HEARING THE PAGE: RE-ASSESSING THE HISTORY AND PERFORMANCE OF THE LATE MEDIEVAL CAROL

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Medieval and Modern Languages

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I cannot list everyone individually but if you are one of those fine friends who have cooked me meals when I've been too busy to eat, put up with me crying on your shoulder, had medieval carols explained to you over ten times, or dragged me on random road trips to Cornwall or to the climbing wall when times have been tough, you have my sincere thanks. I look forward to more adventures as I see what life holds beyond the confines of the university walls.

It would also be incredibly remiss of me not to thank my parents, brother, and extended family, who have put up with rants, tears, elation, and everything in-between. Mother, you always thought I'd write a book…I bet you didn't think it would be one about medieval carols!

There is one person who would have and should have walked the doctoral road with me – my friend, Becca Henderson. I have no doubt that I will get to thank you one day, but I hope, for now, that this thesis will do as a small dedication. I am grateful for the friendship and time we had together in this life. You truly burned too bright for this world and when I felt I couldn't complete this your memory spurred me on. This thesis is also in memory of Dr James Whitbourn, who provided mentorship, support, and kindness during my time at Oxford. Thank you.

So, to friends remembered and friends present, to voices now silent and to songs yet to be sung, I dedicate this work.

ABSTRACT 1

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Short Abstract

Late medieval carols are an eclectic group of songs, ranging from pieces about good ale to solemn reflections on the Passion. They exist both in musically-notated books and in books without any notation at all. Despite this many scholars have neglected to examine these musically-notated works and their non-notated counterparts together. A gulf still exists between literary and musicological approaches to the form. This thesis addresses this lacuna by using an interdisciplinary literary, musicological, historical, and palaeographical approach to re-assess the history of the carol, from its development to its performance. In doing so, I re-write Richard Leighton Greene's 1935 history of the carol, a history which has often gone unchallenged. By placing the carol in its international context and studying the contexts in which it was performed and the figures involved in its performance, I argue that there is far more nuance to the carol's history than that provided by Greene. Having shown that the late medieval carol was a product of international exchange, collaboration, and travel, I propose that by examining the carol on the page and comparing musically-notated carol pieces to their non-notated counterparts we can begin to hear echoes of the carol's performance and the wider performance culture of the late medieval period. This thesis therefore shows that the carol had a life that was more vibrant and complex than previously imagined. Indeed, if we attend to the carol corpus with an interdisciplinary and comparative focus we find that the manuscript page does not remain silent.

ABSTRACT 2

HEARING THE PAGE: RE-ASSESSING THE HISTORY AND PERFORMANCE OF THE LATE MEDIEVAL CAROL

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Long Abstract

The medieval carol appears to have flourished in the fifteenth century when it was written down in a range of different manuscripts, both in musically-notated and non-notated form. This includes four polyphonic music collections: Cambridge, University Library, MS O. 3. 58 (Trinity Carol Roll); *Oxford*, Bodleian Library, MS Arch Selden B.26 (Selden Carol Book); London, British Library, Egerton MS 3307 (Egerton), and London, British Library, Add MS 5665 (Ritson). In 1935 Richard Leighton Greene published his *Early English Carols*, which brought together all known carols and attempted to provide both a definition and a history for the form. However, this collection excluded the musical settings of any of these carols. In 1952 John Stevens addressed this by publishing *Mediaeval Carols*, which provided transcriptions of the musically-notated carol repertoire and also supplemented Greene's collection by including musically-notated Latin *cantilenae*, which Stevens argued are often indistinguishable in form from the vernacular and macaronic carols. Since then, several individual articles, book chapters, and theses have been written about the carol. The majority of them are reliant on the history and background provided by Greene in the twentieth century. A single book focusing on the carol corpus was produced by David Fallows in 2018, *Henry V and the Earliest English Carols*. This provided a welcome addition to carol scholarship but, again, did not venture into great depth in relation to the history and development of the carol. Nor, in fact, did it explore in detail the subject of the carol's performance. The carol has therefore not received the scholarly attention it deserves. Its history has been seen as a mystery already solved and, in the words of Fallows, the carol seems to have 'disappeared from sight'.

In the past five years there have been some fresh approaches to the carol, but this has remained primarily in the form of individual chapters or articles. Scholars have, however, begun to consider the carol in a way that is more interdisciplinary. Seeta Chaganti and Frances Eustace, for example, have both examined the carol through the lens of

dance studies. Despite this there still appears to be some hesitance in examining the carol through a combined literary-musicological approach. This is perhaps because of the difficult place that the wider genre of lyric, to which the carol belongs, retains within scholarly thought. Much debate exists on the relationship of poetry and song and how this influences our conception of works which seem to have both a poetic and musical aspect to their nature. This may have prompted literary historians to retain a literary focus in regard to carol studies, and musicologists to retain a musicological one. This has had a particular impact on our understanding of the carol in relation to performance. Literary scholars, such as Daniel Wakelin and Kathleen Palti, have expressed hesitance to venture into discussion on the carol in performance. Musicological studies of the carol, on the other hand, have primarily focused on any musical notation accompanying the text and the musical structure of the piece. The non-notated works have been sidelined in these discussions and essentially viewed as non-musical. This has led scholars such as Ardis Butterfield and Louise McInnes to call for a new combined literary-musicological approach to lyric and specifically to the carol.

There is therefore a desperate need for a refreshed assessment of the history of the carol and, in particular, to the issue of its performance. Through an interdisciplinary literary, musicological and palaeographical approach, this thesis re-writes the carol's history, re-assessing its development and its oral and aural life. I will argue that the history of the carol is more complex and nuanced than previously imagined and that the carol was a form with an international life, one affected by the culture of travel, exchange, and collaboration prevalent in the late medieval period. Moreover, I argue that by attending to the carol in both its musically-notated and non-notated form, we can begin to see evidence of its performance on the manuscript page itself and thus shine more light on the musical and performance culture of the late medieval period. I begin by examining the question of 'what is the carol?' by focusing on the traditional association of the carol with dance-song. By exploring the similarities of the carol with other continental forms and the relationship of the carol with mendicant orders, I suggest that dance was only a small part of the carol's story – the carol was also a tool for evangelisation and a way of encouraging participation in the liturgy. Following this, I turn to an examination of where the carol was performed, who performed it, and why it was performed. By exploring the carol's function in different spaces, I show that the carol and medieval space itself had a fluid relationship to the liturgical and secular. The carol could also be used to aid an audience's navigation of the performance space and their experience of the actions taking place within that space.

