 63). It could be argued that the profession of innocence at the opening of the duplum text is highly characteristic not of an unlearned woman, but of one who wishes to expound God's message. The authority of the message of the following text in the duplum rests on its opening statement. Other writings from the fourteenth century demonstrate that subtle and challenging texts were aimed for a *literati* comprising both men and women, such as the anonymous authorial statement of the *Cloud of Unknowing:*

> I merueyle me sometyme what I here sum men say (I mene not simple lewid men & wommen, bot clerkes [& men] of

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[63] Fiona Maddocks (2001): *Hildegard of Bingen: The Woman of Her Age.* London: Review, 60-1.

grete kunnyng) þat my writyng to þee & to oþer is so harde & so heiȝ, so curious & so queinte, þat unneþes it may be conceiued of þe sotelist clerk or witted man or womman in þis liff, as þei seyn.[65]

The key to understanding the meaning of the female protagonist in the duplum of *Zelo* comes from a close reading of both motet texts, as well as setting them within the literary framework of the period. It has already been noted by Caldwell and Lefferts that the distinctive opening line of the triplum, 'Zelo tui langueo virgo regia', matches the closing line of the *Canticum Amoris* of Richard Rolle (d.1349), a poem of love addressed to the Virgin which opens 'Zelo tui langueo virgo speciosa' (lines 152 and 1 respectively).[66] Rolle's work, which regularly drew upon his mystical experiences, comprised both Latin and English texts, and his linguistic style was characterised by themes of love, languishing, Biblical exegesis and

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[64] Catherine Jones (1984): 'The English Mystic: Julian of Norwich.' In Katherina Wilson ed., *Medieval Women Writers,* 269-96. Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 274.

[65] *I merueyle me:* I am surprised; *lewid:* uneducated; *kunnyng:* learning; *unnepes:* scarcely. Marion Glasscoe (1993): *English Medieval Mystics: Games of Faith.* London: Longman, 168.

[66] For the full text, see S. Raby ed. (1959): *The Oxford Book of Medieval Latin Verse, 2nd Edition.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 442-4. See also Gabriel Liégy (1956): 'The *Canticum Amoris* of Richard Rolle.' *Traditio* 12, 369-91. The relationship between the text of the poem and the motet was noted in Lefferts (1986: 261), who stated that Caldwell had also made the connection; John Caldwell (1981): 'Review of *Motets of English Provenance: Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, XV.' Music and Letters* 62, 466-70, 470.

textual reference to the Biblical *Canticum canticorum.*[67] His surviving work includes a commentary on the Song of Songs, as well as many references to the idea of love-longing, such as can be seen in the passage below from *The Form of Living,* which refers to ideas in Song of Songs 2:11:[68]

> þan may þou hardely [boldly] say: 'I languysch for lufe;' þan may þou say 'I slepe, and my hert wakes.'
>
> (Cited in Glasscoe, 1993: 78, line 106)

It would be easy to draw a direct line of transmission between the works of Rolle, many of which were composed when he was living as an anchorite attached to the Cistercian nunnery of Hampole in Yorkshire, and the triplum of the motet *Zelo tui langueo.* The textual incipit is so distinctive that it could be suggested that either Rolle wrote the motet text, or whoever composed the triplum drew on Rolle's works. However, I would suggest that this would be to rely too heavily on the vagaries of surviving evidence. From what we can glean of Rolle's career, he seems to have been born *c.*1290, and produced writings until his death, probably caused by the plague of 1349. His early works are characterised in part by reliance on pre-existing texts, the lack of which in the *Canticum Amoris* has led scholars to place this Marian poem amongst his later works. Other

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[67] Hope Emily Allen (1927): *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole, and Materials for his Bibliography.* London: Oxford University Press.

distinctive features of Rolle's writing style include his descriptions of three states of mystical experience (heat, sweetness and song), and his heavily alliterative style. The *Canticum Amoris* is typical of his poetry in the main body of the text, from the second line, but the same cannot be said of the incipit and colophon containing the concordant text with the motet *Zelo tui langueo:*

> Zelo tui langueo, virgo speciosa,
>
> Sistens in suspirio, mens et amorosa,
>
> Diu dare distulit, diva generosa,
>
> Quod cordis concupiit, musa non exosa.[69]

Unlike many English motets of the same period, *Zelo tui langueo* is not alliterative.[70] As such, it seems unlikely that Rolle provided the text of the triplum or duplum. I would further suggest that both the *Canticum Amoris* and the motet *Zelo tui langueo* rely for their shared material on a third source, from which each has quoted the same phrase as a kind of refrain. This hypothesis would also help to redress the problem of dating the iconographical depiction of *Zelo* in the historiated initials to *c.*1310 – 22, when Rolle would have been quite young. The *Canticum Amoris* may belong a little earlier in Rolle's

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[68] J. Clark (1983): 'Richard Rolle as Biblical Commentator.' *Downside Review* 101, 108-39.

[69] Cited in Nicholas Watson (1991): *Richard Rolle and the Invention of Authority.* Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 13. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 106, lines 1-4.

[70] Alliteration occurs at words 'promere preconia' (line 2) and 'crimine condempnari' (line 11), but it is not part of the overall style of the poem.

oeuvre than has previously been thought, since it draws on a pre-existent text. There is a possibility that this hypothetical intermediary source had a musical origin, since Rolle's poem relies on a lot of musical imagery as well as the Song of Songs text.

Zelo tui langueo actually uses several stock phrases and associations, and can be readily compared with other motet texts of the period. *Alma mater, digna virgula / Ante thorum virginis / T.*, another motet with Marian lyrics from a similar period, also opens with the royal lineage of the Virgin: 'Alma mater, digna virgula, ex styrpe regia nobili de Iesse' (triplum, lines 1-2). Languishing also features in the duplum text, 'fertilis singulis languentibus' (line 20). The phrase in *Zelo's* duplum that draws on the Song of Songs, 'Ergo David cara filia' (line 15) is echoed by *Alma mater's* triplum text, 'Respice, clara virgo, filia David' (line 16). These similarities can be attributed to the influence of texts based on the Song of Songs, as well as the original Biblical source, and in no way suggest a link between the two motets.

So what was the literary background to *Zelo*, apart from the opening of its triplum? It is tempting to consider it as a piece whose meaning stems almost completely from the final section, where the word *nisi* acts as a pivot between the two texts: 'all Mankind would have remained in servitude with Adam 'had not' (*nisi*) the Virgin Mary borne Christ, and would have suffered exile forever 'had not'

(*nisi*) Mary brought forth the divine ordinance of mercy' (Page, 1997: 22). But this can be enlarged to show the female-centred (but certainly not feminist) viewpoint of both texts. In the triplum, the blame for the Fall is placed squarely on Adam, who is the only one to be mentioned in connection with the forbidden apple in the Garden of Eden:

> O miseria patris Ade gravis et transgressio! Qui cibara tot amena possedit pro libito et non placuit vesci nisi vetito pomo deo per quod intulit grave prejudicium unde gaudium perdidit et fugit in exilium.
>
> [O the grave transgression of out first father Adam who possessed so many delightful foods at will but was only pleased to eat the fruit which God had forbidden, through which he brought a heavy sentence upon himself, whence he lost joy and fled into exile.]
>
> (Page, 1997: 22, lines 4-8)

The triplum goes on to refer to this as 'suos dampnoso crimine', 'his damnable sin' (line 11), a sentiment that reflects not the Bible, where blame was mainly placed upon Eve, but writings such as those of the thirteenth-century Dominican, Thomas Aquinas. Aquinas's *Summa Theologica* places the overall responsibility for original sin with Adam. His explanation was that if the woman, in his opinion the weaker of the two sexes, had taken the apple, but Adam had resisted

temptation, there would have been no expulsion from the Garden.[71] Other medieval authors, such as Ambrose, pointed out that Adam had received God's commandment not to eat the fruit before Eve had been made (Taylor, 1992: 157). In the words of McLaughlin, 'Eve's role was instrumental but not decisive' (1974: 219). This is supported by the opinion of the duplum text, which despite referring to the actions of Eve (the starting point of trouble and the point from which salvation was necessitated), again concentrates on the misery of Adam and his exile from Eden (lines 7-9).

It was considered a greater challenge for a woman to resist temptation than for a man, since according to church opinion she was most given to vice. This view permeated many misogynist writings. The power of the duplum voice's message, from the point of view of womankind who had, by the actions of Eve and the transgressions of Adam, become 'ignorant of wisdom, praise, glory and all joy', is actually enhanced. Responsibility for the Salvation of Mankind is given over to Mary rather than Jesus. It is her good actions (duplum, line 6) and childbirth (triplum, line 12) that reversed the fortunes of Mankind, she to whom praise should be offered. Placing this penitent Marian text in the female voice can therefore be seen as a rhetorical

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[71] Cited in Eleanor Commo McLaughlin (1974): 'Equality of Souls, Inequality of Sexes: Women in Medieval Theology.' In Rosemary Radford Ruether ed., *Religion and Sexism: Images of Woman in the Jewish and Christian Traditions*, 213-66. New York: Simon and Schuster.

device, serving to emphasise the gap between the origins of the Fall in the hands of Eve and the salvation of humanity through the actions of Mary, Eve's antithesis. The contrast between innate female wickedness (Eve and, by implication, all women) and women's potential goodness (exemplified by the Virgin Mary) can be seen very much as a male concern. However, in other ways the text would seem to be suitable for women, in that its subject is the redeeming power of the ideal woman, the idea of Mary as ultimate female role model; the emphasis of Mary's sex by the mention of childbirth underlines this interpretation. In this way, the meaning of the motet *Zelo tui langueo* could be read in different ways by different singers, and its texts do not preclude a male or female performance.

Musical literacy and musical knowledge among cloistered women

One further problem is that although it is possible to place the motet *Zelo tui langueo* into the Gilbertine house at Shouldham, even into the women's side of the house where the library was situated, none of this is proof that nuns were able to sing motets or understand their notation.[72] As Dutton has pointed out, book ownership is not

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[72] For evidence of literacy in Gilbertine establishments, see David N. Bell (1992): *The Libraries of the Cistercians, Gilbertines and Premonstratensians.* Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, 3. London: The British Library.

evidence of the owner's ability to read that text him or herself.[73] In *What Nuns Read,* David Bell examined the manuscript evidence for nuns as producers, disseminators and audience for texts, and found a distinction between the increasing importance of literature in nunneries, especially from the fifteenth century, and the decline of scholarly texts produced by male houses during the same period (1995). Evidence from the largest collections known to have existed, such as the libraries at Bury, Durham, Canterbury and Worcester, served to confirm this overall pattern. Bell put this down to the rise of universities as fora for male intellectual activity. This can be seen in parallel with the conclusions drawn by Bowers and others that with the rise of the collegiate establishments, the impact of monasteries on the composition and copying of polyphonic works fell dramatically.[74]

No women authors have been identified as producers of Latin lyrics in late medieval England. This fact stands in opposition to the evidence of women as authors of Anglo-Norman and English vernacular literature. From this period, several manuscripts have survived which testify to women's activity in this area, particularly in the production and translation of saints' lives. Since many polyphonic manuscripts were small, personal and localised (rather

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[73] Anne Marie Dutton (1995): 'Women's Use of Religious Literature in Late Medieval England.' DPhil thesis: University of York, 18.

than institutional, organised, and commissioned), it is not beyond imagination that women could have jotted pieces into a commonplace book during this period.

There is an abundance of iconographical and manuscript evidence that nuns sang from noted service books, and other evidence points towards the fact that they were expected to learn chant in the same way as the men, with the exception of the Mass itself.[75] The Benedictine convent at Wherewell, Hampshire, owned a Psalter that includes a hexachord exercise, perhaps used by the monks for teaching nuns to sing (now Lbl 27866, f.147). A cartulary from the same institution preserves polyphonic items for Mass in its binding (Lbl 2104A). It is not such a giant leap between reading and singing from a liturgical book to singing written polyphony. Outside the written tradition, women may have been as capable as men of improvising polyphonic lines to chant. The three, two-part troped settings of the Ordinary of the Mass in the gradual belonging to Eleanor of Brittany would testify to the fact that some privileged women were aware of such practices from at least *c.*1300.[76]

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[74] Legge stated that 'the monasteries were killed as the sole centres of culture by the universities, and they dragged the nunneries down with them'; M. Dominica Legge (1950): *Anglo-Norman and the Cloisters: The Influence of the Orders upon Anglo-Norman Literature.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, cited in Millett (1996a: 96).

[75] Several images can be found in Eileen Power (1975, repr.1995): *The Medieval Woman.* Cambridge: Canto.

[76] Excerpts from this source, including the polyphonic items, are recorded by Ensemble Organum on Marcel Péres dir. (1993, 1998): *Le Graduel d'Aliénor de Bretagne: Plain-chant et polyphonies des XIIIe et XIVe siècles.* Harmonia Mundi HMD 941403.

Regardless of whether or not nuns sang motets in services, they may have heard such items being performed on their behalf by the men who served at Mass.

> In the secular world, it is fair to say that little evidence is forthcoming that women sang from notated music. One image, however, does at least provide a possible exception to Roger Bowers' claim that laywomen could not have even heard occasional liturgical music during this period. This is a book of hours dating from the fourteenth century, whose provenance is unknown but which is now kept as Liverpool University Library, MS F.3.14 (p.180).[77] In this detailed picture, three monks to the right of the image sing around a choirbook that is placed on a lectern. Care has been taken by the artist to show that there is notation in the book, but it is not musically accurate. The audience is placed to the left of the image, and foremost is a lady with an elegant dress; she wears a headdress, but does not appear to be a nun. It is possible that she is a widow, since the book of hours text is the *Placebo* of a Mass for the Dead.[78] Behind her stand at least two other characters, apparently also female. The architecture behind the figures is unusual, and may indicate that the singing is taking place within a private chapel. This

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[77] Lynda Dennison (1993): 'Some Unlocated Leaves from an English Fourteenth-Century Book of Hours Now in Paris.' In Nicholas Rogers ed., *England in the Fourteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1991 Harlaxton Symposium*, 15-33. Stamford: Paul Watkins. The image in question is reproduced as Plate 21.

