Finding the Functions of Music Books in England in the late 15th and early 16th Centuries: The Ritson MS and the Wharton Partbooks

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is an experiment in source studies with a hypothesis that an analysis of the individual characteristics of music manuscripts can help determine their function and practical use. Those characteristics include size and materials, mise-en-page, contents, and paratexts. Taken one by one, these characteristics provide only limited information on the ways music manuscripts were used, but when they are studied in conjunction a plausible function can be reached by systematically collating the data from single sources. Concentrating on individual manuscripts allows the characteristics (data points) to provide a clearer picture of their actual use by narrowing the field of possibility. Contextualizing this narrowed field with any available secondary information produces the most plausible conclusions.

Two case studies have been chosen to act as test subjects for this experiment: The Ritson MS GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665 and the Wharton partbooks GB-Cjc MS 234 (K.31) and GB-Cu Dd.13.27. The former is a choirbook from the beginning of the sixteenth century originating in Devon, England. It contains a variety of genres including bilingual carols, Masses, hymns, chansons, antiphons, and secular pieces in French and English. The latter consists of the remaining two partbooks from a set of five that are held in separate libraries in Cambridge. The bassus partbook GB-Cjc MS 234 (K.31) currently resides at St. John's College Library and the contratenor GB-Cu Dd.13.27 at The University Library. They hold sacred music of Masses, motets, and a Magnificat from some of the most revered English composers of the early-sixteenth century.

The manuscripts in these case studies are lesser-known examples from England from 1480–1530 that have not been the subjects of recent comprehensive research. The primary functions of these books are speculative since there is no secondary evidence to prove or refute any theory, but plausible functions have been determined using the method of characteristic analysis. The Ritson MS expanded over time from a collection of carols to an anthology of music for use at Exeter Cathedral. The Wharton partbooks were the prized possessions of Launcelot Wharton, the prior of Rumburgh, that may have been used as a master set from which copies were made. Characteristic analysis and contextualization can be applied to other manuscript sources from this period (or any period) to aid in determining what can, at times, be an elusive aspect of music manuscripts—functional use.

DECLARATION

No portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

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THIS THESIS IS DEDICATED TO

ELLIOT JAMES DOWSE

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This project is predicated on the notion that music manuscripts can be categorized by function based on the physical features they possess and contextualizing their nonphysical attributes. This belief stems from a use of inductive reasoning, the collection of empirical data, and the testing of hypotheses; that if other categorization systems of music manuscripts are possible using these methods such as dating and provenance, by composer attribution, and by genre then it is also possible to deduce and categorize their functions. Furthermore, as this thesis will show, music manuscripts can have more than one function and that placing them into one exact functional category will be impossible due to their unique nature.[1] However, by generalizing the categories with subcategories for each as objects to own, objects for use in performance, and objects for use in teaching, it is possible to categorize them in reverse. In other words, by realizing the ways in which they could *not* have been used, we *can* know the possible way(s) they could.

The purpose of this chapter is to identify the necessary information used to determine the intended and/or actual functions of music books from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and discuss their possible placement into corresponding categories as objects to possess, objects to use in performance, and objects used for teaching.[2] These categories are the most basic levels of use for music manuscripts during this period and as we shall see, they can overlap over time or be misconstrued, leading to assumptions of the histories of these manuscripts as well as the places to which they belonged or the people that owned them.

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[1] Stanley Boorman et al., 'Sources, MS.', *Grove Music Online*, accessed June 11, 2016, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/50158pg1; Rebecca Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 69–70.

[2] Herissone, *Musical Creativity*, See Chapter 2. Functions of manuscripts.

A music manuscript that would be considered an object to possess might act as a personal collection (including those for silent reading), as a showpiece, or as a token of appreciation such as a gift or souvenir. The manuscripts from the Alamire scriptorium are prime examples of this sort of object where the beautiful quality of the book and/or the sentiment of the music was the treasure.[3] Manuscripts that were either loose fascicles of performance copies or those that were bound together from multiple independent gatherings may have been saved and stored for future use such as copying. The music was valuable, not the book.

Manuscripts considered objects used for performance are those that served the purpose of exhibiting the notes (and texts) of a piece of music in such a way that it could be translated audibly by a musician. The organization of the musical information on the surface material indicates the performative potential (or limitations) of the source. Careful examination of the source is needed to determine its performative nature such as signs of wear and tear, corrections and directions which show the manuscript's individual functionality.

Music manuscripts whose purpose was that of teaching and studying were generally found in the libraries of courtly establishments and colleges or in private libraries in the form of commonplace books.[4] For instance, the Baldwin Commonplace Book was used to hold the practice and study materials for John Baldwin, tenor and lay clerk at St George's, Windsor.[5]

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[3] Thomas Schmidt-Beste, 'Private or Institutional–Small or Big? Toward a Typology of Polyphonic Sources of Renaissance Music' *Journal for the Alamire Foundation* 1 (2009): 15; Stanley Boorman, 'The Purpose of the Gift: For Display of for Performance?' in *Sources and the Circulation of Renaissance Music,* ed. Mary S Lewis (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 107–115.

[4] Anthony Grafton, 'The Humanist and the Commonplace Book: Education in Practice', in *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* eds. Susan Forscher Weiss et al. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 144–145.

[5] Magnus Williamson, *The Eton Choirbook, Facsimile with Introductory Study* (Oxford: DIAMM Publications, 2010), 16–18; Roger Bray, 'British Library, R.M. 24 d 2 (John Baldwin's Commonplace Book): An Index and Commentary' *R.M.A. Research Chronicle* 12 (1974): 150; Alison Margaret Welch, *The Baldwin Partbooks and a Case Study of the Eight Settings of the Respond Dum Transisset Sabbatum* (Master's thesis, University of Birmingham, 2017), 24.

To gain an understanding of the ways in which the functionality of individual music manuscripts has been addressed in musicological research Part I of this chapter includes a brief discussion of two case studies that will be used as examples, the Chigi Codex and the Rusconi Codex. On the surface, function is not the primary goal in the scholarly work on these two manuscripts, and it will become clear that assumptions made regarding function can have a significant impact on the direction of research. The two case studies show how the process has and can unfold over time. Moreover, they remind researchers that they must be careful before coming to conclusions about how, where, and why music manuscripts were used. Part II of this chapter will consider a new research strategy that will use the characteristics of manuscripts as a port of departure in finding the possible functions of two music books. They are the Ritson MS and the Wharton partbooks, both of English provenance from c1480–1530. They represent the different types of music books that survive in England from the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth century, where limited sources remain after the ravages of the Reformation: a small choirbook and the two remaining partbooks from a set of five.

Part I: Approaches to determining function

Research into the field of late-medieval and early-Renaissance polyphonic source studies reveals interesting procedures for using the physical features of manuscripts to investigate musicological topics including discovering their date and provenance,[6] solving

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[6] Herbert Kellman, 'The Origins of the Chigi Codex: The Date, Provenance, and Original Ownership of Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Chigiana, C.VIII.234' *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 11 (1958): 6–19; David Mateer, 'The 'Gyffard' Partbooks: Composers, Owners, Date and Provenance' *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 28 (1995): 21–50; Geoffrey Chew, 'The Provenance and Date of the Caius and Lambeth Choir-Books' *Music & Letters* 51 (1970): 107–117; Patricia P. Norwood, 'Evidence Concerning the Provenance of the Bamberg Codex' *The Journal of Musicology* 8 (1990): 491–504; Robert Nosow, 'The Dating and Provenance of Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS Q 19' *The Journal of Musicology* 9 (1991): 92–108; Joshua Rifkin, 'The Creation of the Medici Codex' *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 62 (2009): 517–570.

issues with composer attributions,[7] written compositional and creative practices,[8] histories of musical institutions,[9] developments of musical style and genre,[10] palaeography and codicology.[11] In all of these, the functionality of the sources has been established in one of three ways: directly, by plausible deduction, or it has failed to be determined due to limited evidence. These manuscripts surely served a purpose, and those purposes are important to know, or at least have an informed guess, in order to realize certain other aspects about them. Without determining function, it is difficult to suggest further connections of the manuscripts and contextualize the non-physical attributes such as intended audience, required ensemble, or intended venue upon which the further reaches of the field could speculate. On the other hand, as more evidence is discovered about early manuscripts, long-assumed functions could need alteration.

With the exception of a short article by Schmidt-Beste, there is no scholarly work about the ways in which function is determined for Renaissance music manuscripts and it too does not discuss them in a comprehensive sense.[12] The uses of manuscripts are largely explained on a case-by-case basis (usually briefly, as function is almost never the primary topic) in scholarly

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[7] Younghan Hur, *Conflicting Attributions in the Continental Motet Repertory from ca. 1500 to ca. 1550* (PhD dissertation, City University of New York, 1990).

[8] Herissone, *Musical Creativity* 'Sources and their functions', 61–116.

[9] Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music: 1380–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) see 'Music in the life of the institutions'; Richard Sherr, *Papal Music Manuscripts in the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries* (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1996).

[10] John Caldwell, *The Oxford History of English Music: Vol 1: From the Beginnings to c. 1715 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991);* James Cook, 'The Style of Walter Frye and an Anonymous Mass in the Lucca Choirbook' *Music and Letters* 96 (2015): 1–27; Lenka Hlávková-Mráčková, 'Cantio, lied or chanson? The Strahov Codex as a 15th-century song treasury' *Hudební Věda* 50 (2013): 258–270.

[11] Robert Thompson, 'Sources and Transmission' in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Henry Purcell* ed. Rebecca Herissone (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2012); Alexandra Gillespie and Daniel Wakelin, *The Production of Books in England 1350–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

[12] Ibid.

editions and facsimiles, studies of institutions and their inventories, and surveys of music

history, and all of which occur without a strict methodology—at least on the surface. Rebecca

Herissone's work, which focuses on a later period, deals with differing music manuscript

functions for the compositional and performance practices in Restoration England, with special

consideration of those by Henry Purcell.[13] Herissone's chapter addresses the troublesome terms

used to describe and categorize the performable versions of musical works throughout the

compositional process during the Restoration, as well as outlining six practical functions of

Restoration music manuscripts. Her methodology for categorizing these functions—'the reasons

for which particular musical sources were copied'—is of particular interest in this study because

the line between originally intended function and actual function of a source can become blurred

over time.[14]

The following paragraphs will explain how the issue of function is addressed in

individual case studies by considering the data points (physical features) and why establishing

or inferring function is crucial to source investigations. They will address the primary

information provided by the physical features and discuss the strategies that use secondary

information (non-physical features) to justify a plausible function or functions.

In discovering the date and provenance of sources, the aim is to trace the existence of as

many facets of the book as possible to their very beginnings. At the most basic level, the reward

is defining more clearly the ways in which the source came to be, and the ways it impacted, or

was impacted by, the world around it. This is accomplished by drawing parallels between

information either known or inferred. Of the many examples of studies concerning finding the

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[13] Herissone, 'Sources and their functions', 61–116.

[14] Ibid., 69.

date and provenance of individual music books from this period, a pattern of information taken into consideration for deducing function has been detected. That pattern will be assessed below in discussing the scholarly work on the Chigi Codex and the Rusconi Codex. These two manuscripts have enjoyed much debate and scholarship concerning their dating and provenance, and their functions have been thrown into question as new theories and evidence have come to light. These case studies will also address the wider-reaching challenges that can arise in source studies. The implications of one manuscript can alter musical perceptions of an entire culture if it is the only manuscript on record.[15]

The Chigi Codex

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Chigi C. VIII. 234, hereafter referred to as the Chigi Codex, was first described by the Belgian historian Edmond Van der Straeten in the sixth and seventh volumes of his monumental eight-volume study of Netherlandish music published between 1867 and 1888.[16] This was followed by Heinrich Besseler's article, 'Chigi Kodex' in *Die Musik in Geschichte and Gegewart* in 1954, and a closer examination of the manuscript's date and provenance by Herbert Kellman was published in 1958.[17] Kellman updated his findings in his edition of the codex in 1987, and again in 1999 with his examination of the many music manuscripts he discovered to have come out of the scriptorium based in the Habsburg-Burgundian court complex overseen by Petrus Alamire.[18] Emilio Ros-Fábregas

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[15] Tess Knighton, 'A Meeting of Chapels: Toledo, 1502' 86–87.

[16] Edmund Van der Straeten, *La musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIXe siècle* (Brussels, 1867–1888).

[17] Heinrich Besseler, 'Chigi-Kodex', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Vol. II (I954); Kellman, 'The origins of the Chigi Codex', 6.

[18] Herbert Kellman, *Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana MS Chigi C VIII 234* (Renaissance Music in Facsimile. Sources Central to the Music of the Late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries, 22), (New York, 1987); Herbert Kellman, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire: Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts, 1500–1535* (Ghent: Ludion, 1999).

added yet more evidence to the fold regarding the ownership history of the Chigi Codex in 2002.[19] Since then, scholarship about the Chigi Codex has been in the context of music at the Habsburg-Burgundian Court, or as a source for dating and contextualizing the music of the composers held within it.[20]

In his 1958 article, Kellman added new insights regarding the date and original ownership of the Chigi Codex, and refuted Heinrich Besseler's assumption that based on the coats of arms that appear within it, the codex was prepared for the Van der Hoyen family.[21] No function was given at this time, but one could assume that because the Van der Hoyens were a prominent and wealthy family, it was for personal use by the owners, whatever the motive for its preparation—perhaps for performance or collection. Besseler was advised by Paul Bergmans, the editor of *Armorial de Flandre du XVI(me) siècle*, in dealing with the coats of arms.[22] Kellman examined these coats of arms and concluded that there were too many discrepancies to declare the Van der Hoyen family as the original owners. The illustration below shows the immediately obvious discrepancies with the shape, striping, insets, and iconography. The coats of arms that appear in the Chigi Codex are labelled (a) and (b) and those that Besseler were advised as belonging to the Van der Hoyen family are labelled (c) and (d).

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[19] Emilio Ros-Fábregas, 'The Cardona and Fernández de Córdoba Coats of Arms in the Chigi Codex' *Early Music History* 21 (2002): 223–258.

[20] Juan José Carreras, Bernardo Garcia Garcia, *The Royal Chapel in the Time of the Habsburgs: Music and Ceremony in Early Modern European Court* English edition ed. Tess Knighton (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2005). See Tess Knighton, 'A Meeting of Chapels: Toledo, 1502' 85–102; Agnese Pavanello, 'STABAT MATER / VIDI SPECIOSAM: Some Considerations on the Origin and Dating of Gaspar Van Weerbeke's Motet in the Chigi Codex' *Tijdschrift Van De Koninklijke Vereniging Voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 60 (2010): 3–19.

[21] Besseler, 'Chigi-Kodex'.

[22] Paul Bergmans, *Armorial du Flandre du XVI(me) siècle: Familles et communes flamandes, metiers, gantois* (Brussels, 1919) A reproduction of Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliotek, Codex Iconographicus 265 (1562).

Figure 1.1: Coats of arms in the Chigi Codex (CV-Vbav Chigi C.VIII.234)
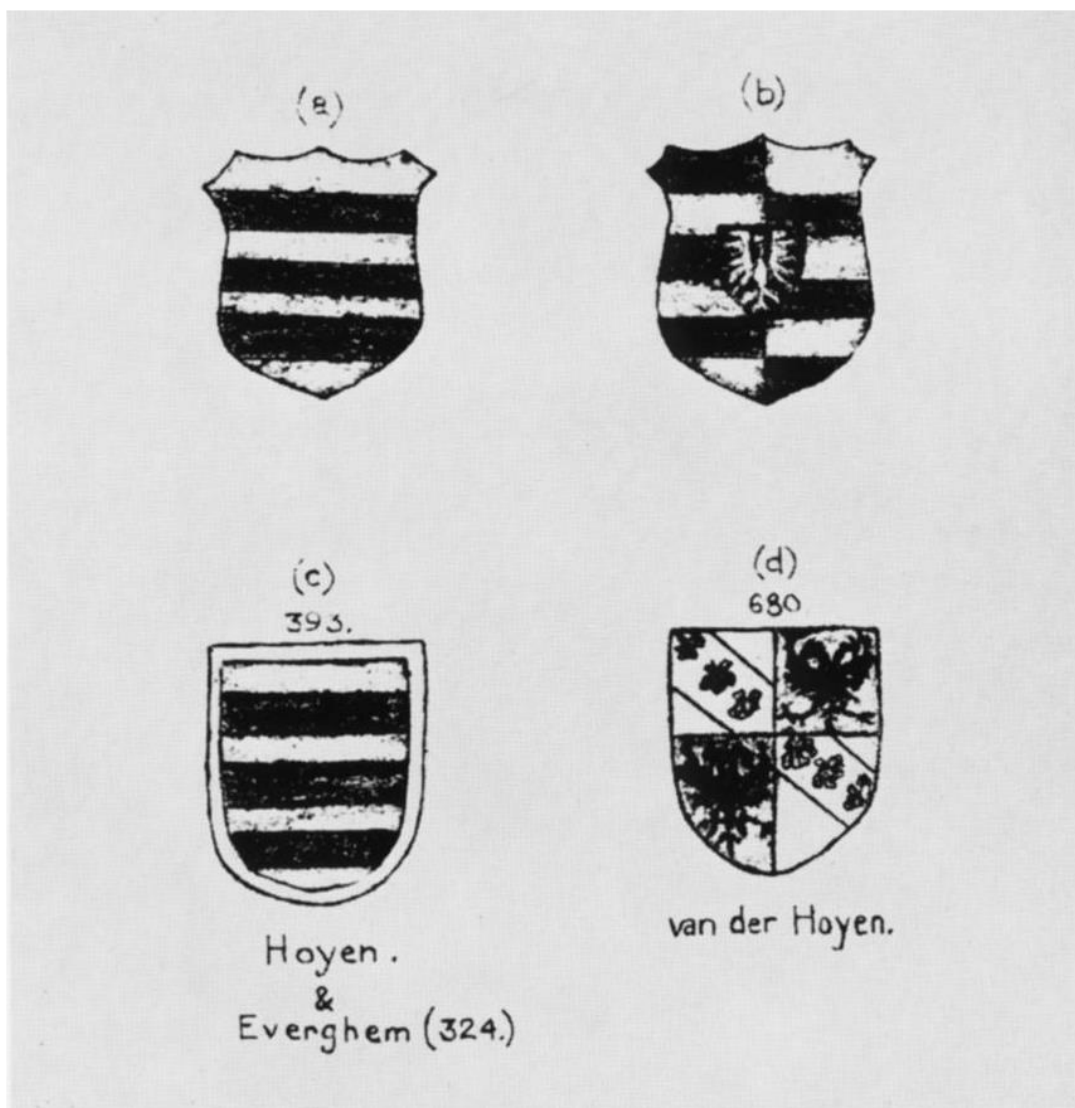
[23]

Kellman instead proposed that it was possibly prepared as a gift from Philip the Fair, Duke of Burgundy, to his father in law, King Ferdinand II of Aragon presented during Philip's trip to Spain in 1506. Kellman's questioning of Besseler's conclusion of original ownership was primarily based on the coats of arms and expanded upon his own theory by assessing the repertoire of the eleven composers that appear in the Chigi Codex. He supported his hypothesis

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[23] Kellman, 'The origins of the Chigi Codex', illustration 8.

by forming a timeline of events for the activities of these composers and for Philip the Fair as well as his chapel to establish possible connections. Kellman informed us that nine of the composers had direct or indirect contact with the Hapsburg-Burgundian court; Agricola, Gaspar, and Pierre de la Rue worked in Philip's court chapel, Barbireau, Isaac, and Busnois were associated with the court chapel of his father, Maximilian I, and considering his itinerary through France in 1501, Philip would (or could) have met Brumel, Compere, and Josquin. These connections, as well as Kellman's observations of the physical elements, were enough to convince him at the time that the manuscript was prepared at the Habsburg-Burgundian court complex, and because it contains repertoire from his own chapel, it probably belonged to Philip the Fair or someone in his immediate circle before it was given to Ferdinand II of Spain in 1506. The reasons given for placing the codex in Spain are derived from the appearance of a second scribal hand in the eight compositional additions and 'the distinctively Spanish style of the decorative initials'.[24] The scribal hand corresponds to that of the newly introduced index written in Spanish.[25] Based on his findings, this is the first time Kellman discussed the Chigi Codex with a particular intention—that of a royal gift. But what was it about the manuscript that indicated this? Was it the physical attributes from which Kellman was working, or the circumstantial theory he developed surrounding it, or both? Could the physical elements be misleading?

His description of the Chigi Codex in 1958 offers a possible function of ownership and/or performance from the very beginning, 'The Chigi Codex…is one of the richest sources for Franco-Flemish music of the last quarter of the 15th century and one of the most splendid of

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[24] Ibid., 8.

[25] Ibid.

illuminated music manuscripts.' Kellman's use of the word 'splendid', although subjective, is an indication that this is a luxurious item to some degree—that part of its worth is evident in its aesthetic beauty. He elaborates on the physical details of the manuscript, giving its material makeup (289 parchment folios), layout (choirbook), size (37 x 27.8 cm), binding ('now bound in red velvet, with metal corners and gilt edges'), foliation (two sets, Roman=faulty, contains repeated numbers, and Arabic=run consecutively), the appearance of additions proved by a second scribal hand, the added table of contents in that second hand (written in Spanish), the number of composer ascriptions (11), inscriptions ('Madrid' on the last addition in the manuscript), repertoire (inventory in the form of a table–page 7 of his article), and the decorative illuminations (which forms the bulk of the Kellman's article). By describing the details of the manuscript, we are able to build a picture of it in our mind without actually seeing it. The trouble, however, remains that we are given a bare-bones description and that there are many more factors that have gone unnoticed or perhaps unexplained in this, Kellman's initial attempt to contextualize the Chigi Codex. While these details have not changed, the function of the codex has become clearer as discoveries have been made in more recent years. Kellman himself addressed some of these in his later works on this manuscript, most notably the coats of arms discussed earlier.

The work of Kellman and others on the manuscripts from the Habsburg-Burgundian court complex has increased considerably over the last few decades. A defining work of his research is *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire: Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts, 1500–1535* in which he and fellow researchers have catalogued the nearly fifty complete or nearly complete books of music that emerged from the scriptorium.[26] In 1958, Kellman argued the

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[26] Kellman, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire.*

Chigi Codex originated at the scriptorium at the turn of the sixteenth century and in Kellman's opinion it functioned as a royal gift manuscript, after examining the illuminations. Kellman used a comparison of two similar manuscripts—Vienna, Nationalbibliothek S.M. 15495 and Brussels, Bibliotheque Royale 9126. These two manuscripts together with the Chigi Codex formed an initial group that Kellman identified as coming from the same scriptorium and because the others were known to have been prepared for royal recipients, he inferred that the Chigi Codex was as well.

Nonetheless, the dating of the manuscript was narrowed down by comparing the Chigi Codex to those with similar decorations. All three of these manuscripts have similarities in the decorations, especially regarding the donor pages. They are in the Ghent-Bruges style of 'composition, perspective, precision of line, subject matter, and details of poses, clothing, interiors, and so on…'[27] The dates of the others were determined by considering the donor pages involved. Vienna S.M. 15495 was prepared in celebration of Maximilian I's marriage to Bianca Maria Sforza of Milan in 1493, placing the date of the manuscript in 1494. Brussels 9126 was made for Philip the Fair and Juana of Castile between 1504 and 1506, based on the presence of the mass *Philippus Rex Castiliae*, as Philip did not become king of Castile until 1504.[28]

Since these two manuscripts were made for their respective courts, the Chigi Codex was presumed to hold the same function—a royal gift for the court chapels of the recipients. Attempting to draw similarities between Brussels 9126 and the Chigi Codex at the time, Kellman argued that Brussels 9126 was copied using the Chigi Codex as a model because it uses the same scribe and contains a set of three pieces that were copied almost identically.

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[27] Kellman, 'The origins of the Chigi Codex', 8.

[28] Ibid., 9–11.

Brussels 9126 being the neater of the two implied it was the more polished copy. This was apparently an attempt to clarify that the Chigi Codex functioned as a courtly source, and was not for private use as Besseler had asserted: 'It seems more likely, too, that a MS containing so many composers [11], including the rare (at this time) Josquin, would have been made under Court auspices, rather than for a private patron… It might be asked too, how Chigi could have been used as a model for the Brussels MS if it was in the possession of a private family? Would they have temporarily loaned it to the scribe? The procedure would have been much more feasible if the model had already been in the possession of the court.'[29] In *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire,* Kellman does not draw the parallel of *copying* from the Chigi Codex to Brussels 9126, but still maintains that they were 'the result of the same process of production.'[30] This argument, of copying Brussels 9126 from the Chigi Codex, has been addressed by Fabrice Fitch in his facsimile edition of Brussels 9126 in 2000.[31]

While the Chigi Codex has been identified by scholars as coming from the pre-Alamire workshop, and is considered the prototype for those that would find their way to the royal houses of Europe, the actual function of the manuscript has changed as it has been studied more carefully.[32] In his revised assessment of the Chigi Codex, Kellman has changed his view regarding its original ownership, and it has caused a significant shift in the understanding of not only the codex itself, but the function of the Alamire workshop as well—that it did not prepare manuscripts for the court alone but also took outside commissions from patrons other than the royal family.

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[29] Ibid., 16.

[30] Kellman, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire,* 73.

[31] Fabrice Fitch, *Choirbook for Philip the Fair.*

[32] Kellman, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire,* 126.

After a more thorough examination of the coats of arms and the decorations that appear within the Chigi Codex, Kellman determined that they belonged to Philippe Bouton (1418–1515) and his wife Catherine.[33] Kellman was more careful this time around as he explained: 'It seems likely that one important purpose of the manuscript was to provide Philippe Bouton with an anthology of works by composers he admired or knew personally: it would have been possible for his path to have crossed that of almost every composer represented.'[34] He elaborates on the details again, this time taking into consideration the section of the repertoire devoted to Ockeghem, with whom Philippe Bouton had direct personal contact, as well as the miniatures and surrounding border decorations of rosebuds, *bouton* in French, throughout the codex. With reference to the repertoire by Ockeghem and Regis, both of whom died shortly before the manuscript was prepared, in 1497 and 1498 respectively, Kellman offers yet another possible function for the Chigi Codex. He posits that it was a 'retrospective, possibly a commemorative, and surely posthumous collection of works by Ockeghem and Regis, accompanied by works of contemporary and younger composers associated with them.'[35] He makes a further observation of the donor page—the presentation of St Catherine on fol. 20 which further suggests that the manuscript was indeed prepared for the private collection of Philippe and Catherine Bouton.

It can be seen here that without thoroughly examining the source, incorrect conclusions can be drawn—in this case the issue is heraldry—and perpetuated for decades skewing other threads of history, in this case the inventories of noble families, the Van der Hoyens and the Boutons, and the relationships of royal and political dynasties. Tess Knighton confronted this in her chapter 'A Meeting of Chapels: Toledo, 1502' in which she explains the consequences of

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[33] Ibid., 127.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid.

misinformed assumptions for the whole of Spanish musical historiography—that Philip's trip to Spain in 1502 has remained a landmark for historical discussion and that the cultivation of musical styles and genres in Spain may well have been influenced by the arrival of the Habsburg-Burgundian court, but that Spain certainly had its own traditions beforehand.[36] Van der Straeten's statement that polyphony had not existed in Spain before Philip's arrival was overturned almost immediately in 1890 by Francisco Barbieri with the publication of his edition of *Cancionero musicale de los siglos XV y XVI*, an anthology of Spanish court music, c.1490–1505, but the traditional view of the spread of polyphony to Spain through Philip and the Chigi Codex remained strong for many years.[37]

As we have seen, these assumptions have led to further research into the Chigi Codex and have allowed scholars to question certain aspects about its origins and ownership. In fact, the entire issue of the placement of the Chigi Codex in Spain before 1519 has been refuted by Emilio Ros-Fábregas in 2002, where he goes one step further than Kellman in his assessment of the coats of arms. While Kellman acknowledges that 'within a decade or two of its production' the codex was in the possession of two separate Spanish families, the Cardona and Córdoba families respectively, Ros-Fábregas gave a detailed account of the family tree for the Cardona family which was based in Naples, not Spain.[38] All but one of the coats of arms for Philippe and Catherine Bouton were overpainted with those of the Cardona and Córdoba families, and the manuscript was elaborated upon with additions, new faces, and an index. Ros-Fábregas only discussed the visual aspects of the codex and touched on the significance of the music but once.