The fifteenth century was a time of heightened cultural exchange as a result of trade, the movement of prominent households to and from the Continent, and the influence of the Hundred Years' War. Thus, it is vital to also consider the carol in its international context. Building on the international approaches in work by Elizaveta Strakhov and Marion Turner, I reflect on the carol's place not just in England but internationally. I turn to the household chapels of the fifteenth century, focusing specifically on their potential relationship to the polyphonic

musically-notated manuscripts. Through this I show that these household chapels were important influences on the creation, transmission, and dissemination of the carol. Furthermore, this questions the 'English' identity sometimes attributed to the carol, arguing that the form should not be aligned with any specific national identity. Having established an understanding of the carol's history, the key contexts for its performance, and the forces that were essential to the development and transmission of the form, the thesis then discusses the carol on the page and how the books and songs could have been used and performed within the contexts previously identified. I begin by re-assessing the provenance of the four musically-notated polyphonic carol manuscripts and examining the design and construction of these books and the layout of the carols within them. From this I conclude that the carol was recognised as a form with its own specific identity and that the carol corpus was intended primarily for performance from memory. I then proceed to put these musically-notated manuscripts in direct comparison with non-notated collections. In doing so, I demonstrate how the non-notated books may have been intended for use alongside their musically-notated counterparts. This emphasises the importance of studying carols and carol books with musical notation alongside those without musical notation. Through an examination of scribal correction, error, and variation in both musically-notated and non-notated works, I also demonstrate that evidence of performance can be found merely by studying the page and attending to both the musical and literary aspects of the late medieval carol.

This thesis reframes our present understanding of the carol. It shows the importance of interdisciplinary approaches to discussions of not just the carol, but the wider subject of medieval lyric. It situates the carol in an international context, showing that this form was part of a wider cultural and creative discussion and moved with its composers, performers, and patrons as they traversed medieval Europe. Moreover, through its interdisciplinary and comparative approach, it demonstrates that the voices and performances of six hundred years ago are not completely lost to us. This work lays the groundwork for further studies in areas including historical performance, musical patronage and collaboration, medieval drama, and the carol's international reach. Furthermore, it shows the carol as a subject which is still worthy of new, fresh examination and whose story does not have to remain silent.

'I'm with the ghosts of the men who can never sing again' – Johnny Flynn, Detectorists

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CONVENTIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS AND NAMES

Books, Databases, Dictionaries

Databases and online dictionaries in the table below are referred to by their full name and reference in the first instance in the main text. An abbreviated name follows in brackets. They are always referred to using the abbreviation within footnotes.

Database / Dictionary	**Abbreviated Name**
Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music, founded by Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey, <https://www.diamm.ac.uk>	DIAMM
The Digital Index of Middle English Verse, ed. by Linne Mooney et al (2023), <https://www.dimev.net/record.php?recID=607#wit-607-2>	DIMEV
Grove Music Online (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), <https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/>	GMO
Middle English Dictionary (Michigan: University of Michigan, 2023), <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary>	MED
Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), <https://www.oxforddnb.com>	ODNB
Oxford English Dictionary (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), <https://www.oed.com/?tl=true >	OED

Books are referred to by their full title and reference in the first instance in the main text and footnote. They are then referred to using the abbreviation in both the main text and the footnotes.

Books	**Abbreviated Name**
The Early English Carols, ed. by Richard Leighton Greene, 2nd rev. ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), Oxford Scholarly Editions Online.	EEC

Mediaeval Carols, 3rd rev. ed., ed. by John Stevens and David Fallows (London: Stainer & Bell, 2018).	MC
The Shearmen and Taylors' Pageant', *Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays*, ed. by Craig Hardin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1902), pp.1-33.	Pageant
The Poems of the Pearl Manuscript: Pearl, Cleanness, Patience, Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, 5th rev. ed., ed. by Malcolm Andrew and Ronald Waldron (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007), pp. 207-300,	SGGK
Thesaurus hymnologicus, ed. by Daniel Hermann (Germany: J.T. Loeschke, 1856)	TH

All other works brought in for comparison are referred to by their full title and reference unless otherwise specified.

Manuscripts

The manuscripts listed in the table below are referred to in the main text by their full shelfmark in the first instance. Following this, they are referred to by their abbreviated name in the main text. The manuscripts are always referred to by their abbreviated name within footnotes.

Manuscript	**Abbreviated Name**
Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Brogyntyn MS ii.1	Brogyntyn
Birmingham, Birmingham City Archives, Halesowen Court Rolls, Hagley Hall Collections, No. 346333	Birmingham
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 233	Corpus
Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 383/603	Gonville
Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 667/760	Caius Choirbook
Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 314	Pembroke
Cambridge, St John's College, MS 54	St John's
Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.3.58	Trinity Carol Roll
Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee. 1.12	Ryman
Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ll. 1. 11	Cambridge
Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland Advocates' Library, MS 18.7.21	Grimestone

Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates' 19.3.1	Advocates 19
Eton, Eton College Library, MS 178	Eton Choirbook
London, British Library, Add. MS 31042	London Thornton
London, British Library, Add. MS 5465	Fayrfax
London, British Library, Add. MS 5665	Ritson
London, British Library, Cotton MS Caligula A. IX	Caligula
London, British Library, Cotton MS Cleopatra C iv	Cleopatra
London, British Library, Cotton MS Otho C XIII	Otho
London, British Library, Egerton MS 3028	MS 3028
London, British Library, Egerton MS 3307	Egerton
London, British Library, Harley MS 275	Harley 275
London, British Library, Harley MS 3300	Harley 3300
London, British Library, Harley MS 4294	Harley 4294
London, British Library, Royal MS 12 C XII	Royal
London, British Library, Sloane MS 2593	Sloane
London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 1	Lambeth Choirbook
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. MS 3725	Buxheim Organ Book
Norfolk, Holkham Hall, Earl of Leicester MS 229	Holkham
Oxford, Balliol College, MS 354	Balliol
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Selden B.26	Selden Carol Book
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 77	Bodley
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 93	Douce
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 302	Audelay
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Musaeo 23.	Musaeo
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. poet e.1	OxEng
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson D.913	Rawlinson
Oxford, Lincoln College, MS Lat 89	Lincoln 89
Oxford, Lincoln College, MS Lat. 141	Lincoln
Oxford, University College, MS 78a	Univ
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Français 1537	BnF 1537
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Français 1584	BnF 1584
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Français 1585	BnF 1585
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Français 1586	BnF 1586
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Rossi 215.	Rossi
Shrewsbury, Shrewsbury School, MS VI	Shrewsbury
Taunton, Somerset Records Office, MS D/B/bw 123	Taunton
Trento, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio, MS 1374	Trent 87
Trento, Italy, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio, MS 1379 [92].	Trent 92

Any other manuscripts brought in for the purpose of comparison are referred to by their full current shelfmark.