[78] The Harnhulle Psalter also contains an image of three clerics singing the *Placebo* and *Dirige*, though it is badly rubbed (see Plate 5).

is not evidence of polyphony being sung to women, since polyphonic Masses in memory of the dead do not survive until the fifteenth century. However, the image in the Liverpool book of hours shows the performance of liturgical music before a female audience or even patron within the context of a Mass of Requiem.

Conclusions

The relationship between women and the performance of music in England before the Reformation is still poorly understood. Evidence for women as owners of manuscripts containing polyphony is scarce, partly because the sources of polyphony that have survived mainly comprise binding fragments preserved in monastic books. The manuscript Y xvi.N.3 is an exception to this pattern, and its contents appear to have been built over time. The main text, the *Lumière as lais,* was popular among women, and circulated in religious institutions including nunneries. Later, a table of contents and liturgical calendar were added to the front of the book, perhaps as it was passed to Shouldham Priory. Details in the calendar relate the source, in this later form, to the local villages around Wiggenhall. Y xvi.N.3 and the initials in the illuminated manuscripts discussed above provide a rare opportunity to explore the importance of a single piece of polyphony during the early part of the fourteenth

century. They also raise questions about the performance of vocal polyphony in Gilbertine houses, and challenge preconceptions about the possibility that women sang and owned polyphony during the later Middle Ages.

Chapter 6

Jews and religious lyrics in late-medieval England

In 1290, England became the first country formally to expel its entire Jewish population.[1] Attacks on Jews, both physical and judicial, were common in England before this period, especially following the troubles of the late twelfth century that witnessed some of the bloodiest pogroms in Europe. Though England was a country legally *Judenrein,* without Jews, from 1290 onwards, their absence did not prevent the spread of stereotypical imagery in literature, rather it served only too well to emphasise the popular contemporary image of Jews as usurers, deceivers and murderers.[2] Of all the groups to whom texts might be addressed, or whose sentiments might be expressed without their involvement, the Jews were one of those treated with the least sympathy. Anti-Semitism was also seen as a natural part and

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[1] See Roth (1978), which remains the classic account of Anglo-Jewish history. Other, pre-War, publications relating to this subject include M. Adler (1939): *Jews of Medieval England.* London: Edward Goldston. For a more recent examination, see Robin R. Mundill (1998): *England's Jewish Solution: Experiment and Expulsion, 1262 – 1290.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; and Robert C. Stacey (1997): 'Parliamentary Negotiation and the Expulsion of the Jews from England.' In Michael Prestwich, R. H. Britnell, and Robin Frame eds., *Thirteenth Century England VI. Proceedings of the Durham Conference 1995,* 77-101. Woodbridge: Boydell.

[2] See especially Bernard Glassman (1975): *Anti-Semitic Stereotypes Without Jews: Images of the Jews in England 1290 – 1700.* Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

by-product of Christianity.[3] Sacred Christian texts, such as those that formed the vast majority of lyrics, mainly treated the inferiority of Jews in a matter-of-fact way. Glassman has noted that sermons in particular have been neglected as a source for study, since they:

> Preserved and popularized some of the crudest forms of anti-Semitism . . . [and] perpetuated the centuries-old stereotype of the Jew that originated in the pages of the New Testament and which was an important part of Christian theology.
>
> (Glassman, 1975: 10)

The approach of such texts is, however, enormously varied.[4] Miracle texts, for example, mention ideas such as the 'good Jew', or recount tales of Jews converted to Christianity through witnessing the divine power of Christ and the saints.[5] Any reference to Christ's Passion inevitably incurred some reference to the Jews who, in the account given in Matthew 27: 17-25, sent him to his death. The role of Pontius Pilate, Roman Procurator of Judea, is frequently overlooked or marginalised in these accounts, perhaps because according to Matthew, Pilate washed his hands of the Jews' decision to release

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[3] The term 'anti-Semitism' was developed in the late nineteenth century, but recent writers have advocated its use in a medieval context; see Robert C. Stacey (2000): 'Anti-Semitism and the Medieval English State.' In J. R. Maddicott and D. M. Palliser eds., *The Medieval State: Essays Presented to James Campbell,* 163-77. London and Rio Grande: Hambledon Press.

[4] A good discussion of these texts, with a wide selection of examples, is Joan Young Gregg (1997): *Devils, Women, and Jews: Reflections of the Other in Medieval Sermon Stories.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

[5] This is comparable to those legends found in the *South English Legendary,* for example in the legend of St Theophilus is the 'Miracle of the Jewish Boy' and the 'Miracle of the Jew of Toledo' (*SEL:* 227-9, 237-8).

Barabbas from Crucifixion rather than Jesus. Many texts point to the idea of Jews as conscious deniers of Christ and none see Judaism as a faith in its own right.

Texts dealing with Judas Iscariot reflect the overall historical problem of whether he was a Christian or a Jew. A study in the 1960s showed that while many modern day American Christians considered Old Testament figures such as Moses, David and Solomon, as well as the Apostles, to have been Christians, Judas remained a Jew or a man of no religious identity in the popular imagination (Glassman, 1975: 47-9). At the Ascension, Old Testament figures were converted and raised to heaven by Jesus. However, the idea that Judas was not just a treacherous disciple, but a treacherous (unconverted) Jew, as will be seen below, is remarkably consistent with the English and Anglo-Latin lyrics from the Middle Ages. This ability to interpret and redefine stereotypes for different purposes, known as 'splitting', is particularly associated with 'popular medieval drama and art, where the Jewish prophets are represented as holy men, forerunners of Christianity, whereas contemporary Jews are represented negatively, in their mandatory garb, as enemies of Christianity' (Gregg, 1997: 252).

Much as it is difficult and controversial to discuss how Jews were treated in Christian musical texts during this period, it is vital in the development of an idea of how political and religious constructs

justified themselves. Jews provided a convenient scapegoat, an image for the righteous to hold up as the antithesis of good, the opposite of the Christian ideal. Judaism was incompatible with sanctity, and Wogan-Browne's study of women's involvement in the transmission of anti-Semitic hagiographic literature points out that:

> Although pagans are represented in virgin martyr *passio* exclusively as Romans or heathens, the most immediately 'other' category in purportedly 'heresy-free' late twelfth- and thirteenth-century England is that of Jewishness. Jewishness and virginity are intimately opposed in the construction of symbolic purity and filth.
>
> (Wogan-Browne, 2001: 118)

Particularly following 1290, the Jews were held as the opposite of everything cherished by those setting up images of nationhood, Englishness and sanctity. From the Anglo-Saxon period, parallels had been drawn in English law and literature between traitors and murderers of actual kings and the Jews, as alleged traitors and murderers of Christ. Furthermore, as a result of the developing construction of English kingship during this era:

> The parallel of Judas Iscariot with the murderers of a king, and indeed with those who even consented to the crime, casts the Anglo-Saxon king into sharp relief as the earthly counterpart of Christ.

(Chaney, 1970: 252)

What was good, true and English was, by definition, Christian, and the common trope of the jealous one in romance literature compounded with the Christian view of the Jews as traitors to make Jews the ultimate enemy to the faith and the nation. Attacks on Jewish people in England were often at the behest of those in power, asserting their superiority. Simon de Montfort's prestige was enhanced by his role in expelling the Jews from his earldom of Leicester in 1231 (Roth, 1978: 58). This was isolated from the events of the twelfth century, such as the expulsion of the Jews from Bury St Edmunds and the massacre at Clifford's Tower in York in 1190.[6] Montfort's attacks on Jewries continued until he realised the Jews' financial value to government whilst in control from May 1264 – August 1265 (Roth, 1978: 63). Women in positions of power were equally capable of acting against Jewish communities when it suited them. Wogan-Browne has noted that Eleanor of Provence, wife of Henry III, 'suppressed Jewries at Canterbury, Gloucester, Marlborough, and Worcester even against her own interests as a landed proprietor in these places' (2001: 121).

There has been no systematic, detailed study of Jews and their representation in medieval English polyphonic texts, though several authors have drawn attention to occasional mentions of the Jewish

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[6] The details of these events are discussed by Roth (1978: 22-5).

people or usury in individual lyrics. An important exception is the focus on anti-Semitism in Page's exploration of Marian devotional material in Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MS 95 (1996). Page's article highlights the way in which anti-Jewish bias in Christian liturgy has been overlooked or ignored even by more recent publications. In order to set the context for my argument, and given that only a relatively modest number of polyphonic texts refer to Jews, I will also use selected examples from the carol repertory. The development of the carol, parallel with the rise in status of the vernacular, can be seen as, to some extent, a more accurate vehicle for expressing the sympathies of the cultural establishment by this later date. Again, of course, these images were crafted only an established elite of Christian writers, predominantly living in a religious environment (and whose gender was male). Portrayals of Jews were exclusively coined by those whose lifestyles were most distanced from them.

Table 2: Polyphonic works and selected carols that mention Jews

Date	Motet, Carol*, Conductus** or Sequence***	Source	Provenance	Dedication
s. xiii	*Barabas dimittitur***[7]	Llp 752		Good Friday
s. xiii	*O Maria singularis*	Ctc 0.2.1		BVM
s. xiv?	*Virginis Marie laudes*[8]	Cu 16		Easter
c.1300	*Ade finit perpete*	Onc 362	Canterbury	Easter
c.1300	*Iam nubes / Iam novum / T.*	Onc 362	Canterbury	Birth of BVM
c.1300	*Rosa delictabilis / [R]egalis exoritur /T.*	Onc 362	Canterbury	Nativity of BVM
s. xiv	*Hostis Herodis impie*	Ob 81	Westminster	Epiphany / Holy Innocents
s. xiv	*Salve cleri speculum / T. Sospitati dedit egros*	Ob 81	Westminster	St Nicholas
s. xiv	*Trintatem veneremur*	Lbl 24198	Dublin	Trinity
s. xiv	*Barrabas dimittitur*	DRc 20; Ob 7; Berk 55	Durham; Bury St Edmunds; Framlingham	Good Friday
s. xiv	*Victimae Paschali laudes****	Lbl 62132A	Fountains	Easter
s. xiv	*[Victimae Paschali laudes]****[9]	NYpm 978	A royal chapel	Easter
s. xiv	*Zorobabel abigo*	Ob 7	Bury St Edmunds	Anti-Semitic
s. xiv	*Omnis terra*	Ob 7	Bury St Edmunds	? Lent / Easter
s. xv	*Hey now, now, now!**	Ob E.1	Beverley	Christmas
*c.*1550	*Gaudeamus synge we**	US-SM Cc[10]	London	Easter
s. xvi	*Mary moder cum and se**	Oba 354[11]	London	Easter

[7] DRc 20 spells the name 'Barrabas'.

[8] This is a freely-composed setting, but follows the structure of the Easter sequence itself as well as troping its text (Sanders, 1986: 176).

[9] This setting is textless in the source NYpm 978, but carries the Easter sequence as a cantus firmus, transposed up a fifth. Sanders notes that it could conceivably have been intended to use the words of the freely-composed sequence *Virginis Marie laudes* (*PMFC* 17: 176).

[10] The source of this carol is post-Reformation, but the song *Gaudeamus synge we* was well-known before the sixteenth century in several versions, opening *Mary moder cum and se* rather than with the burden. Greene gives these variants as Nos 157 B-E (1977: 105-7); B, C and E are fifteenth century, but version D is from *c.*1372. It is also closely related to No 158, *Mary moder cum and se,* a sixteenth century version of the lyric (Greene, 1977: 107). This printed copy is reproduced in facsimile in Edward Bliss Reed (1932): *Christmas Carols Printed in the Sixteenth Century*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Faith and denial of Christ

Amongst this collection, which includes all known references to Jews in polyphonic texts, as well as a few examples from fifteenth-century carols, there are several common themes.[12] The duplum in the motet *Iam nubes / Iam novum,* for example, state only that Mary is 'ex Iudea nascitur' (born from the tribe of Judah), and is not anti-Semitic in nature.[13] The most obvious reason for including reference to Jews in a sacred text was where lyrics drew on a Biblical passage. The majority of references to Jews in the pieces listed in Table 2 draw on anti-Jewish sentiment, and many of them were written for performance during Lent or on Easter Day.

Two pieces set the well-known, eleventh-century sequence *Victimae Paschali laudes,* upon which the Marian trope *Virginis*

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[11] At some point, probably in the sixteenth century, this book was the property of one John Stokes since f.clxxviiiv bears the inscription 'Iste liber pertinet John Stokes' (Greene, 1977: 320). This is almost certainly no relation to the William Stokes who owned Lbl 1210, despite the similarity in name, book ownership and inscription 'Iste liber est P[ertinet] dominus Willelmo Stokes', f.134v.

[12] There are several other carols which refer to Jews but which deal with similar themes to those selected here. These include *Mary myelde made grete mone; Sodenly afraid, half wakyng, half slepyng; To see the maydyn wepe her Sonnes passion; O, my harte is woo; Shall I, moder, shall I?; Jhesu, fore yowre manie; Synge we, synge we; I may seyn to most and lest; Blow the winde styl* (Greene, 1977: 107-14).

[13] This pair of texts is also found in Mo, item 275 (or No 258 in *RISM*), but with different music (*PMFC* 15: 179).