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[36] Tess Knighton, 'A Meeting of Chapels: Toledo, 1502' 86.

[37] Francisco Barbieri, *Cancionero musicale de los siglos XV y XVI* (Madrid, 1890).

[38] Kellman, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire*, 127; Emilio Ros-Fábregas, 'The Cardona and Fernández de Córdoba Coats of Arms in the Chigi Codex' 224.

He put forth a possible connection between the *L'homme arme* masses and their association with the Order of the Golden Fleece, the Roman Catholic order of chivalry founded in 1430, which conducted a meeting in Barcelona in 1519.[39] This indicates one of two things: either Ros-Fábregas was focusing only on the visual aspects and ownership history of the codex and did not have the necessary means to explore the music, or that he did so and decided the music itself held no bearing on his findings. If it is the former, then that needs to happen to decide if a possible performative function for the source ever existed because, though we know the manuscript belonged to the Bouton family, we still do not know how, when or by whom it was used. If it is the latter, are we able to conclude that the source was and always had been used as a visual representation of the possessing families and not at all for musical performance? Is the mere presence of a music manuscript an indicator that these families retained musicians at their estates that could have performed from it? Did the family itself have the skill to do so?

The ownership history of the manuscript notwithstanding, can we now safely conclude that the Chigi Codex was, in the simplest of terms, intended as a representative codex whose primary purpose was that of an object to possess as a collection of music by those owners. Was the music ever performed from the manuscript? Is there any possibility of understanding the function of the book itself without extraneous information? Can we safely assume just by looking at the Chigi Codex what it was used for?

The Chigi Codex has undergone a rigorous examination by many scholars over the years. In trying to come to a consensus about the origins and ownership history of it, the function has been assumed, refuted, and modified. In this particular case we can, at least on a basic level, decide on a possible function for the last question of the previous paragraph. By simply looking

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[39] Emilio Ros-Fábregas, 'The Cardona and Fernández de Córdoba Coats of Arms in the Chigi Codex' 230.

at the manuscript and considering the physical elements: it was medium-sized and easy to move from place to place, made of expensive material, and had a performance-ready layout for singers of an above average ability. It had a quick reference system in the form of a table of contents, it contained a repertoire of sacred music composed by the leading Franco-Flemish composers of the day and was illuminated in the Ghent-Bruges style at the workshop of the Habsburg-Burgundian court complex.

Taken one at a time, each data point mentioned above does not tell us enough to determine the function of the Chigi Codex. It is only when all these details are put together, that a plausible function of the source can begin to take shape. Although some secrets of the manuscript remain hidden, until we know more about the Chigi Codex we can infer only that its primary function was a collection of music for private use in a variety of wealthy households beginning with Philippe and Catherine Bouton and ending with Fernández de Córdoba.

Additionally, since all of the personal references point toward private ownership, we are able to deduce that it was not affiliated with a public institution of worship. It was not until the 1660s that it was acquired by Pope Alexander VII, Fabio Chigi. This indicates that it was also not used for teaching, since the education of choristers took place either at court or at such an institution, and since no evidence remains of anyone working from this manuscript (other than the copying debate mentioned above) a purpose for teaching can be successfully ruled out. The Chigi Codex, then, was an object to possess. It was prepared for a specific donor and with specific repertoire to be visually appreciated. It changed hands and was modified in the new owners' image to display or chronicle the family history.

The Rusconi Codex

The next example does not have a clear picture as to its origins either and its function has been argued in an array of scholarship since the 1960s. Previous mention of Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS Q 19, or 'the Rusconi Codex' was made by Knud Jeppesen in the preface to a volume in *Italia Sacra Musica* and in an MGG article, again by Jeppesen, where he concluded that Sebastiano Festa was the compiler of the book.[40] The codex garnered a bit of attention after Edward E. Lowinsky published his edition of the *Medici Codex of 1518*, in which he digresses into a discussion about the parallel repertoire found between the Rusconi Codex and Medici Codex.[41] Since then, scholars have debated Lowinsky's comments of a French provenance for the manuscript, based on the dominating presence of the work of Jean Mouton (1459–1522) with 14 works, and especially that of it belonging at one time to Diane de Poitier (1499–1566), a courtier associated with the French courts of Francis I and Henry II, which he justifies with the appearance of an emblem on fol. III 'D.P.'[42] Additionally, scholars have taken issue with Lowinsky's claim that the scribe for the codex was Costanzo Festa.[43] Jessie Ann Owens published her own facsimile edition of the Rusconi Codex with updated introductory material in 1988 where she outlines the details of the manuscript and discusses the possibility of a different function for it—an institutional use—primarily based on the

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[40] Knud Jeppesen, ed. *Italia Sarca Musica*, 3 vol. (Copenhagen: Wilhelm Hansen, 1962), II, x.; Knud Jeppesen, 'Sebastiano Festa', *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* Vol. IV (1955).

[41] Edward E. Lowinsky, ed. *The Medici Codex of 1518, a choirbook of motets dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino* (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1968): 52–60.

[42] Edward E. Lowinsky, ed. *The Medici Codex of 1518,* 57; Lewis Lockwood, 'Jean Mouton and Jean Michel: New Evidence on French Music and Musicians in Italy, 1505–1520,' *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 32 (1979): 191–246; Leeman Perkins, 'Review of Lowinsky, *The Medici Codex of 1518, a choirbook of motets dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino*' *Musical Quarterly* 55 (1969): 255–269.

[43] Martin Staehelin, 'Review of Edward E. Lowinsky, *The Medici Codex if 1518, a choirbook of motets dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino'*, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 33 (1980): 582.

repertoire.[44]   Robert Nosow's article in 1991 discusses the specific evidential problems in placing the date and provenance of the manuscript and offers an alternative theory for the identity of the scribe as the Italian musician, Renaldo, who held a clerical benefice at the Cathedral of Padua. This, Nosow posits, is supported by the composer's representation in the Rusconi Codex and some of the repertoire is dedicated to the patron saints of the city of Padua. This and Owens's views drastically change the function of the manuscript by placing it at an institution instead of what was previously believed by Lowinsky—that the codex was intended for private use by a specific person.[45]

Briefly returning to Lowinsky, his description of the manuscript is vague, and he does not give specific details in terms of measurements that would allow a reader to build a picture of the codex in their mind. He simply states that 'The Bolognese manuscript has every aspect of a private repertory…the scribe used paper instead of parchment, small instead of large folio format… [it] is completely wanting in beauty…format as well as style of writing show that this manuscript was not intended for use by a choir.'[46]

The physical features of the Rusconi Codex described by Nosow follow the same pattern of those used to investigate the Chigi Codex. He describes the material (211 paper folios), size (291 x 228 mm), the foliation (original numeration in ink at the top right hand corner of each recto), ruling (double rastral with a smaller bottom rastral, ten five-line staves per page), the appearance of three watermarks within the manuscript, the scholarly consensus that it was the

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[44] Jessie A. Owens, ed. *Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Ms. Q19: The Rusconi Codex,* Renaissance Music in Facsimile: Sources Central to the Music of the Late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries, 1 (New York: Garland, 1988) Introduction, v.

[45] Robert Nosow, 'The Dating and Provenance of Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS Q 19' 92–108.

[46] Edward E. Lowinsky, ed. *The Medici Codex of 1518,* 52.

work of a single scribe, erasures, and careful layout of the music.[47] Nosow continues with his description, stating there are no decorated initials, but that eight initials have been pasted in from other manuscripts and that there is no pattern of placement i.e. for organizational purposes. 'The music hand lacks the polish of a presentation manuscript'; yet the notes were written in before the text and this is clear because the notes are mostly evenly spaced.[48] The Rusconi Codex is in choirbook format, mostly for four voices with some exceptions where a fifth voice is represented in the later folios of the manuscript, and Nosow covers the order and organization of the repertoire with a table, and the layers of compilation are discussed as well as the composer attributions.[49]

With all of this information available, one could assume that coming to a conclusion regarding the possible function of such a manuscript would be easier than without it, but as Nosow states quite plainly the purpose of the Rusconi Codex remains unclear mainly because the date and provenance remain unknown:

> The purpose of Q 19 appears to have been to record an accumulated store of music and to serve as a repository for new repertoire. Functional, moreover, would seem to be the key word for describing the book, from its dimensions, 291 by 228 millimetres, large enough to be read by a small group of singers, to its modest calligraphy. (citation, Owens, Introduction, v.) While the manuscript may have been intended for the private use of the scribe—Lewis Lockwood suggests that most musicians probably kept a similar record— (citation, Lockwood) its great volume may indicate that it was compiled for use in an institution. Jessie Ann Owens notes that the contents, which represent various feasts and occasions throughout the year, also are appropriate to the need of an institution. It could have been employed as a source from which additional copies were made, or it could have been used in performance.[50]

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[47] Robert Nosow, 'The Dating and Provenance of Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS Q 19' 92–93.

[48] Ibid., 93.

[49] Ibid., 94–95.

[50] Ibid., 106.

Do the multiple possible functions mentioned above of the Rusconi Codex tell us more or less about its use? Do we need more information than is available from the physical features to determine that it was or was not used in any way? Does the fact that it could be used in so many ways make it special somehow? The fact that we cannot know the exact provenance of the Rusconi Codex, unlike the Chigi Codex, has been the primary reason behind the debatable and varying uses for it. Though the physical elements of the manuscript have not changed, the interpretation of the clues available have led scholars to contextualize it in differing ways.

Biographical information for the composers that appear within the codex, histories of institutions (in this case, the courts of Francis I and Henry II of France, and the Cathedral of Padua), and musical-cultural interactions between the politically charged regions of Northern Italy could have an impact on how the musical landscape of the period is shaped. By exercising these hypotheses, scholars are expanding the net of knowledge surrounding some of these issues, and while attention is brought upon them, it remains important to keep in mind that we simply cannot know for certain how, when, where, and by whom these manuscripts were used. The discussion of the scholarly work on the Rusconi Codex continues.

Rainer Heyink's study of the Rusconi Codex added another possible argument in 1994 that places the manuscript in the vicinity of Mantua and in the possession of the Gonzaga family, which he supports with an identification of the emblem contained on fol. III (a silhouette of a kneeling stag chained to a tree), this time belonging to Lucrezia Gonzaga (b. 1522) and the 'D. P.' that appears in the second emblem as belonging to her father, Divus Pirro.[51] This line of argument would once again, return the Rusconi Codex to functioning for privatized use as

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[51] Rainer Heyink, *Der Gonzaga-Kodex Bologna Q19. Geschichte und Repertoire einer Musikhandschrift des 1 6. Jahrhunderts* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1994).

Lowinsky had suggested, 'The mixed character of the manuscript, containing as it does, motets, Masses, Magnificats, and chansons, corroborates private use.'[52] Jessie Ann Owens reviewed Heyink's book in 1996 and concluded that many of the author's argument were circumstantial.[53] Mitchell Brauner addresses the continuation of the problematic process of determining the history of the Rusconi Codex by highlighting even more illuminating details that counter some of the above mentioned authors' comments concerning its chronology based on the physical elements displayed within the manuscript.[54] To further the argument against Lowinsky's assertion that the codex was a gift for Diane de Poitier and prepared by Costanzo Festa, cultural studies of the proper behaviours surrounding the act of (musical) gift giving completely negates the possibility of Diane de Poitier's commissioning of or acceptance of this sort of manuscript.[55]

It would seem then, that we can rule out gift manuscript as a function for the Rusconi Codex, but that ownership is still on the table. If it belonged to Renaldo and by extension to the Cathedral of Padua as Nosow suggests, it may have been used in teaching if choristers were trained there, but more research would have to be conducted in order to prove or disprove such

[52] Edward E. Lowinsky, ed. *The Medici Codex of 1518,* 57.

[53] Jessie Ann Owens, 'Review of Rainer Heyink*, Der Gonzaga-Kodex Bologna Q19. Geschichte und Repertoire einer Musikhandschrift des 1 6. Jahrhunderts*', *Il Saggiatore musicale* 3 (1996): 446–448.

[54] Mitchell P. Brauner, 'A Tale of Three Manuscripts: On the Origins and Uses of Bologna Q19, Q20 and Q21' in *Sources of Identity Makers, Owners and Users of Music Sources Before 1600*, ed. Lisa Colton and Tim Shepherd (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017).

[55]Mary S Lewis, *Sources and the Circulation of Renaissance* Music (Farmham: Ashgate, 2012) See Stanley Boorman, 'The Purpose of the Gift: For Display of for Performance?' 107–115; Thomas Schmidt-Beste, 'Dedicating Music Manuscripts: On Function and Form of Paratexts in Fifteenth– and Sixteenth–Century Sources' 83, in *Cui dono lepidum novum labellum?: Dedicating Latin Works and Motets in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Ignace Bossuyt et al. (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2008); Arthur F. Marotti, *Manuscript, print and the English Lyric* (London: Cornell University Press, 1995); Brian Richardson, *Manuscript culture in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Jane Alden, *Songs, Scribes, and Society: the History and Reception of the Loire Valley Chansonniers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

a claim. Suffice it to say, until more evidence is found, the Rusconi Codex could belong to any one of the three groups mention at the start of this chapter: ownership, performance, or teaching.

Conclusion

The exact functionality of music books from the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries is difficult to place because of their unique natures, and without concrete evidence their functions must be inferred. Attempting to contextualize the uses of music books by comparing them to one another will yield fruitless results if every possible use is considered. As we have seen in the case studies of the Chigi Codex and the Rusconi Codex, the reasons for the existence of the manuscripts as objects to possess is true for both, but with the Chigi Codex, which is richly illuminated and contains qualifying markers for an approximate date and provenance, it becomes easier to deduce that it was prepared for display purposes and has the potential to hold a performance capacity. The Rusconi Codex, on the other hand, is rougher in appearance and bears speculative indicators as to its place of origin in addition to its performative potential given its layout and size.

The physical elements of these books may still be able to reflect the primary functions if we consider them in a generalized way— by possession, performance, and teaching—and allow the possibility for overlap between all three. In most cases, the books are described in catalogues with only one function i.e. presentation manuscript, processional, gradual, partbook, songbook, anthology, collection, or they are not given one at all, and this pigeonholing can be limiting because some of them could easily contain more than one function. When grouped together with only similarly labelled manuscripts, opportunities for drawing connections, not necessarily comparisons, could potentially be overlooked.

The scholarship pertaining to music books from this period is evolving constantly as new evidence is discovered and new theories are developed. However, with every new piece of evidence that comes out, the position those books hold in the musical landscape changes because the function of the manuscript carries more weight than we think. The function of the manuscript spawns so many avenues for inquiry and is rarely addressed as its own subject, but it is present nonetheless. The two case studies discussed above have enjoyed a plethora of scholarship from seemingly every reach of the musicological field—from biographical chronologies of composers to analyses of the music contained within them (finding the *best* copy of a Mass by Josquin), palaeographical and codicological issues (watermarks, practice of copying), and many more. Dedicating a study to the possible functions of the manuscripts may be able to increase the knowledge of them even more.

Part II: Research Strategy

A great deal can be learned by studying and determining the practical functions of music manuscripts from any period in history. The physical details of manuscripts enable one to build a better idea of how and why they were constructed in any particular way (size, shape, layout, etc.), and used (for whom, by whom and where). It is the way they are used, and the purpose for which they exist, that determines function. For instance, GB-Wrec MS 178 (The Eton Choirbook), a large illuminated volume, written in choirbook format, with a repertoire comprised of Latin Magnificats, motets, and a Passion, seemingly leaves little room for question as to its primary and lasting purpose—to house the music for worship sung by a large and skilled group of singers at the prestigious Eton College.

Through the scrutiny of the physical object and its contents, source scholars can place it within a given context. It would seem, however, that the process of defining function is done on

a case by case basis, and it begs the question of the existence or the possibility of a standardized method of determining function. It is this issue of procedure that I take as the opportunity for the current study—to outline the specific criteria for functional categorization, test those criteria to determine the functions of two specific case studies, and to examine the advantages and disadvantages of such an endeavour. In essence, this will be a systematic experiment in functional analysis.

The advantages of developing a systematic methodology for determining function would seem obvious. The ability to arrange similar types of sources into corresponding categories would allow one to navigate databases as they are created and updated to see them from a holistic perspective. A categorization system based on function with broad categories of possession, performance, and teaching, with subsections such as ownership (for private/individual collections and for public institutions i.e. Eton College), worship (individual devotion and public appreciation in services), teaching (choristers in worship institutions and noble children), would quicken the search for groups of similar sources in order to spot certain patterns. Some broad patterns might include geographic indicators of music book production for certain types, pedagogical clues as to the growth of musical innovation and literacy rates over time or allow for an examination into how these sources travelled or became exposed to audiences, to name but a few. Additionally, this kind of approach has the potential to shed new light on manuscripts that have enjoyed a great deal of research already, such as the Eton Choirbook. It would allow scholars to place them into a category and contextualize them among others that function similarly.

Disadvantages arise when the existing evidence is too narrow (not enough) or indeed too widespread (too dissimilar). A holistic view is not possible if connections are unable to be drawn

and patterns cannot be recognized. Some sources are unable to fit into any one functional category or are too fragmentary to attempt to categorize in the first place. It is difficult, if not impossible, to determine function without enough data and if the goal is to put a label on each and every one of them, the outliers would be allocated a category called 'other'. What I have found so far, however, is that these disadvantages have the potential to become advantageous in their own right. The inability to categorize some of the sources means they fall into a new category—containing sources with *multiple* possible functions. This is an intriguing category and one that would not have been found without a systematic categorization process in place. This category has the potential to be thoroughly examined to reveal any possible connections between manuscripts that are unable to hold a definitive primary function from any region and any time period in history.

The manuscripts taken as case studies for this project appear as separate chapters: **Chapter Two: The Ritson MS** (GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665) and **Chapter Three: The Wharton partbooks** (GB-Cjc MS 234 (K.31) and GB-Cu Dd.13.27). These chapters revisit specific manuscripts that, while they have enjoyed only small amount of scholarship, are prime material for testing this research strategy. **Chapter Four: Conclusion** is the consideration of how the characteristics of these books can actually tell their stories.

The data pertaining to these three books has been compiled using DIAMM as the primary source of information and the secondary literature attached to the manuscripts. These manuscripts were chosen because they have retained their form as a book and contain more musical material than not. These are books of music—not books that happen to have music. They are books of vocal polyphony from c1480–1530.

Data Collection and Analysis

The characteristics that have been used as data points for building a workable spreadsheet to organize music manuscripts can be seen in Appendix 1. The characteristics include: size and materials, mise-en-page, contents, and paratexts.[56] Each manuscript displays these characteristics in individual ways and they will be explained more thoroughly in their respective chapters.

The size of a manuscript can indicate the amount of people that would have been able or needed to view it at one time. A very large-sized manuscript (more than 60 cm in height) could allow a large group of people to surround and read from it at the same time. Small-sized manuscripts (less than 25 cm in height) in turn would allow only a limited number of people to view at once. The quality of the types of materials (surface, ink, bindings, etc.) used to produce manuscripts can suggest the desired presentation, durability, and sustainability of the book.

The mise-en-page of each book may indicate a performance type, audience, ensemble and their level of ability. Choirbook, or *cantus collateralis*, was the most widely used format for music manuscripts and required an entire ensemble to read from one large book placed in front of them, usually on a lectern.[57] Each voice was visible in its designated position (sometimes indicated by an initial or an annotation in the margin) on the two-page opening, and page turns had to be carefully planned as all the voices were reading from the same page. Partbooks, on the other hand, have separate books for each voice, which allow singers to hold and see only their part.

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[56] All of these characteristics are outlined in Thomas Schmidt, 'Making Polyphonic Books in the late Fifteenth and early Sixteenth Centuries' in *The Production and Reading of Music Sources. Mise En-Page in Manuscripts and Printed Books Containing Polyphonic Music, 1480-1530*, ed. Thomas Schmidt and Christian Thomas Leitmeir (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), 3–100.

[57] John Milsom, 'Music' in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: Vol III 1400-1557*, ed. Hellinga, Lotte (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 541–554, at 544.

The contents of music books can direct researchers to a venue for the music they hold. While some genres would seem to be more appropriate in certain locations, such as sacred music in a church archive, or secular music in a private collection, it is never a good idea to assume a hard line between sacred and secular music at the turn of the sixteenth century. It is only in conjunction with other factors, such as the paratexts and secondary sources, that we can point to a plausible venue or ensemble for any manuscript.

The data points for each manuscript are considered against each other to pinpoint some possible functions and uses, and to exclude others as much as possible. This allows us to draw parallels between similarly used manuscripts and allow scholars of material culture to view individual as well as groups of manuscripts in a particular way. Updating descriptions of manuscripts in databases to include 'function' would aid in the filtering process.

CHAPTER TWO: THE RITSON MS
Case study #1: GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665

The manuscript under investigation is GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, dubbed the 'Ritson Manuscript' after its last private owner, the antiquarian Joseph Ritson, donated it to the British Museum in 1795. While it remains unknown for certain for whom, by whom, or for what purpose the manuscript was created, key characteristics have allowed historians and researchers to place it in a general context. These characteristics include its size, material make-up, layout and appearance, notational techniques, composer ascriptions and inserted recorded documents, and the organization of content. The Ritson MS is a book of music that was completed at the beginning of the sixteenth century and, based on dated memoranda found within the manuscript, is thought to have originated in or around Devon, England.[58] It contains a variety of genres including bilingual carols, Masses, hymns, chansons, antiphons, and secular pieces in French and English, (see Appendix 2). The manuscript is a choirbook based on its page layouts, and most of its contents indicate it was used in performances for either public or private devotional activities.

Modern scholarship for GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665 begins with Catherine Keyes Miller's transcription and commentary of the manuscript in her dissertation from 1948.[59] Her landmark study offers a succinct account of the manuscript's early history and a hypothesis on its use. As hard evidence to challenge any of Miller's arguments has yet to reveal itself, her commentary remains the starting point for anyone wishing to understand Ritson's fundamental

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[58] Catherine Keyes Miller, *A Fifteenth Century Record of English Choir Repertory: B. M. Add. Ms. 5665; A Transcription and Commentary*, Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 2 vols, Yale University (1948).

[59] Ibid.

characteristics. Miller explains that scholarship mentioning Ritson was limited at the time she began her research, noting there were only occasional mentions of individual compositions, but that the Ritson MS had never been studied in its own right. With the exception of Harrison's *Music in Medieval Britain*, music history textbooks draw heavily on Miller's dissertation, but the other scholarship that mentions Ritson, again, only uses it to show individual examples of stylistic changes in musical composition in England at the turn of the sixteenth century.[60] Additionally, entries in *New Grove* regarding Ritson characterize it in two capacities: as a carol manuscript or as a reference point for the composers whose names appear within it. *Henry V and the Earliest English Carols: 1413–1440* by David Fallows (2018), has a chapter dedicated to Ritson, focusing on the date of the earliest layer of English carols.[61] Outside of music, Ritson is referred to in commentaries about Medieval English poetry.[62] John Stevens bridged the gap in 1961 with *Music & Poetry in the Early Tudor Court*.[63]

There are many things we know, or can plausibly know, about this manuscript, but there is one crucial piece of information that had eluded us for over 500 years—we did not know *how* this book came together. The original structure for the Ritson MS was destroyed, leaving the inner folds of the majority of the manuscript separated and damaged beyond recognition; without a clear representation of the booklets, we were only able to speculate about their original construction and/or organization until now.

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[60] Hugh Benham, *Latin Church Music in England c. 1460–1575* (London, Barrie & Jenkins, 1977); Caldwell, John, *The Oxford History of English Music*; Harrison, Frank Ll, *Music in Medieval Britain* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963); Stevens, Denis, *Tudor Church Music* (London: Faber and Faber, 1966); Strohm, Reinhard, *The Rise of European Music, 1380–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

[61] David Fallows, *Henry V and the Earliest English Carols: 1413–1440* (New York: Routledge, 2018), 145–158.

[62] Helen Cooney, *Nation, Court and Culture: New Essays on Fifteenth-Century English Poetry* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001); Duncan, Thomas G., *A Companion to the Middle English Lyric* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2005); Duncan, Thomas G., *Medieval English Lyrics and Carols* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2013).

[63] John Stevens, *Music & Poetry in the Early Tudor Court* (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd, 1961).

The fact that the original structure for the Ritson MS has been obliterated complicates matters. The 148 parchment and paper leaves that comprise the manuscript were rebound at the British Museum sometime after its donation—no record of the procedure remains except a newly observed stamp on the inside of the back cover that reads '20 JAN 1965' with a handwritten note stating it was 'Examined after binding (illegible signature) 26-1-65'. The original ink foliation (5–143) and the modern pencil foliation (1–148) appear in the upper right corner of each opening. The majority of these leaves were apparently loose as the modern binding was executed, and while there can be no certainty, there is now more than a glimmer of hope for plausible reconstructions as new information has come to light.

The present chapter will place the Ritson MS in the spotlight and assess the many potential uses this book may have served as modern technology allows a closer look. This will be achieved by building on a foundation of previous research on the Ritson MS, most importantly the transcription and commentary provided by Catherine Keyes Miller in her PhD thesis from 1948. Although other characteristics will be addressed, the specific characteristic that will be discussed here is the physical structure of the manuscript with a special emphasis on the watermarks. The first watermark, the ox head surmounted with a vertical line and star (OH), appears from folio 8 to folio 116. The second watermark, the serpent (S), appears from folio 123 to folio 144. The remaining folios are accounted for by their pairing with the watermarked folios or are indicated as a pair with no watermark in Appendix 3.

I have collated a detailed catalogue for the Ritson MS that includes all the information previously known, adding new information about these watermarks that has allowed for a greater understanding about the physical structure of the manuscript. This was achieved by visiting the British Library, viewing the manuscript, and taking an inventory of the watermarks.

The observations collected in this catalogue have allowed me to view the manuscript from a new perspective in order to restore the original booklet structures. The explanation of this process will be Part I of this chapter. These booklets are the key to understanding how, in what order, and why this manuscript came together. This information will be assessed along with the other physical characteristics of the manuscript in Part II. The resulting summary will shed light on the evolving purposes for which the Ritson MS was made which will appear as Part III. Watermarks were (and are still) used as a branding tool for paper producers before and after the period of the development of the Ritson MS. They are identifying images that become visible when held up to light due to the variation in the thickness of the paper. In most cases they appear 'in the middle of one half of the sheet of paper: this means that it lies in the middle of a page when this sheet is folded once to make a standard bifolio.'[64] By Stanley Boorman's explanation, the other half of the folded page would be left without a watermark, which is exactly the case for the Ritson manuscript which is in folio format (see figure 2.1; all figures can be found in Appendix 4).   There are two watermarks present within the manuscript. They are: (1) Ox head surmounted with vertical line and star, and (2) serpent (Figures 2.1 and 2.2).[65] The arrangement of the paper folios within the manuscript with or without watermarks narrows down the possible combinations for recreating the pre-bound booklets as the pages without watermarks are potential conjugate partners for those that do. See Appendix 3 for reference.

There are twelve booklets in the following reconstruction. Most of the booklets are without major complications while one, booklet six, is considerably more problematic as it contains the most reworking with inserted paper folios. Many considerations were taken into

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[64] Stanley Boorman, 'Watermarks.', *Grove Music Online*, accessed July 11, 2017, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/29943.

[65] http://www.diamm.ac.uk/jsp/Descriptions?op=SOURCE&sourceKey=796.

account while preparing the reconstruction of these booklets. [66] They are: the positioning of parchment and paper leaves within the manuscript which dictate the possible positions of the pairings, the rare remaining conjugate pairs of folios with a connected inner fold which leave no doubt as to their position to each other, the division of sections set out in Miller's thesis, corrective measures taken by the scribes such as insertions and pasteovers, and mistakes in page ordering and numbering made over the last 500 years. These issues will be discussed in turn below.