Carol, *Cantilenae,* and Song Names

Each carol has been referred to by the first line of their first stanza, in agreement with the way these lyrics are listed on the *Digital Index of Middle English Verse* (*DIMEV)*. Where *DIMEV* gives two lines for the carol name, the first one is used. For example: *Holy Maiden blessed Thou be/ Gods son is born of Thee* is written as *Holy Maiden blessed Thou be.* Each carol will be referred to by its full name in the first instance. The following references to the carol may be a shortened version of this title. For example, *About the field they piped full right* is shortened to *About the field.* A footnote will state if any shortening of the carol title has occurred. If the carol has a well-known alternative name, then this is provided in the first instance in brackets next to name provided by *DIMEV*. Any *cantilenae* (Latin carol) names or names for liturgical Latin pieces are taken from the relevant *DIAMM* inventory for the manuscript.

CONVENTIONS

Text Transcriptions

All textual transcriptions are my own unless otherwise stated. In terms of textual conventions, I have used italics to signify expanded abbreviations, strikethroughs to indicate any form of erasure, and brackets when letters or words are illegible. I have avoided modernization of the original text as much as possible. Thus, I have included the yogh, aesc, and thorn forms as they appear in the original text. I have not transcribed 'I' as 'J' or made any other similar substitutions.

Music Transcriptions

I have relied on and referenced the carol transcriptions of John Stevens from *Mediæval Carols*. Transcribers of all other non-carol transcriptions are referenced fully in footnotes.

Translation

All textual translations are my own unless otherwise stated. Middle English has not been translated but where earlier versions of English than this have occurred, I have sometimes included a translation for the purpose of clarity.

Manuscript Dating

Unless otherwise stated all dates given to manuscripts are my own based on the historical, palaeographical, and codicological evidence.

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INTRODUCTION

'Make we ioye nowe in this fest/In quo Christus natus est, Eya!'.[1] This is probably what most modern audiences would expect to hear in something described as a 'medieval carol'. Yet the carol to a medieval audience was not just a song for Christmas; it was many different things – it was sometimes a song for the Nativity, it was sometimes a song for the celebration of the Passion, it was sometimes a bawdy drinking song, it was sometimes a lullaby. In 1935 Richard Leighton Greene brought together over four hundred lyrics in a collection called *The Early English Carols* (*EEC*).[2] This collection attempted to define the carol, establish its history, and showcase the diversity of the form. Over the past century, Greene's work has become the standard volume to which to turn in relation to carol studies. His work was supplemented by John Stevens, whose *Mediaeval Carols* (*MC*) presented modern musical editions of carols found in the four musically-notated carol books of the fifteenth century.[3] Greene's simple definition of the medieval carol has also remained the one which scholars have used to identify new carols – namely that the carol is 'a song on any subject, composed of uniform stanzas and provided with a burden'.[4] Although Greene's history of the carol has been debated, particularly by Rossell Hope Robbins and Margit Sahlin, his definition and understanding of the medieval carol has remained largely unchallenged over the last century.[5] In addition, the carol has continued to be described as an 'English' form in agreement with Greene's description of it in his Introduction.[6] *EEC* was originally published in 1935, a few short years before World War II (1939-1945), a time when there was a tendency towards more nationalist thinking and the promotion of

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[1] Selden, fol. 15r.
[2] *The Early English Carols*, ed. by Richard Leighton Greene, 2nd rev. ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), Oxford Scholarly Editions Online (*EEC*).
[3] *Mediaeval Carols*, 3rd rev. ed., ed. by John Stevens and David Fallows (London: Stainer & Bell, 2018) (*MC*).
[4] Greene, *EEC*, pp. xxxii-xxxiii. New carols have been identified since the second revision of Greene's *EEC* in 1977. This includes Martin Camargo, 'Two Middle English Carols from An Exeter Manuscript', *Medium Æveum*, 67.1 (1998), 104-111, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43629961> [Accessed: 5th July 2023]; Kathleen Palti, 'An Unpublished Fifteenth-Century Carol Collection: Oxford, Lincoln College MS Lat. 141', *Medium Ævum*, 77.2 (2008), 260-278, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43632340> [Accessed 16th July 2023]; A.S.G. Williams and T. Toshiyuki, 'A New Middle English Carol', *Medium Ævum*, 70.1 (2001), 112-115, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43630343> [Accessed: 17th July 2023].
[5] Rossell Hope Robbins and Margit Sahlin both argued for an association between the carol and procession. This is explored in Chapter II, pp. 51-89. See Rossell Hope Robbins, 'Middle English Carols as Processional Hymns', *Studies in Philology,* 56.4 (1959), 559-582, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4173287> [Accessed: 15th July 2023] and Margit Sahlin, *Étude sur la carole médiévale: l'origine du mot et ses rapports avec l'église* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1940).
[6] Greene, *EEC*, p. xxi-xlii.

'Englishness'.[7] Thus, Greene's definition of the carol and the idea of the carol as specifically 'English' stemmed from the form's study during this particular context. The study of the carol continued to flourish during the war and post-war years with work by Manfred Bukofzer, Bertram Schofield, and new interventions by Greene appearing during the 1940s.[8] John Stevens then produced *MC* in 1952 which was followed by a newly-revised version of Greene's *EEC* in 1977. However, following this little was really said about the carol. As David Fallows notes, there were a few articles and dictionary entries but 'with everything neatly edited and beautifully organized, elegantly packaged and almost presented with a rose attached to the knot [by Greene and Stevens], there seemed nothing else to say. So, briefly, nobody said anything.'[9]

The last few years have brought a small resurgence in carol studies, with new work by Lisa Colton, Frances Eustace, Louise McInnes, Kathleen Palti, and David Fallows.[10] In addition, several doctoral theses have been produced on the subject, including by Palti and Adele Smaill.[11] However, these have remained unpublished. Major interdisciplinary attention to the carol has also been severely lacking. It is only within the last five years that scholars have started to look at the carol through the lens of other academic disciplines – Seeta Chaganti and Frances Eustace, for example, attend to the carol using both literary and

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[7] Lisa Colton and Louise McInnes write that 'in line with other nationalist accounts of his time, Greene's study (*EEC*) sought to identify peculiarly English genres, especially those that might betray the residue of lost folk or popular lyric traditions'. See Lisa Colton and Louise McInnes, 'High or Low? Medieval English Carols as Part of Vernacular Culture, 1380-1450', in *Vernacular Aesthetics in the Later Middle Ages: Politics, Performativity, and Reception from Literature to Music* (Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), pp. 119-149.