Marie laudes was also based.[14] In the polyphonic version of *Victimae paschali laudes* found in the Fountains Fragments, the text reads:

> Credendum est magis soli Marie veraci / quàm Iudeorum turbe fallaci.
>
> [One should rather believe the one truthful Mary than the deceitful throng of the Jews.]
>
> (*PMFC* 16: 297)

This is not the Virgin Mary, but Mary Magdalene to whom the risen Christ first appeared. As described in Mark 16: 9-11, the disciples refused to believe Mary Magdalene's revelations. The Biblical passage could be used to fuel hatred against non-believers, since it is in this chapter that Jesus, appearing to two of his doubting disciples, states that, 'He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved: but he that believeth not shall be condemned' (Mark 16: 16).

In the Marian trope, the Easter sequence was altered to include a personalised message of hopelessness from the mouth of the Virgin Mary, and contrasted the Jews with the purity of the Archangel Gabriel rather than Mary Magdalene:

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[14] Victimae paschali laudes immolent Christiani. Agnus redemit oves, Christus innocens patri reconciliavit peccatores. Mors et vita duello conflixere mirando; dux vitae mortuus regnat vivus. Dic nobis, Maria, quid vidisti in via? Sepulchrum Christi viventis et gloriam vidi resurgentis. Angelicos testes, sudarium et vestes. Surrexit Christus spes mea; praecedet suos in Galilaea. Credendum est magis soli Mariae veraci quam Judaeorum turbae fallaci. Seimus Christum surrexisse a mortis vere. Tu nobis victor rex miserere. The verse that mentions Jews was later removed by the Council of Trent, and does not occur in most modern editions or translations used in Christian churches today.

Natus est ex me spes meas set incredula manet Iudea.

Credendum est magis soli Gabrieli forti quam Iudeorum prave choorti.

[My hope is born of me, but the Jews remain unbelievers.

Gabriel is more to be believed that the perverse multitude of Jews.]

(*PMFC* 17: 191)

There is no evidence in the Bible of Mary having spoken as such, or having described the Jews either as a 'perverse multitude' or a 'deceitful throng' (depending on translation). These elements developed from the sequence by Wipo, the author of the chant text (*c.*1030). The anti-Semitic sentiment of Wipo's text may have stemmed from the passage in Mark regarding the unbelieving disciples, but it altered the emphasis in order to encourage Christians to consider Jews as the archetypal deniers of Christ as Son of God.

An alternative interpretation of the Marian trope would be using the Biblical passage that follows Mary Magdalene and the disbelief of the disciples, the opening chapter of the Gospel according to St Luke. This passage describes how the Angel Gabriel visited Zacharias, the husband of Elizabeth who was to bear John the Baptist despite her infertility. Zacharias' own disbelief led to him

being struck dumb until the birth.[15] Following this incident, the same angel announced to Mary that she was to bear the Son of God. Zacharias's disbelief was contrasted with Mary's acceptance of this visitation as real. In this way, the Marian trope adapted Wipo's sentiment to the passage in Luke, and developed it further by setting the words of the faithful Virgin Mary against her denunciation of the Jews.

O Maria singularis also contrasts the Virgin Mary's sanctity with the Jews present at the Crucifixion. This thirteenth-century text describes her perfection, identifying her as 'O Maria singularis stella non erratica' ('O matchless Mary, never errant star'), a common trope. Her suffering at the Crucifixion of Christ is described as 'Juxta crucem contrisatis de fraude Iudaica' ('by the side of the cross Thou standest, aggrieved by the Jewish treachery'), drawing on imagery familiar from the *Stabat mater*. The *Stabat mater,* a popular lyric which found audience in both Latin and vernacular versions during this period, does not mention Mary's reaction as one which blamed the Jews for her son's death. The author of the motet text worked anti-Semitic material into the well-known story.

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[15] Not to be confused with the Old Testament Book of Zacharias which was also used in anti-Semitic contexts such as the Cloisters, or Bury, Cross which bears an inscription from 12: 10 'They shall look upon me, whom they have pierced: and they shall mourn for him as one mourneth for an only son', believed to be a prediction of Christ's crucifixion and, to Christians, the Jewish crowd of onlookers.

Carols that dealt with the Passion, such as *Gaudeamus synge we,* also presented similar themes. The narrative in this particular song told how, when Mary was told of her son's suffering, she 'went amonge the Jewes fell / Where she myght her Sone se' (Greene, 1977: No. 107, 105, verse 5). *Mary moder cum and se* included the rhythmic and powerful verse:

> Thes wykyd Jewes with ther falshed
>
> Under ther fete they gan hym tred
>
> They woundyd hym thorowgh hond and hed
>
> They left hym not till he was ded.
>
> (Greene, 1977: No. 158, 107, verse 3)

Here the story of the Passion is told without Roman involvement and blaming the Jews entirely for these events. The drama comes from the focus on the bodily cruelty inflicted on Jesus, not physically, but by their deception. The sentiments behind the lyrics of *O Maria singularis, Victimae paschali laudes* and several English carols focused on the contrast between the acceptance of the Virgin Mary of her miraculous role and the conscious denial of Christ by the Jews. They worked these themes into items designed to trope familiar Biblical or liturgical items, such as those for performance at Easter. The subtle retelling of the Crucifixion story continued to provide inspiration for medieval anti-Semitic literature, lending authenticity to these accounts.

Judas, Jewish envy and usury

Rosa delictabilis is a fourteenth-century motet with a Marian dedication, and makes reference to the treachery of Judas Iscariot. The duplum is in the form of a prayer to the Virgin, praising her for restoring life and peace to earth through the salvation brought by her son. However, the fourth verse diverts from the main narrative:

> Rex turbatur emitur / qui vitam orbi dederat.
>
> Falso Iuda traditur / pacem reus omniserat.
>
> [The king [Christ] is troubled, is bought, he who gave life to the earth; he is betrayed by deceitful Judas; sinful man gave up peace.]
>
> (*PMFC* 15: 181)

This passage refers to Judas' betrayal of Jesus, telling the Romans of Jesus' whereabouts in return for thirty pieces of silver.[16] It is not difficult to see how the greed of Judas could be likened, in the imagination of the author or singers, to the stereotypical image of Jews and their money lending. The blame for the death of Christ, in this motet, is placed with Judas alone by the emphasis on his treacherous financial transaction. This element of the Passion

narrative was commonly used in anti-Semitic literature. Thomas of Monmouth included it in his life of St William of Norwich, a child who Thomas claimed was martyred by the local Jewish community in 1144. Monmouth, in his gruesome depiction of the alleged ritual murder of the child William, told how the Jews used a deceitful messenger who insisted on enticing the boy from his mother before Easter and would not wait until after this feast, 'not for thirty pieces of silver'.[17] Although the religion of this messenger was not stated outright, the reference to the same sum of money reputedly earned by Judas for betraying Christ implied either his Jewish faith or his alliance with them. The messenger was a new Judas, a traitor of the Christians whose loyalty was bought by the sort of greed associated by the medieval period with Jews.

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[16] See Wulf Arlt (1985): 'Triginta denariis—Musik und Text in einer Mottette des *Roman de Fauvel* über dem Tenor *Victimae paschali laudes; Pax et Sapientia: Studies in Text and Music of Liturgical Tropes and Sequences in Memory of Gordon Anderson*, 97-113. Stockholm: Almquist and Wiksell.

[17] John M. McCulloh ed. (2000): 'Thomas of Monmouth, *Life and Passion of St. William of Norwich.*' In Thomas Head ed., *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, 515-37. New York and London: Garland, 522. The Jews were widely believed to have tortured and crucified Christian children in mockery of Christ's Passion during this period. This was seen as both evidence of their evil nature, and an admission of guilt for the Crucifixion of Jesus. The reason for this was, in the words of Monmouth, that the Jews believed that: 'Just as we condemned the Christ to a shameful death, so let us also condemn the Christian, so that, uniting the Lord and his servant in a like punishment, we may turn back upon them the pain of His reproach that they attribute to us' (McCulloh, 2000: 523). Such reports in turn fuelled anti-Semitic action, such as riots, expulsions and murders across England and in the rest of Europe. See also Gavin I. Langmuir (1984): 'Thomas of Monmouth: Detector of Ritual Murder.' *Speculum* 59, 820-46; John M. McCulloh (1997): 'Jewish Ritual Murder: William of Norwich, Thomas of Monmouth, and the Early Dissemination of the Myth.' *Speculum* 72, 698-740; Miri Rubin (1999): *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews.* New Haven: Yale University Press, especially pages 7-27, which deal with host desecration and ritual murder allegations.

The way in which the story of Judas as betrayer of Christ became entangled with the wholesale blame of the Jews for Christ's death through this period can be demonstrated with the fifteenth-century carol *Hey now, now, now*.[18] This source may be from Beverley Minster, since it includes two carols and one hymn in honour of St John the Evangelist to whom the church is dedicated (Greene, 1962: 179). The carol is written upon the theme of the life of Christ, but verses 11-18 refer specifically to the Crucifixion. All of verses 11-18 narrate the familiar events of Christ's Passion, from the point of view that the Jews were those responsible. The only Roman name to figure is 'Lunges, blynd knyght' (line 100), namely Longius, the Roman soldier who reputedly stabbed Christ with a spear and was restored of his sight by a drop of Jesus' blood and then converted to Christianity (John 10: 34). Other carols from the same period vary as to whether they show Longius stabbing Jesus' side, or whether the Jews were responsible for that as well; one text even gives the shouts of the Jews as they place the spear in his heart, saying 'Have thou that!'[19] This confusion between Roman and Jewish involvement does not appear to have concerned authors of lyrics, and on average, the Jews are blamed more often. As such, the lyrics helped to emphasise the popular myth of total Jewish culpability.

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[18] The heading of this poem reads 'A song in the tune of and I were a mayd &c'. See the edition of this carol in Greene (1977: No 93, 48-50).

The character of the Jews is drawn clearly in the following verses of *Hey now, now, now,* as a group who sought to mock and then kill Jesus because of their envy rather than because they thought he was not the son of God. This carol described a premeditated killing:

> The Jewes truly / Had grete enuy
>
> To se hys myght expresse;
>
> Thei ded conspyre / By grete desyre
>
> To deth hym for to dresse.
>
> But by hys myght / Thei had no syght
>
> To know hys corpolence
>
> Tyll unwysse bold / Judas hym sold
>
> For thyrty golden pence.
>
> With mokkes and mowes / Buffetes and blowes
>
> And other cursed thewes
>
> Thei gan to cry / Dyspytously
>
> 'Al hayle the Kyng of Jewes!'
>
> (Greene, 1977: No. 93, 48-50, verses 11, 12 and 15)

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[19] Taken from the carol *I may seyn to most and lest,* Lbl 2593, f.28 (Greene, 1977: No 169, 113).

In this way, the Jews were cast as the enemy of the faithful, and far worse than the Romans. Judas was blamed for Jesus' capture, but the focus of the passage which follows this was how the Jews then tortured Jesus cruelly and mockingly, without any sense of pity before nailing him to the cross. Again, the payment of thirty coins to Judas is mentioned, though here it is attributed to his lack of wisdom rather than greed.[20] The themes of Judas's treachery and of the Jews' treatment of Jesus, which permeate Easter texts, were expanded and clarified by translation into English carols. In a country without Jews, the image created by such verses must have ensured the longevity of anti-Semitic feeling in the country.

The text of *Hostis Herodis impie* mentions the Jews only in that it quotes the direct speech of King Herod, found in Matthew 2: 1-2: 'Ubi est qui natus est rex Judaeorum?' (Where is he that is born king of the Jews?') In the motet, this becomes the slightly more condescending, 'Hic princeps ubi nascitur rex Iudeorum parvulus' ('Where is he born, this prince, this little King of the Jews?'). The source into which this motet has been copied, Ob 81, is perhaps of Westminster provenance, if it can be postulated that it shares its origin with the host source, an elaborate copy of statutes made during

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[20] The issue of the golden, rather than silver, coins in this carol is discussed in Greene. It is an identification between the coins for which Joseph was sold, later held by the Queen of Sheba, and given to Jesus by Melchior. Mary lost them, but a shepherd who found them had the coins placed in the Temple (Greene, 1962: 198).

the reigns of Henry IV and V.[21] A second piece in this source, *Salve cleri speculum,* makes reference to Jews is in celebration of St Nicholas whose feast fell in Advent on 6 December. The tradition of the election of a boy Bishop on this day lasted until the feast of the Holy Innocents on 28 December. *Salve cleri speculum* is a four-part rondellus motet whose text, distributed between the upper two voices, tropes the prose to St Nicholas *Sospitati dedit egros* closely.[22] The prose text refers to several miraculous events in the life of the saint, who was renowned as a pious bishop and protector of many groups of people, particularly mariners. By examining the literary background to the miracle stories at the heart of this text, the references to Jews can be understood in a proper context.

The most popular text relating miracles and legends in clerical circles apart from the texts associated with the plainchant offices of such saints was the *Legenda aurea,* which included many of the most well-known and 'authenticated' miracle stories, as well as some that were unique to it. The comparable English collection of saints' lives, the *South English Legendary,* included some of Voragine's miracle stories in the tale of St Nicholas (Lewis, 2000:

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[21] A post-medieval inscription on f.3v reads 'Statuta a primo Hen: 4ti ad quartam Hen: 5ti', but, more convincingly, on the first leaf of the text itself, a fifteenth-century English hand has written 'Incipit statum editum apud Westm*onasterium* anno primo henri quarti. j'.

[22] See *AS,* pl.360. Edited in *PMFC* 15: 168, translated on page 182. Verses 6 and 7 of the polyphonic text have been editorially reversed since they do not match the order of the trope. A large number of pieces of music, particularly from the fifteenth century, set the St Nicholas text *Sospitati dedit egros* (see Appendix 3).