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[66] Fallows, *Henry V and the Earliest English Carols,* 146–147. Fallows describes the first four gatherings differently than the way they presented here.

Part I: Elements and Structural Analysis of GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665

Parchment/Paper Spacing and inner folds

From the beginning of the manuscript until folio 114, parchment appears at semi-regular intervals ranging every 4 to 10 leaves of paper per parchment folio as either adjacent pairs (9) or as individual leaves (6). Four of these parchment folio pairs have retained their inner folds. This may be indicative of parchment being used as a protective measure as it is believed to have been more durable, although it seems more likely to have been used for support within booklets that contain a much higher percentage of paper instead.[67] Of the 148 folios found in the Ritson MS as a whole, only 24 are parchment, 8 of which (the four pairs) are connected by their inner folds indicating they were the *innermost* sheets of their booklets and therefore would not have been used as a protective outer wrapper.

Folio 44 is the first parchment folio that does not appear adjacent to another parchment folio. It could simply be a loose folio (sewn in at the stub), or it could also be the other half of either folio 36 or 52. Neither of these have obvious corresponding halves, although they do appear adjacent to what could be corresponding parchment leaves (35 and 53 respectively). While it is a possibility that folios 35 and 36 are two halves of the same parchment bifolio, (the same for folios 52 and 53) their folds are damaged and conclusive evidence is now lost. Again, after viewing the manuscript with the new data and a clearer perspective other possible 'other-halves' appear (see booklet 2). As mentioned, it is traditionally unusual to position parchment in the middle of a booklet because of the durability it offered, and it was mostly used as outer leaves as wrapping, but with the Ritson MS this procedure seems to have been the norm as

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[67] Orietta Da Rold, 'Materials' in *The Production of Books in England 1350–1500,* eds. Alexandra Gillespie and Daniel Wakelin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 22.

internal parchment leaves occur in all of the booklets that contain parchment leaves save booklet 4. Parchment then ceases at folio 114, leaving paper the only material for the remainder of the manuscript, booklets 10 through 12.

There are also two potential sets of bifolia with no watermark at all, 113/119 (booklet 9) and 131/132 (booklet 11), but both occurring in Section E. These bifolia may have been extra bifolia from a stock of paper created with no watermark at all which was absorbed into the later stock of paper that was used while preparing Section E.

What does this tell us about the book's construction? Most importantly, it offers a possible timeline for the manuscript's construction. Miller expressed the impossibility of stating 'with assurance' that Ritson MS became a unit before the last section of miscellaneous music existed, because the booklet structures were unavailable at the time of her research.[68] Here again, the watermarks can highlight that this is very likely the case—that it was actively being expanded throughout its development. The two watermarks are confined to their own sets of booklets in this reconstruction, which makes it clear that there were independent stores of paper that were brought together as the manuscript grew, specifically toward the end of the compilation process. By systematically pairing the leaves of paper with and without relevant watermarks, I have been able to reconstruct the sheets of paper that were then gathered into the booklets with the watermarks separated from one another. The next step was to cross reference the booklets against Miller's description of the sections set out in her PhD thesis.

Sections and Booklets

Miller stated that the manuscript reflects distinct elements of scribal activity such as palaeography and notation that chronologically corresponds to the music it represents. This is

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[68] Miller, *A Fifteenth Century Record of English Choir Repertory,* 3.

based on her own stylistic evaluation of the music and she divided the Ritson MS into five sections, or 'workable units' (A–E) for her commentary.[69] The sections are depicted in Appendix 2: Section A contains all of the carols, one canticle and four antiphons; Section B comprises one hymn and eight chansons; Section C makes up the two settings of the Mass (without Kyrie); Section D includes a canticle and a hymn; Section E comprises a mix of genres including canticles, hymns, Mass settings, antiphons, and chansons. It is upon these divisions that reconstructing the booklets continued—to test the likelihood of a chronological order of copying based primarily on the scribal features. In doing so, the stylistic and palaeographical sections set out by Miller in 1948 were *physically* confirmed.

Booklets 1 to 4 (folios 3 to 59) contain all of Section A, and some inserted pieces from Section E. Booklet 5 (folios 60 to 73) contains all of Section B, one piece from Section D, and one piece from Section E (this space was originally left blank and later filled), and the first page of Section C. Booklets 6 (folios 74 to 87) and 7 (folios 88 to 95) contain the rest of Section C and the first page of Section D. Booklet 8 (folios 96 to 111) makes up the rest of Section D and the beginning of Section E, and booklets 9–12 (folios 112 to 120; 121 to 128; 129 to 134; 135 to 148) contain the remainder of Section E.

It is important to understand that the sections, as outlined above, do not appear physically separated in strict order, but appear as stages of copying and collation. Section A is a stand-alone section. It ends on the recto of folio 59. Section B begins on the verso of folio 60, meaning it is possible that the two were independent from one another until bound together at a later time. Section B concludes on 73r and Section C begins immediately on the verso of the same leaf, 73v. This indicates that Section C was never an independent section and was actually a

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[69] Ibid.

continuation of writing into a manuscript that had either been another stand-alone manuscript (Section B by itself or Section B plus additional blank booklets) or it was decided that a store of musical output was necessary and the Ritson MS as we know it was finally beginning to take shape.

What we do know is that the majority of the Ritson MS was written upon paper that came from the same source and it is very likely that it was written and maintained in the same place until at least the new watermark appears with the later additions of Section E (booklets 10 to 12). That same place may have acquired a different batch of paper (with the serpent watermark), or the manuscript may also have been moved to another location that had or acquired the store of paper with the second watermark, or the bulk of Section E was begun in another location and added to the end of Section D with individual pieces copied into the earlier sections.

Pieces from sections D and E were copied into the blank spaces left by the scribes in Sections A and B as copying continued. As mentioned, booklet 5 contains all of Section B, but it also contains an entry for Section D as it was added to the blank space found there between the first and second pieces in the section, folios 62r–64r and another entry for Section E from 64v–65r. Section C as it was planned, was too large to fit in that blank space provided, and as a result, was appended to the immediate end Section B. The second part of Section D follows the same procedure of copying as Section C continuing immediately at the end of Section C, at folio 95v. Here again it can safely be said that Section D was never intended to be an independent section, because it cannot be fully separated from Section C.

Section E, which contains shorter pieces, was then filled by the numerous and anonymous scribes in the spaces left within Section A (38v–39r, 47v–48r, and 55v–56r), the

opening that occurred between Sections A and B after it was bound (59v–60r), as well as the remainder of the blank space left after the addition of the first part of Section D to Section B (64v–65r). Section E then continues on the verso of the end of Section D, folio 96v, and carries on until the end of the manuscript at 148r.[70] It is within this section that the watermark changes from the ox head to the serpent at booklet 10.

The outlined sections provided by Miller offered a reference point for determining the booklets structures for the Ritson MS by highlighting palaeographical clues to determine a developmental timeline for the manuscript. There are, however, other factors that went into the reconstruction such as inserted folios, the correction of page numberings, and pasteovers in an effort to find the original order of the folios.

Inserted or omitted folios

Although the majority of the manuscript allows for pairs of parchment and paper folios, there are a few inserted folios in this reconstruction (See Appendix 3). They appear at folios: **44**, **64**, **71**, 75, 83, 85, 86, **114**, 120, and 127 (**bold=parchment**). These have been identified as such because they do not have obvious, corresponding other halves according to the inventory taken for the watermarks. They simply do not fit, and with consideration of what is known about corrective measures carried out by scribes during this period, the insertion of loose leaves is a plausible explanation.[71] Folios 75, 83, 85, 86 all contain the ox-head watermark, while folios 120 and 127 are without a watermark. These are possibly the extra halves of other inserted folios, and their having potential bifolio partners is unnecessary.

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[70] Miller, *A Fifteenth Century Record of English Choir Repertory,* 2.
[71] Boorman et al., 'Sources, MS.'

Returning to folio 44 for a moment, it has already been posited that it was purposely inserted to offer support (it is located in the very middle of the booklet) to a booklet with no supportive outer leaves (see booklet 3).[72] The other parchment insertions very well could have played a similar role. Folios 64 and 71 are positioned at supportive points in within booklet 5. However, folio 64 also offers an intriguing alternative explanation, considering the surrounding paper leaves. The stave ruling of Section B is careful in appearance. The seven staves on folio 62v and the nine on 63r were already in place when the scribe began to set the antiphon '*Lumen ad revelationem'* by Thomas Packe in Section D. Realizing the layout would require additional staves, the scribe then added them to the bottom of both folios. On the next opening at 63v there were no pre-drawn staves, which allowed Packe to copy down the verbal text of his *Nunc Dimittis* under the staves that were newly drawn in by freehand. Only three staves were needed on 63v, and the addition of the parchment folio was necessary for Packe to copy the other voices of the piece, which also only needed three staves. He could not have copied it onto folios with pre-drawn staves; there simply would have been no room. The next entry for Section B began on the very next opening at, what is now, 65v. What then remained was a blank opening that was later filled in with a piece from Section E (64v–65r).

Booklets 6 and 7 contain the Masses of Thomas Packe, both of which span 11 openings. One theory is that the additional folios in booklet 6 on folios 74r–87v were needed after an already constructed booklet 7 was finished and contained too few folios. Instead of taking apart both booklets and resewing them, it was decided booklet 6 would be expanded. Another explanation is that they are merely corrective measures taken for mistakes that occurred once copying began—that the folios were poorly planned out and had to be replaced. The neat and

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[72] Fallows, *Henry V and the Earliest English Carols,* 145.

tidy copying of Packe's first Mass 'Missa Rex summe' seems to have been abandoned as copying continued. (Figures 2.3 and 2.4.) Nonetheless, from the Sanctus onward the care of executing proper text underlay, mapping of phrase length per staff, and accurate notation is reduced. The second Mass, 'Missa de Gaudete in Domino', continues immediately on the verso of folio 84 and carries on to the end of booklet 6 at 87v.

Booklet 7 begins with the Credo of the second Mass on folio 88r. It would seem that any copying errors that occurred in booklet 7 were deemed unnecessary to correct, and that any corrective measures, should they have been necessary, were confined to booklet 6, hence the inserted replacement folios of 75, 83, 85, and 86. Additionally, folios 76 and 77 were reversed during the binding process at the British Library, and the transcription of the Ritson MS by Miller confirms this assertion.[73]

The next inserted leaf is folio 114. It is a parchment leaf that contains the second page of a Mass setting by Petyr. This Mass begins with the Gloria as it does not have a sung Kyrie. Folios 120 and 127 are the last inserted leaves. There are no obvious explanations for these insertions other than as a corrective measure for a planned layout that required another leaf in a booklet with too few folios.

Pasteovers were another common way to correct both small and big mistakes made by scribes. Figure 2.5 illustrates a situation where a line of music was corrected before the text was copied. There is one example of a pasteover that was so extreme it covered almost an entire leaf. Folio 25v was pasted over and then later separated, confusing the numbering systems. Folio 26v is actually just the correction of 25v. It seems likely that it was carried out because the ink from the recto of folio 25 had seeped through to the verso (rendering any music set there to become

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[73] Miller, *A Fifteenth Century Record of English Choir Repertory,* 79.

illegible) and needed to be covered. (Figures 2.6 and 2.7.) Booklet 2 accounts for this 'added'

leaf. An opening was that was simply skipped by the scribe occurs on folios 132v–133r. (Figure

2.5a.)

Conclusion of Part I

The reconstruction of the twelve booklets that make up the Ritson MS was achieved by

observing the physical elements of the individual folios. Determining the placement of the two

watermarks played a key role in the reconstruction. By reconstructing the relevant bifolia, I was

able to cross-reference the information gathered by Catherine Keyes Miller to prepare the twelve

booklets. The implications of finding plausible original booklet structures are far-reaching. This

new information can now be contextualized in the sphere of material culture with greater clarity.

As established by Miller, the Ritson MS essentially operates nowadays as a collection

of English choral music from the late-fifteenth to the early-sixteenth centuries. In her PhD thesis,

she suggested plausible explanations for how, when, and why the manuscript was created. She

supported those suggestions with facts and evidence that appeared within the manuscript. I will

expand upon those suggestions as new information has now come to light about the Ritson MS.

Part II will explore the many possible purposes this manuscript held over the course of its

compilation.

Part II: A Re-evaluation and New Observations

The physical characteristics of manuscripts can offer clues that show an overall basic

purpose. The size of it can offer information about the number of singers or performers required

to read form it at one time—a larger manuscript would allow more people to stand around it

than a smaller one, and the size of the ensemble may correlate to the size of the manuscript.[74] The characteristics for the Rison MS were analysed by Miller in her commentary, but as she states, she was working with a photostatic facsimile of the manuscript and not with the original.[75] As it happens, the stamp on the inside of the back cover states that the Ritson MS was formally bound in 1965 at the British Museum *after* Miller's project was finished. The present investigator has been able to view the original manuscript, using ultra violet light to see the watermarks, and has had access to digitized images that have allowed for more thorough observation. Additionally, the new information gathered about the watermarks calls for an updated evaluation. From section to section, the individual physical characteristics vary, and they will be handled in greater detail here.

Size of the MS

The Ritson MS is 258mm by 180mm (roughly between A4 and A5). The majority of the pieces call for two or three voices, but there is one in Section A, *Ave regina caelorum*, that requires four, and Thomas Packe's *Lumen ad revelationem*, contains five voices. Given the small size of the Ritson MS only one (possibly two) per part would have been able to read from it at any given time.

Decorative Properties

The level of care with which a manuscript is prepared may indicate an intended audience, user, purpose, or owner.[76] For example, the lavishly illuminated manuscript GB-Lbl R 8 G.vii, currently housed at the British Library in London was sent to London to Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon as a gift from Margaret of Austria. It was produced in the workshop of

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[74] Schmidt-Beste, 'Private or Institutional', 14–15.

[75] Keyes Miller, *A Fifteenth Century Record of English Choir Repertory,* Preface.

[76] Schmidt-Beste, 'Private or Institutional', 16.

Petrus Alamire at Margaret's court in Mechelen, with fine materials and with great organizational care.[77] The eight booklets remain intact and the pieces flow immediately from one booklet to the next. It is set on parchment only, the illuminations depict the coats of arms for the couple, and the miniatures and borders are decorated in the ornate Ghent-Bruges style. The level of artistry shown in the preparation of this manuscript indicates that it was intended to be visually impressive. The recipients were the king and queen of England and the manuscript befits that rank (Figure 2.8).

Conversely, a paper manuscript that contains no illuminations or other decorations indicates it was likely not meant to be visually impressive. Its fundamental purpose then was, presumably, to record music for practical reasons such as performance, education, personal collection, or storage. Figure 2.9 is taken from Mus.ms. 3154, the 'Leopold Codex' held at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, Germany, a personal collection which represents a manuscript that *could* have acted in any of these capacities.[78] The large initials direct singers to their respective voice parts and the musical material that appears outside of the bounding lines suggest a need for uniform page turns—signs that point toward a potential use in performance.

The inconsistency of the decorative characteristics for each section in Ritson shows that as the manuscript grew, the need for decoration became less and less of a priority. The blue and red pen work seen throughout Section A (Figure 2.10) only appears there.

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[77] Kellman, *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire,* 110–111; Jennifer Thomas, 'Patronage and personal narrative in a music manuscript: Marguerite of Austria, Katherine of Aragon, and London Royal 8 G.vii' in *Musical Voices of Early Modern Women: Many-headed Melodies* ed. Thomasin K LaMay (Burlington: Ashgate, 2005): 337–364.

[78] Boorman et al., 'Sources, MS.'

There were no blank spaces allocated for the inked initials—they were included after the staves had been drawn. Even so, there was a definite plan for an inclusion of initials because the music and text were indented in the appropriate places to allow for the addition. The initials are the first letter of the carol text and with only three exceptions they appear on the second staff. The exceptions are as follows:

'Meruele noght, Josep' on folios 11v–12r does not have the blue and red pen work, and the space allotted on the staff is too narrow to fit the usual-sized initial. Instead, the 'M' for 'Man' is included under the staff in line with the rest of the text. (See Figure 2.11). The carol 'Jesus autem hodie' on folios 40v–41r is smaller and was drawn in a lower position than the previous initials. This pattern then continues until the end of the carol section on folio 53r. (See Figure 2.12). The third and last exception is the initial that appears on the third staff of the carol 'For all Christen soules pray we' on folios 51v–52r. (See Figure 2.13).

The letters were inked with blue, and then red ink was used to draw inside and around the letters. More red ink was used to draw an embellishment of curvy lines along the left-hand side of the bounding line. This same pattern of embellishment is used in other English manuscripts from slightly before and during this period. The Pepys MS (GB-Cmc MS 1594) from the early fifteenth century, the Shrewsbury MS (GB-SHRs MS VI) from c1430 and GB-Lbl Egerton 3307 (c1430–1444) all include this exact type of decoration. (See Figures 2.13b–d).

There is evidence to suggest that the order of copying for the carols in Section A is in four stages as follows: 1. Bounding lines; 2. Staves; 3. Music then text; 4. Illuminations. This

order is consistent with the manuscript production from the period.[79] The staves fall within the bounding lines, the music and text are positioned to allow for large initials, and the embellishments (for the most part) are drawn around the musical material. Figure 2.14 is an example of an illumination covering music that had already been copied.

There were spaces left for initials in Section B (Figure 2.15), but they were never executed. There is no indication that illuminations were to appear in Section C as the beginnings of all the Mass movements start at the beginning of the staff (Figure 2.16). Sections D and E also show no indication that they were intended to be illuminated (Figures 2.17a –c).

What does this tell us about the intended audience, user, or owner of the Ritson MS? The accuracy of the copying for the music and text throughout the manuscript shows it was meant to be read for performance or practice. However, as mentioned, Section A (booklets 1– 4) was a stand-alone unit and is significantly more decorative than the rest of the manuscript. The most likely explanation is that it was decorated and used independently before the Ritson MS even existed. Section A was then added to another independent collection of booklet(s), Section B, where its purpose changed from one of independent use to that of collection.

The space left for the intended initials in Section B were never filled, and there is no way of knowing how elaborate they were supposed to appear except that they would have had to be small because there was very little room allocated to them.[80] There very well could have been planned decoration that was to continue into the margin to match that of Section A.

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[79] Boorman et al., 'Sources, MS.'

[80] The initials in Section A were drawn over the staves that were there first. The same procedure appears in Section B with the exception of 65v and 66r. The stave lines are drawn with an intended space for the 'B' of Bassus and 'M' to begin the line of text 'My woeful heart'.

Layout of Openings

Observing the layouts of manuscripts can show how they were to be used. Where a partbook is only used by one performing voice at a time, a choirbook is used by all of the voices together. The Ritson MS contains two formats for layout that indicate it was used by all voices at once. Score layout was used for all of the carols on folios 4v–25r, 26v–38r, 39v–47r and 48v–53r, and cantus collateralis (choirbook) format was used for all of the other pieces on folios 3r–4v, 38v–39r, 47v–48r, 55v–56r, 59v–132r and 133v–148r.

The visual organization of voice parts on an opening does not necessarily mean that it was intended for performance. Other factors are responsible for that conclusion. Some genres were traditionally notated in certain ways, for example the carol, which is usually notated in score format. Attention to text underlay, uniform page turns, and the voice designations all add to the idea that Ritson *was* a manuscript organized for performance.

The Headings

Organizational headings appear throughout the manuscript, although they operate differently from section to section. Section A contains indicators of an internal organization that does not continue through to the succeeding sections. All but one of the carols have headings that specify where within the liturgical season (including specific Saint's Days) each was to be performed. The majority of the carols were to be sung during the Christmas season with eight headings for St. Stephen, St. John, Holy Innocents, St. Thomas, the Circumcision, and Epiphany. Twenty of the forty-four carols were dedicated to Christmas Day alone. The headings therefore would have been necessary for quick reference (Figures 2.18a–d).

Table 1: List of carols with corresponding headings.

Folio in MS	Title	Heading
4v–5	Sing we to this merry company	De Sancta Maria
5v–6	Johannes assecretis	De Sancto Johanne
6v–7	Sonet laus per saecula	De innocentibus
7v–8	Nowell, nowell [...] Tidings good	In die natiuitatis
8v–9v	Nowell, nowell [...] Who is there	In die natiuitatis
10–11	Mervele nought, Joseph	In die natiuitatis
11v–12	Meruele nought, Josep/Man, be joyful	In die natiuitatis
12v–13	Make us merry this New Year	In die circumcisionis
13v–14	Salve sancta parens	
14v–15	In every state, in every state	ad placitum
15v–16	Ave decus saeculi – Ex Maria virgine	De Sancta Maria
16v–17	Soli deo sit laudum gloria	In die natiuitatis
17v–18	Have mercy of me	In die natiuitatis
18v–19	Regi canamus gloriae	In die natiuitate
19v–20	O radix Jesse	In die natiuitatis
20v–22	O clavis David	In die natiuitatis
22v–23	Pray for us that we saved be	Sancti Stephani
23v–24	Psallite gaudentes	De innocentibus
24v–25	Worship we this holy day	De innocentibus
26v–27	Te Deum laudamus – O blessed God	de nativitate die
27v–28	Laetare Cantuaria	De Sancto Thoma[s]
28v–29	Now make we joy	De nativitate

29v–30	Jesu fili virginis – Jesu of a maid [i]	De nativitate
30v–31	Spes mea in Deo est – When lordship	ad placitum
31v–32	I pray ye all	ad placitum
32v–33	Jesu fili Dei – Glorious God	De nativitate
33v–34	Tidings true there be come new	De nativitate
34v–35	Nascitur ex virgine – A child is born	De nativitate
35v–36	Do well, and dread no man	ad placitum
36v–37	Alleluya [...] Now may we myrthis make	De nativitate
37v–38	Pray for us, thou Prince of Peace	de Johanne
39v–40	Proface, welcome	De nativitate
40v–41	Jesus autem hodie – When Jesus	Epiphanie
41v–42	Clanget tuba, Martir Thomas – Out of the chaff	Sancto Thoma
42v–43	Man, asay, and axe mercy	ad placitum
43v–44	Jesu fili virginis – Jesu of a maid [ii]	De nativitate
44v–45	Jesu, for thy mercy endless	ad placitum
45v–46	The best song, as it seemeth me	ad placitum
46v–47	To many a will have I go	ad placitum
48v–49	Pray for us, thou Prince of Peace	De Sancto Johanne
49v–50	O blessed Lord, full of pity[?]	ad placitum
50v–51	The beste rede that I can	ad placitum
51v–52	For all Christen soules pray we	In fine natiuitatis
52v–53	Blessed must thou be, sweet Jesus	de natiuitate

There are no organizational headings for the pieces in Section B, implying there was no need for a quick reference for this section at the time it was transcribed. Section B contains only nine pieces and comprises one booklet which may have been copied and perhaps used independently from the rest of the manuscript before it was bound. The first Mass in Section C is headed only by an ascription to the composer, Thomas Packe, while the second Mass is headed by its title 'Missa de Gaudete in Domino…pro hominibus xii notis cumpas' (Figures 2.19 and 2.20).[81]

Thomas Packe's name appears as a heading for the 'Te Deum' of Section D, but interestingly, this time he has been given the title 'Syr'. (see figure 2.21) The handwriting is very similar to that of the scribe from Section E. (see figure 2.22 below).

Headings appear only sporadically in Section E for the pieces that filled in the blank openings in and between Section A and B contain headings; 'xii notis cumpas' on folio 107v and 'xii notis cumpas…' on folio 108v; an ascription 'Quod Johannes Cornysch' on folio 120v; and 'Ad Festum natalis Domini' at the top of folio 123v.

Table of contents

There is a table of contents at the beginning of the manuscript on folios 1r–2v. This table of contents was added with a corresponding modern pencil foliation beginning with the first piece. This demonstrates that the manuscript indeed became a unit at the end of the compilation process (with all of the sections in their current order). The Ritson MS does not begin with Section A, but with pieces added to the front by a scribe from Section E. There would have been

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[81] Thomas Oliphant, *Catalogue of the Manuscript Music in the British Museum* (London: G. Woodfall and Son, 1842), 73.

no need or use for a table of contents until the point of completion. It cannot be determined with certainty when or by whom this table of contents was included. The paper on which it appears is different than that of the modern flyleaves added when it was formally bound at the British Museum in 1965—according to the newly observed stamp. Furthermore, the hand of the table of contents and foliation is unlike any of the other hands that appear within the Ritson MS. This means it could have been catalogued at the British Museum and later bound, or the table of contents was included with the donation. Miller suggests that it was indeed added during the cataloguing process by either Thomas Oliphant or Sir Frederic Madden before the publication of Oliphant's *Catalogue of the manuscript music in the British Museum 1842* (B.M. 1842) edited by Madden.[82]

Bounding Lines

The order of operation for the scribes that copied the music and texts for Sections A, B, and C is described in Miller's thesis.[83] In her assessment however, one step is missing—the first step, drawing the bounding lines. These bounding lines are essentially the margins that dictate the length of the staves that were drawn next (Figure 2.23a)**.**[84]

They have proven to be equally useful in determining the order and process by which the sections came together. From folio 3r to 121v, which spans all five sections, the exact same bounding lines are present. This corresponds to the booklet structures as well as the paper appropriate to each watermark. The bounding lines for the rest of the manuscript, folios 122r–

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[82] Keyes Miller, *A Fifteenth Century Record of English Choir Repertory,* 1.

[83] Ibid, 30, 70, 78.

[84] Schmidt, 'Making Polyphonic Books', 12.

148v (serpent watermark) shows new and varied bounding lines and ruling patterns as they are drawn more closely to the edge of the surface area (Figure 2.23b–c). Additionally, this suggests that wherever the Ritson MS was copied, the store of paper used was pre-ruled before *any* copying of the ox-head-watermarked paper had begun.

Although the original bounding lines appear until folio 121v, it was only strictly followed until folio 107v (Figure 2.23d–e). Evidence found on the succeeding leaves suggests that the scribe(s) disregarded these lines when negotiating the amount of space needed on the page for the new pieces. New bounding lines were drawn in first and then the staves as needed.

There is further evidence to suggest that the single staves were only drawn in as new sections were added either as whole sections or folio by folio. The staves drawn in for the carols in Section A all follow a relatively regular pattern. With few exceptions, usually depending on the number of voices needed for each piece, there are seven staves on the verso and between nine and eleven on the recto of each opening. It is entirely possible that these folios were all prepared with bounding lines and staves before copying began. That level of organizational care would certainly imply that this section was set down all at once.

The varying amounts of space between the staves and the number of staves per page of Section B show that they were drawn in according to a plan and not in bulk. Section C continued to use the original bounding lines, but it is clear that more musical material was planned per page as the number of staves increased to range from 8 to 10. The ruling for Packe's *Lumen ad revelationem* of Section D was discussed on page 52 above. The rest of Section D, Packe's 'Te Deum' on folios 95v to 106r, continued to use of the original bounding lines and staves were added as necessary.

At folio 106v Section E continues immediately after Section D. The first piece is the hymn *Salve festa dies* and it follows the bounding lines of the preceding sections. The very next piece, however, begins the trend of ignoring these lines and drawing the staves so that they were closer to the outer edges of the pages. The bounding line that appears at the gutter maintained its usefulness since the book was not yet bound. Just as in Section C, more musical material needed to fit on the pages and more staves appear here than in any other, up to 12.

The bounding lines that appear on the ox-head paper were set down before copying began. They are consistent throughout the folios and the methods of copying onto those folios were dictated by them until folio 107v. Thereafter they were ignored, and new bounding lines were redrawn in order to fit a new copying scheme for the additional music. With the blank store of serpent-watermarked paper, an opportunity to draw fresh bounding lines arose and allowed the scribe(s) to organize the layout of the staves according to this new scheme without restriction.