[8] For carol scholarship in this post-war period, see Edmund Chambers, *English Literature at the Close of the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1945); Bertram Schofield, 'A Newly Discovered 15th Century Manuscript of the English Chapel Royal Part 1', *The Musical Quarterly*, 32.4 (1946), 509-536, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/739242> [Accessed: 1st August 2023]; Manfred Bukofzer, 'A Newly Discovered 15th Century Manuscript of the English Chapel Royal – Part II', *The Musical Quarterly*, 33.1 (1947), 38-51, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/739434> [Accessed: 1st August 2023]; Manfred Bukofzer, 'Holy-Week Music and Carols at Meaux Abbey', in *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1950), pp. 115-175; Frank Ll. Harrison also discussed carols throughout *Music in Medieval Britain* – see Frank Ll. Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain* (London: Routledge and Paul, 1958).

[9] David Fallows, *Henry V and the Earliest English Carols: 1413-1440* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), pp. 1-2.

[10] Colton and McInnes, 'High or Low?', pp. 119-149; Frances Eustace, *Secular Carolling in Late Medieval England* (Leeds: ARC Humanities Press, 2022); Palti, 'An Unpublished Fifteenth-Century Carol Collection'; Fallows, *Henry V*; Louise McInnes, 'The Social, Political, and Religious Contexts of the Late Medieval Carol', (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Huddersfield, 2013), <http://eprints.hud.ac.uk/id/eprint/23404/>, [Accessed: 29th January 2024].

[11] Kathleen Palti, "Synge we now alle and sum': Three Fifteenth-Century Collections of Communal Song' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University College London, 2008) and Adele Smaill, 'Medieval Carols: Origins, Forms, and Performance Contexts' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Michigan, 2003).

dance studies.[12] In regard to the nature of carol performance, some modern scholars have expressed hesitance about whether we can tell much about performance by studying the manuscript page. For example, when examining the non-notated carol corpus, Daniel Wakelin states that there is 'little evidence of orality or performance'.[13] Kathleen Palti also writes that written texts 'will always be difficult to relate to performance'.[14]

Considering this reluctance to make connections between performance and writing, this thesis will attend to the history, development, and performance of the late medieval carol from a literary, musicological, historical, and palaeographical perspective. I will begin by questioning whether the carol had a linear developmental pathway, exploring the contexts in which the carol was performed and examining the place of the carol in England and on the Continent. This will re-shape the contextual landscape of the carol, re-analysing where carols were sung, how they were sung, and by whom they were sung, placing the carol and carol books within their performance and historical context. I will then turn to the physical carol manuscripts, examining how they were used and demonstrating that it is possible to find evidence of performance by examining the page.

The Carol and Lyric: Form, Genre, Structure

To begin to understand the carol and to further outline my approach to the re-evaluation of the carol and its performance, it is important to first situate the carol within the broader subject of the Middle English lyric. Lyric has been a subject of much debate and the definitions of it are wide-ranging; in the words of Werner Wolf 'the lyric seems to be a notoriously elusive category'.[15] It is to this category that the carol has traditionally been assigned. The understanding of lyric has often been complicated by the relationship

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[12] Seeta Chaganti, 'Dance in a Haunted Space: Genre, Form, and the Middle English Carol', *Exemplaria*, 27 1-2 (2015), 129-149, <https://doi-org.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/10.1179/1041257315Z.00000000068> [Accessed: 1st August 2023]; Seeta Chaganti, 'Choreographing Mouvance: The Case of the English Carol', *Philological Quarterly*, 87 1-2 (2008), 77-103, <https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/choreographing-mouvance-case-english-carol/docview/211154879/se-2> [Accessed: 1st August 2023]; Seeta Chaganti, *Strange Footing: Poetic Form and Dance in the Late Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018); Eustace, *Secular Carolling*.

[13] Daniel Wakelin, 'The Carol in Writing: Three Anthologies from Fifteenth-Century Norfolk', *Journal of the Early English Book* Society, 9 (2006), 25-49.

[14] Palti, 'An Unpublished Fifteenth-Century Carol Collection', p. 272.

[15] Werner Wolf, 'The Lyric: Problems of Definition and a Proposal for Reconceptualisation', in *Theory into Poetry: New Approaches to the Lyric*, ed. by Eva Müller-Zettelmann and Margarete Rubik (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2005), pp. 21-56, ProQuest Ebook Central.

between what we define as poetry and what we define as song. Wolf notes that during the Alexandrian period the term 'lyric' became a general term for poems which were meant to be sung.[16] The use of this term fell away in the Middle Ages and then re-emerged in the Renaissance with its previous connection to music.[17] The music connotation then faded again over time and lyric became a synonym for poetry, with the modern mind equating the term with any versified literature.[18] This purely historical timeline of lyric does not necessarily illuminate our understanding of the concept of lyric or of the relationship between song and poetry. Peter Drönke's *The Medieval Lyric* remains a seminal text in the field.[19] However, even in this Drönke seems to use the terms poetry and lyric interchangeably.[20] He also highlights that his criteria for the book were largely poetic as opposed to musical.[21] This is again problematic as it favours a literary perspective on lyric, which puts any musical dimension as a secondary element. In addition, it fails to consider that poetry has a relationship with music; they operate with the shared characteristics of rhythm, metre, phrasing, and considerations of sound. Poetry partakes as much as song in musical language.[22] Thus, whether we are looking at medieval verse as being either poetry or song, both still exist within musical and literary frameworks.