10). In the motet in question, we find the source of six miracles referred to in the prose text in the *Legenda aurea* and the *South English Legendary* (from which some of St Nicholas's other miracles were excluded). These include the popular stories of Nicholas appearing to men on a ship in peril and helping them sail to safety, and when during a famine he miraculously multiplied the grain in a cargo so that it could feed everyone. Of Nicholas' posthumous miracles, the oil that reputedly flowed from his head and was of great healing power is mentioned first. Restoring the dead to life was also a frequently-mentioned feature of Nicholas' powers, such as the boy clerk who was killed by the devil at the crossroads and revived because his father always celebrated the feast of St Nicholas. The 'tub submerged in the sea' which is 'restored to the father along with his son' referred to in the translation of this prose text is more accurately described as a cup.[23] One miracle story tells of how a man who made a cup for St Nicholas liked it so much that he kept it for himself. En route to the shrine of St Nicholas on pilgrimage, he sent his son to the side of the boat to fill the cup with water, whereupon both son and cup were plunged to the bottom on the sea:

> þe coupe ful out of his hond & anon to grounde sonk
>
> þe child ful in afterward & in the water adronk
>
> (*SEL:* 562, lines 377-8)

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[23] Lefferts, and others translate the Latin 'vas' as 'tub' (*PMFC:* 181-2).

Both were restored to the man when he repented and gave the other cup to the saint. It seems likely that this is the 'vas quod absorbuit in mare cum filio' of the motet text (lines 29-30).

Sospitati dedit egros includes the lines 'Baptizatur auri viso / Iudeus indicio' ('The sign of gold being seen, the Jew is baptised'). This appears to relate to one of the two miracles associated with St Nicholas, the *Miracle of the Jew Robbed by Christians.* In the version of the story found in the *La* and the *SEL* a Jew lends money to a Christian man who swears an oath to repay it by the name of St Nicholas; in the *SEL* this occurs in a church dedicated to St Nicholas, and in the *La* the oath is sworn on the altar of St Nicholas. The Christian then tries to deceive the Jewish money-lender, and is summonsed to court (*SEL:* line 318). In order to avoid payment, the Christian hides the gold in his staff, which has been drilled so that it is 'al iholed wiþin' (*SEL:* 560, line 320); at court, he hands the staff to the Jew and then swears that he has given the money back, only to take it back from him immediately afterwards. Later, whilst asleep at the roadside, a cart runs the Christian over and kills him, breaking the staff and spilling the gold. Everyone expects the Jew to take back what is owed to him, but instead he swears to do so and to convert to Christianity only if St Nicholas restores the man's life, stating that 'Ac if God & seint Nicholas wolde þis liþer manes lyf send / Cristene ich wolde þanne beo & serui hem to mi lyues ende' (*SEL:* 561, lines

345-5), and his prayers are delivered. This story follows the common plot of the denial of Christ being reversed on witnessing such a miracle:

> Fram deþe to lyue þis false man þurg seint Nicholas com
>
> Anon so þe Gyw þis iseȝ he wilnede Cristendom
>
> & bileouede on Iesu Crist & god man euereft was.
>
> (*SEL:* 561, lines 347-9)

The implication was that 'good' Jews could be converted through appealing to them as merchants rather than by true faith alone; there is a hint of reference to the sin of usury of which Jews were commonly accused. The subject of this tale was enticed into conversion with the self-interest of regaining lost income from usury, once more emphasising the stereotype of greed.

The motet for Trinity, *Trintatem veneremur* also makes reference to usury in its text. Its triplum reads:

> Rex et papa . . . per tributi exressuram et usuram . . . hanc subicere quam impie . . . avaricie.[24]
>
> [The king and the pope, by usury and the devouring of tribute, subject her [the church] to servitude greed.]
>
> (*PMFC* 15: 185)

This servitude was both financial and political, since a burning issue during this period was that much of the actual wealth of the church

lay in the hands of Jewish moneylenders. It was in part these fears that led them to take action, expelling usurers from their cities and districts, and removing rights and citizenship. Lending money at interest was a sin for Christians, but borrowing it was considered more acceptable. By contrast, Jews considered it sinful to lend at interest to members of their own faith, but acceptable to lend to non-Jews.[25] The motet *Trintatem veneremur* was more than a text on the nature of the Trinity, it was a political statement against corruption, reminiscent of those found in the *Roman de Fauvel,* in which a corrupt state and church, inspired by their own greed, turned the world upside down. The source of *Trintatem veneremur,* Lbl 24198, shares concordances with Onc 362, whose provenance has been located at Canterbury. It is likely that there was some exchange of repertory between these two establishments, especially of motets in honour of their common patron, St Thomas. The text of *Trintatem veneremur* certainly appears to express the concerns central to the ethos of larger Benedictine establishments: power, wealth and corruption.

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[24] May read 'exessuram' in Lbl 24198, f.1.
[25] Charles Y. Glock and Rodney Stark (1966): *Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism.* New York: Harper and Rowe, 110.

Conscious denial and pre-meditated murder of Christ

Narrative elements also come into play with the popular *Barrabas dimittitur* text, found in two versions in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century England.[26] Both texts draw on the Good Friday Matins Responsory *Barrabas latro dimittitur,* which describes Christ's Passion (Losseff, 1994: 31). The fragmentary thirteenth-century example is a two-part conductus whose extant text, the first of at least two strophes, reads:

> Barabas dimittitur / Christus penas patitur / Qui per ludam traditur / Et flagelis ceditur. / Ligatur et trahitur / Viliter conspuitur / Velatur illuditur / Tanquam agnus immolandus ducitur.
>
> [Barabbas is released / Christ, who through a game is handed over, undergoes punishment / is beaten with whips / bound and dragged / spat on and vilified / mocked ?with olive branches / just as the [Paschal] lamb is led to be sacrificed.]
>
> (Losseff, 1994: 30)

Three copies of the fourteenth-century motet on the same subject, *Barabas dimittitur dignus patibulo / Barabas dimittitur inmerito / T. Babilonis flumina,* are found in Durham, Bury and Framlingham

sources.[27] Wathey considered the contents of Berk 55 to have been composed before about 1320 (1991: ii). Framlingham had a royal link; it was briefly the residence of the Earl of Norfolk, Thomas Brotherton, 'one of the foremost secular English magnates in the early years of Edward III's reign', and also youngest son of Edward I (Wathey, 1991: i-ii). The roll, which details expenditure for the construction of a hall at Bretby castle for the Segrave family 1302-3, must have been in the possession of the Segraves for most of the following century, but Wathey has shown that they did not keep many chaplains, and were not likely to have been involved in the genesis of this source. It was probably copied sometime between 1327 and 1337, when the Earl of Norfolk looked after the archives of the Bretby family at Framlingham until John de Segrave II came of age (Wathey, 1991: ii).

Bury's royalist status has already been described. Its anti-Semitic history reached back to at least 10 June 1181 when a young boy, Robert, was alleged to have been ritually murdered by the local Jewish population after Christian members of the town found his

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[26] Losseff, 1994: 28-31. The most recent edition of the Barrabas motet in Berk 55 is Andrew Wathey ed. (1991): *Berkeley Castle, Select Roll 55: Motets and Sequences from the Early Fourteenth Century.* Newton Abbot: Antico Edition. A description of the source can also be found in Lefferts (1986: 234-5) and Wathey (1993).
[27] Berk 55, m.5 d.; DRc 20, f.7; Ob 7, f.viv. The tenor *Babilonis flumina* is probably a rhymed version of Psalm 136: 1.

body in a stream.[28] On the day after the massacre at Clifford's Tower in York, on Palm Sunday 1190, perhaps following a sermon by Abbot Samson, the town rioted and fifty-seven Jews were killed. At the time, the newly elected Abbot had argued that Bury should be free from Jews because in the opinion of the town and abbey, all members of the community should by right be 'vassals of St Edmund' (Roth, 1978: 25). It is fairly clear that aside from Abbot Samson's general hatred of the Jews, he was specifically opposed to the reliance on their loans to the Abbey during the previous rule of Abbot Hugh (1173-80).[29] William, the sacristan, had been supportive of the local Jewish population during Hugh's government, allowing them to shelter in the refectory and deposit their funds and paperwork with him for safekeeping. The Jews supported his own bid for election to the abbacy, but this was perhaps one of the factors that ensured Samson's success. The importance to the abbey, and presumably the town, of St Edmund's cult was matched to some extent by the town's esteem for St Nicholas, culminating in the dedication of their peculiar *Douzegild.* This may have reflected the association felt to

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[28] There have been few discussions of the cult of St Robert of Bury, which supported the mythology of the local Jews and their anti-Christian practices. Jocelyn of Brakelond, the famous Bury chronicler, wrote Robert's vita.
[29] See especially Roth (1978: 24-5).

have existed between St Nicholas and the conversion of Jews as found in the miracle stories associated with his cult.[30]

There has been a significant literature relating to the possible origin of the Cloisters (or Bury) Cross, which some scholars associate firmly with the work of Master Hugo for Bury St Edmunds.[31] The Cloisters Cross is thought to date to the mid-to-late twelfth century.[32] Measuring almost two feet high and carved from morse ivory, its detail is immensely impressive both in the hundred or so Biblical figures depicted, and over sixty inscriptions which appear across every surface in a mixture of Latin, Greek and mock Hebrew. The importance of the cross to this discussion is that the inscriptions have been thought to convey a complex anti-Semitic message, based upon Biblical quotation and exegesis, though to some scholars this has been considered less important than the craftsmanship involved. Amongst the various inscriptions, the majority appear to relate to the culpability of the Jewish people for the death of Jesus. Two of the

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[30] On the relationship between Bury and St Nicholas see earlier in this study and Greene (1962: 173-4). Greene suggested that the provenance of Lbl 2593 is Bury, since it 'contains the only preserved English carol in honour of St Edmund . . . [and] the only two known carols in honour of St Nicholas'; the carols in honour of St Nicholas are Nos 315 and 316 (Greene, 1977: 193).

[31] Norman Scarfe (1973-5): 'The Bury St Edmunds Cross: The Work of Master Hugo?' *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute for Archaeology* 33, 75-85. Thomas Hoving (1981): *King of the Confessors.* London: Hamilton; Elizabeth C. Parker and Charles T. Little (1994): *The Cloisters Cross: Its Art and Meaning.* New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, and London: Harvey Miller; T. A. Heslop (1994): 'The Cloisters Cross: Its Art and Meaning.' (Review) *The Burlington Magazine* 136/1096, 459-60; Julian Borger (29 August 2001): 'It's as if Hitler and Michelangelo got together to make this thing.' *The Guardian,* G2 supplement, 1-3.

larger of these read 'Synagogue has collapsed with a great and foolish effort', and 'The Jews laugh at the pain of God dying' (Heslop, 1994: 459). The complex story of this artefact lies beyond the scope of this study, but should the provenance of the cross be proven to relate to Bury St Edmunds, as Norman Scarfe and others believe, its place in the picture of anti-Semitic art and literature during this period would be of great significance.[33] Though Scarfe, Little and Parker downplay the anti-Jewish aspect of the Cross and its message, considering it more likely to have been a 'scholarly compendium' used to convert the Jews rather than to ridicule them, the image at its centre, 'Synagogue' piercing the Lamb of God, leaves no question as to the overall picture that reflects the Jews in their traditional light as murderers of Christ (Heslop, 1994: 459).

Barrabas dimittitur dignus is full of powerful imagery and subtle text setting. The subject matter concerns the death of Christ on the Cross, concentrating on the torture and cruelty inflicted upon him. At the opening, the second texted voice imitates the first with a similar musical phrase, and parallels between these two lines highlight the message of the motet as a whole (see Fig. 12). Harrison describes the form of this piece as a 'flexibly constructed rondellus

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[32] Other ivory crosses from the early Middle Ages are listed in Parker and Little (1994: 261). These include the gift of crosses to Lindisfarne (*c.*925-39); the Archbishop of York (*c.*1192); and St Albans (bequest in 1252).

motet' and points to places where the melodic line repeats, such as the duplum in bars 17-20 and 53-6, though the upper parts contain no direct quotation of one another's music or text (*PMFC* 15: 164).

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[33] Hoving was under no doubt from first sight of the Cross that its origins were English, and suggested that its maker was the important craftsman and artist Master Hugo (Hoving, 1981: 322). Heslop stated that 'there really are no grounds for placing the cross in Bury, and very few for thinking it is English' (1994: 459).

Fig. 12: *Barrabas dimittitur* (after Wathey, 1991)

33

pen - di - o; la - tro - num in me - di - o cer - ni - tur, con-

3

Cla - mans in - quit "He - loy He - ly, la - ma - za - ba - ta - ni?"

41

3

temp - ni tur. Cunc - ta cre - ans ex ni - chi - lo hinc cla - ma - vit "Si - ci-

3

Mox in cru - ce mo - ri - tur, mor - te cu - ius il - li - co ge - nus A-

50

o"; sic gra - vi mo - ri - tur

-de re - di - mi - tur. Chris - to laus

55

mon - te Cal - va - ri - e sus - pi - ri - o.

3

i - gi - tur et iu - bi - la - ci - o.