Composer Ascriptions

Composer ascriptions are present, although sporadic, in all of the sections except Section B and are consistent with the organizational qualities of Ritson as a whole when new interpretations of them are explored, especially for Section A. Section A, established based on the repertoire, was the earliest to be copied. The ascriptions found within are the names of two men: Richard Smert and John Trouluffe. These ascriptions have connected these two men with the Ritson MS, but there is no clear evidence whether they are the composers, poets, or scribes

of Section A.[85] Caldwell suggests Smert may have only been the author of the texts for the carols to which he is credited.[86] The positioning of the ascriptions may show which aspect of the work is credited to either person. Where the name appears next to the text, one could assume the name is placed there to exhibit credit for the text. Also, where the name appears at the very end of the work (the music on the recto) it may indicate that credit is due as the musical composer to the named person there.

Biographical information for both men is found in *Monasticon Diocesis Exoniensis*, a collection of monastic records, and it is cited by both Miller and Harrison. Where Miller mostly focuses on Richard Smert, Harrison states 'A John Treloff was one of the five canons of the prebendal church of St. Probus, which was attached to Exeter Cathedral, during the episcopate of John Bothe, Bishop of Exeter from 1465 to 1478.'[87] The *Grove* article extends Trouluffe's connection to St. Probus on the earlier side of the date range by stating he was made a canon in 1448 by Edmund Lacy, bishop of Exeter from 1420 to 1455.[88] An article by Nicholas Orme gives the most detail about the records surrounding these two individuals, as well as others that appear in the Ritson MS, most notably Thomas Packe and his involvement with the Cathedral.[89]

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[85] Fallows, *Henry V and the Earliest English Carols*, 105.

[86] John Caldwell, *The Oxford History of English Music: Volume I, From the Beginnings to c. 1715* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991): 183, footnote 26.

[87] Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, 421.

[88] David Greer, and N.I. Orme. 2001 'Trouluffe [Truelove, Treloff], John.', *Grove Music Online*, accessed December 1, 2018, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000028472.

[89] Nicholas Orme, 'The Early Musicians of Exeter Cathedral' *Music & Letters* 59 (1978): 395–410.

David Fallows posits a theory that Section A was produced in or just after 1435 when Smert was appointed rector of Plymtree.[90] His assessment of the carol *Pray for us, thou Prince of Peace* against a setting of the Credo ascribed to Binchois in I-TRbc MS 1379 [92] (Trent 92) commonly known as 'Trento 92' is that the Credo uses the musical material of the carol, thus the carol came first.[91] Fallows believes the watermark evidence found on the folios containing the Credo is from the 1430s, so the carol must have at the very least been composed in that decade.[92] He assumes that Trouluffe was a colleague of Smert at that time since the first mention of him is not until 1448. There is no evidence as of yet to determine whether Trouluffe was present at Exeter Cathedral during this earlier period.

There is another option. This section may have been compiled as a means of commemoration. Judging from the language used in the ascriptions, there is a sense of quotation and a tendency toward the past tense. The terms 'Farewell' and 'Wellfare' are used near the names and it may indicate they had died, retired, or moved to another establishment. Since Smert was definitely at Exeter Cathedral from 1449 to 1479 and Trouluffe was a frequent visitor there beginning in 1463 until his death in 1473/4, the implication is that the carols of section A must have been *composed* in the ten years that saw these two in the same place at the same time. The term 'Sayde' could be interpreted as a reminder of the individuals to whom these pieces are to memorialize. If indeed these pieces were composed by Smert and Trouluffe, collecting them and copying them into an anthology upon their deaths in the establishment that had practised

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[90] Fallows, *Henry V and the Earliest English Carols*, 153.

[91] Ibid, 148.

[92] Ibid, 15.

these carols and antiphons, shows that they were valued and worthy of saving even if they were no longer in active use.

Since the records show that both Smert and Trouluffe were deceased by 1479, it could be the case that these pieces were not recorded onto *these* folios until then. This would move the date of the Ritson MS forward by about twenty years as Miller's date range has.

Thomas Packe is the next ascription in the Ritson MS— already discussed above as a heading. That his name is the next to appear in the manuscript is not surprising considering his connection with Exeter Cathedral. He was admitted as a priest of the chantry of Thomas Bitton (former bishop of Exeter Cathedral) in 1489/90 and was responsible for celebrating Mass at the altar in the Lady Chapel. His Masses from Section C were likely used to fulfil that responsibility. Although it cannot be proven, the possibility of his Masses being sung directly from the Ritson MS in service exists.

An array of names surface with the last section: Richard Mower (no information survives), Sir William Hawte (1430–1497), Edmund Sturges (b. 1450), Henry Petyr (1470–after 1516), John Cornysch (f. 1500), John Norman (f. 1509–1545), and Henry VIII (1491–1547). These individuals have no connection to one another or to any specific place, except that Sir William Hawte was first cousin to Elizabeth Woodville, Henry VIII's maternal grandmother.

Part III. An Updated History for the Ritson MS

The information gathered about the watermarks found on the folios of the Ritson MS adds to the knowledge of its physical characteristics. The resulting reconstruction of the booklets has allowed for further contextualization by expanding upon the suggested explanations for its

creation and use, because it is now possible to see not only *how* the sections were brought together, but the relationships between them. The Ritson MS, as it appears today, was not a pre-planned unit (such as a presentation manuscript), and as it has been shown in Part II, the manuscript expanded over time. As each new scribal section was added, the manuscript took on a new role. The following paragraphs will demonstrate the possible uses it might have served, as individual sections and eventually as a whole. The outcome will reveal an updated history for the manuscript and further shed light on the knowledge of music book production in England from the middle of the fifteenth century and the first decade of the sixteenth century.

The connection of the Ritson MS to the composers known to have been employed at or around Exeter Cathedral, and the surrounding place names found in the inserted official records, has been the foundation of its understood provenance in Devon, England. The recorded documents are: **(1)** folio 61r, a receipt written in both Latin and English by John Wylle, clerk, dated October 16, second year of Henry VIII's reign (1511) to Halnathe Aryscot or Arystot, the rector at Langetre [Langtree] for an annual pension of £26. **(2)** folio 69v, a publication of marriage banns for John Ford and Radegunda in the Church of All Saint's in Bychlegh [Bickleigh]. This was addressed to the perpetual vicar of the parish church of Stoke Mylton [South Milton]. It is dated January 1, first year of Henry VIII's reign (1510). **(3)** folio 70r, a power of attorney written in Latin authorizing the agent of John White, the master of the Chapel of St Margaret in the mansion to collect rents, etc. at Court Place in Yest Tylbury [East Tilbury], Essex.[93] Each of these may have been written in a hand from one of the scribes Section E.

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[93] Miller, *A Fifteenth Century Record of English Choir Repertory,* 8–10.

Nicholas Orme's work furthers this knowledge by clearing up issues concerning dates and places. His evidence places Richard Smert in residence as vicar at Exeter Cathedral from 1449–1479. Also, records show that John Trouluffe was a frequent visitor to the Cathedral since at least 1463—there is a recorded gift from Trouluffe to the vicars choral of a silver-gilt cup weighing 37.25 ounces.[94] His generosity was returned with a promise that they would pray one of their Masses every day to him, his parents, and Master John Burnebury (the Cathedral's former canon and treasurer).[95] The fact that the names of Smert and Trouluffe appear together within Section A, and the timeframe for which they were known to have been in the same place (Exeter Cathedral) means their window of opportunity to collaborate was ten years (until Trouluffe's death in 1473/4). It cannot be proved that they were the scribes of the carols and antiphons that make up the first section, and the possibility that this music was collected and preserved in an act of commemoration for the two composers remains valid. After all, Smert was the vicar of the Cathedral for over thirty years, and Trouluffe was, in some respects, a patron of the Cathedral.

The ox head watermarks and bounding lines that appear on the folios from Section A follow through the succeeding sections of B, C, D, and some of E. This indicates that the store of paper was at the same place throughout the copying process for these sections because the individualistic properties of paper production in the late fifteenth century makes it unlikely to have been copied in many places. The cost of production for music manuscripts (and books of any kind for that matter) was high, and to have an entire store of paper would be a sign of an

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[94] Orme, 'The Early Musicians of Exeter Cathedral', 402–403, 410.

[95] Ibid., 403.

establishment that could afford it.[96] Exeter Cathedral certainly fits that description. Cathedrals and parish churches were also centres for clerical record keeping, and the inclusion of the recorded documents into the Ritson MS discussed above follows this tradition.[97]

There is no hard evidence about the copying process for Section B except that it was written on paper from the same source as Section A. There are no ascriptions or decorations that could help with chronology here. The only way it is associated with Section A is coincidental. Sections C and D contain music composed by Thomas Packe. They were begun and continued directly following Section B, which means Section B was definitely copied before Section C. Thomas Packe was active at Exeter Cathedral from 1489–1499 and his Masses may well have been performed as part of his duties as a priest there.[98] Section B therefore, could have been copied at any point before 1499. The chansons that appear in Section B have been described as stylistically Burgundian and from the fifteenth century—the timeframe was narrowed down by David Fallows to sometime between 1430 and 1470.[99]

The second part of Section D, Thomas Packe's 'Te Deum' folios 95v–106r which followed directly after his Masses from Section C, did not completely fill the booklet that

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[96] Boorman et al., 'Sources, MS.'

[97] Magnus Williamson, 'Liturgical Polyphony in the Pre-Reformation English Parish Church: A Provisional List and Commentary' *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 38 (2005): 2–4; Bowers, Roger, 'Obligation, Agency, and Laissez–Faire: The Promotion of Polyphonic Composition for he Church in Fifteenth–Century England', in *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources and Texts* ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981): 1–19; Burgess, Clive and Andrew Wathey. 'Mapping the Soundscape: Church Music in English Towns, 1450–1550' *Early Music History* 19 (2008): 1–46.

[98] Orme, 'The Early Musicians of Exeter Cathedral', 404.

[99] Stevens, *Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court*, 5; Dumitrescu, Theodor, 'An English Adoption of the Burgundian Chanson' in *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Musical Culture: [Learning from Method* eds. Suzannah Clark and Elizabeth Leach (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005): 174–183; Fallows, David, 'English Song Repertories of the Mid-Fifteenth Century' *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 103 (1976–7): 61–79.

continued after Section C (booklet 8, folios 96r–111v). The remaining folios were left blank and the scribes of Section E carried on the end of Packe's piece. There is another piece by Packe, a hymn 'Gaude sancta Magdalena' that appears in booklet 9 (Section E). This is the last indication that the Ritson MS was at Exeter Cathedral.

The folios containing the ox-head watermark and bounding lines shaped the formation of the booklet structures up to folio 121 (the end of booklet 9). Thereafter, the second watermark appears. The two watermarks are not tied to one another within a booklet or across the opening that would occur should the booklets have been brought together. The verso of the last folio with the ox head watermark is a 'Benedicamus Domino; Deo gracias' that only requires one folio. The next folio 122r is another one folio piece 'Salve, festa dies…Qua sponso'. This is the beginning of the serpent-watermarked paper with freely added bounding and ruling lines. As mentioned, this could simply be because the paper source was replaced at Exeter Cathedral, but since there are no specific ties to it from this point on (none of the composers listed were associated there) it could be that the serpent-watermarked booklets potentially existed independently from the preceding booklets and added later along with the pieces of Section E that filled in the empty spaces of the other sections. The story of the Ritson MS from this point on is a mystery until it found its way into the collection of Joseph Ritson.

Quite simply, the Ritson MS was used differently as it expanded. The carols were copied between 1463 and 1473/4 and performed during Christmastide at or around Exeter Cathedral as suggested by their headings. The chansons were copied onto paper that originated at the Cathedral though nothing can be said of their performance. Packe's Masses were performed at the altar of the Lady Chapel at Exeter Cathedral, the location in which Packe was employed

from 1489 to 1499. It is at this point where the Ritson MS was beginning to take shape, since Section A had been used independently from the rest. The scribe, perhaps Packe himself, added Section D to the end of the Masses as well as filled in the blank folios in Section B. Section E, the miscellaneous collection of sacred and secular songs, was then added by a number of other scribes sometime later.[100]

The physical characteristics of manuscripts offer can offer a great deal of information that can be contextualized by researchers. The addition of new information and a fresh perspective allows us to rethink what we know about individual objects. What does this new perspective of the Ritson MS mean for music manuscript production in England at the turn of the sixteenth century? It means that Exeter Cathedral was definitively a hotspot of musical activity in South West England at this time and shines a light on a non-court-centred establishment. It also invites researchers to re-examine similar manuscripts such as GB-Lbl Egerton 3307 and GB-Ob Selden B.26 to compare structural organizational procedures. The data collected by simply revisiting a manuscript and taking an inventory of watermarks has allowed me to recreate the booklet structures of a manuscript that had been largely overlooked because it was thought that no more information could come from it. It is exciting to think about what would happen if more manuscripts (from all places and periods) were revisited this way.

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[100] Miller, *A Fifteenth Century Record of English Choir Repertory,* 2.

CHAPTER THREE: THE WHARTON PARTBOOKS

Case Study #2: GB-Cjc MS 234 (K.31), GB-Cu Dd.13.27

 Partbooks are a method of book production unique to music books. In no other context would the practice of dividing the 'parts' of a full work into individual books be considered practical. Within each partbook is a single part that, when sung or played in time with the corresponding individual parts, produces the intended musical work in full. Partbooks have been in use since the early fifteenth century, becoming more and more popular at the beginning of the sixteenth. The Shrewsbury fragment (GB-SHRs MS VI), a triplex partbook from c1430, is the oldest example known to us and most likely the lone survivor of a set of three.[101] The 'Sagan partbooks', formerly known as the 'Glogauer Liederbuch' (PL-Kj Berlin MS Mus. 40098), held in the Biblioteka Jagiellonska, Kraków, Poland from c1480 is a *set* of three paper partbooks and is an example of the earliest complete set of partbooks to survive.[102] Just as with choirbooks, partbooks from this period survive in varying shapes and sizes depending on the needs of those who commissioned or used them. One of the smallest is CH-Bu MS F.X.21, which stands at 74mm by 104mm, compared to one of the largest, I-Rv S1 35, coming in at 280mm by 215mm. Like all books, the cost of producing partbooks depended on many factors, mainly the quality and amounts of materials used, and the level of artistic embellishment required by the patron(s).

 The two manuscripts included in this case study are the only surviving pair of partbooks from an original set of five or possibly six: GB-Cjc MS 234 (K.31) and GB-Cu Dd.13.27. The former is the bassus part currently held at the library at St John's College, Cambridge, and the

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[101] John Morehen and Richard Rastall, 'Partbook.', *Grove Music Online*, accessed November 1, 2018, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/20966

[102] Morehen and Rastall, 'Partbook.'; Paweł Gancarczyk, 'Abbot Martin Rinkenberg and the origins of the "Glogauer Liederbuch"', *Early Music* 37 (2009): 27–36.

latter, the contratenor, at Cambridge University Library. Although the books have been catalogued and briefly referenced in composer biographies, they have never been the subjects of detailed study.[103] This chapter will then serve a dual purpose: (1) to outline and discuss the historical context of partbooks from this period, the contents, composers, organization and physical elements, including the properties of construction such as stave rulings, page layout, musical script, text scripts, decoration, concordances, and ownership history for the manuscripts; (2) to explore the possible uses of the partbooks, as the physical characteristics observed within both afford them a rich variety.

Part I: Context and Elements

Historical Context.

In order to place these partbooks into context, a brief assessment must be made of the manuscript partbooks that appear from the early Tudor period. Consideration is required of the number of partbooks that survive, the musicians, artists, and patrons (as far as can be ascertained) that created them, and an understanding of where (city/institution) and when they were made. An essential question to keep in mind is how the printing industry affected partbook production and use, and where it had the most (or least) impact at this time.

Within the timeframe of this study (c1480–1530) and excluding fragmentary cases, there are close to ninety known examples of manuscript partbooks.[104] The two regions from which the majority of the surviving materials come are Germany and Italy, with Switzerland receiving an honourable mention. Two-thirds of them are within partial or complete sets, with the

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[103]http://www.joh.cam.ac.uk/library/special_collections/manuscripts/medieval_manuscripts/medman/K_31.htm; http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-DD-00013-00027/1.

[104] These statistics are taken from DIAMM.

remaining third making up those that are the lone part to survive.[105] About one quarter of these are for an intended four-voice texture. The sets with five, six, seven, and even eight voice-parts appear at the later end of the time range. Half of them have a documented or supposed dedicatee, patron, owner, and/or user (for use in a school, etc.); the others are left without any such indication as of yet. These specific indications are useful because they place the manuscript at a particular place and time, and the risk of misinterpretation is reduced significantly. Where the owners are supposed, historians rely on contextual evidence to build a profile for the manuscript through intensive study. These owners are unsurprisingly usually from the upper classes or were connected to institutions that needed notated music for their choirs, including teachers who used these books to instruct their pupils.

The German lot is dominated by those that have survived from the court of Count Philip of Hesse. His court composer was Johannes Heugel (c1500/10–c1585), and it is his compositions (mostly motets) that are the most numerous. The Wittenberg group is another major contributor to the output of German partbooks. Outside the court, the usual suspects of international compositional prominence appear in partbooks belonging to institutions such as parish churches and schools, though many of them are not given an ascription: Clemens non Papa, Pierre de la Rue, Josquin des Prez, Alexander Agricola, Jacques Arcadelt, Jacob Obrecht, Antoine Brumel, Thomas Stolzer, and Costanzo Festa. The organization of the repertoire in the German partbooks appear as books of strictly motets, Masses, and Magnificats for example (D-Kl 4° Ms. Mus. 142/1-3), (PL-Kj Berlin MS Mus. 40634), (D-Kl 4° Ms. Mus. 9/1-5) respectively, as well as a mix of sacred and secular music such as in D-Z MS 73 and D-Z MS 81,2.

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[105] These statistics are taken from DIAMM.

Of the partbooks coming out of Italy, those with a known patron/owner are from the nobility and upper classes. The Medici and Strozzi families owned some, as well as a diplomat from Florence called Roberto di Antonio Pucci (d. 1547). There is also a set of partbooks – the so-called 'Newberry partbooks' (today US-Cn Case MS VM1578.M91) – that was presented to King Henry VIII as a gift from the city of Florence, as an example of the music book gift exchanges between royal households and important cities dominated by wealthy merchant families who no doubt craved compliments and endorsements from those royal households. In this case, there are political references in to the League of Cognac, which included Francis I of France, Henry VIII of England, and the cities of Venice and Florence (the latter was in an alliance with Pope Clement VII—born Giulio de' Medici). These references can be seen directly in the choices of repertoire.[106] Just as the partbooks from Germany present the leading composers from the Continent of the day, so too do these composers appear in the Italian partbooks.

Just as with choirbooks, the primary purpose for partbooks is unique to each set and there are conflicting suggestions as to any generalized theory of use. Boorman states that 'By definition, such sets of books are likely to be intended for performers, for they are of little use to scholars or students and are seldom lavish enough to be seen as presentation MSS.'[107] John Morehen and Richard Rastall have a different opinion altogether, stating that 'Many sets of partbooks survive in such excellent condition that it seems unlikely that they were ever used in performance […] it is possible that sets of partbooks were master copies preserving a repertory

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[106] Theodor Dumitrescu, *The Early Tudor Court and International Musical Relations* (New York: Ashgate Publishing, 2007), 148-149.

[107] Boorman et al., 'Sources, MS.'

of which only a fraction was performed, and that from memory.'[108] There are a number of sets

of partbooks made as presentation manuscripts as well, such as the abovementioned Newberry

partbooks and also, I-Rvat MS Pal. Lat.1976–9, the highly decorative set produced at the

legendary Alamire workshop in Brussels/Mechlin for Anne of Hungary and Bohemia (1503–

1547) and her husband King Ferdinand I (1503–1564). They were made as a gift or presentation

source to the couple.[109]

Ottaviano Petrucci began printing partbooks in 1502 with the release of his *Misse

Josquin*.[110] He followed this publication with *Motetti C* in 1504 and continued to print music in

Venice until his privilege ran out in 1509. His technique and format became the standard for

printing partbooks, and even influenced the orientation of manuscript partbooks.[111] Petrucci's

example of multiple-impression printing as well as using oblong format was imitated by other

printers: Erhard Oeglin in Augsburg and Gregor Mewes in Basel in the first decade of the

sixteenth century, followed by Peter Schoeffer in the 1520s and 1530s. In Avignon, Jean de

Channey also used Petrucci's technique, while in Paris, Pierre Attaingnant's innovative

technique of printing music with a single impression allowed him to speedily print partbooks of

chansons.[112] Kate Van Orden discusses the benefits of printing partbooks in the manner Petrucci

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[108] Morehen and Rastall, 'Partbooks.'

[109] https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/bav_pal_lat_1976/0006/scroll;
https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/1490/#/inventory

[110] Stanley Boorman, 'Petrucci, Ottaviano.', *Grove Music Online,* September 19, 2018.
http:////www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000021484.

[111] Julie E. Cumming, 'Petrucci's Publics for the First Motet Prints' in *Making Publics in Early Modern Europe:
People, Things, Forms of Knowledge* eds. Bronwen Wilson, Paul Yachnin (New York: Routledge, 2010),
107.

[112] Sanna Raninen, 'The Early History of Printed Folio Choirbooks: Production and Layout', in *The Production
and Reading of Music Sources. Mise En-Page in Manuscripts and Printed Books Containing Polyphonic
Music, 1480-1530*, ed. Thomas Schmidt and Christian Thomas Leitmeir (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018): 117–149,
at 137.

established, '…partbooks were regularly printed in "oblong" formats (an orientation known today as "landscape"), which made for longer staves and easier reading. The broad floppy pages and short spines also allowed the books to lie open more easily.'[113] The sets of partbooks that survive from England around mid-century, although in manuscript, are also in oblong format.

Of the partbooks from the 1520s in England that can be studied (GB-Lbl Add. MS 34191; GB-Lbl Harley 1709; GB-Cjc MS 234 (K.31); GB-Cu Dd.13.27), all are in upright format. It would seem as though trends in music book production on the Continent were slow in coming to England at the turn of the sixteenth century or there are so few that survive (for example, the Ludford masses from c1525 GB-Lbl Royal Appendix 45–48) from the early years of the sixteenth century to indicate any kind drastic change to the oblong format. John and William Rastall were the first printers in London to experiment with single impression musical type in the 1520s, but the only examples that remain of their output is on broadsides (on a single sheet), not book format.[114] Additionally, there is only fragmentary evidence of printed partbooks from 1530, that of a triplex partbook of *XX Songes* printed in London.[115]

The gap of information pertaining to partbooks has been narrowing as the work of cataloguing is made more efficient with regularly updated databases and as individual manuscripts are studied in more detail. In particular, the Tudor Partbooks Project, a collaboration between the university of Oxford and Newcastle, has been spearheading the effort

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[113] Kate Van Orden, *Materialities: Books, Readers, and the Chanson in Sixteenth-century Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 11.

[114] Jeremy Smith, 'Print Culture and the Elizabethan Composer' *Fontes Artis Musicae* 48 (2001): 160; John Milsom, 'Rastell, John.', *Grove Music Online,* November 1, 2018. http:////www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000022921.

[115] Stanley Boorman, Eleanor Selfridge-Field, and Donald W. Krummel, 'Printing and publishing of music.', *Grove Music Online*, September 19, 2018. http:////www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000040101.

to study the English examples.[116] Such is the case with the Wharton partbooks. They are now receiving attention and can be evaluated and discussed with the hope of advancing the understanding of what partbooks could represent to a patron or owner. Indeed, after these partbooks were constructed, the next generation of partbooks in England were setting a standard for production and use that tried to follow closely the small oblong format of Continental models.

Contents of MSS.

GB-Cjc MS 234 (K.31) and GB-Cu Dd.13.27 are carefully illuminated partbooks contain the voice-parts, bassus and contratenor respectively, for seventeen individual musical works by composers from the early Tudor period. Each piece is accompanied with a heading and an ascription in both of the partbooks.

Table 2: Contents of GB-Cjc MS 234 (K.31) and GB-Cu Dd.13.27.

#	Heading	Genre	Composer Ascription
1	Ave Dei Patris	Motet	Robert Fayrfax
2	Laudavimus	Motet	Robert Fayrfax
3	O Bone Ihesu	Motet	Stephen Prowett
4	O domine celi et terre	Motet	Richard Davy
5	Stabat Mater	Motet	Richard Davy
6	Eterne Laudis	Motet	Robert Fayrfax
7	Te matrem	Motet	Hugh Ashton
8	Plaude potentissima	Motet	Stephen Prowett
9	Ave dei Patris	Motet	John Taverner

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[116] http://www.tudorpartbooks.ac.uk/aboutourproject/

10	Ave fuit salus	Motet	Lovell
11	Gaude plurimum	Motet	John Taverner
12	Missa de Regali Ex Progenie	Mass	Robert Fayrfax
13	Missa De O bone Jesu	Mass	Robert Fayrfax
14	Te Deum Messe	Mass	Hugh Ashton
15	Cristus Resurgens	Mass	William Pasche
16	God Save Kyng Herry	Mass	Thomas Ashwell
17	Magnificat	Magnificat	Robert Fayrfax

The books are written in the same style and the contents are organized in identical order to suggest they were planned as whole units, produced from start to finish at one time and by the same team of craftsmen. The manuscripts were acquired by different libraries at different times, proving the two, and possibly the rest of the set, were separated from one another at some point after completion.

Nothing is known about the other partbooks from this set—including the actual number of voices that have been lost. The concordances for many of the pieces in the books are for five voices, but there remains a possibility for a sixth voice for the pieces that have no known concordances, especially since it will remain impossible to determine the texture with only two available voices. There are concordant sources in which six-voice compositions do appear, but none of these sources transmit any of the repertoire presented in the Wharton partbooks in six voices.[117]

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[117] GB-Ob MS. Tenbury 1464; GB-Och Mus. 979-83 (Baldwin Partbooks)

Composers

The composers represented in this set of partbooks range from the most famous to the humbly obscure from the early Tudor period. Robert Fayrfax (1464–1521) is by far the most celebrated and has been described as 'one of the important links between Dunstable and the later Tudor composers.'[118] His career in the Royal Household Chapel skyrocketed with the accession of King Henry VIII in 1509, and his annual gifts to the king on New Year's Day (mostly songbooks) from 1516–20 were rewarded generously.[119] His six contributions to this repertoire outnumber any of the other composers represented.

The compositional abilities of John Taverner (c1490–1545) were also recognized by wealthy and well-connected individuals. In 1525 he was invited to be the first instructor of the choristers of the choir at the newly constructed Cardinal College in Oxford, founded by Cardinal Wolsey (Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor).[120] Initially he declined, but then changed his mind and moved to Oxford in 1526.[121] Wolsey's fall from the King's favour in 1530 prompted Taverner's departure from Oxford and return to Lincolnshire, settling in Boston.[122] There he became instructor to the choir at St Botolph, but as the establishment was soon unable to maintain his salary, he essentially retired from composing altogether in 1537.[123] The two motets found in these partbooks are the most widely distributed of Taverner's work, both of which are from the earliest known years of his compositional career at Tattershall College.

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[118] Edwin B Warren, 'Life and Works of Fayrfax', *Musica Disciplina* 11 (1957): 134.

[119] Nicholas Sandon, 'Fayrfax, Robert.', *Grove Music Online,* Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press, accessed November 22, 2017, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/09392.

[120] Roger Bowers et al., 'Taverner, John.', Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press, accessed November 22, 2017, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/27571.

[121] Ibid.

[122] Ibid.

[123] Ibid.