This thesis treats the medieval carol as being both a literary and musical construct, as operating within both dimensions at the same time and being unable to be separated from either or understood by merely focusing on one of these specific approaches. This addresses points made by Ardis Butterfield, who discusses the complexities of defining medieval lyric and shows how the musical aspect of lyric studies is

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[16] Wolf, "The Lyric", p. 22.
[17] Wolf, "The Lyric", p. 22.
[18] Wolf, 'The Lyric", pp. 21-23. Butterfield notes that the term 'lyric' was used in the sixteenth century – 'lyric as poem was used by Sidney in 1586; as an adjective by Puttenham in 1589'. See Ardis Butterfield, 'Why Medieval Lyric?', *ELH*, 82.2 (2015), 319-343, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24477788> [Accessed: 22nd September 2023], (p. 324).
[19] Peter Drönke, *The Medieval Lyric* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), p. 10.
[20] Drönke also avoids the discussion about the definition of lyric – 'the poetry here is so genuinely varied that I hope to be forgiven if I do not begin with a discussion or definition of the nature of lyric itself'. Drönke, *The Medieval Lyric*, p. 10.
[21] Drönke, *The Medieval Lyric*, p. 10.
[22] In *L'art de dictier* Deschamps recognises that language and poetry can have an innate musicality, referring to this as 'musique naturele', a type of performance that arises from natural instinct or ability and is unable to be taught. This is distinct from 'musique artificiele' which requires specific training to understand its music. See Eustache Deschamps, *L'art de dictier*, ed. by Deborah M. Sinnreich-Levi (East Lansing: Colleagues Press, 1994), pp. 60-67. This distinction is outlined clearly by Jane M. Taylor in Jane M. Taylor, 'Lyric Poetry of the Later Middle Ages', in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval French Literature*, ed. by Simon Gaunt and Sarah Kay (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 153-66.

'an absent presence in many theories of lyric and lyric reading as well as in medieval literary culture.'[23] Butterfield uses the example of a blank stave next to a French song in Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 383/603 (Gonville), remarking that this visual emptiness is not, in fact, empty at all.[24] It tells us that there is a musical dimension to the words on the page, and that even if the scribe has not completed the melody on the page there was still an intentional melody present in the scribe's mind when they came to put pen to page.[25] Thus, we have a relationship between the writing of song or poetry and the echoes of performance that still exist once the words find their way onto the page. In medieval manuscripts, including those without musical notation, we see attempts to convey poetry and song in their oral and aural sense through the medium of the page. This thesis considers lyric and thus the medieval carol with this idea in mind, adhering to the summary given by Butterfield, who states that 'poetry is the creation of manuscript and authorial mediation of sound into sense for public consumption'.[26] I consider lyric as being a descriptive genre which is used to encapsulate forms which demonstrate both poetic and musical dimensions. Furthermore, I view the written versions of these forms as scribes' attempts to translate these dimensions onto the page.

The words 'form' and 'genre' are essential to define to further break down what lyric is within the framework I have provided. Christopher Cannon notes the difficulties in defining form but describes it as the concept and term that connects immaterial and material – it is the 'brute physicality of some thing as it is rooted in the realm of ideas conceived in some mind'.[27] Cannon goes on to explain that form is dictated by all the different elements of text which structure it and is intrinsically linked to the meaning of the text.[28] Jessica Brantley also builds on this link between form and meaning, explaining that the meaning of texts comes from the 'physical forms in which their original readers encountered them'.[29] In terms of late medieval culture, these encounters normally take place when the reader encounters the manuscript page. To Brantley the book structures the texts within it. Considering these ideas and in terms of the lyric, we

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[23] Butterfield, 'Why Medieval Lyric?', p. 327.
[24] Butterfield, 'Why Medieval Lyric?', p. 332; Gonville.
[25] Butterfield, 'Why Medieval Lyric?', p. 333.
[26] Butterfield, 'Why Medieval Lyric?', p. 335.
[27] Christopher Cannon, 'Form', in *Middle English*, ed. by Paul Strohm (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 177-190, (p. 178.)
[28] Cannon, 'Form', p. 178.
[29] *Medieval English Manuscripts and Literary Forms,* ed. by Jessica Brantley (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2022), p. 1.

might therefore think of form as a physical structure, a combination of structural attributes and physical contexts that work together to give rise to meaning within a text. Having established that the lyric is both poetic and musical, written and performed, we might then add performance contexts to this definition. The circumstances in which a text is received by an audience – from the way the performer plays or sings to the space a piece is experienced in and the reader's own preconceptions about the work – all feed into the eventual form the piece takes for each individual audience member.[30] All of these elements inform the structure of the work as much as its written appearance on the page. It is the combination then of performance context and manner of performance, physical context, and written structure that produces meaning from a lyric, which makes the immaterial material.[31]

Whilst audience and experience are essential to form, they are also integral to genre. Following the work of Hans Robert Jauss, Alfred Hiatt notes that genre is a "contract' between author and audience' and is dependent on the extent to which the audiences 'preconstituted' expectations of a piece are met and how the audience comes to experience or understand the piece.[32] The idea of audience expectations either being met or not met and this informing how the audience perceives a piece gives the impression of various formulaic elements combining to create a recognisable shape of sorts, something to which an audience could give a name.[33] Jessica Brantley references Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (c.1595-1596) in making this distinction: 'And as imagination bodies forth/The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen/turns them to shapes, and gives to air nothing, /A local habitation and a name'.[34] Through the medium of writing and performance words and music emerge as form, and through this find their meaning. It is this

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[30] In Chapter II, pp. 51-52 this relationship is explored in more detail as a creative web.

[31] Fiona Sampson writes that music and poetry are both 'experiential forms. They happen when they're being experienced […] if it is experiential, our experience co-creates the song or poem, and as co-creators we're involved and invested in it to a particular degree'. Sampson therefore concludes that what happens to each of us as an individual becomes part of the piece or poem. See Fiona Sampson, *Lyric Cousins: Poetry and Musical Form* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016), p. 209.

[32] Alfred Hiatt, 'Genre without System', in *Middle English*, ed. by Paul Strohm (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 277-294, (p. 278). This builds on the work done by Hans Robert Jauss – see Hans Robert Jauss, 'Theory of Genres and Medieval Literature, in *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, trans. by Timothy Bahti (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1982), pp. 76-109, (p. 79).

[33] Elizaveta Strakhov writes that lyric types were 'readily recognizable to their medieval readers by their particular prosodic features of stanzaic number, stanzaic length and rhyme scheme'. This shows elements of form working together to produce something that is recognizable or nameable. See Elizaveta Strakhov, *Continental England: Form, Translation, and Chaucer in the Hundred Years' War* (Columbus: Ohio States Press, 2022), p. 1.

[34] See Brantley, *Medieval English Manuscripts*, p. 1 and William Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), v. 1. ll. 14-17.

presence and the recognition of similar qualities shared by separate forms, that we come to see as constituting genre. Hiatt suggests that modern understandings of genre are more categorical than the medieval understanding of genre. He instead describes medieval genre as a 'mode of mixing', emphasising its sense of fluidity.[35] This study acknowledges the fluidity that exists between genres, whilst also treating genre as an overarching recognisable shape which comprises different structures that bear visual, aural, and structural similarities to one another. I therefore treat the carol as a form contributing to the wider genre of medieval lyric. Within this though there are different types of carols, which differ but at the same time have essential similarities to one another. Thus, just as we are all physically and personally different from one another but are all still human, carols too have their differences yet remain carols and, furthermore, remain lyrics.