Assonance between the texts is also a feature; the tenor, labelled *Pes de Barrabas dimittitur* in Berk 55 and *Babylonis flumina* in DRc 20, seems to be newly-composed, though the end of the motet on the vowel 'o' in both triplum and duplum may suggest that it was derived from a *Benedicamus Domino* melody. At the heart of the piece, the duplum quotes Christ's dying words in Hebrew, 'Clamans inquit, "Heloy Hely, lama zabatani?"' ('He cries out, "My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?"'). Above this, the triplum describes Jesus' position, suspended in the middle of thieves and despised by his onlookers. As if to gel these images together, bars 35-40 are set to what Lefferts has described as 'rocking fifths'. The effect is to bind the lines with one another, giving dramatic emphasis to the music and its text. A final passage of imitation occurs from bars 47-52, where the triplum quotes Christ's exclamation 'Sicio' ('I thirst') before dying, against which the duplum announces that at the moment of Christ's death the race of Adam was saved.

Durham and Bury seem to have been at the forefront of polyphonic singing throughout this period. Durham's most substantial surviving source, DRc 20, contains concordances with insular and continental sources that include Ob 7, Ob 81 and the Ivrea Codex. Arguably, *Barrabas* was a motet that was widely disseminated during this period, copied into sources for the most powerful monastic establishments and households in the country. Its

Easter theme gave it an appeal to those churches for whom polyphony was practically a requirement by this time on the highest calendar feasts, as well as with small but wealthy chapels.

The Christmas carol *Glad and blithe,* which dates to *c.*1420, begins in a familiar manner with reference to the Nativity, and uses the popular Latin verse endings that are found in a large number of carols from this period (*Res Miranda, Semper clara,* and so forth).[34] It is an English version of the Latin sequence *Letabundus,* which contains anti-Semitic lines relating to conscious denial of the birth of the Son of God. Commanding the intended 'audience', 'Unhappy Jewe, come thou nere', it asks, 'Why wolt thou, wrecche, y damned be?' This implies a decision that the Jew can make, between the faith that they 'know' to be true, and their own path, which the lyrics state lead only to damnation. The Christian message of *Glad and blithe,* like that of the Easter motet *Barrabas dimittitur,* is clearly articulated as a conscious choice between right and wrong.

Justice for the righteous

The motet *Omnis terra / Habenti dabitur / T.* may have either been provided with a contrafact text from a French original or been crafted

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[34] I am grateful to Margaret Bent for drawing my attention to this carol. See Margaret Bent ed. (1974a): *Two Songs for Christmas.* London: Oxford University Press.

on a French model, a conclusion based upon its typically French bipartite isorhythmic structure and other stylistic features (Lefferts, 1986: 83, 204). This would place it alongside other motets in Ob 7 and DRc 20, such as *Musicorum Collegio* (DRc 20, 17), *Pura placens* (Ob 7, 15), *Domine quis* (Ob 7, 16), and *Deus creator* (Ob 7, 14).[35] *Pura placens* has a duplum *Parfundement plure Absolon*, which may concord with an item listed in the index of the chansonnier of Philippe le Bon.[36] Melville-Richards has argued for a close relationship between the text of *Omnis terra* and a commentary by Robertus Anglicus on a treatise by John de Sacrobosco, entitled *The Sphere* (Melville-Richards, 1999: 94).

The triplum and duplum texts of *Omnis terra* are puzzling in that they are heavily contrasting in nature, and do not appear to have an explicit dedication. The source of the tenor cantus firmus, which appears complete four times, has been identified by Melville-Richards as a *neuma* of the fifth tone; she noted that of other motets which use it, two are by Philippe de Vitry, and that the closest

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[35] Harrison suggested that *Musicorum collegio*, a 'musicians' motet', might refer to the household chapel of singers performing for the exiled King John II of France, who was in England from 1357 – 1360 (Harrison, 1993: 322). Harrison also noted that John II was a patron of Philippe de Vitry, some of whose motets are found in the same source, DRc 20, and posited that the contents of the leaves of that choirbook originated 'in the chapel of John II while in England' (Harrison, 1993: 322-3).

relationship with the tenor of *Omnis terra* is Vitry's *Douce / Garison / Neuma* (1999: 100).

The upper texts of this motet are rather obscure, and often contradictory; their meanings speak of justice for those who are not among God's chosen people, and may imply anti-Jewish sentiment. Lefferts tells us that the triplum 'praises God in language that recalls Genesis and may be a paraphrase of Psalm 103(104), which tells a creation story' where the duplum 'apparently launches an attack upon the flourishing of evil men in this world to the detriment of the righteous' (Lefferts, 1986: 278).[37] Lefferts considered that the duplum opened with a passage that drew from Matthew 13: 12, the parable of the sower. In the Latin Vulgate, there is a closer parallel text in Matthew 25: 29, a section of the parable of the ten virgins, also drawn upon by the author of the Edward motet (see Fig. 13).

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[36] E. Droz and G. Thibault (1926): 'Un chansonnier de Philippe le Bon.' *Revue de Musicologie* 7, 1-17, item listed on page 5. Lefferts notes that such references to the duplum of this motet 'cite only the incipit' and as such 'it is of some interest to ask whether the triplum's Latin text is original or contrafact. Just possibly the triplum could be an Englishman's Latin replacement for secular French verses. Speaking for this is the sacred subject matter, the high degree of alliteration in the first line . . . and the assonance of the two text incipits' (Lefferts, 1986: 192).

[37] Psalm 103 in the Vulgate. Translations can found in *PMFC* 15: 191-2, and Page (1999: 11-12). Another occult reference in the text 'apparently comes from Matthew 17: 15, when Jesus cures a child possessed by a devil' (Melville-Richards, 1999: 97).

Fig. 13 Biblical references in *Omnis terra*

Matt. 13: 12:	Qui enim *habet*, dabitur ei, et abundabit: qui autem non habet, et quod habet auferetur ab eo.[38]
Matt. 25: 29	Omni enim habenti dabitur, et abundabit; ei autem qui non habet et quod videtur habere, auferetur ab eo.[39]
Motet opens:	(triplum) Omnis terra
	(duplum) [H]abenti dabitur et habundabit nec habundabitur nec quicquam dabit.[40]

The duplum text also ends with Biblical quotation, 'Igitur spernitur quod in psalmo scribitur: Iustus germinabit'. Lefferts stated that this draws on Isaiah 61:11[41] and that the closest Psalm is 91:13 'Justus ut palma florebit' ('The just shall flourish like the palm tree') (*PMFC* 15: 192). A closer text is Psalm 71:7 'germinabit in diebus eius iustitia et multitudo pacis donec non sit luna'.[42] Similar phrases occur

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[38] 'For he that hath, to him shall be given, and he shall abound: but he that hath not, from him shall be taken away that also which he hath.'
[39] 'For to every one that hath shall be given, and he shall abound: but from him that hath not, that also which he seemeth to have shall be taken away.'
[40] 'To the one who has shall be given, and he shall have abundance; neither will it be made abundant not will be given anything, but what is acquired he will fortify with evil' (*PMFC* 15: 192).
[41] 'For as the earth bringeth forth her bud, and as the garden causeth her seed to shoot forth: so shall the Lord God make justice to spring forth, and praise before all the nations.'
[42] 'In his days shall justice spring up, and abundance of peace, till the moon be taken away.'

in many liturgical items, and the plainchant *Iustus germinabit* was also set as polyphony in thirteenth-century sources.[43]

It has previously been suggested that the 'Simon' in the duplum text who will not become (or will become if meaning is taken over transcription in some editions) a bishop is Simon Magus, the false prophet.[44] He would certainly match the identification of the 'false good man' in the final verse. There are two other possible candidates for the reference, both Jews. In the mid-twelfth century, crusaders murdered Simeon the Pious of Treves on his refusal to be baptised (Roth, 1978: 10). In 1208, Peter of Cornwall, prior of Holy Trinity in London, wrote details of his conversion of one Simon, who later became a canon of the same priory (Roth, 1978: 130). As such, Simeon of Treves would be a suitable candidate for one would *not* pontificate, or in this case convert to the Christian faith, and Simon of London would be a less plausible candidate for one who would.

Perhaps the most extreme example of anti-Semitic language in a lyric from the fourteenth century is the fragmentary motet *Zorobabel abigo.* As Melville-Richards has pointed out, Lefferts 'considers the subject matter of this motet is a "prayer renouncing evil," but the text is more specifically directed against the Jews, using Zorobabel, their hoped-for Messiah, as a representative of their race'

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[43] Abu 2379/1 includes *Alleluya. Justus germinabit* in organum duplum style (Everist, 1992: 16). See Geoffrey Chew (1978): 'A *Magnus Liber Organi* Fragment at Aberdeen.' *JAMS* 31, 326-43.

(Lefferts, 1986: 273; Melville-Richards, 1999: 33).[45] The unusual feature of this motet is that the dedication has no link with Easter or any other feast in the Christian calendar that might have led the author to mention the Jews in a Biblical context. The last part of the triplum states that the true Christ was sent from God to save Mankind, but makes it clear that the Jews were not worthy of this salvation:

> Non peperit proprio / sane [ ]ne pro populo
>
> peperam perdito / morsu pro pestifero.
>
> [Nor was He borne for such a people so lost and with such
>
> wicked envy.]
>
> (Melville-Richards, 1999: vol. 2, 6)

Arguably, this is the clearest and most dramatic anti-Semitic motet that has survived from the fourteenth century repertory. Its first person placement of the text in the mouth of Zorobabel himself speaks in the voice of the Jews, but contradicts their belief that he is the Messiah to come. In these texts, we witness Zorobabel's conversion; the triplum opens 'I, Zorobabel, from this moment', the duplum 'I, Zorobabel, renounce and straightway reject wicked studies . . . I desire to the please the Lord alone whom I now long always to serve' (Melville-Richards, 1999, ii: 6). If even Zorobabel

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[44] Another motet in Ob 7, *Petrum cephas ecclesie,* mentions Simon Magus.
[45] Melville-Richards notes that 'Zorobabel (Zerubbabel) features fairly extensively in the Apocrypha (Ezra), and the Old Testament' (Zechariah 6: 9-15) (1999, ii: 6).

has turned his back on the Jews, denouncing their 'wicked envy', there is no other conclusion for the listener than that which confirms the Jews as conscious deniers and murderers of Christ. There was no Jewish population in Bury at the time when this piece belonged to the monastic community. In the same way that literature often placed misogynist sentiments in the voice of female characters in order to authenticate them, so this motet uses the protagonist to represent and undermine the voice of the Jews.

Conclusions

The motets and carols in which references to the Jews appear are linked by provenance or association to the largest religious establishments. It is perhaps hardly surprising that the anti-Semitic Biblical passages on which motet and carol authors drew resulted in anti-Jewish lyrics. Texts in honour of St Nicholas and the Virgin Mary were not drawn from passages in the Bible, but from liturgical items and hagiography. They used anti-Semitic tropes such as the contrast between early Christians and non-believers, and stereotypical ideas of Jews as envious and deceitful usurers, to address themes of power and corruption.

In reference to French didactic literature of the Middle Ages, Larissa Taylor concluded that 'Jews and infidels might be the natural

enemies of Christ and his church, but they were not nearly as bad as those Christians who did not live as they should' (1992: 154). In the same way, it is possible that the appearance of Jews in motet and carol texts were linked less with medieval anti-Semitism *per se* than with the reforming and moralising spirit of post-Lateran culture. The idea of a not-so-devout Christian was emphasised by his transformation into a more extreme and easily recognisable image, a 'stereotypical' Jew, in order to reinforce the idea through allegory. The message was thus not, 'All Jews will be damned', but rather, 'Since we know from the scriptures that non-believers such as the Jews will be damned, so we may imply that God will punish all those who do not follow the Christian message completely in their lives'. In this way it is hardly surprising that the more important and wealthy institutions propagated music and lyrics with this theme, since it was in their interest to promote the Church and to stamp out heresy.

English polyphony and carols that mention Jews show, to some extent, the range of ways in which hostility was expressed in the later Middle Ages. The economic policies that had forced local Jewish populations into financial hardship in the thirteenth century developed after 1290 into a more sinister situation in which Jews were widely believed to murder and eat Christian children, poison wells and the Eucharist, and cripple economic stability through coin-clipping and usury. Medieval anti-Semitism drew on Christian texts,

and was reflected in the liturgical items composed for the Easter period in particular. Stacey has argued that 'there is no simple correlation between the growth of English anti-Semitism and the power of the medieval English state' (2000: 177). Yet, the implications of the removal of Jews from the country were significant, helping to reaffirm the blessed identity that English kings and the wider population saw for themselves during this period.

Conclusions

This study has drawn on a wide range of historical documentation, from prophecy literature to iconography, as well as specifically musical sources such as Office chants and religious lyrics. It has shown that the interrelationship between secular and sacred concerns in English polyphony was strong and often consciously manipulated. The prime example of this was the concept of kingship or queenship in music honouring certain royal saints. Rulers held a temporal position of divinely sanctioned authority, and yet did not often follow lives that readily associated them with sanctity. The composition of a motet could be used to grant a saintly reputation to a person who was not widely venerated as a saint, even Simon de Montfort or Thomas of Lancaster who were not canonised.

The piety of kings, queens, laymen and monastic communities emphasised different aspects of the Christian liturgy. Within the broadly standardised church calendar, individuals or religious houses constructed specific programmes of worship, expressed in architecture, the visual arts, liturgical books, and music. The most powerful groups took great care to ensure that their local concerns, such as a shrine in the church (for a monastery) or a saintly ancestor (for a member of the royal family), were well publicised, for

both financial gain and the aura of religious power and authority that came with it. Such expressions of authority were not static. The high profile of Edward the Confessor as royal patron saint under Henry III waned in the early part of the fourteenth century, as Edward I associated himself with warrior saints during war with Scotland, but rose again during the reign of Richard II. Saint George began to grow in favour as both royal and patron saint from 1348, though he had enjoyed some popularity with Edward I. It was not until the Lancastrian dynasty, and especially the reign of Henry V who identified personally with his cult, that St George achieved nationwide acceptance. Female saints, especially St Katherine and St Margaret, were of significant interest to noble women as models of virtue, but served equally well as examples of chastity and faith for Benedictine monks at Durham Cathedral and elsewhere. Further research into fifteenth-century repertory, particularly carols and other religious lyrics, would undoubtedly prove useful in mapping the rise in prominence of female saints in lay piety and the contrast between the piety of the Lancastrians and their Plantagenet predecessors.