Hugh Ashton (c1485–1558) held the post of *magister choristarum* and keeper of the organs at the prestigious St Mary Newarke Hospital and College in Leicester from 1525 until it was dissolved in 1548.[124] He was also invited to fill the new position at Cardinal College in Oxford, but either turned it down or was thwarted by John Taverner's reconsideration and eventual acceptance of the role.[125] The two pieces here may have been submitted for his doctoral degree in 1510.[126]

Information about Stephen Prowett is sparse. Roger Bowers's suggestion that he can be identified as the priest 'dominus Stephanus Prowett' of Norwich, whose name 'occurs in the accounts of the churchwardens of St Mary's, Bungay, Suffolk, in 1526', is generally accepted as accurate.[127] Additionally, there is a reference of his receiving payment from the Norwich Company of Grocers for a ballet he composed for the annually held Corpus Christi pageant in 1534. He was a stipendiary priest of St Peter Mancroft in 1547 and became the rector of the parish church in 1556. The dates then for Stephen Prowett are c1495–1560. The two motets provided in these partbooks are all that remain from the composer.

Nothing is known about the early life of Richard Davy (c1465–1538) until he became a scholar of Magdalen College, Oxford from about 1483.[128] He then shared the posts of organist and *informator choristarum* in 1490–91 but took full possession of both posts the next year. He

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[124] John Bergsagel. 'Aston, Hugh', *Grove Music Online,* accessed November 22, 2017, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/01445.

[125] Ibid.

[126] Ibid.

[127] Roger Bowers. 'Prowett, Stephen', *Grove Music Online,* accessed November 22, 2017, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/22449.

[128] David Skinner. 'Davy, Richard', *Grove Music Online,* accessed November 22, 2017, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/07318.

left the choir in 1494 to pursue opportunities in Exeter and later at Fotheringhay College. Davy's two motets are dated to the years before 1502 because both also appear in the Eton Choirbook.[129]

Another composer with an unknown early life is William Pasche (fl c1513–1537). He first appears in the records in 1513 after his admission to the Fraternity of St Nicholas.[130] In 1514/15 he received payment for 'oversyght of ye orgens' at the parish of Kingston-upon-Thames.[131] This payment was supplemented in 1536/7, apparently for his continued upkeep of the instrument.[132] Pasche was then a lay vicar of the choir at St Paul's Cathedral, London from c1519–1526.[133] This may explain the artistic choice of the limner for the decorated first initial that begins the Pasche's Mass; a human head (perhaps a likeness of the composer) wearing a zucchetto, or skullcap worn beneath another ceremonial hat during liturgical services. The record from 1536/7 is the last to mention the composer. The Mass held in these partbooks also appears in the Caius Choirbook, dated from 1525–1530.[134]

Thomas Ashwell (c1478–c1513) began his professional career as a steward of Tattershall College, Lincolnshire, between 1502–1503.[135] While there is no proof, there is a suspected connection between Ashwell and Taverner where the two may have had a teacher–pupil relationship. Taverner is supposed to have been a chorister at Tattershall at this time. By 1508 Ashwell was employed at Lincoln Cathedral as *informator choristarum* and in 1513 he

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[129] GB-WRec MS 178 (Eton Choirbook)

[130] Roger Bowers. 'Pasche, William', *Grove Music Online,* accessed November 22, 2017, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/20996.

[131] Ibid.

[132] Ibid.

[133] Ibid.

[134] GB-Cgc MS 667/760 (Caius Choirbook)

[135] Jonathan Bergsagel. 'Ashwell, Thomas', *Grove Music Online* accessed July 4, 2019, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000001411.

was cantor at Durham Cathedral. That is the last of the remaining evidence of Thomas Ashwell. His Mass '*God save Kyng herry*' only survives in the present partbooks.

The last composer is called Lovell. Nothing is known of this person at all except the motet '*Ave fuit salus*' that appears only within these partbooks.

The majority of these composers were connected to major institutions in England at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Some found success with their contracts with major cathedrals: Lincoln, St Paul's, Exeter, and Durham. Others found positions at wealthy colleges: Eton, Fotheringhay, Leicester, Cardinal College, and Tattershall College. Robert Fayrfax is the only one to have a deep and secure connection to the courts of both Henry VII and Henry VIII. Identifying the interconnectedness of these composers and the institutions in which they worked allows for a deeper understanding of how books of music (and their contents) circulated in Britain at the beginning of the sixteenth century, specifically, the actual longevity of the repertoire and the interest in the preservation of works by composers from the previous generation. This interconnectedness will be discussed in the last section of this chapter, where the cultural aspects of book production, presentation, and preservation are contextualized and a definitive account for creation of these manuscripts will be discussed.

Structure

Both of these partbooks are outliers on the size range for partbooks from this period and are laid out in standard upright format rather than oblong format, which is unusual for partbooks from this period.[136] The contratenor partbook measures at an unprecedented 321mm tall and 245mm wide, making it the largest partbook to survive from the period, not only in England, but on the Continent as well. The collation consists of four gatherings of parchment: the first

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[136] Schmidt, 'Making Polyphonic Books', 54–56.

three are quarternios, the last is a quinternio. There are two blank paper flyleaves at the beginning, four at the division of quarternios two and three, and two at the end. The University of Cambridge Library catalogue states there are four flyleaves at the end. Also, the catalogue mentions a staining that appears on the last two flyleaves, but the final two flyleaves are virtually spotless. A plausible explanation is that the stained flyleaves were removed after the reference entry was finished (date unknown) and the record was never updated to reflect the change in collation. It should be made clear that there are in fact only two paper flyleaves at the end of the contratenor partbook. It is unlikely that the four flyleaves between quarternios two and three were part of the original structure, but there appears no obvious reason for their presence.

The bassus partbook is similarly large in size at 320mm tall and 233mm wide. It is still bound in its original thick parchment wrapper and is held together with four leather hooks. It comprises four quarternios, with two parchment flyleaves sewn in at the start of the manuscript and one parchment flyleaf at the end, sewn in by a stub. The flyleaves are account rolls for manorial records that, according to the catalogue written by M. R. James in 1913, relate to Benacre in Suffolk.[137]

Both partbooks are organized into two major sections. The first is contained within the first two quarternios and is dedicated to the ten motets plus the Stabat Mater. The second section begins with the third quarternio and holds the five Masses and the appended Magnificat.

Bounding Lines and Stave Ruling

Both partbooks have faint bounding lines drawn in pencil; some are more visible than others. These bounding lines are even and uniform in distance from the edges of each page,

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[137] James, M. R. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of St John's College,* Cambridge, (Cambridge, 1913), 273-4; Middleton-Stewart, Judith. *Inward Purity and Outward Splendour: Death and Remembrance in the Deanery of Dunwich, Suffolk, 1370-1547* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2001), 174.

which allowed the scribe to ensure uniform stave lines on each page and a guide for trimming. The staves were drawn with a five-pronged rastrum, an unusual characteristic in England during this period where normally staves in this period are ruled in individual lines.[138] In fact, these two manuscripts are the only surviving examples in England from this period which display the use of a rastrum to produce staves in a music book. The consistent gauge (the space between each line of the stave) and initiation points for each stave prove they were drawn with a rastrum and not freehand or ruled line by line (Figure 3.1).[139] Furthermore, this same rastrum was used in both partbooks. A careful examination reveals the identical initiation points, gauge, the heavier top and bottom lines, and the slightly indented first two lines found in both partbooks (Figure 3.2).

Page Layout

As well as being ruled in identical fashion, both partbooks are identical in page layout. The consistency with which each page is presented makes these books even more aesthetically pleasing to view. There are nine five-line staves per page in both, the only exceptions being the added partial tenth stave at the very end of the last piece, Fayrfax's 'Magnificat', in the contratenor partbook; and the added partial stave at the bottom of folio 20v in the middle of the 'Amen' of the Gloria of Fayrfax's *Missa O bone Jesu* in the bassus partbook. While the former was clearly added due to a lack of space, the latter was not—it was added hastily by the scribe for corrective purposes, as a result of an eyeskip where the scribe originally left out five semibreves' worth of music, which was then added with clear signs of direction (Figure 3.3).

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[138] Schmidt, 'Making Polyphonic Books', 12–15.

[139] Stanley Boorman. 'Rastrology.', *Grove Music Online,* November 22, 2017, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000042532.

The first piece that appears in both partbooks is Fayrfax's motet 'Ave Dei Patris' and it begins at the top of the recto of their respective first pages (1r). As a rule, the following piece begins on the next stave down wherever the previous piece finishes on the page. An ascription accompanies each piece or Mass setting, and if the composer's name does not fit on the last stave of the music, it is allotted the entire next stave instead (Figure 3.4). There are few exceptions to this rule found only in the bassus partbook (Figure 3.5 (a–c); none are present in the contratenor partbook. Two blank staves appear at the conclusion of Stephen Prowett's 'O Bone Jesu' on folio 4r which finishes the page; there is a blank stave at the end of Lovell's 'Maria dum Salutaris ab angelo' on folio 13r again, finishes the page; and the last motet in the first section Taverner's 'Gaude Plurimum' only takes up the first three staves on folio 14v; the remaining six staves are blank.

These three exceptions notwithstanding, this system makes for efficient use of the entire page, leaving less space wasted as the amount of space needed for each piece is different for each voice. The fact remains however, that along with the sporadic blank staves, the bassus partbook has one ruled but unused page followed by three completely blank pages to finish the second quarternio. Additionally, the last page of the fourth quarternio was ruled but left unused. It could be an indication that the scribe wanted to keep the gatherings a consistent number of bifolia for not just these two books, but for all of the other parts as well or that it was it a mistake in spatial calculation. The quarternios may have been already sewn together before copying began.

Since the pieces in these partbooks generally run one immediately after another, the only places where space was left at the start of a line of staves for a decorative initial is at the beginning of the two sections (1r—the beginning of the first quarternio, and 17r—the start of

the third). In these two partbooks, the ten motets are all copied within the first two quarternios, and both third gatherings begin, again at the top of the first recto, with the first of the five consecutive settings of the Mass. In other English partbook sets from slightly after this period, such as the Peterhouse Partbooks (c.1539–41), the pieces run continuously through all of the surviving parts and are not organized by genre. The same is true for the pieces in the Forrest-Heyther Partbooks (c.1525–30)—all of the pieces run continuously throughout their respective books although all eighteen are exclusively Mass settings, as do the twenty-six motets in the lone surviving medius partbook GB-Lbl Harley 1709.[140]

It is regrettable that the other voices of our set have been lost, as it would have been advantageous to observe whether all of them followed the same pattern of quarternio organization—the motets confined to the first two, and the Mass settings beginning on the third continuing through until the end. The pattern may well have implied a deliberate choice of beginning the sections with a fresh quarternio for specific reasons such as deciding how many and/or which motets to include with the Mass settings. Unlikely as it seems, considering the consistency of the artistic execution between the two sections, it is entirely possible that they were originally supposed to be two separate collections that were brought together instead.

Musical script/Notation

The notation used for both partbooks is black void and it uses mensural proportional dots and coloration. The note heads are written in a diamond shape with an empty centre unless the note value is diminished—then it is filled in. Ligatures are also used by the scribe. These

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[140] GB-Cp MS 32 [Bassus] (Peterhouse Partbooks: Henrician Set); GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. E. 379 (Forrest-Heyther Partbooks); GB-Lbl Harley 1709.

ligatures were generally used to indicate same-syllable slurs for pairs of semibreves.[141] For example, Fayrfax's *Ave Dei Patris* (Figure 3.6a), the first piece in the partbooks, also appears in the Carver Choirbook (GB-En MS Adv. 5.1.15) (Figure 3.6b) where ligatures are rarely used. In the passages that contain ligatures within the partbooks, here the phrase 'Ancilla mitissima' is notated with separated note heads that are equal in length.[142]

The scribe chose to use a symbol to distinguish a shift in mensural notation instead of changing the colour of the ink on the page, a common practice in choirbooks from this period. The symbol is a numerical three with two dots (one on either side) (Figures 3.7a–b).

Text Scripts and Scribal Hand(s)

There are two types of script that appear within the two manuscripts. The first is a somewhat less formal (but still very regular and well-formed) English secretary hand used for the underlay of the text for each piece.[143] The second is a formal *textualis* used for most of the rubrics (headings and ascriptions) accompanying each piece. All of the scribal characteristics for the bookhand script are consistent throughout both partbooks, but the rubricated headings and ascriptions go through a transition at precise points in the copying process. This transition indicates the scribe of both scripts is the same person. While the point at which the transition occurs can be identified, the reasons why can only be speculated. One of the factors is the apparent change in the red ink used for the rubrics. Another is the locations at which they appear

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[141] Peter Wright, 'Ligature (i).', *Grove Music Online,* accessed November 22, 2017. http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000016639. Example 7.

[142] GB-En MS Adv. 5.1.15

[143] The palaeographical terminology for this section is taken from Albert Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books: From the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), xx-xxi.

in the manuscripts. The reputation of the composers themselves may have had an impact on the decision to use either script.

The transitions of the script for the rubrics from textualis to secretary occur on folio 12r of the bassus partbook and on 15r in the contratenor partbook. The transition in the bassus is indicated in two ways. The first indication deals with the headings, the second with ascriptions. The heading of the motet 'Ave fuit Salus' which is written in the same script as the underlaid text is most clearly evident by the capital 'A'. The 'A' in the heading 'Ave fuit Salus' and the 'A' in the text of the first word (M) 'A'ria are identical (Figure 3.8). The heading for the following piece 'Gaude plurimum' continues in secretary hand, which concludes the section of motets.

More importantly, the second indication is the transition that occurs with the two ascriptions to John Taverner with close attention given to the irregular final 'r' of Taverner— the first ascription is at the end of 'Ave dei Patris' on folio 12r (Figure 3.8) and the other after 'Gaude plurimum' on folio 14v (Figure 3.9). This irregular 'r' has an elongated initial downstroke that dips below the baseline (the main writing line) continuing with a flourished upstroke that slightly retraces the downstroke, curving marginally out to the right and then back to the left extending above the headline, finishing with a downward flourish above the original starting point. With the exception of the final 'r' of Taverner, the ascription on 12r (bassus) is in the same style, textualis, and possesses the same scribal characteristics as the previous headings and ascriptions. The ascription to Taverner on 14v (bassus) possesses the same scribal characteristics as those found in the text underlay (secretary hand). The irregular 'r' at the end of 'Taverner' is the common factor that proves the two ascriptions and indeed the two scripts are, in fact, written by the same scribe.

The transition in the contratenor partbook is more abrupt. Firstly, the heading that should appear for 'Ave fuit Salus' was never inserted. The heading for the next piece 'Gaude plurimum' is written in secretary hand identical to the heading in the bassus partbook. The ascription to Taverner after 'Ave dei patris' does not undergo an internal transition like the one found on 12r (bassus) (Figure 3.10). It maintains the formal script throughout with identical 'r's for both that appear in the composer's surname. The second ascription to Taverner, however, is similar to the second one found in the bassus partbook (Figure 3.11). It is written in secretary hand with the irregular 'r', but without the abbreviated medial position.

The four ascriptions to Taverner discussed above are all different when they are observed individually, but when viewed next to one another the scribal style and characteristics shared between them reveal they were all put down into these partbooks by the same hand. The red colouring of the ink for the heading and the ascription is different on folio 12r as well as 14v in the bassus partbook. The possible reasons for the change in red coloration at this particular point in the copying process may suggest the scribe simply had to replace his inkwell every so often as different shades of red occur for the heading and ascriptions throughout both sections (motets and masses) of both partbooks.

Another change occurs in the second section (masses) for both partbooks. A complete shift from textualis to secretary hand occurs after the second of Fayrfax's Masses, 'Missa O Bone Jesu' found on folio 23r in the bassus partbook and on 27r in the contratenor partbook. The headings and ascriptions for the first two Masses were put down in textualis, and the remaining three Masses have headings and ascriptions that are executed in secretary hand. There is no obvious reason for this shift since the consistency of every other aspect of the partbooks

continues until the end, yet the scribe decided to forego the use of textualis for the headings and ascriptions after the two masses by Fayrfax, using his secretary script instead.

All of the ascriptions to Fayrfax in both sections are put down in textualis, and it could be the case that because Fayrfax was well known and held the respected title of 'Doctor' that he would be celebrated with the more formal textualis script for his pieces. Stephan Prowett, a priest whose ascriptions include the title 'Dominus', was also put down in textualis. Richard Davy had no such titles but was a part of the previous generation of composers, such as Fayrfax, and therefore may have been held in high esteem by the scribe, enough to earn the formal textualis script for his ascriptions. The two ascriptions to Hugh Ashton on the other hand appear in both textualis (motet section) and secretary hand (Mass section), and the ascriptions for William Pasche, Lovell, and Thomas Ashwell are written only in secretary hand.

The proof that the same scribe was responsible for the two scripts that appear throughout the partbooks becomes clear when the ascriptions to Taverner are observed in detail. The plausible explanations for the departure from textualis and transition to secretary hand for the headings and ascriptions may be dependent on the reputation of the composers, or it may simply be that the scribe made a decision for unknowable reasons to do so—a familiar frustration for researchers of early manuscript production.

Copying order

The copying order is the same for both partbooks and follows the normal order or strategy for copying and illuminating music books from this period.[144] The level of care with which the copying process took place shows the progression from one step to the next. The

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[144] Boorman et al., 'Sources, MS.'; Schmidt, 'Making Polyphonic Books', 14–15.

evidence for this section is based on observation of the original sources and provides even more proof that these partbooks were created by the same artist(s).

After the gatherings were negotiated, the first things to be drawn were the bounding lines. Next came the staves drawn with the five-pronged rastrum described above. The spaces left for the first initials at the top of folios 1r (section of ten motets) and 17r (section of five Mass settings) were negotiated before the rastrum touched the parchment. The next step in the order of copying was the music. Each line was carefully planned in advance to ensure the notation would be as clear as possible. All cues, such as the indications of time, clef, key signature, original accidentals, rests, and custodes were copied at the same time as the music. This is indicated by the steadiness of the copying hand and the negotiation of space on each stave.

The next step was copying the text. The text for each piece was carefully placed under the notes to which they were to be sung. Syllabic and melismatic passages are easily distinguishable. One point to consider here, however, is that it cannot be said with absolute certainty that an entire stage of copying was finished for the whole book (or quarternio/quinternio) before the next began. Each piece could have been written (music, text, and rubrics) and then the next piece put down from start to finish after that. In either case, the next step was placing the headings at the top of the folios where the piece begins and the composer ascriptions at the end in red ink. It has been observed that the headings for the pieces on the later folios in both sections were inserted with the secretary script, possibly all at the same time.

For most illuminated manuscripts, the copying of music and text were completed and then the gatherings were sent to a person that specialized in illumination, known as a limner.

The next stage consisted of drawing in the initials at the beginning of all of the pieces in the allocated blank spaces left. Although blank space was not negotiated on the folios during the step in which the staves were drawn, other than for the first piece for each section (the first and third quarternios) space *was* allocated during the music and text copying phase. The first letter of the line was elaborately drawn over the existing stave lines and was then painted in gold leaf. In addition to the letter itself, the space around it was decorated with some form of embellishment in ink; some are pen-flourished initials (Figure 3.12a and 3.12b), and others are grotesques of human heads and animals.

The very first piece in both partbooks has extra illumination in both the top and centre margins in the form of daisies and other heart-shaped flowers that stretch down to the fourth and fifth staves of the partbooks (the contratenor and bassus respectively) and to the heading at the center of the top of the page. In both, the initial 'A' is of course painted with gold leaf as well as the centres of the daisies.

The final stage of the production process for the partbooks was binding. Once the gatherings were illuminated, they were stacked in order and sewn to the flyleaves. These flyleaves functioned as the preliminary wrapper for the gatherings and were also protected by the vellum cover to which they were attached by four leather hooks at the spine. (Figures 3.15a and 3.15b). The front cover extends beyond the edge of the manuscript and is capable of folding over to act as a 'fore-edge' flap.[145] This vellum cover was also decorated, though it cannot be determined if it was done so before or after it was attached to the flyleaves and gatherings.

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[145] Alexandra Gillespie, 'Bookbinding' in *The Production of Books in England: 1350–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 166.

From start to finish these partbooks were methodically crafted and show a consistency and care in construction that can be found in other sources in England from this period. The Ritson manuscript, for example, also shows the practice of pre-ruling the page with space negotiated for initials but that were drawn over the staff lines as the music was copied. The lavishly decorated choirbooks from Gonville and Caius (GB-Cgc MS 667/760) and Lambeth Palace (GB-Llp MS 1) display similar illuminated marginalia of colourful flowers with centres painted with gold leaf, and the medius partbook (GB-Lbl Harley 1709) displays headings for each piece.

Concordances

The repertoire contained within the Wharton partbooks can be found in other sources in England from the beginning to the end of the sixteenth century. There are four sources that appear from the 1520s and are contemporaries of the partbooks: the two choirbooks mentioned above, GB-Llp MS 1 and GB-Cgc MS 667/760; a lone partbook, (GB-Lbl Harley 1709) and a set of partbooks (GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. e. 376-81) known as the 'Forrest-Heyther Partbooks'. The rest are choirbooks from the earliest years of the century, sets of partbooks mostly from the 1560s-1580s, a commonplace book, and a tablebook. They are presented below in chronological order. There are two versions of the motet *Ave Dei Patris*, one by Fayrfax and one by Taverner. They are differentiated with the composer's name in parentheses in the column marked 'Concordances'.

Table 3: Concordant Manuscripts

Manuscript	Year	Type	Size (mm)		Main Repertoire	Concordances
GB-Wrec MS 178 (The Eton Choirbook) [146]	c1490-1502	Choirbook	595	x 425	Motets, Magnificats, Passion	O domine celi et terre, Stabat Mater
GB-En MS Adv. 5.1.15 (The Carver Choirbook)[147]	c1501-1546	Choirbook	375	x 280	Masses, Motets, Magnificats	Ave Dei Patris (Fayrfax), Eterne Laudis
GB-Lbl Add. MS 34191	Early 16th-cent	Partbook—Tenor and Bassus	238	x 175	Masses, Motets, Magnificat	Gaude plurimum, Magnificat Regale
GB-Lbl Harley 1709	c1525-1530	Medius Partbook	264	x 190	Motets	Ave Dei Patris (Fayrfax), Laudavimus, O domine celi et terre, Te matrem
GB-Ob MS. Mus. Sch. e. 376 (Forrest-Heyther Partbooks)[148]	c1528-1530	Discantus Partbook	190	x 245	Masses, Motets	Missa de Regali Ex Progenie, Missa De O bone Jesu, Missa Te Deum
GB-Llp MS 1 (Lambeth Choirbook)[149]	Late 1520s	Choirbook	665	x 465	Masses, Motets, Magnificats	Eterne Laudis Missa de Regali Ex Progenie, Missa De O bone Jesu
GB-Cgc MS 667/760 (Caius Choirbook)[150]	Late 1520s	Choirbook	715	x 480	Masses, Motets, Magnificats	Missa de Regali Ex Progenie, Missa De O bone Jesu, Cristus Resurgens
*GB-Cp MS 31 (Peterhouse Partbooks–Henrician Set)[151]	1539-1541	Contratenor Partbook	286	x 198	Masses, Motets, Magnificats	Ave Dei Patris (Fayrfax), Laudavimus, Eterne Laudis, Ave dei Patris (Taverner),

[146] Williamson, *The Eton Choirbook, Facsimile with introductory study* (Oxford: DIAMM Publications, 2010).

[147] Isobel Paterson Woods, *The Carvor Choirbook* (PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 1984).

[148] John Bergsagel, 'The Date and Provenance of the Forrest-Heyther Collection of Tudor Masses' *Music & Letters* 44 (1963), 240–248.

[149] David Skinner, *The Arundel Choirbook (London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 1): a Facsimile and Introduction* (London: Roxburghe Club, 2003).

[150] David Skinner, 'Discovering the Provenance and History of the Caius and Lambeth Choirbooks' *Early Music* 25 (1997), 245–266.

[151] Nicholas Sandon, *The Henrician Partooks Belonging to Peterhouse: A Study, with Restorations of the Incomplete Compositions Contained in Them* (PhD dissertation, University of Exeter, 1983).

						Gaude plurimum, Missa De O bone Jesu, Missa Te Deum, Magnificat Regale
GB-Ob MS. Mus. e. 5 (Sadler Partbooks)[152]	c1565-1585	Bassus Partboook	205 x 280		Motets, misc.	Ave Dei Patris (Fayrfax), Ave dei Patris (Taverner), Gaude plurimum
GB-Ob MS. Tenbury 1464	c1575	Bassus Partboook	206 x 273		Motets, misc.	Ave Dei Patris (Fayrfax), Laudavimus, Ave dei Patris (Taverner)
*GB-Och Mus. 980 (Baldwin Partbooks)[153]	c1575-1581	Discantus partbook	150 x 205		Motets, misc.	Ave Dei Patris (Fayrfax)
GB-Lbl Add. MS 31390	c1578	Tablebook	388 x 272		Motets, misc.	Gaude plurimum
GB-Lbl RM 24 d. 2 (Baldwin Commonplace Book)[154]	c1580-1606	Choirbook	285 x 250		Motets, misc.	Ave Dei Patris (Fayrfax), Gaude plurimum
GB-Odiamm Motet partbook (Wilmott)	1591	Tenor Partbook	199 x 272		Motets	Gaude plurimum
GB-Ob MS. Tenbury 342	Early 17th-cent	Quintus/Sextus Partbook	221 x 169		Masses, Motets, Magnificats, misc.	Gaude plurimum

Fayrfax's 'Ave Dei Patris' is the most widely distributed piece with seven concordances, and the Peterhouse Partbooks (Henrician Set) contain the most amount of concordances with eight shared pieces. Richard Davey's pieces are the oldest as they are also found in the Eton

[152] James Burke, *John Sadler & The Sadler Partbooks (Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS Mus. e. 1–5)* (DPhil dissertation, University of Oxford, 2017); David G. Mateer, 'John Sadler and Oxford, Bodleian MSS Mus. e. 1-5', *Music and Letters* 40 (1979), 281–95; Judith Blezzard, 'Monsters and Messages: The Willmott and Braikenridge Manuscripts of Latin Tudor Church Music, 1591' *The Antiquaries Journal* 75 (1995), 311–38.

[153] Roger Bray, 'The Part-Books Oxford, Christ Church MSS. 979–83: An Index and Commentary' *Musica Disciplina* 25 (1971), 179–97.

[154] Roger Bray, 'British Library, R. M. 24 d 2 (John Baldwin's Commonplace Book): An Index and Commentary' *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 12 (1974), 137-51.

Choirbook, and John Taverner's 'Gaude Plurimum' is the piece that shows up the most toward the end of the sixteenth century.

There are four pieces that appear nowhere else except in these partbooks. They are Prowett's motets 'O Bone Ihesu' and 'Plaude potentissima', Lovell's motet 'Ave fuit Salus', and Ashwell's Mass *God Save Kyng Herry*.

Unpacking the question of original ownership/patronage

Until now there have been no primary studies of either of these two manuscripts. References to them have drawn upon the catalogue information provided by the libraries to which they belong. The record for the contratenor, GB-Cu Dd.13.27, is largely based on the work of Henry Davey and Roger Bowers.[155] The record for the bassus, GB-Cjc MS 234 (K.31), completed by M. R. James, is based on observation of the original cover and preliminary research, referencing Joan Corder's work on heraldry and the history of Suffolk, and has been used in the work of Alexandra Gillespie.[156] The earliest versions of the catalogues only mention these two partbooks as companions, but treated them as individual objects. The differing accounts of their provenances is a glaring issue that proves more research needs to be carried out to update the records for archives in general, and communication between archives is paramount in establishing connections to drive that research forward. To be sure, these catalogues only mention these provenances as possibilities. While the observational aspects of the manuscripts are relatively straightforward in terms of study, the unobservable aspects require

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[155] Henry Davey, *History of English Music*, second edition (London: J. Curwen and Sons Ltd, 1921), 85; Fenlon, Iain. *Cambridge Music Manuscripts 900–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 129.

[156] Joan Corder, *A Dictionary of Suffolk Arms Vol. 7* (Suffolk: Suffolk Records Society, 1965); Alexandra Gillespie, *The Production of Books in England: 1350–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 166.

a more speculative approach. Here, the issue of the provenances for the partbooks will be discussed.