Despite stating that the carol is a form it is, nevertheless, important to distinguish the difference between this modern recognition of it as a form and a medieval understanding of it in this light. The word 'carol' occurs few times throughout medieval manuscripts. For example, in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 302 (Audelay), the Augustinian priest John Audelay (d.1426) describes his works as carols, writing 'I pray yow, syrus, boothe moore and las / Syng these caroles in Cristemas', and there is also a reference to the singing of Christmas carols in the late fourteenth century text *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (*SGGK*), although this reference seems to be more concerned with the act of dancing than the act of singing.[36] To even label the works collected by Greene as 'medieval carols' then is difficult in itself. The pieces in *EEC* can at best be described as pieces in which Greene recognised common structural elements grouped as a specific form, which is suggested to be the carol. It is unwise to say with any certainty that the form we call the carol was recognised by the medieval reader or performer by this name. I will, however, continue within this thesis to use the term 'medieval carol', suggesting later that there are indications that this structure was

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[35] Hiatt, 'Genre without System', p. 291.

[36] Audelay, fol. 27v; The marginal note describing these works as carols is found on fol. 27v. The manuscript and some details of Audelay's life are described in Julia Boffey, 'Middle English Lyrics and Manuscripts', in *A Companion to the Middle English Lyric*, ed. by Thomas Duncan (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2005), pp. 1-18. Karl Reichl notes that the term 'carol 'appears five times in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (*SGGK*) and suggests that this is not a reference to the lyric form but to either dancing or a combination of dancing and singing: see Karl Reichl, 'The Middle English Carol', in *A Companion to the Middle English Lyric*, ed. by Duncan, pp. 150-170, (p. 151). Greene also notes that the intended meaning of carol in Gawain appears to be that of a combined act of dance and song – see Greene, *EEC*, p. xxviii. For references to carols in *SGGK* see *The Poems of the Pearl Manuscript: Pearl, Cleanness, Patience, Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, 5th rev. ed., ed. by Malcolm Andrew and Ronald Waldron (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007), pp. 207-300, (ll. 43-44; ll. 471-473; ll. 1025-1026; ll. 1885-1888).

recognised as a specific form. I will also keep in mind the danger of historical distance and anachronism, remaining aware of the potential influence of our modern conceptions on ideas of performance, form, and musical and literary culture.

The structure of the carol is important to note from the outset. The carol belongs to a group of lyrics referred to broadly as refrain-song.[37] It begins with a burden, a short phrase that is intended to be sung by a chorus. The verses are sung by soloists and in-between each verse the burden is repeated. The word burden only appears in the sixteenth century, however Greene chooses to use this word to describe fifteenth-century material, namely the phrase of part of the carol that is sung at the start of the piece and then repeated after each verse.[38] Greene writes of how 'the presence of an invariable line or group of lines which is to be sung before the first stanza and after all stanzas is the feature which distinguishes the carol from all other forms of Middle English lyric'.[39] In the carol manuscripts themselves the word 'chorus' or 'fote' is used in reference to this part of the song.[40] Despite the anachronistic nature of the word 'burden', Greene continues to make use of this term to describe the repeated element of the carol. I note and acknowledge the issues surrounding the use of this term when discussing the carol. However, I will continue to refer to this element of the song as a burden for the purpose of clarity within this discussion, to avoid any modern presumptions made in relation to the term 'chorus', and to avoid switching between terms and causing confusion when discussing previous scholarship which has referred to this element as a 'burden'.

Although Greene argues that the burden is an integral part of the carol, he excludes Latin lyrics with a burden element from *EEC* and refers to them as *cantilenae*.[41] This is in line with Greene's aim to establish the carol as a primarily 'English' form, something that celebrates the English language and is a marker of cultural and national identity. John Stevens's *MC* addressed this by including these Latin forms in his collection, noting that they are indistinguishable from their Middle English counterparts in form.[42] I

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[37] Recent scholarship has seen increasing interest in the medieval refrain. For example, Mary Channen Caldwell, *Devotional Refrains in Medieval Latin Song* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022) and Jennifer Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular in Medieval French Music and Poetry* (New York: Boydell & Brewer, 2013).
[38] Greene describes how 'the burden makes and marks the carol.' See Greene, *EEC*, p. cix.
[39] Greene, *EEC*, p. cix.
[40] References to 'chorus' be found in carols from the Selden and Ritson manuscripts. For an example see Selden, fol. 10r. A reference to 'fote' can be found in Balliol, p. 480.
[41] Colton and McInnes have noted the issues with the word 'burden', preferring to use the term 'chorus' and only refer to 'burden' when discussing earlier scholarship which makes use of the term. See Colton and McInnes, 'High or Low', p. 5.
[42] Stevens, *MC*, xiii.

certainly agree with Steven's assessment of the Latin carols. This work does, however, have particular focus on the Middle English and macaronic carols, drawing the Latin carols in for comparison and discussion. This approach is due to the fact that to cross-reference English and macaronic carols we have *EEC*, *MC*, *DIAMM*, and *DIMEV* at our disposal. Greene lists the concordances for each carol in *EEC* and this can be checked against the repertoire lists of English and macaronic lyrics on *DIMEV* to see if any new concordances have been identified. *DIAMM* and *MC* provide information primarily on the musically-notated books, with *DIAMM* offering a repertoire list of notated collections and *MC* collecting together all the Latin, English, and macaronic carols in musically-notated works. However, there are currently no databases in existence which include all the Latin carols in non-notated sources. As such, it is difficult to fully cross-reference Latin carol concordances in comparison to vernacular or macaronic carol concordances. The likelihood of missing a concordance between Latin carols in musically-notated books and non-notated collections is therefore high. Considering the approach taken within this work, I have therefore retained a focus on Middle English and macaronic carols while still drawing on the Latin carols for context and points of discussion, acknowledging them as a part of the medieval carol corpus.