Some evidence presented in this study has touched on the complex issue of the liturgical space in which motets and other votive items might have been performed, either in relation to the specific feast day or the architectural setting. Andrew Hughes argued that there was no need to search beyond a saint's official feast day for

the motet's performance context.[1] Lefferts raised the possibility that the decrease in numbers of motets towards 1400 was indicative of their increasingly specific or ceremonial context (1984: 181). There is also further evidence presented here that motets in honour of specific saints may have been performed on a more flexible basis, including saints' days, ceremonial occasions and local celebrations.

The relationship between votive music and religious literature, broadly defined, was not one-way. The motet *Zelo tui langueo,* though perhaps disseminated over the narrowest of geographical areas, formed part of the fabric of devotional culture for Gilbertines and laymen. Its text was possibly influenced by a lyric which has since been lost, but which also inspired a poem by the mystic Richard Rolle. Whether or not the nuns at Shouldham, or Rolle's nuns at Hampole in Yorkshire, actually heard the motet *Zelo tui langueo* is less relevant than the wider picture of its relevance to local East Anglian culture, suggested by musical, literary and iconographical sources in this unique example.

English motets were shaped by the literary culture from which they drew many of their ideas and also served to influence nationalist concepts in the minds of performers and those that heard them. The self-conscious fashioning of king saints' and political saints'

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[1] This was in relation to a motet in the Old Hall Manuscript *En Katerina solennia;* Andrew Hughes (1967): 'The Old Hall Manuscript: A Reappraisal.' *MD* 21, 105-6.

reputations in literature and music are perhaps the best examples of this practice. Motets in honour of female saints emphasised the feminine charms of saints to which medieval women were also meant to aspire, such as beauty, wisdom and chastity. At the same time, pieces written about Easter often drew attention to aspects of sanctity by contrast with misogynist or anti-Semitic stereotypes. While ideas were being formulated which set up the national ideal, from St Edmund to St George, the antithesis of these saintly, quasi-historical figures was embodied in the portrayal of the female and the non-Christian 'other'.

It will be through careful analysis of local liturgical traditions, archaeological remains and lay patronage that programs of veneration will become better understood. The influence of architecture, stained glass, altar panels, reliquaries and sculptures may likewise reveal locations where music may have been performed. The reference to saints' sanctity shining, often from above, may have been dependent on a tradition of raised reliquaries and shrines behind altars, especially the high altar, from the Conquest period onward. Lay ownership of music manuscripts, including religious and secular items, is still poorly understood. Though it has not been the focus of this study, music in honour of the Virgin Mary or universal saints warrants further scrutiny for patterns of veneration that, in combination with information about architectural or other remains,

might elucidate local programmes of veneration at a single chapel, abbey, or household.[2] The implications both of and for French repertoire from this period would need to be explored more fully in the light of this study of English repertoire, in order to provide a reliable picture of the role of local and universal saints (St Denis and St Louis in particular) and Biblical figures (such as Esther) in propaganda.[3]

Music in honour of the Virgin Mary has previously dominated surveys of English music from the later Middle Ages. I have argued extensively for the importance of music in shaping, and having been shaped by, a growing nationalist discourse during this period, a conclusion supported by examination of the music in honour of a number of saints popular in England. One might expect the stylistic traits recognised in the literature as 'English' (panconsonance, adoption of Latin texts, voice-exchange) to have been foregrounded by native composers of this period. The diversity within the more substantial collections of music from Bury St Edmunds, Westminster and Durham makes any easy distinction between 'English' and

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[2] A list of known votive polyphonic items, including universal saints but excluding music in honour of the Virgin Mary, can be found in Appendix 3.

[3] My thanks to Margaret Bent for suggesting this line of enquiry, and for pointing out that a French motet in honour of King Charles V (1364 – 80), *Rex Karole* by Philippe Royllart, invokes the intercessory powers the BVM by way of associating her with Old Testament figures including Esther (see *PMFC* 5: 141-8). The work of Ann Walters Robertson has shown the importance of local liturgical practice in France, and has explored the cult of French saints such as St Denis (1991, 1992, 2002).

'French' repertory or style problematic. On the subject of architecture, and to some extent the visual arts as a whole, Binski argued that 'there was no simple corollary between ideas of nationhood and style', a conclusion that serves equally well for music (1995: 44). The connection between nationalist sentiment and national style that was evident in music at the beginning of the twentieth century is not comparable to the English repertory of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. English adoption of aspects of certain compositional techniques first favoured in France seems to have been swift, and relatively unaffected by political circumstance. An attempt to separate French pieces from English ones does not reflect the reality of the fourteenth century that could be both nationalist and sensitive to continental influence, both capable of retaining independent characteristics and emulating the latest trends.[4]

The lack of a distinct relationship between musical style and nationhood does not, however, undermine the central tenet of this study. Rather, it reinforces the understanding of the way in which the music of this period could reflect many meanings at any one time or place. The performance of a polyphonic troped Kyrie in honour of St Cuthbert was enough to make a statement about local politics, regional power and piety. Cuthbert's cult was mainly popular in the

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[4] Cumming argued that the 'real fusion of English and continental music would come in the 1440s and 1450s' (1999: 154).

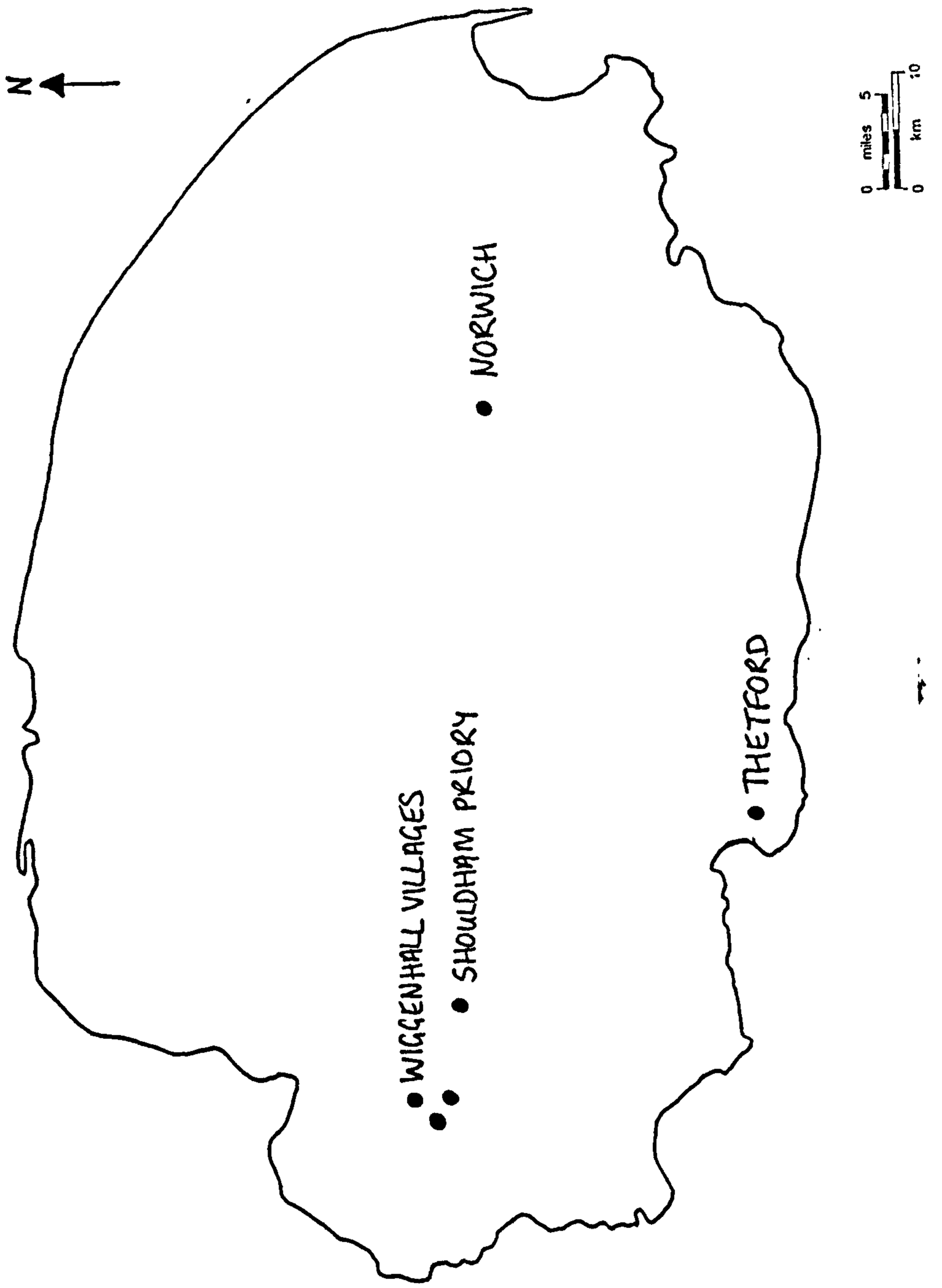
north of England and parts of Scotland, so it is unsurprising from this point of view that polyphonic music in his honour has not been found further south. On the other hand, saints such as Thomas of Canterbury could represent the See of Canterbury, opposition to the Crown, the rights of the Church, the blessed status of the English people, or a simple example of martyrdom.

Peter Lefferts stated that 'the [English] motet texts offer virtually no opportunity for the kinds of interpretive analysis that musicology has seen so successfully applied to the rich, figurative language of 14th-century isorhythmic motets and grandes ballades, whose political, often polemical texts can usually be associated to definite historical circumstances' (1984: 171). The present study has challenged the view that English motets offer nothing more than vague cultural contexts; rather, they were part of the fabric of religious, regional and nationalistic sentiment throughout the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The essence of votive Anglo-Latin texts seems less to do with whether their dedication is to saints *or* the Virgin Mary, but to *which* saints, and how these were described and praised. The use of earlier textual models (Biblical, liturgical, hagiographical) in motets served to emphasise appropriate elements of the saint's life and works, perhaps the chastity of St Katherine or the alleged 'virginity' of St Edward the Confessor.

Virginity, chastity, charity, humility and gender identity were performative characteristics of a saint's life, aspects that lacked reliable physical or documentary evidence. Proof of sanctity, the most vulnerable and important aspect of a saint's cult, was closely tied to the musical references that abounded in hagiographical material and to the hagiographical references in lyrics. Music was part of the performance of sanctity, and the English people felt a special privilege that above all others, theirs was a nation of angels.

Appendix 1

Map of Norfolk



Appendix 2

Contents of Liturgical Calendar, York, Minster Library, MS xvi.N.3

Many of the entries in red are very worn, and editorial suggestions for possible commemorations are indicated below by text in square brackets.

[January, February, November and December missing]

March

1	Donatus	black
7	Perpetua and Felicitas (Felicity)	black
12	[Gregory the Great]	red
15	[unclear]	red
18	[unclear: Cyril of Jerusalem?]	red
25	Annunciation of Blessed Virgin Mary	blue

April

4	Ambrose	red
11	Guthlac (Hermit of Crowland, Lincs.)	black
12	Euphemie	virgin
14	Tiburtius, Valerian, Maximus	black
19	Alphege	black
23	George	black
25	Mark the Evangelist	red
28	Vitalis	black
29	Translation of Edmund, King and Martyr	black
30	Erkenwold	black

May

3	Invention of the Holy Cross	red
6	John at the Latin Gate	red
9	Translation of St Audrey (St Etheldreda, founder of double monastery at Ely) (Also on 17 October)	black
10	Gordian and Epimachus	black
19	Dunstan	black
25	Aldhelm	black
26	Augustine of Canterbury (Archbishop)	black
28	Germanus of Paris in red 'Dedicacio ecclesie beate marie virginis de burwele,' running onto line below	black with rubrics
31	Petronilla	black

June

1	Nichomedes	black
2	Marcellinus and Peter	black
5	Boniface (Bishop)	black
8	Medard and Gilard	black
9	Primus and Felician	black
11	Barnabus the Apostle	red
14	Basil	black
15	Vitus, Modestus and Crescentius	black
16	Ciricus and Julitta	black
17	Botolph	red
18	Marcius and Marcelliam	black
19	Gervase and Prothase	black
20	Translation of Edward King and Martyr	black
22	Alban	black
23	Etheldreda (spelt Etheldrede, not Audrey)	black
24	John the Baptist	red
26	John and Paul	red
28	Leo	black
29	Peter and Paul	red
30	Commemoration of Paul	red

July

1	Octave of St John the Baptist	black
2	[?Swithin]	black
4	Translation of St Martin	red
6	Octave of Peter and Paul	black
7	Translation of St Thomas of Canterbury	black
10	Seven Martyred Brothers	black
11	Translation of St Benedict	black
17	Kenelm, King and Martyr	black
18	Arnulf	black
20	Margaret of Antioch	red
21	Praxedes	black
22	Mary Magdalene	red
23	Apollinaris	black
24	Christina the Astonishing (d. 1224)	black
	Vigil of St James	red
25	James the Apostle (James the Greater)	red
27	The Seven Sleepers of Ephesus	black
29	Felix and Faustinas	black
31	Germanus (Bishop of Auxerre)	black

August

1	[?Peter the Apostle]	red
2	Stephen	black
3	Invention of St Stephen	black
5	Dominic[1]	black