The differing accounts for the provenances of these two partbooks within their respective records has been proven impossible because they were produced by the same hands. It is entirely possible that the set was separated after completion, but they certainly originated in the same place. The bassus partbook offers the most concrete information because the original cover and flyleaves survive. The contratenor has less information to offer on its own because it has been rebound, obscuring some of the finer details of its production process. Were the contratenor (in its current condition) the only partbook of this set to survive, it would yield only a fraction of the information now available. The bassus partbook, with its original cover and flyleaves, offers two of the most significant pieces of information for which a researcher could ask—a name and a place.

On the cover of the bassus partbook, in large formal script, is the name, profession, and voice-part for the most likely original owner of the partbook(s). 'Launcelot: Prior' is drawn in black ink and appearing below is 'Bassus', written larger and in brown ink. Below this, there are three heraldic symbols: an outline of a woven pattern; an intertwined monogram of 'L' and 'S' (an unfilled black outline and a black outline filled in with red paint, respectively); and a coat of arms containing a black maunch. (Figure 3.16).

Without a record pointing toward a region, the cover only offers up so much information. The flyleaves are from an early fifteenth century manorial roll relating to Benacre in Suffolk. This narrows down the field of possible locations, and considering Stephen Prowett, one of our humbly obscure composers who is only associated with Suffolk and Norfolk, tracking 'Launcelot: Prior' to the area of East Anglia considerably reduces the search parameters. Indeed,

Launcelot Wharton was the penultimate prior at Rumburgh, a small religious house of no more than three members, in Suffolk and a dependent cell of the Benedictine abbey of St Mary's, York.[157] He held the post for two years from 1523 to 1525, after which the priory was suppressed in favour of Cardinal Wolsey's college at Ipswich in 1528.[158] Launcelot Wharton was also the prior of St Faith, Horsham in Norwich, holding the post officially for only two years from 1532 to 1534. The flyleaves, however, with their references to Benacre make Rumburgh the more likely place of origin, and as they were owned by Launcelot Wharton and not the priory itself, they probably moved with him to St Faith after his departure from Rumburgh.

Based on internal evidence, but before information about Launcelot Wharton had come to light, the date range of this set was determined by the cataloguers of the partbooks to be 1524–1533 for two reasons. The appearance of music by Taverner, of whom the first known record is from 1524, represents the earliest end of the range, and a reference to Catherine of Aragon, whose marriage to King Henry VIII was annulled in 1533 served as the latest possible date of completion, since it would have been insulting to reference a queen who had been supplanted by another, Anne Boleyn. While the argument for the earliest date is certainly possible, the reference to Catherine of Aragon is non-existent—careful examination of both manuscripts yielded no mention or reference to the Queen. The first mention of the reference to Catherine of Aragon is found in Henry Davey's work from 1921, which chiefly focuses on the contratenor partbook, and has been assumed correct ever since.[159]

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[157] William Page, *A History of the County of Suffolk: Volume* 2 (London: Victoria County History, 1975), 77-79; Corder, Joan. *A Dictionary of Suffolk Arms Vol. 7* (Suffolk: Suffolk Records Society, 1965), 404; M. R. V. Heale, 'Rumburgh Priory in the Later Middle Ages: Some New Evidence', *PSIA* 40 (2001): 8, 15.

[158] Page, *A History of the County of Suffolk,* 77-79. Launcelot Wharton was appointed as prior at Rumburgh in 1519 by the abbott at St Mary's, York, but his confirmation by the bishop was not until 1523. See M. R. V. Heale, 'Rumburgh Priory in the Later Middle Ages: Some New Evidence', *PSIA* 40 (2001): 19.

[159] Davey, Henry. *History of English Music*, second edition (London: J. Curwen and Sons Ltd, 1921), 85.

Since the reference is unsupported, the timeline would then be extended on the later end of the range for possible dates of production. The bassus partbook is only mentioned in passing by Davey. It would seem that the details of the bassus partbook were overlooked, and Launcelot Wharton was never taken into consideration as a likely candidate for original ownership for the contratenor. Luckily, the evidence of Launcelot Wharton proves that these manuscripts were produced within an even narrower timeframe than what had been suggested previously. Since Wharton only held his post officially for two years, they must have been produced between 1523 and 1525, the end of Wharton's tenure as prior at Rumburgh. Taverner's arrival to the musical-historical scene in 1524 may well actually be proved wrong by these partbooks, and his debut could have actually been sometime in 1523.

As mentioned earlier, there is no surviving cover for the contratenor partbook. At some point the original cover was discarded, lost, or destroyed and the contents were rebound with modern covers of cardboard and cloth before it was catalogued in 1885. It must be assumed that the accompanying flyleaves were also discarded. The earliest evidence to trace the ownership history for GB-Cu Dd.13.27 without using the bassus as a guide, is that it was owned by John Moore (1646-1714), Bishop of Ely, and donated to the University Library in 1715 by King George I (1660-1727) after the Bishop's death.

The catalogue entry created by Arthur Westwell of Queens' College, Cambridge, posits the partbook was 'possibly created in East Anglia for the private chapel of Thomas Fiennes, 9th Baron Dacre,' because the manorial rolls that are used as the flyleaves found in the bassus partbook are the records for a manor that belonged to Thomas Fiennes.[160] This is actually misleading because the information that underpinned this statement is incorrect. The

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[160] Fenlon, Iain, *Cambridge Music Manuscripts 900–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 129.

information was referenced from Roger Bowers's contribution to an updated catalogue of music manuscripts located in the archives in Cambridge.[161] The Thomas Fiennes to whom Bowers was referring was actually the 8th Baron Dacre, not the 9th. Thomas the 8th Baron Dacre was the grandfather of Thomas the 9th. Further arguments arise when the Thomas between the 8th and 9th Barons was alive and well until 1528. The likelihood of the 9th Baron Dacre, aged nine to eleven at the possible date range of the construction of the partbooks, is rather low. His father was the next in line and the partbooks would have been his commission.

Nonetheless, this theory is still problematic for three reasons: (1) the manorial rolls. They bear no evidence of the Fiennes family name nor their title. Furthermore, the dates provided for the manorial rolls are disputable. The catalogue information for the library of St John's College provided by M. R. James states they are from the early fifteenth century, while Roger Bowers describes the flyleaves as 'the bailiff's account of 1392/3'.[162] The manor may well have been in possession of the Fiennes family by the 1520s, but the manorial rolls that would become the flyleaves could have easily been recycled from out of date records stored in the same place that produced the partbooks. Another scenario may be that Launcelot Wharton commissioned the partbooks and they were simply constructed at the manor, by a family that could afford to maintain a household chapel, one capable of singing the difficult repertory and producing a set of partbooks with a high level of elaborate construction.[163] (2) No evidence appears within the manuscript, such as title pages, inscriptions or any other indicators that would reflect Thomas Fiennes had commissioned the set. The fact that Launcelot Wharton's first name and title appear on the original covers of the bassus partbook clearly indicates that he was the original

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[161] Ibid. 129.

[162] Ibid, 129.

[163] Ibid, 129.

patron/owner; and (3) there is no record of the manuscript before it was owned by John Moore over one hundred years after the manuscript was created. The speculative history relies on retracing the loose connections of individuals going back to the date of production, the early 1520s, to end up at Thomas Fiennes, 8th Baron Dacre. This has proven to be an impossible feat as tracing the connections backward stops immediately with John Moore, and tracing forward from Thomas Fiennes, 8th Baron Dacre is, without any written record of libraries changing ownership, tenuous at best.

Part II: The Function of the Wharton Partbooks

Now that the original owner is settled, there are questions to consider about the functions of these partbooks, as their size and decoration would make it easy to make assumptions. Did they serve a performance function and if so, where would they have been used? Were the partbooks actually an ostentatious luxury of a man who was passionate about books and/or music and wanted to show that off, and again, if so, to whom? Were they prepared to act as exemplars or 'file copies' from which the music could be copied easily, for instance for the English partbooks from the middle of the sixteenth century?[164] Finally, where do these partbooks fit within the culture of music books in England just before the Reformation? These questions will be addressed in turn by observing the physical attributes of the objects—the manuscripts themselves.

The materials, format and organization, and contents of the partbooks will lead the investigation into their possible functions. Hopefully a consensus can be reached since as stated by Thomas Schmidt, 'There is no one-to-one relationship between the basic functional context of a book of polyphonic music and its external appearance or the repertoire it contains.'[165]

What do the materials suggest?

The writing surfaces in both partbooks are parchment. The choice of using parchment rather than paper or a mix of paper and parchment is telling because it follows the notion that these books would be sturdy enough to be kept for a long period of time, could handle heavy

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[164] Robert Shay and Robert Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principal Musical* Sources (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 174; Rebecca Herrisone, '"Fowle Originalls" and Fayre Writeing": Reconsidering Purcell's Compositional Process', *The Journal of Musicology,* 23 (2006): 587.

[165] Schmidt-Beste, 'Private or Institutional', 14.

use, and/or were meant to withstand the intended inks that were to be used for decoration.[166] The vellum cover with its fore-edge flap is offered another level of protection. Paper was most certainly another viable option, as seen with the earlier Ritson MS compiled using a mix of parchment and paper and would have been available for books at the priory of Rumburgh, if indeed they were produced at the priory.[167]

There is very little documentary evidence that remains from Rumburgh; however, there is one manuscript S.R.O.I., HD 1538/335/1 that has been described as a 'scrapbook' of Rumburgh documents'.[168] Intriguingly, it is 320 x 230mm—the same size as the Wharton partbooks—and is a mix of parchment and paper folios upon which there are charters and accounts for the priory of Rumburgh dating from 1300 to 1612.[169] On the one hand, this shows that paper was available at Rumburgh, but that it was purposely not used for the partbooks. On the other hand, according to S.R.O.I., HD 1538/335/1 in 1439 the priory at Rumburgh held a stock of fifty cattle, twenty sheep, thirty-four pigs, and eighty-six poultry. Although it does not mention anything about parchment manufacturing, it could be speculated that the parchment used for the partbooks was made there using their own stock of available skins. Heale states that these 'figures would suggest that smaller cells [priories] were not ordinarily engaged in farming for the market but were primarily interested in providing for their own household.'[170] Although largely about the sustainability of food production, this statement could reflect an ironic sense

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[166] Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), 136; Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books,* 31–32.

[167] Orietta Da Rold, 'Materials' in *The Production of Books in England: 1350–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 24. A discussion of the availability of paper in England from the 1350s.

[168] M. R. V. Heale, 'Rumburgh Priory in the Later Middle Ages: Some New Evidence', *PSIA* 40 (2001): 8.

[169] Ibid. 8.

[170] Martin Heale, *The Dependent Priories of Medieval English Monasteries* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2004), 256.

of frugality that happened to work in the favour of the partbooks. By using an in-house stock of parchment, the partbooks were constructed with longer lasting material. Accounts, charters, and routine administrative records had an 'ephemeral nature' as those in S.R.O.I., HD 1538/335/1, were types of documents regularly recorded on paper.[171]

On its own, the fact that the partbooks were constructed with parchment does not necessarily mean anything except that it was decided the books were to be uniformly constructed with a heavier and more durable material than paper could offer. When this fact is put together with other correlating factors, it does mean something. The choice to paint every single initial with gold leaf was no doubt a contributing factor in that decision if the paper available as an alternative was of inferior quality and would not be considered able to handle the level of decoration that was planned.

What do the format and organization suggest?

One of the reasons partbook format became popular is because as ensemble sizes grew (number of voice parts and the number of singers per part) singers could no longer comfortably read and sing from only one choirbook which held all the parts on a single opening. Individual partbooks were produced in order to accommodate this issue and allowed singers to hold their own parts. Like choirbooks, partbooks needed to be at the very least readable, but the level of decoration varies just as much as in choirbooks from this period. One could argue that partbook format does not make sense for use in storage or as file copies, because the risk of a missing part is too great. Score and choirbook formats are much more conducive to such an endeavour since all of the parts are located together. One way to ensure that a part would not go missing

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[171] Heale, 'Rumburgh Priory' 9; Da Rold, 'Materials' 25–26.

from a set in partbook format would be to bind all the parts together into a collection; however, no such collection of manuscript partbooks exists from this period.

The organization of the Wharton partbooks, as stated above, proves that they were conceived as whole units, or at the very least two units (individual sections for motets and Masses) and are consistent with one another.[172] There was only one addition after they were bound—the Magnificat by Fayrfax at the end. There are also painted initials at the start of every piece (save the Magnificat) which appear continuously.

Typically speaking, initials are present within manuscripts to direct singers to their respective voice-part when working in choirbook format. They can be either the first letter of the text to be sung or they can be the enlarged initial of the voice-part. Initials (and stave breaks) in partbooks serve the purpose of indicating the beginning of a new piece or section and are, at least in the Wharton partbooks, always the first letter of the text.[173] The fact that there are indicators for singers makes the case for a performative function for these partbooks. There is no index, but there are headings for each piece within these partbooks, which is convenient for finding a piece quickly.

In contrast to the Ritson MS to which layers of copying were added over an extended period of time, these partbooks were copied down concurrently and by the same scribe. The gatherings of parchment have remained intact with no alterations to the structures of either partbook which could point more toward a use as storage, a master copy from which performing or practice copies could be taken. On the other hand, there are clear sections of repertoire with planned decoration that begins on the first folios of those sections that remind us that these

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[172] Schmidt, 'Making Polyphonic Books', 61.

[173] Ibid. 60.

books were aesthetically valued by someone. The contents provide the final clues of this investigation, after which a reasonable explanation of the primary functions of the Wharton partbooks will be proposed.

What do the contents suggest?

A combination of sacred repertoire for Masses, motets, and Magnificats is a common one from this period, whether it be in choirbooks or partbooks. The Wharton partbooks present this combination as well, if bearing in mind that the lone Magnificat by Fayrfax was added after the books were bound. The two motets by Prowett that are unique to these partbooks have already played their part in narrowing down the search field for an original owner, but all of the others have concordances, save the motet 'Ave fuit salus' (Lovell) and *God Save Kyng Herry* (Ashwell), some of which were connected to significant royal institutions. The pieces are exclusively by English composers. This suggests that Launcelot Wharton was motivated and able to collect widely distributed sacred works from the most talented English composers of the day. It also suggests that he would have needed outside help to perform them if these pieces were intended for use in worship at Rumburgh or the books were produced for future use.

Looking at the concordant sources outlined above, about a third of them follow the pattern of combining sacred repertoire. This does not mean that these books operated in the same way or were used for similar purposes, but it does show there was a common way for presenting sacred pieces of music. The common thread for these manuscripts is their association with religious establishments. The Caius Choirbook containing a mix of Masses and Magnificats was prepared as a presentation copy for St Stephen's, Westminster; the Lambeth Choirbook, which has similar repertoire and the addition of eight interspersed motets, was used at Arundel College for worship; and the Peterhouse Partbooks, with all three genres mixed together, are

believed to have been in use at one of the New Foundation cathedrals at Canterbury or Durham.[174] In other sources there is a mix of sacred and secular works, and some of the Wharton pieces are presented in books that contain secular music (the Sadler partbooks and Tenbury 1464). However, there was no place for secular pieces in the Wharton books—these books were produced to hold sacred music for Launcelot Wharton who was prior at Rumburgh from 1523–1525 and at St Faith, Horsham, Norwich from 1532–1534.

The ten motets (plus the Stabat Mater), five Mass Ordinary settings, and Magnificat in the Wharton partbooks are all suitable for a worship context. The pieces are all for five voices, which would mean an ensemble of at least that number was necessary to perform them. They could not have been performed at Rumburgh without outside assistance, and one theory from Judith Middleton-Stewart suggests Wharton might have actually sung at Mettingham College, where there was an active choir capable of singing advanced music.[175] Another theory posited by Middleton-Stewart is that the partbooks were constructed while Wharton was prior at St Faith since the prior and six monks could be found in residence there.[176] The first theory is certainly possible since Wharton could carry his partbook wherever necessary; however, the flyleaves corroborate that the partbooks were produced in Suffolk and not so far away as Norwich, thus negating the second theory.

[174] David Skinner, 'Discovering the Provenance and History of the Caius and Lambeth Choirbooks' 256; Nick Sandon, 'The Henrician Partbooks at Peterhouse, Cambridge' *Proceedings of the Royal Muscial* Association 103 (1976–1977): 113.

[175] Middleton-Stewart, *Inward Purity and Outward Splendour*, 175.

[176] Ibid.

Conclusion

A reassessment of the physical attributes of the Wharton partbooks has demonstrated that these two partbooks originated in the same place. As individual manuscripts housed in separate libraries, they were overlooked and never studied together, and while it was always known that the two belonged to the same set of partbooks, an in-depth investigation of the physical features and what that data could produce has never been attempted until now. After considering the physical features of the partbooks that make them unique (among the already unique nature of manuscripts) and understanding the limitations of the priory of Rumburgh, a plausible account of the origin and intended purposes for these partbooks has been reached.

The original owner of this set of partbooks was Launcelot Wharton, whose name and position appear on the cover of the bassus partbook. The inclusion of the two motets by Stephen Prowett provided clues that pointed to the location where the partbooks originated. Since Prowett was associated with St Mary's in Bungay, Suffolk (Rumburgh and Bungay are separated by about five miles),[177] it can be assumed that he made a great impression on Wharton, enough to warrant his inclusion in the prior's set of partbooks.

The Wharton partbooks are the largest partbooks that survive from the turn of the sixteenth century in England and on the Continent. Their size and careful decoration including gold leaf initials indicate they were of value and were meant to be admired and were for more than practice and/or storage, they were made to be read and enjoyed through performances of the pieces contained within them. Although they are grand in scale and scope, they were not made as gifts. They were produced for a single person, a humble prior in Suffolk and Norwich with a quasi-nomadic lifestyle.

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[177] Heale, 'Rumburgh Priory in the Later Middle Ages: Some New Evidence', 8.

The structure of the gatherings reveals that the Wharton partbooks were conceived as whole units that were never expanded to introduce more material. Fayrfax's Magnificat was added at the very end of the partbooks after the set was already bound, and none of the blank folios were used for musical additions. They are organized into two clear sections over four gatherings—the first two are dedicated to motets, while the third and fourth gatherings contain the settings of the Mass and the appended Magnificat. The consistency of the scribal hand and decorations throughout both partbooks further prove they were pre-planned.

Wharton's goal was to preserve his favourite and possibly the finest sacred music of his era as prior at Rumburgh. The flyleaves are the evidence for their having been produced while the prior was in Suffolk, but these books could not have been used at Rumburgh without outside assistance as there were not enough members to fill all five parts. His tenure only lasted two years in Rumburgh so the partbooks moved with Wharton to his new appointment as prior of St Faith, Horsham in Norwich where there were enough voices to perform the pieces. The partbooks were only at St Faith for the two years that Wharton was prior from 1532 to 1534. Since they were only there for a short time, their expansion and/or continued use was never realized. After Wharton's departure from St Faith, the set was separated, and the individual books found their way into different hands, the other voice-parts becoming lost along the way.

Ultimately, the Wharton partbooks served different purposes at different times. They were prized possessions that stored the favourite sacred pieces of the prior at Rumburgh. They could have also served a secondary function, that of a use as a master set from which performance copies were taken to be used in worship services in the churches surrounding Rumburgh and at the priory of St Faith.

CONCLUSION

The case studies of the Ritson MS GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665 and the Wharton partbooks GB-Cjc MS 234 (K.31) and GB-Cu Dd.13.27 have revealed a process which scholars typically use to come to plausible conclusions for the music manuscripts they study. I have formally defined and refined this process by highlighting certain aspects of these sources, which was only made possible through a systematic approach. These examples have shown that the individual characteristics of music manuscripts can be analysed and that those details can come together to tell their stories.

The literature on late-medieval and early renaissance source studies largely consists of topics ranging from determining the date and provenance of manuscripts, details of composer biographies including their creative practices and the development of style of genre, to reviewing the histories of institutions, issues of palaeography and codicology. The function of the sources is rarely the focus, and it is that void that this project has begun to fill.

While the basic functions of manuscripts including but not limited to performance, presentation, or teaching purposes can seem obvious, their uniqueness means that their actual function is rarely so straightforward. Secondary evidence is needed to support a theory, but the individual characteristics of manuscripts can provide a starting point. For pre-Reformation sources there is the added hurdle of lacking information. In England, the lack of information largely results from the dissolution of the monasteries and the destruction of records due to the shifting sands of religious policy in the wake of Henry VIII's decision to part ways with the Catholic church. The Ritson MS and the Wharton partbooks are examples from the limited pool of remaining music books from the period.

The characteristics observed for these manuscripts included their size and material, mise-en-page, contents, and paratexts, with special attention given to the characteristics that were previously overlooked or deemed impossible for consideration. In Chapter Two, the obliterated gathering structures for the Ritson MS were reconstructed with a detailed investigation of its watermarks. This provided a new perspective on the dating of the Ritson MS and the way the manuscript came together and developed over time with respect to the sections. Section A, the first section, was an independent fascicle copied sometime between 1463 and 1473/4. The succeeding sections of B, C, and D were added at various points up to 1499. Section E could have been added at any point before the manuscript found its way to the collection of Joseph Ritson.

Chapter Three focused on the provenance of the Wharton partbooks, employing all their characteristics to discover the original owner—Launcelot Wharton. By determining the original owner and based on the available evidence for Wharton, possible functions for the partbooks were presented. Wharton was the penultimate prior of Rumburgh, a priory of no more than three members, and a prior at St Faith, Horsham, which maintained six monks—enough to fill the all the voice parts required by the musical material. The flyleaves indicate they were produced at Rumburgh, where Wharton's residency as prior lasted from 1523 and 1525.

Without hard evidence it remains difficult to state with certainty the primary or intended functions of any music book from the early Tudor period because of the subjective nature of the issue. What is possible is narrowing the field of possibility to provide answers regarding the ways manuscripts could have been used and the reasons for their copying. The method of characteristic analysis has proven successful in determining the plausible actual functions of the above case studies and has the potential to clarify the functional plausibility of manuscripts from

other periods and regions. This thesis shows that categorizing music manuscripts based on their functions, both intended and actual is possible. By doing so, it allows them to be viewed from a different perspective and allows researchers to rethink the value that music manuscripts held for their makers, owners, and users.

A project utilizing my method of characteristic analysis dedicated to updating databases would aid in the filtering process to view individual as well as groups of manuscripts to draw parallels and make comparisons of manuscripts whose practical purposes have been previously generalized. Additionally, a thorough inspection of the positioning of the watermarks on every page where they appear in Ritson in order to aid in finding the twin moulds, and tracking any changes in the mould(s), could provide further evidence to dating the acquisition/store of paper at Ritson.

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APPENDIX 1: DATA POINTS FOR CASE STUDIES

	GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665	GB-Cjc MS 234 (K.31)	GB-Cu Dd.13.27
Provenance	England	England	England
Date	c1460-1510	1525-1530	1525-1530
Items: Title/Genre	3 Masses, 1 Kyrie-Gloria pair, 1 Latin / English Te Deum, 1 canticle, 1 office hymn, 2 processional hymns, 22 motets (1 monophonic), 44 Latin and English carols, 1 English sacred piece, 18 English secular pieces, 1 French secular piece = 95 + 1 duplicate = 96	5 Masses, 1 Magnificat, 1 Te Deum, 10 motets = 17	5 Masses, 1 Magnificat, 1 Te Deum, 10 motets = 17
Material	148 folios of mixed paper and parchment	4 quires: 2 parchment flyleaves; 4 parchment quires of 8; 1 flyleaf	4 quires: 2 modern paper flyleaves; 2 quires of parchment; 4 modern paper flyleaves; 2 quires of parchment; 4 modern paper flyleaves
Type	sacred/secular	sacred	sacred
Size (mm)	258 x 180	320 x 233	321 x 224
Ruling	8-9 five-line staves	7-11 five-line staves	7-11 five-line staves
Notation	Most carols in black mensural notation with red coloration; most other pieces in white mensural notation, but some voices and pieces in black chant notation or "strene" notation	black void, with black full coloration and semiminims	black void, with black full coloration and semiminims

Decorations	Carol section has blue painted initials ornamented with red.	Red titles; initials in purple, green, red, and raised gold.	Each piece begins with an elaborate large gold initial decorated with red pen work.
Language(s)	Latin, English, French	Latin	Latin
Number of voices	3 to 5	1 of 5 or 6	1 of 5 or 6
Layout/format	choirbook; score (carols)	partbook/codex	partbook/codex
Text underlay	Y, text appears under/between lines as well as in verse form at the bottom of the page.	Y, throughout	Y, throughout
Presumed use	performance	private collection	private collection
Presumed function	designed for lay services	gift for Launcelot Wharton	gift for Launcelot Wharton
Binding	Modern covers of maroon cloth and leather on boards.	original vellum binding	Early twentieth-century binding with brown buckram over cardboard sewn on eight supports.
Current Ascription(s)	33/96	17/17	17/17
Original Ascriptions	31/96	17/17	17/17
Identified/Current Listed Composers	(Binchois-anon)-1, J. Cornyshe-1, Hawte-1, (Henry VIII)-1, Mower-2, Norman-1, Packe-5, Petyr-1, Smert-8, Smert/Trouluffe -5, T.B.-1, Trouluffe-2, Turges [Edmund Sturges]-1, W.P.-2 anon-63	Ashwell-1, Aston-2, Davy-2, Fayrfax-6, Lovell-1, Pasche-1, Prowett-2, Taverner-2	Ashwell-1, Aston-2, Davy-2, Fayrfax-6, Lovell-1, Pasche-1, Prowett-2, Taverner-2

Table of Contents	Y	Y	N
Copyists/Scribes	Of English origin; possibly originated at Exeter Cathedral. Possibly copied at a Franciscan monastery in Devon; Copied by one main scribe (most of the carols) and several additional scribes.	Copied in England.	Copied in England.
Dedicatee/Patron/Owner		Launcelot Wharton	Launcelot Wharton

APPENDIX 2: TABLE OF CONTENTS FOR RITSON MS

SECTION	FOLIO	PIECE	COMPOSER	GENRE
	1r-2v	Table of Contents		
E	3r	Miserere mihi, Domine	John Norman	antiphon
E	3r	Benedicamus Domino		verse
E	3v-4	Stella caeli extirpavit que lactavit		hymn
A	4v-5	Sing we to this merry company		carol
A	5v-6	Johannes assecretis		carol
A	6v-7	Sonet laus per saecula		carol
A	7v-8	Nowell, nowell [...] Tidings good	Richard Smert	carol
A	8v-9v	Nowell, nowell [...] Who is there		carol
A	10-11	Mervele nought, Joseph		carol
A	11v-12	Meruele nought, Josep/Man, be joyful		carol
A	12v-13	Make us merry this New Year		carol
A	13v-14	Salve sancta parens		carol
A	14v-15	In every state, in every state		carol
A	15v-16	Ave decus saeculi - Ex Maria virgine	Richard Smert	carol
A	16v-17	Soli deo sit laudum gloria	Richard Smert / ? John Trouluffe	carol
A	17v-18	Have mercy of me	Richard Smert	carol
A	18v-19	Regi canamus gloriae		carol
A	19v-20	O radix Jesse		carol
A	20v-22	O clavis David	Richard Smert / ? John Trouluffe	carol
A	22v-23	Pray for us that we saved be		carol
A	23v-24	Psallite gaudentes		carol
A	24v-25	Worship we this holy day		carol
	25v-26	**BLANK**		
A	26v-27	Te Deum laudamus - O blessed God		carol
A	27v-28	Laetare Cantuaria		carol
A	28v-29	Now make we joy		carol
A	29v-30	Jesu fili virginis - Jesu of a maid [i]	Richard Smert	carol
A	30v-31	Spes mea in Deo est - When lordship		carol
A	31v-32	I pray ye all		carol
A	32v-33	Jesu fili Dei - Glorious God	Richard Smert / ? John Trouluffe	carol
A	33v-34	Tidings true there be come new		carol
A	34v-35	Nascitur ex virgine - A child is born	Richard Smert	carol
A	35v-36	Do well, and dread no man		carol
E	36v-37	Alleluya [...] Now may we myrthis make		carol
A	37v-38	Pray for us, thou Prince of Peace		carol
A	38v-39	How shall I please a creature		chanson
A	39v-40	Proface, welcome		carol
A	40v-41	Jesus autem hodie - When Jesus	Richard Smert / ? John Trouluffe	carol
A	41v-42	Clanget tuba, Martir Thomas - Out of the chaff		carol
A	42v-43	Man, asay, and axe mercy		carol
A	43v-44	Jesu fili virginis - Jesu of a maid [ii]		carol