Along with the presence of a burden, some of the carols include an internal refrain, which occurs at the end of each stanza.[43] Karl Reichl distinguishes between a refrain and a burden in his discussion of the medieval carol in *A Companion to the Middle English Lyric*.[44] He writes that the burden is a form of external refrain, existing independently of the stanzas.[45] An internal refrain, on the other hand, is attached to the stanza.[46] Reichl gives the example of the carols of the Franciscan Friar, James Ryman (fl. c.1472-1492), whose carols often feature an internal refrain.[47] For example, the carol *Now in Bethlehem that holy place* from Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee. 12 (Ryman):

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[43] For an example of internal refrain see *Feed the hunger the thirst give drink* by John Audelay – Audelay, fol. 28r. The line 'I cownsel the' is used at the end of each stanza as an internal refrain. For a full transcription see no. 326 in Greene, *EEC*, p. 198.
[44] Reichl, 'The Middle English Carol', pp. 150-170.
[45] Reichl, 'The Middle English Carol', p. 158.
[46] Reichl, 'The Middle English Carol', p. 158.
[47] Reichl, 'The Middle English Carol', p. 158. Very little is known about Ryman, apart from the fact that he was active in the mid to late-fifteenth century and was ordained acolyte at Canterbury in 1476. The Ryman manuscript is thought to come from the very end of the century, c.1492. See Daniel Wakelin, *Scribal Correction and Literary Craft: English Manuscripts 1375-1510* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 294 and Julia Boffey and A.S.G. Edwards, 'Poetic Manuscripts', in *The Oxford History of Poetry in English*, 4 vols., Medieval Poetry: 1400-1500, ed. by Julia Boffey and A.S.G. Edwards (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), III, pp. 111-126, (p. 115).

Be we mery now in this fest,
In quo Saluator natus est

Now in Betheleme, that holy place
To bringe man oute of woofull case
Of virgin Marie full of grace
Saluator mundi nat*us* est.

To the sheperdes keeping thei*r* folde
On Cristemas nyght an aungell tolde
That in Bethlehem w*ith* bestes bolde
Saluator mundi nat*us* est[48]

The line 'saluator mundi natus est' is the internal refrain in this carol, whilst the burden consists of the first two lines 'Be we mery now in this fest/In quo Saluator natus est'.[49] The internal refrain also connects to the burden through rhyme, with this being used as a cue that the burden is about to begin again. The use of rhyme scheme to cue the burden often occurs within carols, with many carols having an aaab rhyme scheme where the b line fits the rhyme scheme of the carol burden.[50] This demonstrates the participatory nature of the carol and how certain oral cues can be used to signify parts of the song intended for a chorus. The carol was therefore structured for joining in; it was designed for audience members not just to be part of an audience but also to be part of the performance, challenging our modern conceptions of the role of the audience during performance.

Refrain was not just an important element of the carol; it was an important element of several different continental forms, from the French *formes-fixes* to the Italian *lauda*.[51] The refrain is designed as 'a moment of return, repetition, and remembering'.[52] It is a focal point from which musical, poetic, and cultural meaning is gained.[53] The medieval carol burden often emphasises the central theme of the song. The repetition of the burden aids memorisation and thus potential dissemination and transmission of the song. This repetition also reinforces certain cultural messages. Carols were written on a range of themes –

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[48] Ryman, fols. 38v-39r.
[49] A full transcription of this carol can be found under carol 8A in Greene, *EEC*, p. 43.
[50] Christopher Ruth, 'Western European Vernacular Song through the Early Renaissance', in *Hymns and Hymnody: Historical and Theological Introductions,* 3 vols., ed. by Mark A. Lamport, Benjamin K. Forrest, and Vernon M. Whaley (Oregon: Cascade Books, 2019), I, pp. 184-197, (p. 186); Leeman L. Perkins, *Music in the Age of the Renaissance* (London: Norton, 1999), p. 252.
[51] This will be explored in more detail in Chapter I, pp. 43-49.
[52] Caldwell, *Devotional Refrains*, p. 1.
[53] Caldwell, *Devotional Refrains*, p. 1.

from drinking and feasting to the life of Christ. They operated across different cultural spaces and performance contexts. Much scholarly discussion has occurred in relation to how the liturgical and secular interacted within medieval culture. Michael Camille describes how spaces, such as the church, court, and city were 'arenas of confrontation, places where individuals often crossed social boundaries'.[54] Medieval spaces were also more than just spaces in which social boundaries could be traversed; they were fluid spaces in which the liturgical and the secular freely mixed, coming into contact and often running into one another. As such, many spaces, from the church to the city streets, resist categorisation as decidedly liturgical or secular – they are in the words of Camille, spaces 'in-between, on the edge'.[55]

The sense of fluidity within medieval spaces can be applied to both the carol and medieval lyrics more widely. David L. Jeffrey notes that some 'lyrics heretofore though secular are in fact distinctly religious in both emphasis and purpose' and thus escape 'traditional classification', demonstrating how lyrics can operate in both liturgical and secular spheres at the same time.[56] This liminality presents significant linguistic challenges for describing both medieval space and the activities which occurred within these spaces. Several modern scholars including Laura Varnam and Emma J. Wells also recognise the fluid nature of both medieval space and culture more generally yet still refer to different contexts as 'sacred' and 'secular', undermining the sense of fluidity.[57] Jeffrey acknowledges the difficulties of language use in this regard and attempts to navigate it by using the terms 'religious' and 'secular' as opposed to 'sacred' and 'secular'.[58] Considering the linguistic problems posed by the liminal nature of medieval space, lyrics, and other facets of medieval culture, this study chooses to use the terms 'liturgical' and 'secular'. This is used to distinguish between spaces and lyrics which are used specifically for or relate to devotional action or the liturgy and

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[54] Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Arts* (London: Reaktion Books, 1992), p. 9.
[55] Camille, *Image on the Edge*, p. 12.
[56] David Jeffrey specifically highlights that his book does not distinguish religious lyrics from the secular because this approach has 'seldom been useful and less often accurate' in describing the medieval lyric. David L. Jeffrey, *The Early English Lyric & Franciscan Spirituality* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975), p. ix.
[57] Emma J. Wells, "*Holy Inappropriate": Secular Uses of the Medieval Parish Church*, online video recording, YouTube, 5th December 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qvYCiqLJoso> [Accessed: 3rd June 2023]; Laura Varnam, *The Church as Sacred Space in Middle English Literature and Culture*, Manchester Medieval Literature and Culture (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001).
[58] Jeffrey, *The Early English Lyric,* p. ix.

spaces and lyrics intended for more non-specific purposes or which exist without an overtly devotional overtone.[59]

The Carol and Lyric: Written Traditions

Central to the study of the carol is placing it in the context of its individual written and performance traditions and within the wider traditions of writing and performance in the late-medieval period. This thesis attends to the carol predominantly in its fifteenth-century context, when it started to appear more frequently in written record.[60] From this period emerge collections of carols that are musically-notated and books of carols without any accompanying music at all. To distinguish between these two types of book, I refer to the collections including music as musically-notated books or manuscripts and the collections without musical notation as non-notated books or manuscripts.[61] Some of the books traditionally considered as non-notated do include small lines of monophonic melody at points. This includes Oxford, Bodleian Library, Eng. poet. e.1 (OxEng) and the Gonville manuscript.[62] For the purpose of this study, I have defined non-notated collections as those in which more than 95% of the total repertoire appears without musical notation and which lack any presence of polyphonic music.