[1] Ker places this on 4 August

7	Donatus (Bishop and Martyr)	black
9	Romanus	black
10	Laurence	red
11	Tiburtius	black
14	Vigil of the Assumption of the BVM	red
15	Assumption of Blessed Virgin Mary	red[2]
17	Octave of St Laurence	black
18	Agapitus the Martyr	black
19	Magnus the Martyr	black
22	Octave of St Mary the Virgin	black
24	Bartholomew	red
28	Augustine of Hippo	black
29	Death of John Baptist	red
31	Paulinus of Trier	black

September

1	Egidius (Giles)	black
4	Translation of St Cuthbert	black
5	Bertinus	black
8	Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary	red
9	Gorgonius	black
14	Exaltation of the Holy Cross	red
17	Lambert (Bishop and Martyr)	black
20	Vigil of St Matthew	black
21	Matthew the Apostle and Evangelist	red
22	Maurice and his Companions	red
24	Dedication of the Church of Norwich, ('Dedicacio ecclesie Norwic')	black
25	Firmin	black
26	Cyprian [et Justina]	black
27	Cosmas and Damian	black
29	Michael the Archangel	red
30	Jerome	black

October

2	Leodegarius	black
4	Francis of Assisi	black
6	Fides (Faith)	black
9	Dionysius and his Companions	black
12	Wilfrid	black
13	Translation of St Gilbert	black
14	Calixtus	black
15	Wulfstan	black
16	Dedication of St Michael on the Mount	black
17	Translation of Etheldreda (spelt 'Etheldrede')	black
18	Luke the Evangelist	red

[2] Ker states that this in blue

21	Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins	black
23	Romanus	black
28	Simon and Jude	red
31	Quentin	black

Appendix 3: List of English polyphonic items relating to saints (excluding the BVM) to *c.*1500

Where the dedication of an item is uncertain, a question mark appears before the title of the work. Where there is more than one possible dedication, the entry is listed in all relevant sections, followed by (or St...). Where there is a double dedication indicated in the manuscript, the entry is listed in all relevant sections, followed by (also St...). Where a composer attribution exists, it is given in column 3. Spellings of composers' names are given as found in Curtis and Wathey. Anonymous compositions are given an approximate date for their source, according to *RISM* or the most recent reliable information. This list is provisional only, and is intended as a starting point for further research. There are many sources that have doubtless been overlooked, especially those relating to the period from the Conquest to *c.*1260. Equally, there may be works within this list that are only preserved in continental sources, but for which a claim of Englishness has been argued, as well as works preserved in Britain that may have originated elsewhere. Some pieces are identified by their item number as listed in *RISM* or another published source, but folio numbers are given where known.

St Alban

Albanus roseo rutilat / Quoque ferendus eras / Albanus domini laudens	I-MOe α X.1.11, f.88v-89	Dunstaple
Mass: Albanus (with cantus firmus *Alloqui dulcis*)	Cgc 667, p.174; other 16th-century sources	Robert Fayrfax

St Andrew

Alleluia. V. Dilexit Andream	Ccc 473, item 101	11th century
Alleluia. V. Dilexit Andream	Lbl 978, item 2.27	13th century
Alme morum monitorum / T	Dtc 519, f.1v	14th century
Andreas celici	Lbl 978, item 3.7	13th century
Duodeno sydere	Ob 7, item 5	14th century
Dux Andrea	Lbl 978, item 3.8	14th century
(In odore)	Ob 497, item 5; Mo, item 61	13th century

St Anne

Ave mater Anna	Lli 1, f.195v	s.xiv / xv
Anna mater matris Christi	Ob C.87*, f.224v, f.222	Plomer
Gaude felix mater Anna / Gaude mater / Anna parens	I-MOe α X.1.11, f.129v-131	Dunstaple

In Anne puerperio	Lli, f.195	s.xiv / xv
Testamento veteri Anna / T. O Miranda domina	Lpro E163/22/1/24, f.1v	s.xiv / xv

St Augustine of Canterbury

Augustine par angelis / Summe presul Augustine	Ob D.6, f.11	14th century
Solaris ardor	Onc 362, f.89	*c.*1300

St Augustine of Hippo

Assunt Augustini leta solempnia / untexted (2 of ?4 parts)	LIc 52, f.2v	s. xiv 1/2
Ihesu redemptor omnium / Ihesu redemptor omnium / Ihesu labentes respice	Cfm, f.2v	s. xiv 1/2
Psallat Augustino mater ecclesia / Psallat Augustino mater ecclesia	Lbl 27630, f.40v-41v	

St Barbara

Barbara simplex animo	US-Cu, item 9	13th century

St Bartholomew

O pater excellentissime	Onc 57, f.i	s.xiv in.
O sancte Bartholomee plebs fidelis hodie / O sancta Bartholomee plebs devota dignus tue / O Bartholomee miseris nobis	Cjc 138, f.127-128	13th century

St Benedict

Lux refulgent monachorum	Ob 7, item 4	14th century
Sancte Benedicte V. O Benedicte, sidux aureum	Ccc 473, f.178v-179	11th century

St Bernard

Detentos a demonibus / Secundo tenore	Cant 2, item 1	s. xiv in.
Regina iam discubuit sedens / T	Cant 2, item 3 (linked to Cant 2, item 4)	s. xiv in.
Venit sponsa de libano / T	Cant 2, item 4 (linked to Cant 2, item 3)	s. xiv in.

St Christiana

Recita Christiana (marginal inscription)	Lbl 40011B*	14th century

St Cuthbert

Kyrie Cuthberte	DRc 11, f.Iv	14th century

St Denis

Vir inclitus Dionisius	Ccc 473, f.189v-190	11th century

St Dominic (d. 1221, canonised 1234)

?In celesti ierarchia[1]	Lbl 978, item 3.2	13th century

St Dunstan

Sanctissime Donatiane / O Christi pietas	I-TRbc 92, f.141v-142	15th century

St Edburga

Virgo regalis fidei (also St Katherine)	WF, 12	13th century

[1] Suggested attributions for St Dominic and Archbishop Peccham pieces made by Hohler, 1978: 14, 24.

St Edmund, King and Martyr

Ave miles celestis	Ob 7, item 7	14th century
Christi miles rex Edmundus	Lbl 978, item 4.9	13th century
De flore martirum	Ob 7, item 8	14th century
Flos anglorum inclitus	Omc 266/268, item 3	*c.*1400
?Miles Christi qui vestiti (or St Edward the Confessor)[2]	Lbl 978, item 3.5	13th century
Synge we now all and sum 'Ave rex gentis anglorum'	Lbl 2593, f.25v	15th century

St Edward the Confessor

Ave miles de cuius	Lwa 33327, item 7	*c.*1300
Civitas nusquam	Onc 362, item 9	*c.*1300
Fons origo musicorum	Cu 4435, f.bv	*c.*1400
Iste confessor	Cu 4435, f.c	*c.*1400
?Miles Christi qui vestiti	Lbl 978, item 3.5 (or St Edmund)	13th century
Regem regum	NYpm 978, f.2	14th century

St Elizabeth (and BVM)

Aeternae laudis lilium	Ob 1464, f.16; Cp 40, f.89v; Cp 41, f.81; Cp 31, 100; Cp 32, f.79(1); Cjc K.31, [f.7]; Cu Dd.13.27, f.8; En 5.1.15, f.151v; Llp 1, p.114; Omec 62 (listed in index)	Robert Fayrfax, 1502
O Maria et Elizabeth	Eton Choirbook, m2v-5; Lost Choirbook 2, f.17v	Gilbert Banester

St Francis

Alleluia. Hic Franciscus	Ob 400*, booklet M	13th century

[2] Lefferts cites both possible dedications (1986: 163).

St George and BVM

Alma proles regina / Christi miles inclite Georgi / T. Ab inimicis nostris	Lbl 57950, f.90v-91	Cook
Salvatoris mater / O Georgi / Sanctus	Lbl 57950, f.89v-90	Damett
Enforce we us with all our might	Lbl 3307, f.63v	15th century

St Germanus

Dies dignus decorari / Demon dolens / Iste confessor	I-MOe α X.1.11, f.92v-93	Dunstaple

St James

Parce piscatoribus	Ob 7, item 17	14th century
Nec Herodis ferocitas	Lbl 978, item 2.19; Ob 143, item 1	13th century
Senator regis curie	WF, 95; D-Gu 220, item 2	13th century

St John the Baptist (main feast and / or decapitation of)

Alleluia. Inter natos	Lbl 978, item 2.17	13th century
Dei preco	DRc 20, item 5	14th century
Gloria *Johannes Jesu*	Lbl 57950, f.23v-24	Pycard
O amicus sponsi primus / Precursoris preconia / Solus tenor /T	Ir 30, f.i-ii	14th century
Preco preheminencie	I-MOe α X.1.11, f.127v-129; Trent 92, f.184v-186	Dunstaple
Mass *Fuit homo missus*	Trent 88; Trent 90; Trent 93, f.133v-135, 243v-245, 308v-310	15th century
Zacharie par helie	Lbl 978, item 7.22	13th century
Zacharie filius	Lbl 978, item 3.29	13th century

St John of Bridlington

Mass *Quem malignus spiritus*	Cu 18, f.219v-228; Trent 93 (lacks Kyrie), f.130v-133, f.240v-243, f.303v-305v, 306v-308; Trent 90 (lacks Kyrie), f.100-103, 172v-175, 243v-236v, 237v-239; Lucca, f.24 *bis* r/v (Gloria only)	*c.*1470

St John the Evangelist (Apostle)

Alleluia. Hic est discipulus	Lbl 978, item 2.3	13th century
Gloria *Spiritus et alme* on tenor *Johannes Jesu care*	Lbl 57950, f.23v-24	Pycard
Pray for us the Prince of Peace	Ctc 0.3.58, item 12	15th century
Johannes, Jesu care	Lbl 3307, f.62	15th century
Johannes assecretis	Lbl 5665, f.5v-6	*c.*1500
Pray for us the Prince of peace	Lbl 5665, f.37v-38	*c.*1500
Pray for us, thou prince of peace	Lbl 5665, f.48v-49	*c.*1500

St Justus

?Sanctissimi martiris	Ccc 473, f.186	11th century

St Katherine

?Agmina sacra angelorum (or St Paul)	Ccc 473, f.187v-188	11th century
Agmina militie celestis omnia / T. Agmina	Ctc 0.2.1; F, item 837	13th century
Agmina militie celestia omnia / T. Agmina	Lbl 274, f.45-46v; F, item 835	13th century
Agmina militie celestis omnia / T. Agmina	Lbl 2615, F, item 835	13th century
Alleluia. Veni electa	Lbl 978, item 2.26	13th century
Clericorum sanctitate (or St Nicholas)	Lbl 978, item 7.28	13th century
En Katerine solennia / Virginalis concio / T. Sponsus amat sponsam	Lbl 57950, f.110v-111	Biteryng
Flos regalis	Lbl 40011B*, 2*	14th century
Gaude virgo Katerina	I-MOe α X.1.11, f.84v-85	Dunstaple
Gloria with the tenor *Virgo flagellatur*	Cu 314, p.1	15th century
Katerina lex divina	Lbl 978, item 7.27	13th century
Katerina progenie	Lbl 978, item 3.36	13th century
Mass *Flos regalis*	B-Br 5557, f.30v-38	Walter Frye

Mass *Nobilis et pulcra*	B-Br 5557, f.38v-48	Walter Frye
Mass *Sponsus amat sponsam*	Ob 354 – 8, f. 1; Chelmsford, Essex County Record Office, MS D/DP.Z6/2, f.117v; Lbl 34049, f.41v	Robert Fayrfax
Mulier magni meriti	Lbl 978, item 2.26; Cgc 512, item 1	13th century
…Nunc in celis Katerina fluens	WOc 68, Fragment xxxix/1, f.Av	c.1300
O laudanda virginitas	Ob 591, f.iv-1	13th century
…recolet ecclesie / Virgo sancta Katerina / Pes	Ob Auct.F.Inf.i.3, f.18v-19	13th century
Salve sceme sanctitatis	I-MOe α X.1.11, f.123v-125	Dunstaple
Rota versatilis	Lbl 24198, 1; Lbl 40011B; Ob 652; Lbl 4909*, pp.621	c.1300
?…tuis in laudibus tu celicis comenda grecie lux et gemma[3] (or St Paul)	WOc 68, Fragment xxxix/1, f.A	c.1300
Virginalis concio	DRc 20, item 10; Lbl 57950 (text only)	14th century
Virgo…manet lux	Cjec 5, f.138	13th century
Virgo regalis fidei (also St Edburga)	WF, 12	13th century
Virgo sancta Katerina	Lbl 978, item 7.26[4]	13th century
Virgo sancta Katerina	Onc 362, item 11	c.1300

St Lawrence

Alleluia. Levita Laurencius	Lbl 978, item 2.20	13th century
Triumphat hodie Christi	Lbl 24198, item 7	14th century

St Leonard

Alleluia. Fit leo fit Leonardus	Lbl 978, item unknown	13th century

[3] Not considered in this study

[4] Losseff states, regarding the Harley 978 reference, that 'If the list styles incipits consistently, and refers to the triplum, then it is unlikely that the *Virgo sancta Katerina* referred to is the same as that in the Worcester Fragements, as this is the motetus incipit' (Losseff, 1994: 78). She also notes 'Roger Wibberley points out that of these attributions…as *Virgo sancta Katerine* already exists in two versions it cannot be certain that the index refers to the version in the Worcester Fragments' (Wibberley, 1976: 6-7; quoted in Losseff, 1994: 78).