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A	**44v-45**	Jesu, for thy mercy endless		carol
E	**45v-46**	The best song, as it seemeth me		carol
A	**46v-47**	To many a will have I go		carol
A	**47v-48**	Salve, Regina misericordiae		antiphon
A	**48v-49**	Pray for us, thou Prince of Peace		carol
A	**49v-50**	O blessed Lord, full of pity[?]		carol
A	**50v-51**	The beste rede that I can		carol
A	**51v-52**	For all Christen soules pray we		carol
A	**52v-53**	Blessed must thou be, sweet Jesus		carol
E	**53v-54**	I have been a foster		chanson
E	**54v-55**	Nesciens mater virgo virum	Richard Smert / ? John Trouluffe	antiphon
A	**54v**	Alleluia		antiphon
A	**55v-56**	Beata Dei genitrix Maria	Richard Mower	antiphon
A	**56v-57**	Nesciens mater virgo virum	John Trouluffe	antiphon
E	**57v-58**	Nesciens mater virgo virum	Richard Smert / ? John Trouluffe	antiphon
A	**58v-59**	Ave regina caelorum		antiphon
E	**59v-60**	Regina caeli laetare, alleluia	Richard Mower	antiphon
B	**60v-62**	O lux beata Trinitas		hymn
D	**62v-64**	Lumen ad revelationem gentium et gloriam; Nunc dimittis	Thomas Packe	canticle (Miller) antiphon (Caldwell)
E	**64v-65**	Stella caeli extirpavit que lactavit	Sir William Hawte	hymn
B	**65v-66**	My woefull heart		chanson
B	**66v-67**	Be pes, ye make me spille my ale		chanson
B	**67v-68**	Absens of you causeth me to sigh		chanson
B	**68v-69**	The high desire that I have		chanson
B	**69v-70**	O blessed Lord, how may this be		chanson
B	**70v-71**	Thow man envred with temptacion		chanson
B	**71v-72**	Now helpe, Fortune, of thy godenesse		chanson
B	**72v-73**	Fayre and discrete		chanson
C	**73v-84**	Missa Rex summe	Thomas Packe	mass ordinary
C	**84v-95**	Missa de Gaudete in Dommio	Thomas Packe	mass ordinary
D	**95v-106**	Te Deum laudamus - We praise thee	Thomas Packe	hymn
E	**106v-107**	Salve festa dies [...] Qua sponso		prose
E	**107v-109**	Gaude virgo mater Christi		hymn
E	**109v-112**	Salve festa dies [...] Qua sponso	Edmund Sturges	mass ordinary
E	**112v-113**	Gaude sancta Magdalena	Thomas Packe	hymn
E	**113v-120**	[Missa]	Henry Petyr	mass ordinary
E	**120v-121**	Dicant nunc Judaei	John Cornysh	antiphon
E	**121v**	Benedicamus Domino; Deo gracias		verse and response
E	**122r**	Salve, festa dies [...] Qua sponso		prose
E	**122v-123**	Sancta Maria virgo intercede pro toto		antiphon
E	**123v-124**	Nesciens mater virgo virum		antiphon
E	**124v-129**	Salve regina mater misericordiae	W.P.	antiphon
E	**129v-131**	Anima mea liquefacta est	W.P.	antiphon
E	**131v-132**	Nunc Jesu te petimus		petition
	132v-133	**BLANK**		
E	**133v-135**	Alone, alone, mornying alone	T.B.	chanson
E	**135v-136**	My here [heart?] is in great moaning		chanson
E	**136v-137**	Passetime with good company	Henry VIII	chanson
E	**137v-140**	So put in fair		chanson
E	**140v**	Alone, alone, here I am		chanson

E	**141**	In wilderness, there found [thee] Besse		chanson
E	**141v-142**	Passetime with good company	Henry VIII	chanson
E	**142v-143**	Dicant nunc Judaei		antiphon
E	**143v-144**	Come over the burn, Besse		sacred part-song
E	**144v**	Vostre tres doulx regart playsant	Gilles Binchois	instrumental duet
E	**145r**	Miserere mihi, Domine	John Norman	antiphon
E	**145v-146**	Up I arose in verno tempore		chanson
E	**146v-148**	Hay how, the mavys!		chanson

APPENDIX 3: BOOKLET RECONSTRUCTION FOR RITSON MS

Bold italics=Ox head watermark   **Bold underline=Serpent watermark**
*=parchment

BOOKLET 1

HYPOTHETICAL PAGE (NOW LOST) 2
*3
*4
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BOOKLET 2

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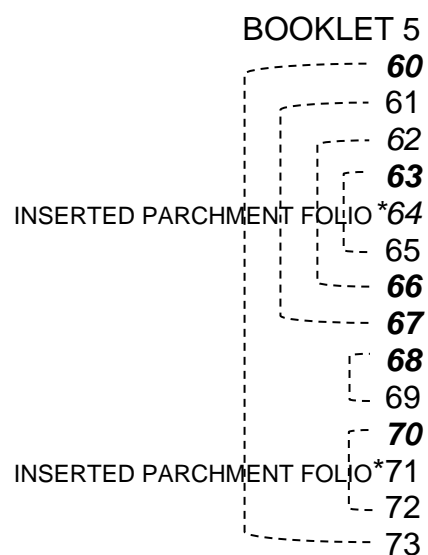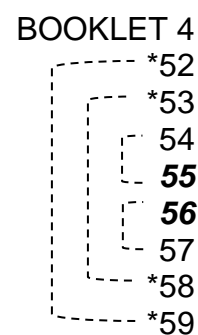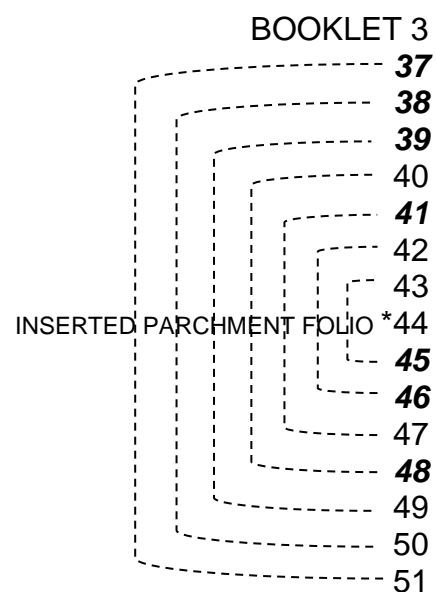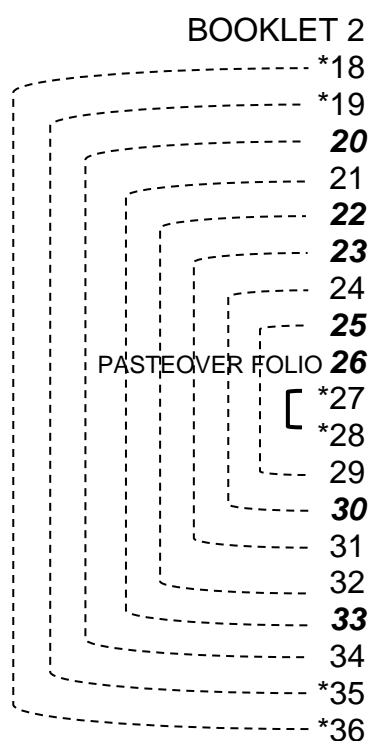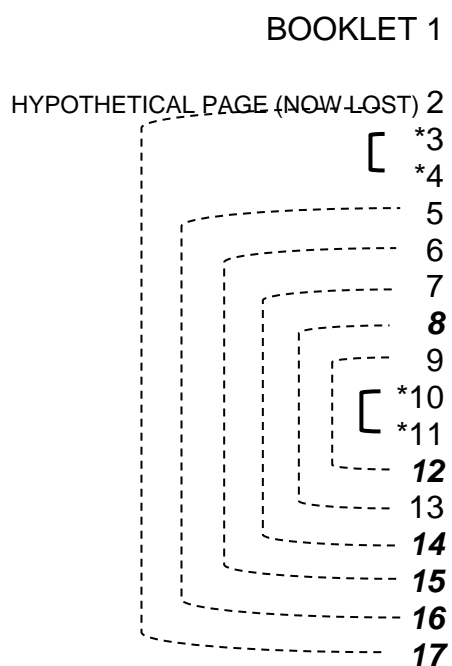
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BOOKLET 12

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APPENDIX 4: FIGURES FOR MSS

Figure 2.1: Ox head with vertical line and star (GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fol. 88r)

Figure 2.2: Serpent (GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fol. 123r)

Figure 2.3: Layout of *Missa Rex summe* (GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fols. 73v and 74r)

Figure 2.4: Layout of *Missa Rex summe* (GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fols. 79v and 80r)

Figure 2.5: Small Pasteover (GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fol. 22r)

Figure 2.5a: Skipped opening (GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fol. 132v–133r)
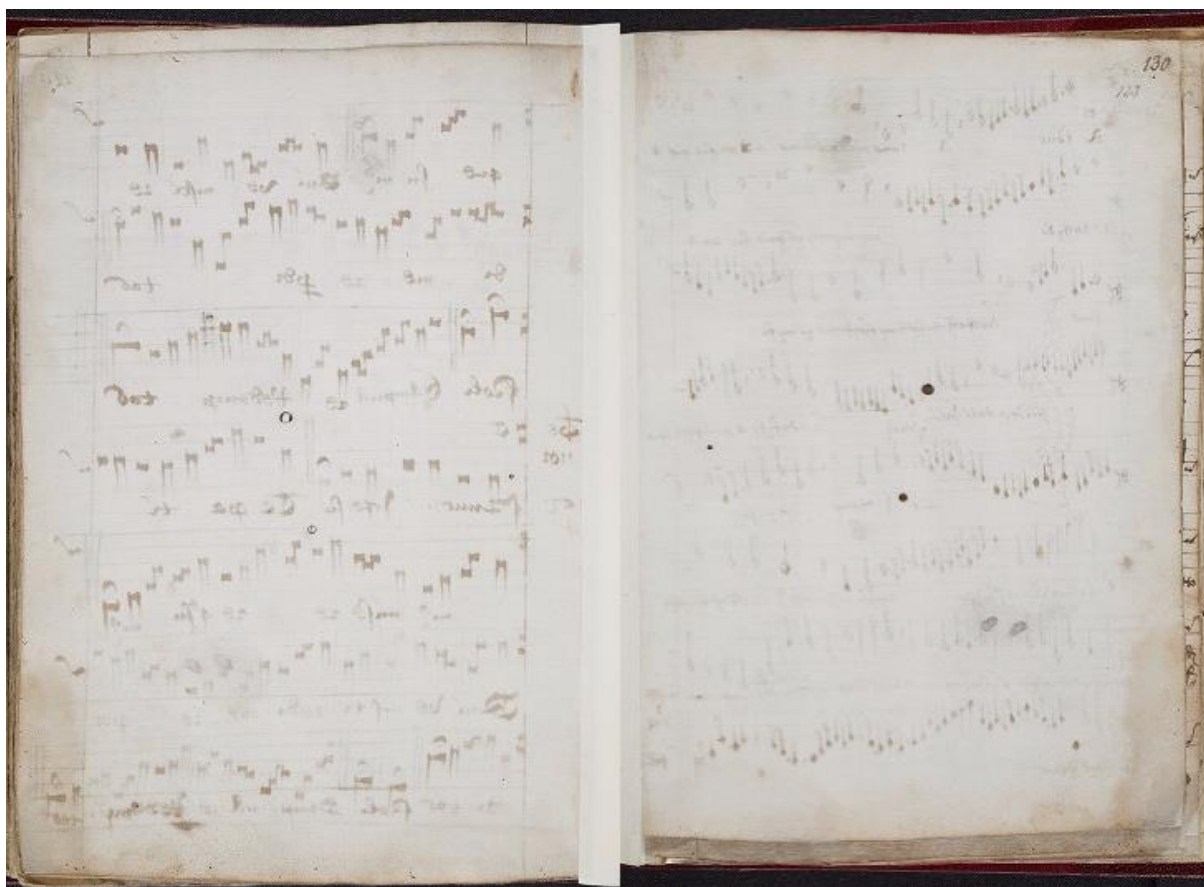
Figure 2.6: Pasteover (GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fol. 25v)

Figure 2.7: Pasteover (GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fol. 26v)
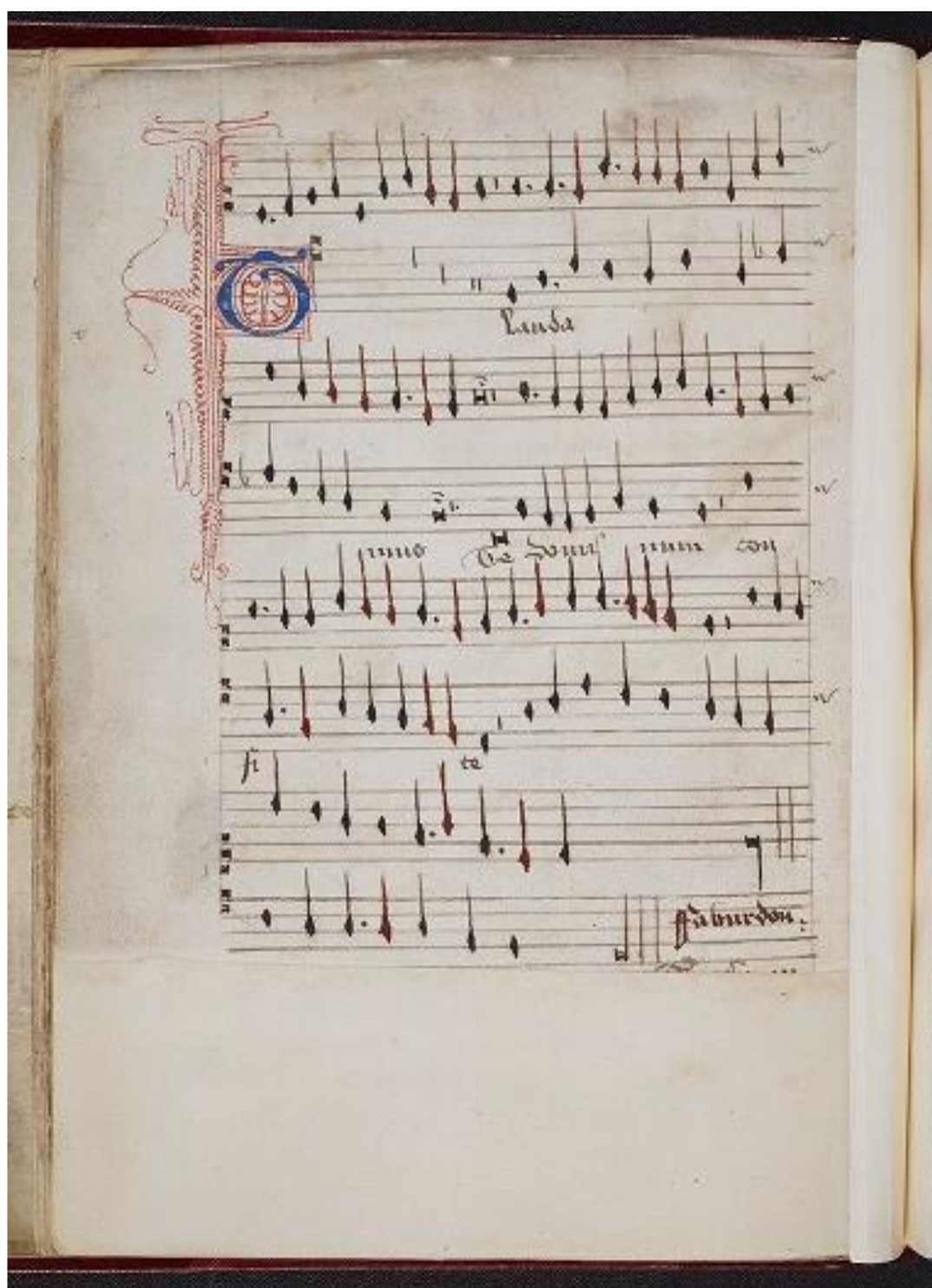
Figure 2.8: GB-Lbl Royal 8 G.vii, fols. 2v–3r

Figure 2.9: D-Mbs Mus.ms. 3154, fols. 4v–5r

Figure 2.10: Section A (GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fols. 8v–9r)

Figure 2.11: No pen work (GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fols. 11v–12r)

Figure 2.12: Smaller and lowered initial (GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fols. 41v–42r)
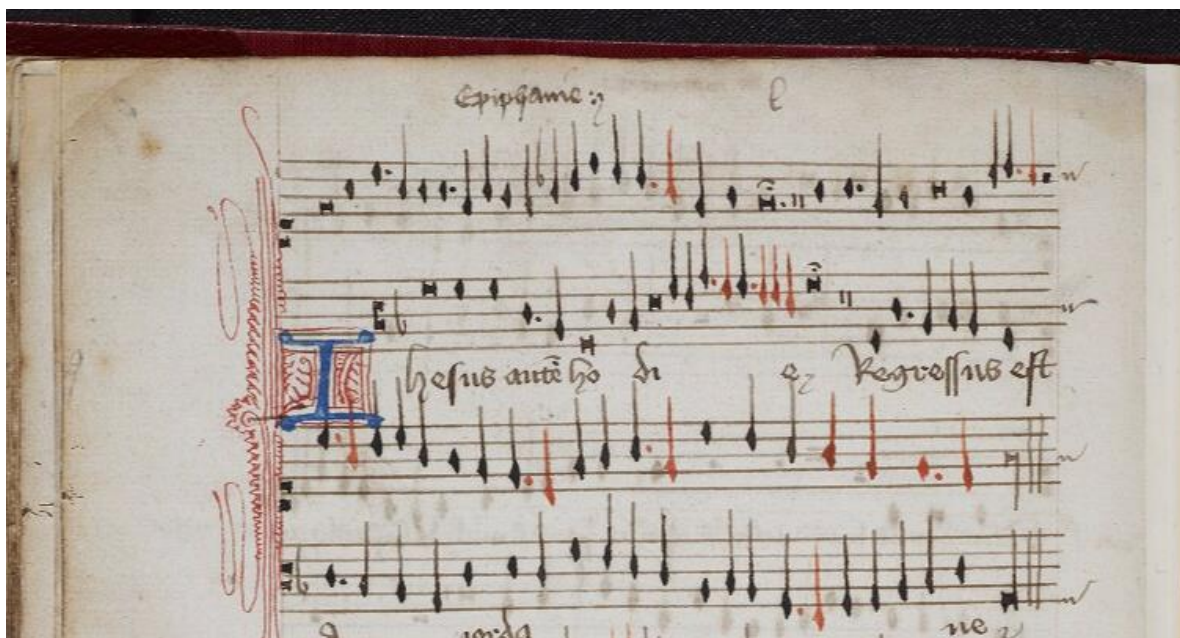
Figure 2.13a: Initial on third staff (GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fols. 51v–52r)
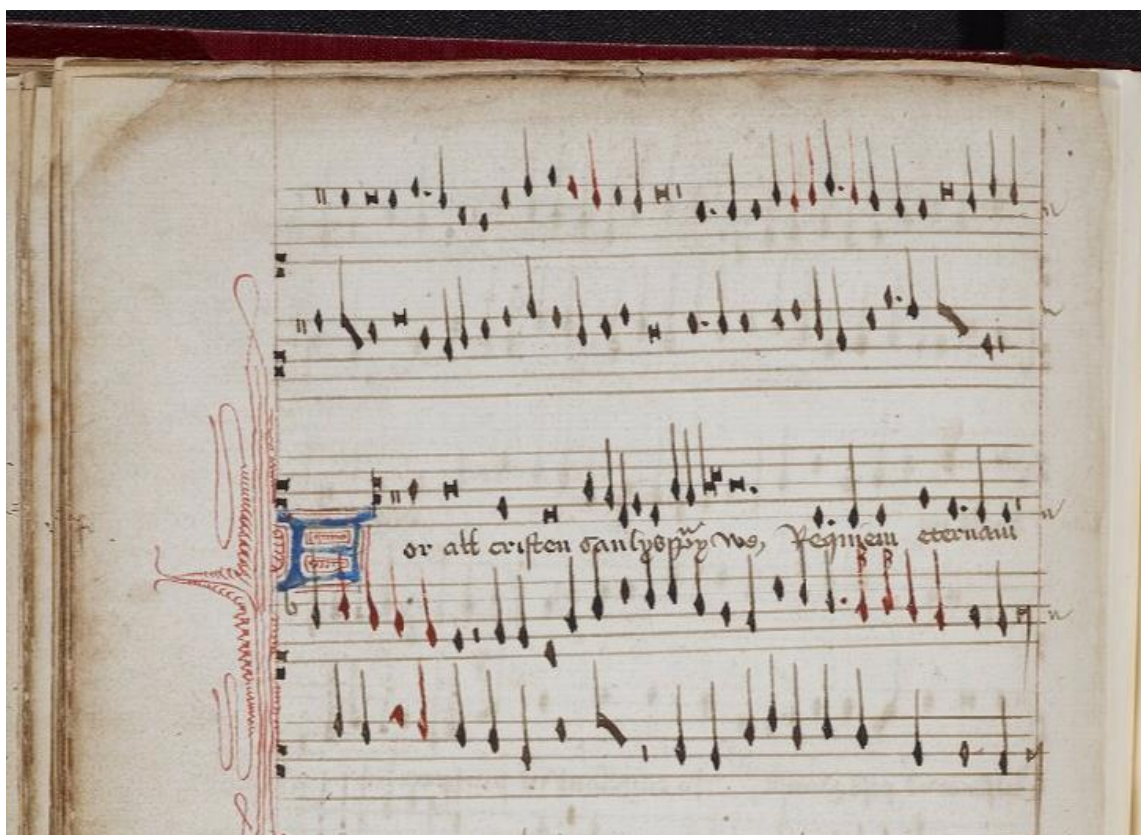
Figure 2.13b: GB-Cmc MS 1594 (The Pepys MS), fol. 4r

Figure 2.13c: GB-SHRs MS VI (The Shrewsbury MS), fol. 35v

Figure 2.13d: GB-Lbl Egerton 3307, fol. 43v

Figure 2.14: Music covered by illumination (GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fol. 45v)

Figure 2.15: Section B (GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fols. 65v–66r)

Figure 2.16: Section C (GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fol. 73v–74r)

Figure 2.17a: Section D (GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fol. 62v)

Figure 2.17b: Section D (GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fol. 95v)

Figure 2.17c: Section E (GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fol. 106v)

Figure 2.18a: Heading above carol (GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fols. 17v–18r)

Figure 2.18b: Close-up of heading (GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fol. 17v)
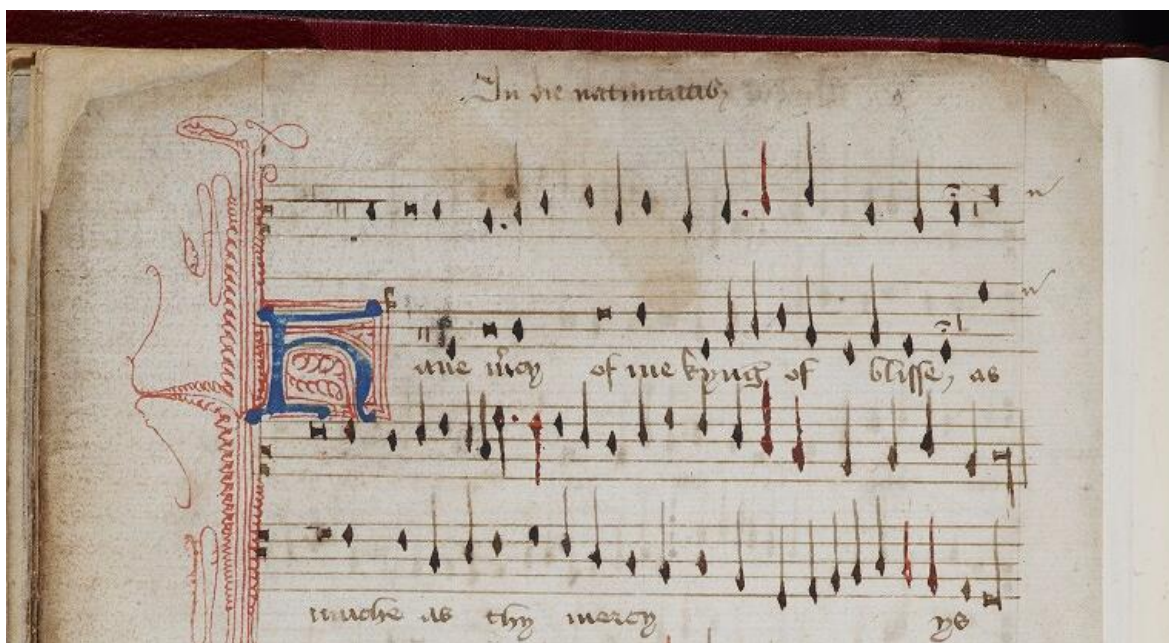
Figure 2.18c: Close-up of heading (GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fol. 12v)
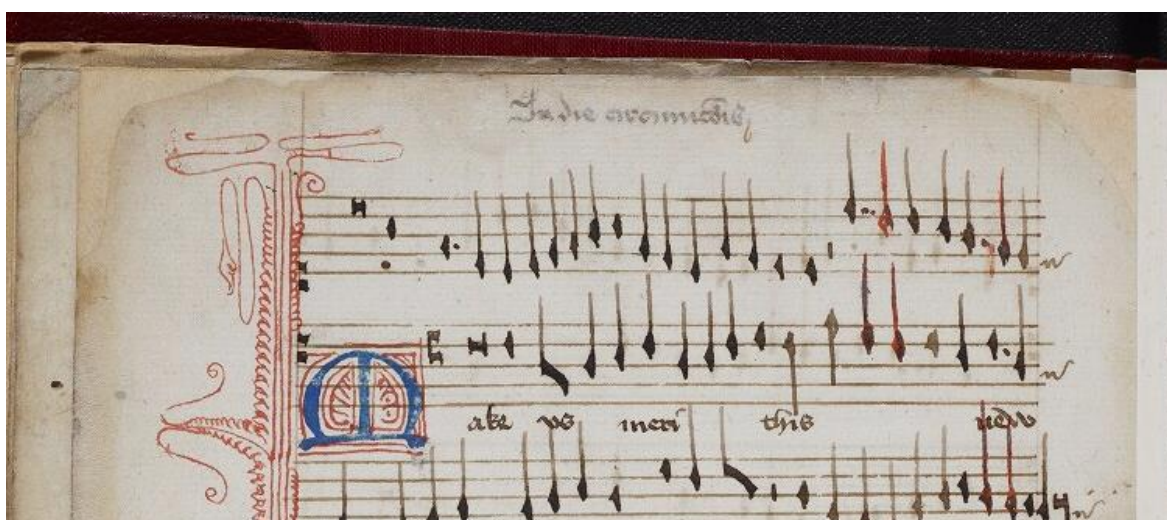
Figure 2.18d: Close-up of heading (GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fol. 40v)
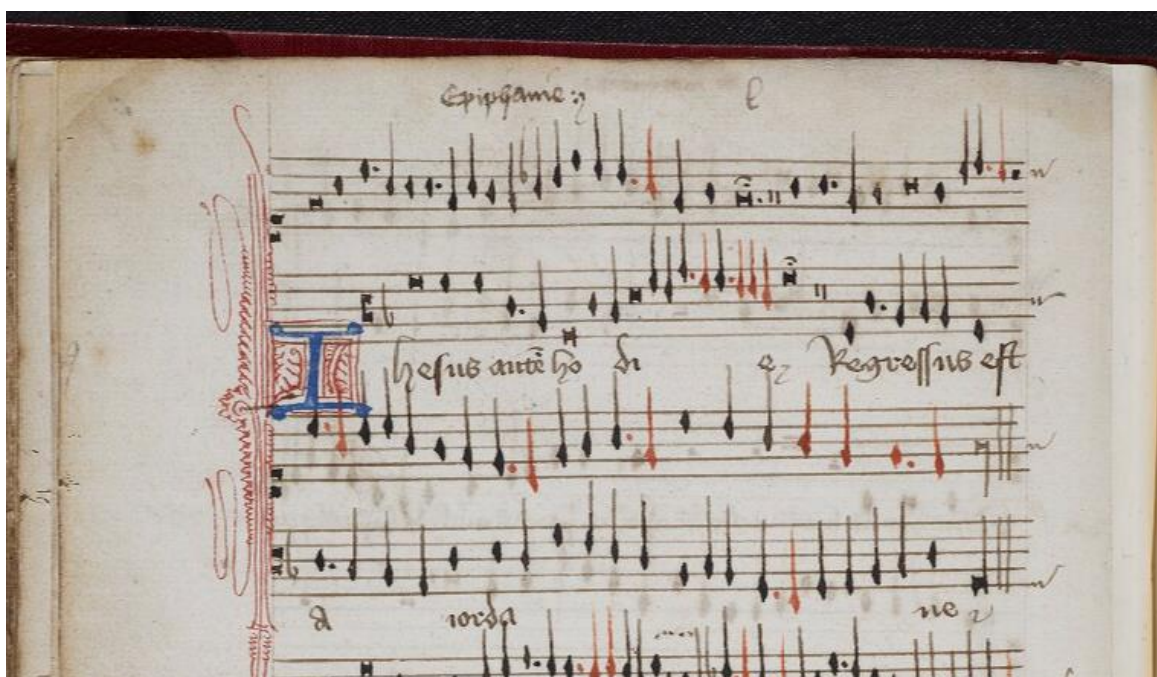
Figure 2.19: Heading, Section C (GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fols. 73v–74r)

Figure 2.20: Heading, Section D (GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fol. 84v)

Figure 2.21: Heading, Section D (GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fol. 95v)

Figure 2.22: Heading, Section E (GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fol. 123v)
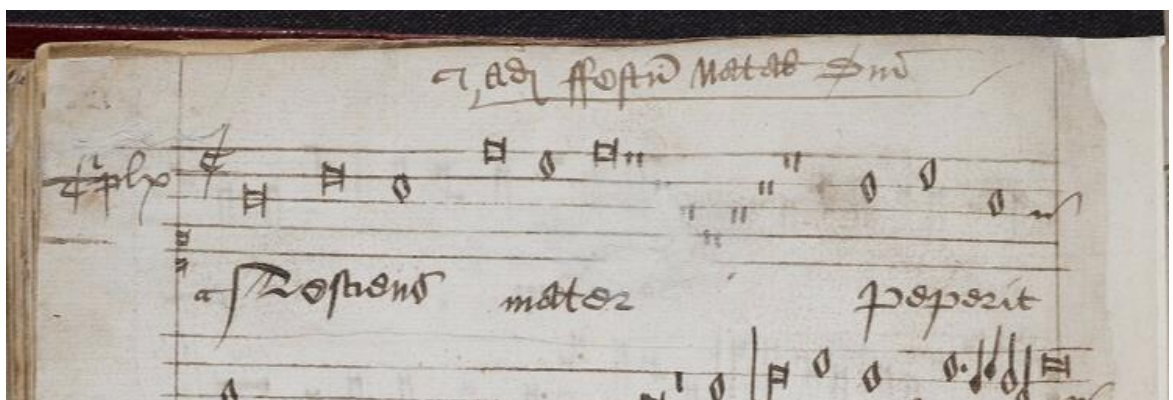
Figure 2.23a: Bounding lines (GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fol. 55v)

Figure 2.23b: Varied bounding lines (GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fol. 122r)

Figure 2.23c: Varied bounding lines (GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fol. 124v)

Figure 2.23d: Bounding lines (GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fols. 107v–108r)

Figure 2.23e: Close-up of bounding lines (GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fol. 108r)
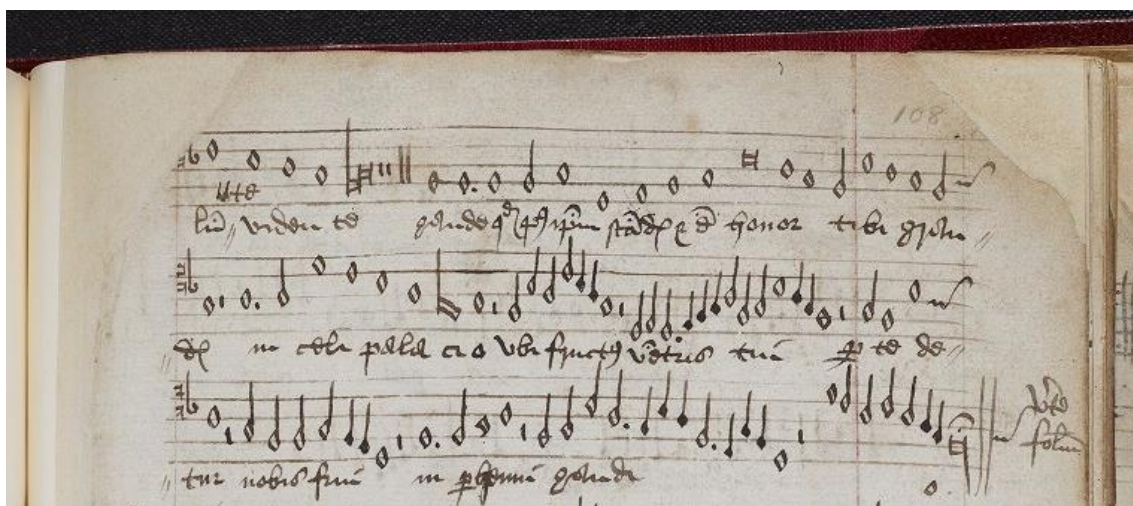
Figure 2.24a: GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fol. 7v
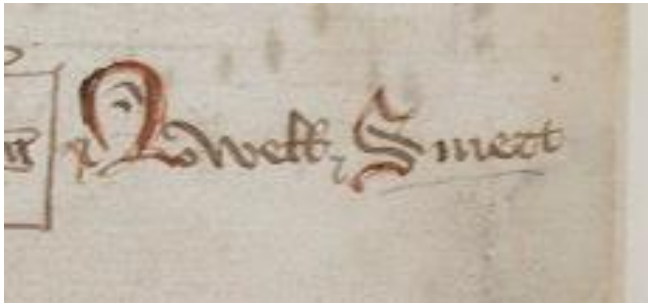
Figure 2.24b: GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fol. 16r
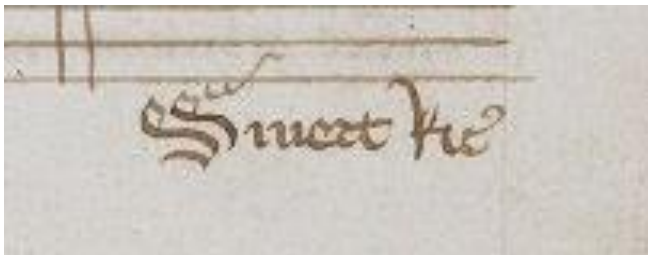
Figure 2.24c: GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fol. 16r
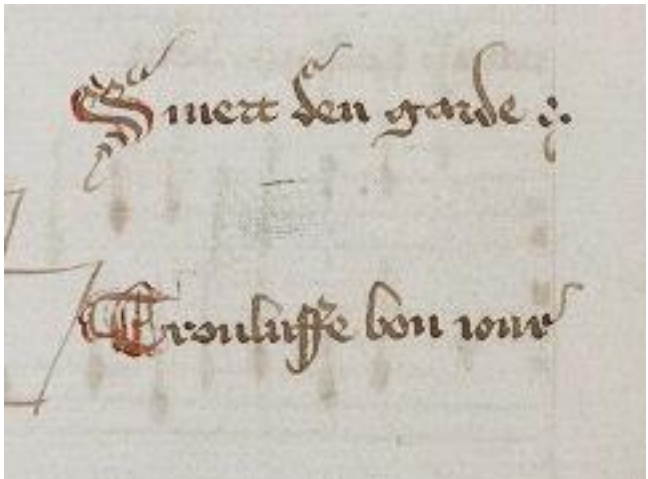
Figure 2.24d: GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fol. 17r

Figure 2.24e: GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fol. 17r

Figure 2.24f: GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fol. 20v

Figure 2.24g: GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fol. 21v

Figure 2.24h: GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fol. 29v

Figure 2.24i: GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fol. 32v
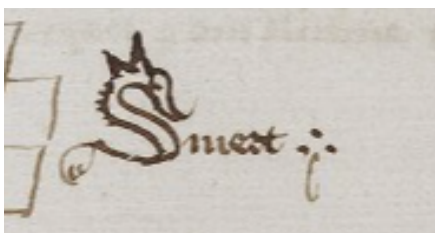
Figure 2.24j: GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fol. 33r
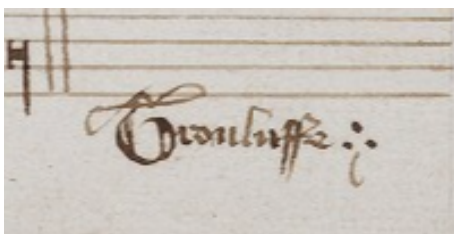
Figure 2.24k: GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fol. 34v

Figure 2.24l: GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fol. 40v
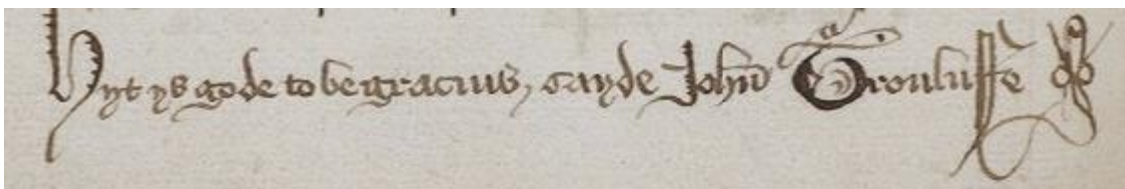
Figure 2.24m: GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fol. 41r
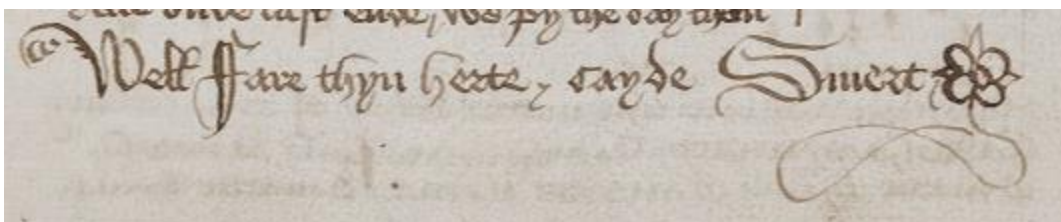
Figure 2.24n: GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fol. 55r
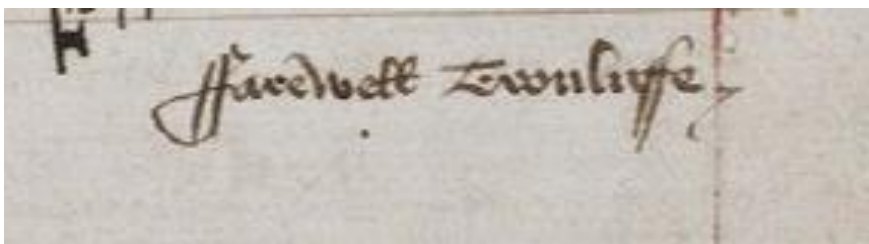
Figure 2.24o: Bottom of opening (GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fols. 56v–57r)

Figure 2.24p: Bottom of opening (GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665, fols. 57v–58r)

Figure 3.2: Identical stave lines (GB-Cjc MS 234 (K.31), fol. 6r)

Figure 3.3: Two options for the 'Amen' (GB-Cjc MS 234 (K.31), fol. 20v)
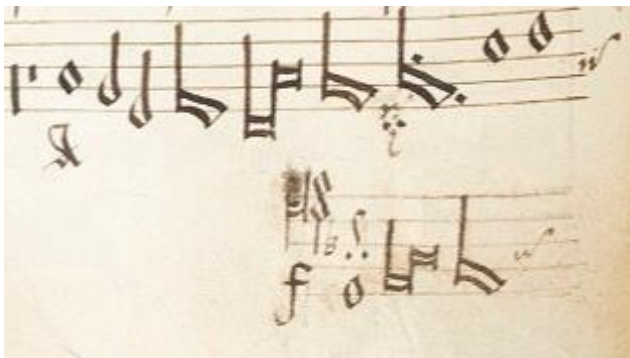
Figure 3.4: Ascription given entire stave (GB-Cjc MS 234 (K.31), fol. 12r)

Figure 3.5a: Blank staves (GB-Cjc MS 234 (K.31), fol. 4r)

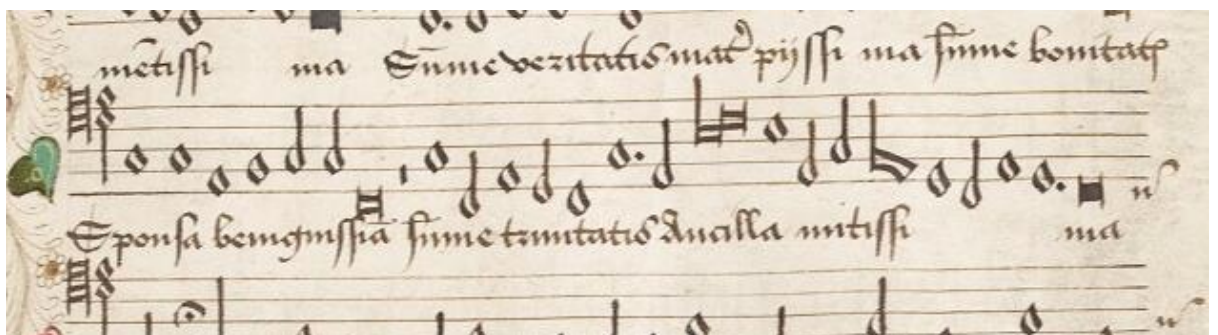**Figure 3.5b:** Blank staves (GB-Cjc MS 234 (K.31), fol. 13r)
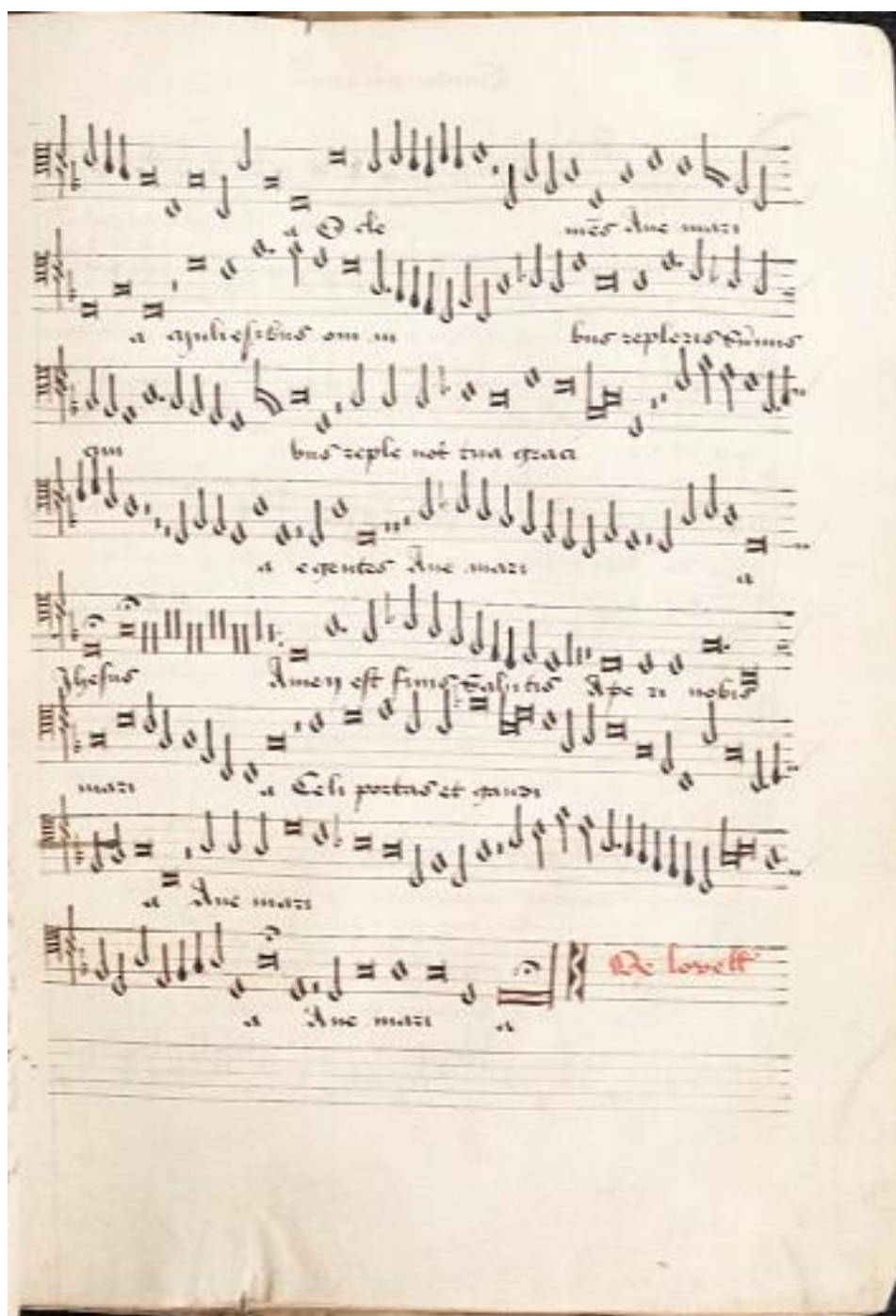
Figure 3.5c: Blank staves (GB-Cjc MS 234 (K.31), fol. 14v)
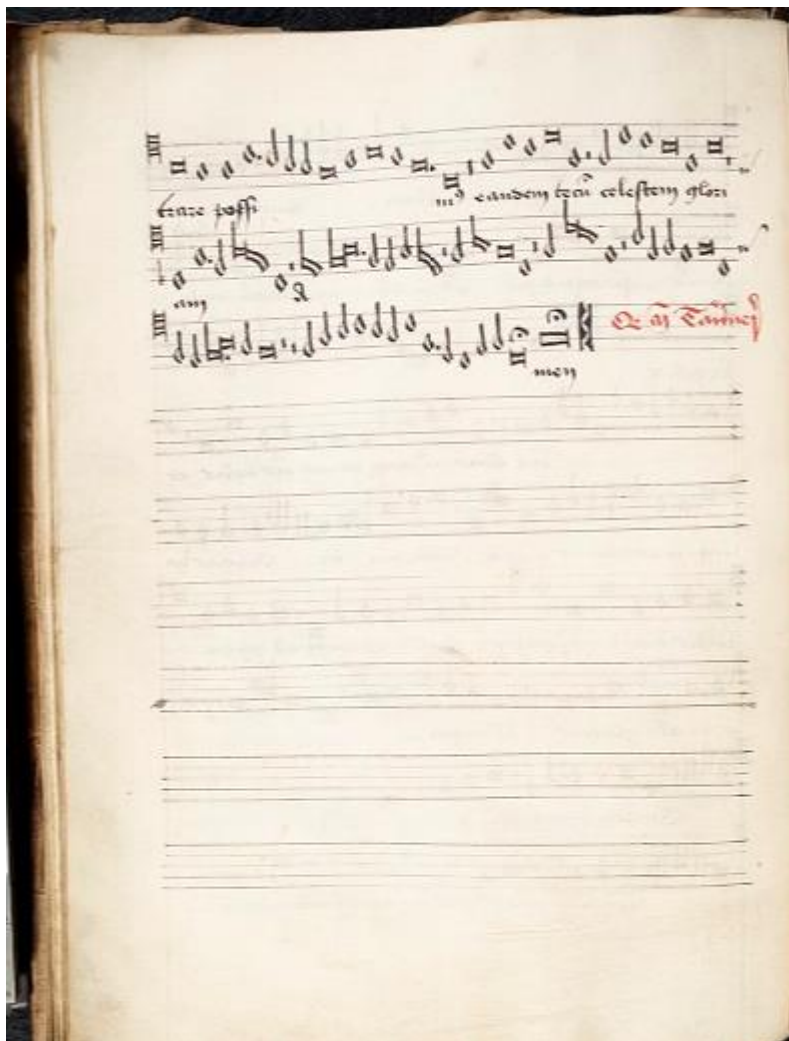
Figure 3.6a: Use of ligatures on (GB-Cjc MS 234 (K.31), fol. 1r)

Figure 3.6b: Concordant passage in Carver Choirbook (GB-En MS Adv. 5.1.15, fol. 156v)
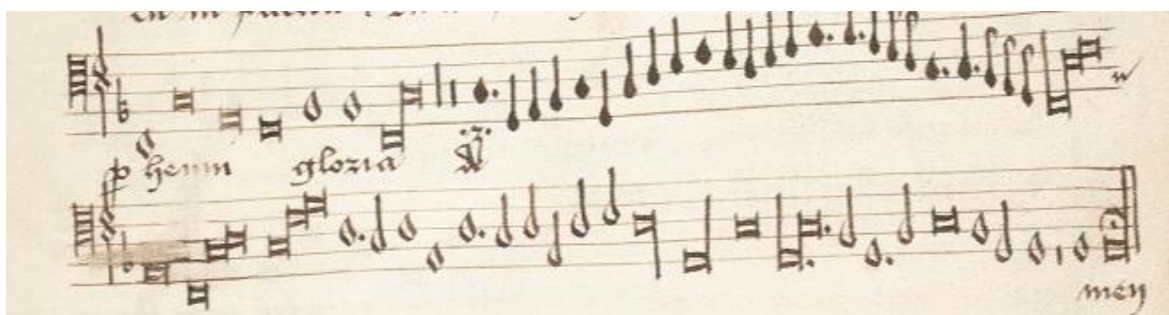

Figure 3.7a: 'Amen' (GB-Cjc MS 234 (K.31), fol. 5v)

Figure 3.7b: 'Amen' (GB-WRec MS 178 (Eton Choirbook), fol. 59r)

Figure 3.8: GB-Cjc MS 234 (K.31), fol. 12r

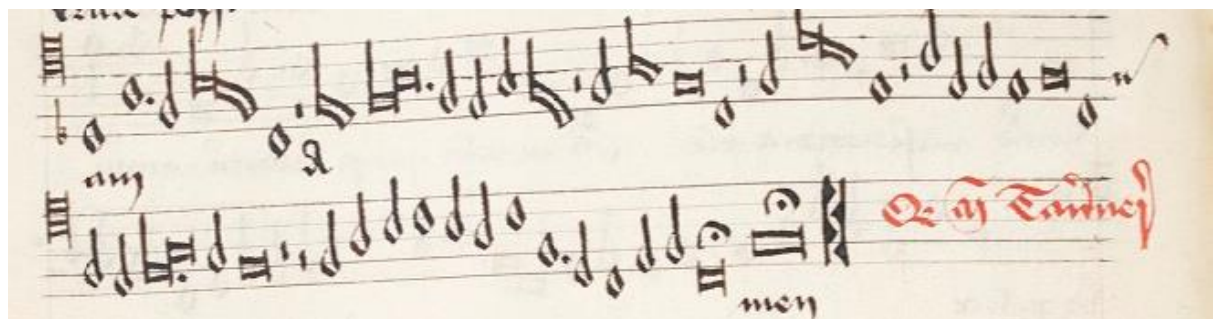**Figure 3.9:** GB-Cjc MS 234 (K.31), fol. 14v

Figure 3.10: GB-Cu Dd.13.27, fol. 13v
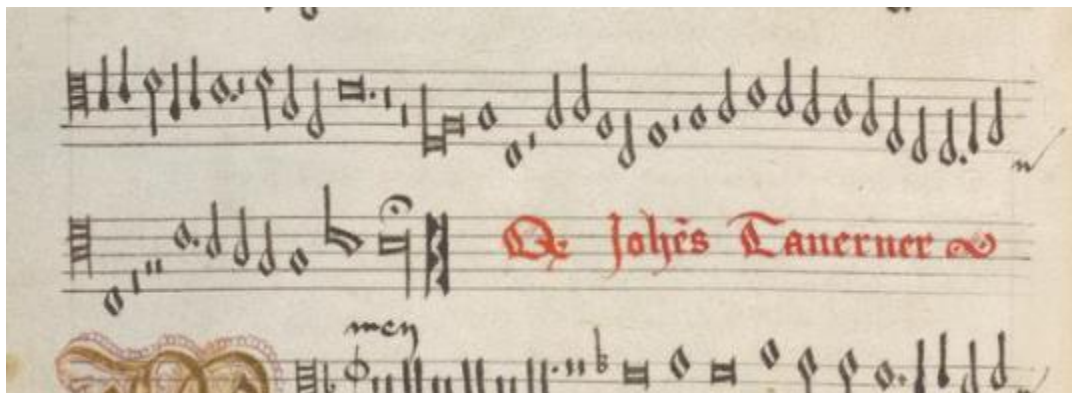
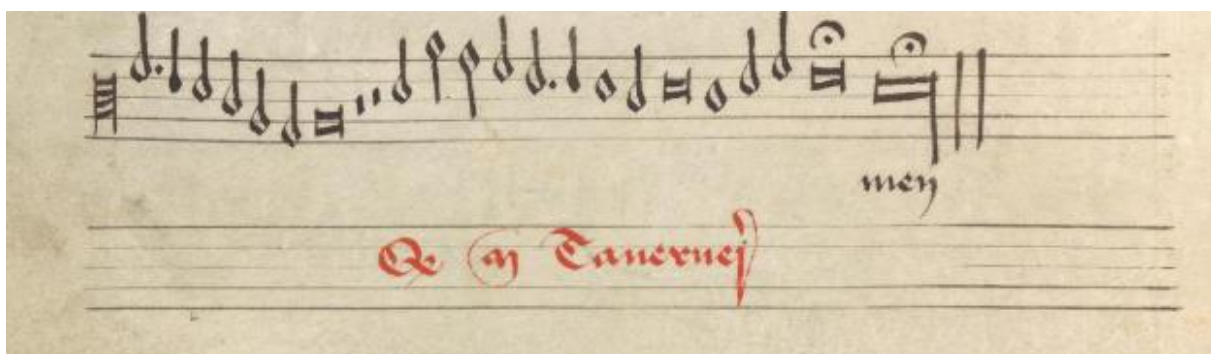

Figure 3.11: GB-Cu Dd.13.27, fol. 16v

Figure 3.12a: GB-Cjc MS 234 (K.31), fol. 2r

Figure 3.12b: GB-Cu Dd.13.27, fol. 2r

Figure 3.13a: GB-Cjc MS 234 (K.31), fol. 3r

Figure 3.13b: GB-Cu Dd.13.27, fol. 10v

Figure 3.13c: GB-Cjc MS 234 (K.31), fol. 17r

Figure 3.13d: GB-Cu Dd.13.27, fol. 27v

Figure 3.14a: Margin illumination (GB-Cu Dd.13.27, fol. 1r)

Figure 3.14b: Margin illumination (GB-Cjc MS 234 (K.31), fol. 1r)

Figure 3.15a: Binding hooks, GB-Cjc MS 234 (K.31).

Figure 3.15b: Spine with binding hooks, GB-Cjc MS 234 (K.31).

Figure 3.16: Cover, GB-Cjc MS 234 (K.31)