St Margaret

…absorbet oris faucibus	Lbl 40011B*, 1*	14th century
Virgo vernans velud rosa	Cgc 230/116, 2	14th century

St Martin

Almi patris in laude plebs Martini	Dtc 519, f.1r-v	s. xiv in.
Alleluia. Beatus vir sanctus Martinus	Ccc 473, f.174	11th century
Alleluia. Hic Martinus	Lbl 978, item 2.25	13th century
Baptizas parentes	Omc 266/269, item 1	*c.*1400
Gaude virgo salutata, with cantus firmus *Martinus Abrahae sinu*	Eton Choirbook, q.3v-5	Fawkyner
Virgo templum trinitatis, with cantus firmus *O virum ineffabilium*	Eton Choirbook, f.14v-7; Lbl 1709, f.35-37 (treble part); Lbl 34191, f.20-22v (bass part, incomplete)	Richard Davy

St Mary Magdalene

Felix Magdalene	Lbl 978, item 3.25	13th century
Gaude pia Magdalena	Ob 87, f.222v-223	Benet
Gaude sancta Magdalena	Lbl 5665, f.112v-113	Thomas Packe
Maria mole pressa (and Easter)	Ob 7, item 1a	14th century
Valde mane diluculo	F-TO 925, item 5	14th century

St Michael

Alleluia. In conspectus	Lbl 978, item 2.23	13th century
Christe sanctorum decus	I-MOe α X.1.11, f.95v-96	Dunstaple
Psallam ergo cantica / untexted	Dtc 519, f.222	s. xiv in.
Non orphanos erige / Veni creator spiritus	Lwa 12185, item 4	14th century
Te Domine laudat / Te Domine clamat / Pes super de Te Domine et de Te dominum	WF, 71	13th century
Te Dominum clamat angelicus	Lbl 978, item 7.45	13th century

Music about St Nicholas

Alleluia. Justus germinabit	Lbl 978, item 2.29	13th century
Alleluia. Tumba sancti Nicholai	Lbl 978, item 2.28	13th century
Mak ye merie as ye may	(reference lost)	15th century
Hac a valle / Hostem vicit	Lwa 12185, item 2	14th century
Nicholae pontifex / Fulget Nicholaus	Cjec 1, f.1b; also F, f.219v; W1, f.76	13th century
Nicholae presul pie	Cmc 1236, f.42	15th century
Presul ave flos presulum	Lbl 978, item 5.4	13th century
Psallat chorus	Lbl 978, item 2.29; Lwa 33327, item 8; Mo, item 51	13th century
Salve cleri	Lbl 978, item 2.28; Ob 81, item 4	13th century
Salve gemma confessorum	Lbl 978, item 7.29; WF, 39	13th century
Sainte Nicholas, Godes druth	Lbl 5.F.vii, f.85	*c.*1200
Sospitati dedit egros	Cjec 5, item 8a	13th century
Sospitati dedit egros	Cmc 1236, f.19v-20	15th century
Sospitati dedit egros	Cmc 1236, f.28v-30	15th century
Sospitati dedit egros	Cmc 1236, f.49-50	15th century
Sospitati dedit egros	Cmc 1236, f.82v-84	15th century
Sospitati dedit egros	Cmc 1236, f.84v-86	Walter Frye
[Sospitati dedit egros] Olei perfusio	Cmc 1236, f.98r-v	15th century

St Oswald

Gaude martyr / Collaudemus / Habitat Deus Oswaldus	I-MOe α X.1.11, f.126-127	Forest

St Paul

Doctor egregie Paule	Lbl 2951, f.66v-67v	15th century
…fero rubigo labitur	Wis C.3.8, f.vv[5]	s. xiv in.
?Inter usita (and BVM)	Omc 266/268, item 2	*c.*1400
?O spes et salus (and BVM)	Ob 60, item 15	13th century
Pro beati Pauli / O pastor patris / O preclara / T [Pes]	WF, 40	13th century
Pro beati Pauli / O pastor patris / O preclara / Pes de Pro patribus	WF, 70; Lwa 33327, item 4	13th century
Vas exstas electionis, o Paule	Cpc 228, f.i	14th century

St Peter

Alleluia. Tu es Symon Bariona	Lbl 978, item 2.18	13th century
…ce virtus disrupta surge Petre	Wis c.3.8, f.v	s. xiv in.
Fulget celestis curia / O Petre flos apostolorum / Roma gaudet de tali	Ob 20, item 12; Onc 362, item 16	*c.*1300
Gloria-Credo *Puer natus?/Tu es Petrus?*	CO A3, f.2r-v	15th century
Mira virtus Petri	Lbl 978, item 6.2	13th century
…orbem domino	DRu 13, f.1	13th century
Petre, amas me	Ccc 473, f.189v	11th century
Petrum cephas	Ob 7, item 12	14th century
Quem trina polluit	DRu 13, front flyleaf; Ob 20, f.35 (WF, 69)	13th century
Roma felix decorata	Lbl 978, item 7.43	13th century
Tu capud ecclesie / …in veritate / Tu es Petrus / T. In veritate	DRu 13, f.1v; Mo, item 43	13th century
Tu civium primas / O cuius vita / Tu celestium primas / Congaudiens super te	Cgc 512, f.252v	14th century
Tu es Petrus	Ccc 473, f.145r-v	11th century

Music about St Peter of Verona

O decus predicancium / T. Agmina	WF, 37	13th century

[5] Item 4 in this source is possibly a tenor part to this piece.

Sara (Old Testament figure)

Risum fecit Sare (in honour of BVM)	Lbl 248, f.201v	13th century

St Sebastian

O beate Sebastiane	Trent 90, f.364v	15th century

Simon de Montfort

Miles Christi gloriose	Cjc 138, item 4	13th century
Salve Symon Montisfortis	Cjec 5, item 7	13th century

St Stephen

Alleluia. Video cellos apertos	Lbl 978, item 2.2	13th century
Eya, martyr Stephane	Ctc 0.3.58, item 11	15th century
Pray for us that we saved be	Lbl 5665, f. 22v-23	*c.*1500
Sancte Dei Pretiose	Lbl 978, item 5.7	13th century
The holy martyr Stephen[6]	Lbl 3307, f.54v	15th century

St Swithin

Gloriosus vir sanctus Suuithunus	Ccc 473, f.188v	11th century

St Thomas of Canterbury (Thomas Becket)

Alleluia. Gloria et honore	Lbl 978, item 2.5	*c.*1300
Clangat tuba, martyr Thoma	Lbl 5665, f.41v-42	*c.*1500

[6] This piece has anti-Semitic content in the verses. It describes the martyrdom of Stephen, stoned to death by 'cursed Jewes' (verse 4).

Credo *Jacet granum*	Trent 90, f.202v-204v; Trent 92, f.71v-73; Trent 93, f.273v-275v; Cu 314, p.4	?Dunstaple
Excelsus in numine	Onc 362, item 6	*c.*1300
Frater Thoma	SHRs VI, f.42r-v	15th century
Gloria-Credo *Ad Thome*	Lbl 57950, f.19v-20	15th century
Ianuam quam clauserat	Lbl 978, item 2.5; Onc 362, 2	13th century
Letare Cantuaria	Lbl 5665, f.27v-28	15th century
Mass *Gaudete in Domino*	Lbl 5665, f.73v-95	Packe
Mass *Jacet granum*	I-AOs 15, f.82v-84, 214v-216 (Gloria, Sanctus); Trent 87, f.31v-33, f.141v-142v (Gloria, Gloria); Trent 90, f.123v-125, f.271-272 (Gloria, Sanctus); Trent 92, f.18v-19 (Sanctus); Trent 93, f.153v-155 (Gloria, Sanctus, Sanctus)	15th century
Mass *Thomas cesus*	I-Rvat B80, f.166v-181	15th century
O dira nacio	F-Pn 23190, item 4	14th century
O mores perditos	D-Gu, item 1/5; Cjec 5, item 1	13th century
Opem nobis	Lwa 33327, item 6	13th century
Pastor gregis	Lbl 978, item 3.31	13th century
Saint Thomas honor we	Egerton 3307, f.62v-63	15th century
Salve Thomas flos	Lbl 978, item 3.32	13th century
Sanctus *Jacet granum*	Trent 90, f.249-50; Trent 93, f.314, f.321-322	Benet
Thomas gemma / Thomas cesus	Cgc 512, item 4; WF, 67; US-PRu 119A, item 4	*c.*1300

St Thomas of Hale

Thomas gemma / Thomas cesus	Cgc 512, item 4; WF, 67; US-PRu 119A, item 4	*c.*1300

St Thomas of Hereford

Lux fulget / O pater pietatis / Salve Thoma	I-MOe α X.1.11, f.135v-136	Benet

St Thomas of Lancaster

Miles Christi	Ob 26, f.8v-9	15th century

St William of York

Hostium ob amorem	Lbl 40011B*, item 5	14th century

St Winifred

Inter choros paradisicolarum	WF, 79	13th century

Music relating to King Edward III

Singularis laudis digna	NYpm 978, f.1; Occc 144	14th century

King Henry V

Deo gracias, Anglia	Ctc 0.3.58, item 7	15th century
Exultavit cor	Lbl 3307, f.64	15th century

King Arthur

?Sub Arturo [or Arcturo] plebs / Fons citharizansium / Tenor exivit sonus eorum	Ir 30, f.i-ii	J. Alanus

Archbishop Peccham of Canterbury (d. 1292)

?Sol in nube tegitur[7]	WOc 68, item 17	13th century

[7] Attribution suggested by Luther Dittmer (1957: 38).

Appendix 4

Translations of the motet *Zelo tui langueo*

The contentious issues surrounding the motet *Zelo tui langueo* have both been sparked by and caused the production of a range of textual translations. The differences between the texts as preserved in Lbl 1210 and Yc xvi.N.3 are discussed in Chapter 5 above (where the edition provides the Latin text), and have been treated in detail by other scholars, notably Christopher Page (1997). The quotations below come from publications that discuss the motet, and serve to highlight some of the possible interpretations of its two texts.

Triplum text

I languish for your love, O royal virgin, but I am not able to offer praiseworthy prayers, as is seemly, because I am not worthy. O misfortune and grave transgression of the father, Adam, who all pleasant food possessed for his pleasure, and yet – you didn't know why, I don't know why – was not allowed by God the apple, through which Adam brought on the grave first judgement, whereby he lost joy and fled into exile, from which it was not allowed to return to that lost paradise, but rather he suffered now the yoke of misery, and by his damnable crime accomplished the condemnation of his people.

Alas, tribulation! May thy childbirth, O royal virgin, bring relief to us who are damned. Now they feel relief from sorrow's misery. Therefore, dear daughter of David, (may it be) that the praises of praises are fitting to be said to you rightly for all those kindnesses.

(Lefferts, 1980 in *PMFC* 15: 184)

Now therefore, O dear daughter of David, may these women, who are instructing together so that the offices of praise may be said properly to you for all these kindnesses, feel relief from the misery of sorrow.

(Harrison; *EECM* 26: xiv)

Therefore, dear daughter of David [i.e. St Mary], these proclamations of praise are fitting to be said duly to you, on account of [your] so many beneficent deeds.

(Bowers, 1983: 191)

[But for Mary, we sinners] would not feel relief from the misery of sorrow. Therefore, dear daughter of David, may it be that the praises of praises are rightly fitting to be said to you for all those kindnesses.

(Lefferts, 1986: 260)

I languish for love of you, royal virgin, but I cannot offer praises, as is fitting, for I lack the skill. O the grave transgression and wretchedness of our first father Adam who possessed so many delightful foods at will but was only pleased to eat of the fruit which God had forbidden, through which he brought a heavy sentence upon himself, whence he lost joy and fled into exile; it was not allowed that he leave there and return to the place he had lost, but he bore a yoke of wretchedness and earned that all his own should be condemned through his damnable sin. Alas the servitude! Had not your childbearing, royal virgin, brought help to the damned, he would not have experienced any remedy for the misery of his grief. Therefore, beloved daughter of David, what proclamations of praises are meet to be aptly declaimed for you in return for such good actions!

(Page, 1997: 22)

Duplum text

An ignorant woman, I consider what might wisdom be, worldly praise and glory and all joy? Now for his crime expelled from the joy of paradise, the first father abode in exile, deprived of his grand dominion; he suddenly becomes a pauper with her who improperly takes the lead. He wept, sad in spirit. She should be committed to misery, she whom tears and anxieties from her sad [disgrace] hurt everywhere, had not the

mother of grace offered the divine law of mercy; the lot of eternal sadness binds sinners certainly, but the sun of grace is born of the star of joy. Thus she causes the vanquished to arise from jail, with the passport to a life of glory having been given.

(Lefferts, 1980 in *PMFC* 15: 184)

A woman, ignorant of wisdom, praise, glory and all worldly joy, I deem the good actions of the Virgin to be responsible for the unbinding of Eve and done gratis: she to whom joy was a stranger, took away so many fruitful things by her actions from the midst of Mankind, for the first father, driven from the joys of Paradise for his sin, remained in exile; deprived of his great dominion and so rapidly, indignant, with her who leads in deserts he wept with a sad spirit. Let sorrows enclose her. How utterly tears and anguish harm the sad one on all sides! Had not the mother of Grace brought forth the divine ordinance of mercy the fate of eternal wretchedness would bind singers even now without fail, but the sun of grace rises from the star of joy; thus He makes the chained arise from prison, a charter for the life of glory having been issued.

(Page, 1997: 24)

Bibliography

NB When the same surname belongs to two authors, the following rules are observed:
Bent: All entries refer to Margaret Bent, unless otherwise stated.
Lewis: All entries refer to Katherine Lewis, unless otherwise stated.
Rosenthal: All entries refer to Joel Rosenthal, unless otherwise stated.
Strohm: All entries refer to Paul Strohm, unless otherwise stated.

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