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[59] The *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) defines liturgical as 'pertaining to or connected with public worship; having to do with liturgies or forms of public worship, or spec. with the Liturgy or Eucharistic service. Also pertaining to liturgics'. See 'liturgical, adj.', *OED* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), <https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/6862651511> [Accessed: 29th July 2023]. The *OED* provides several different definitions for 'secular'. In terms of this study, definition I.2a and 'Secular' is defined in the first sense as 'of or pertaining to the world'. In relation to the sub-definitions provided by the *OED*, definition I.2.a ('Belonging to the world and its affairs as distinguished from the church and religion; civil, lay, temporal') and I.2.c ('Of literature, history, art (esp. music), hence of writers or artists: not concerned with or devoted to the service of religion; not sacred; profane. Also of buildings, etc., not dedicated to religious uses'), best embody how 'secular' is treated within this study. See 'secular, adj., sense I.2.a', *OED* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), <https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/3608617597> [Accessed 29th July 2023] and 'secular, adj., sense I.2.c', *OED* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), <https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/7769064591> [Accessed: 29th July 2023]. The *OED* definitions of secular also align with that from the *Middle English Dictionary* (*MED*): '1.(a) of or belonging to the world; concerned with earthly life as opposed to spiritual or eternal life; of desire, behavior, etc.: worldly, unspiritual'. See 'seculĕr(e adj.', *MED* (Michigan: University of Michigan, 2023), <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary/MED39160/track?counter=1&search_id=27634738> [Accessed: 17th August 2023].

[60] This will be explored in Chapter III, pp. 90-113.

[61] I use these terms in reference specifically to the presence or lack of musical notation as opposed to other forms of notation, such as marginal notes or textual features.

[62] OxEng; Gonville.

The word polyphony literally translates to 'many sounds' or 'many voices'.[63] As a musical term, it is used to describe a musical texture in which there is the interplay of two or more parts with their own individual melodies.[64] The four primary polyphonic musically-notated collections of carols are Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O. 3. 58 (Trinity Carol Roll); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Arch Selden B.26 (Selden Carol Book); London, British Library, Egerton MS 3307 (Egerton), and London, British Library, Add. MS 5665 (Ritson). These manuscripts span the century, with the Trinity Carol Roll appearing in the first quarter of the century and the carol layer of the Ritson manuscript being written from between 1440-1460.[65] Prior to these books the carol is thought to have been passed down through a primarily monophonic oral tradition.[66] Several carols in non-notated books include the names of popular songs next to them, giving an indication of the tune intended for that carol.[67] This hints at a larger monophonic tradition, in which various popular melodies were ingrained within cultural memory and thus reference to one of these songs could instantly bring to mind what music was required for the singing of a non-notated carol. Fallows identifies further evidence of monophony among the polyphonic repertory, including pieces in the Selden Carol Book.[68] He outlines how the burden of *Our king went forth to Normandy* (*The Agincourt Carol*) begins with voices in unison, a monophonic moment, and argues that instances of monophony within the polyphonic repertoire reveal the earliest layer of carol polyphony, and thus the beginning of the carol's development into a more complex multi-voiced piece.[69] The coming together of voices in monophonic song emphasises the participatory and communal nature for which the carol has become known. As previously mentioned, the very structure of the form encourages participation – the burden of the carol often provides the theme of the song and thus the chorus of voices joining in at this part emphasises the central point of the performance. The burden-verse structure also acts as a tool for memorisation, and can

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[63] See 'polyphony, n.', *OED* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), <www.oed.com/view/Entry/147305> [Accessed: 28th May 2023].
[64] 'polyphony, n.', *OED*.
[65] Dating of each manuscript is my own and will be discussed in more detail in Chapter IV, pp. 114-169.
[66] Chapter III will discuss why the carol emerges in written form in the books of the fifteenth century, pp. 90-113.
[67] This includes Gonville and Sloane.
[68] Fallows writes that four of the carols in Selden 'form a stylistically distinct group that seems to hint at an earlier stage in the evolution of the carol'. See Fallows, *Henry V*, p. 72.
[69] Selden, fols. 17v-18r; Fallows, *Henry V*, pp. 68-76. A full transcription of this carol can also be found as carol 426 in Greene, *EEC*, pp. 257-258.

be considered in itself an oral technique, better crafting the carol for transmission through oral tradition.[70] This may also explain instances of significant variation between the same carols in different manuscripts – oral tradition may have altered the verses or lyrics of a carol over time, leading to different versions of carols in different areas.

The presence of polyphonic carols in the fifteenth century does not mean that the monophonic carol tradition faded away – it could have existed side-by-side with polyphonic carol works. There are indications of monophonic settings in fifteenth-century manuscripts like OxEng.[71] However, it does suggest that the carol at this time was finding its way into centres of writing and performance where highly-trained musicians and scribes were present. It also shows a transition from transmission through oral tradition to transmission through a combination of oral tradition and writing. In trying to recover echoes of the medieval carol's performance, this thesis focuses specifically on our ability to 'hear the page' or to see traditions of performance from what was written down by fifteenth-century scribes. In doing this I aim to see traces of oral tradition and performance through later traditions of carol-writing. Much of this work has a focus on the physical book and scribal error, correction, and variation. As such, I have chosen to concentrate on handwritten manuscripts of the fifteenth century as opposed to printed works which emerged towards the end of the century and into the sixteenth century.[72] This study also concentrates predominantly on the carols of the fifteenth century, as this is the point that the carol emerges in writing in musically-notated and non-notated form.

Overview of Study

Re-writing our present understanding of the medieval carol, particularly in its performance context, is an undertaking which requires an interdisciplinary, comparative, and cross-cultural approach. I will begin by placing the carol within its historical and cultural context, in the process re-shaping the developmental timeline and historical background proposed by Greene in *EEC*. I will focus on how the carol developed,

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[70] Karin Boklund-Lagopoulou, 'Popular Song and the Middle English Lyric', in *Medieval Oral Literature*, ed. by Karl Reichl (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), pp. 555-580; John Miles Foley and Peter Ramey, 'Oral Theory and Medieval Literature', in *Medieval Oral Literature* , ed. by Reichl, pp. 71-102.

[71] See, for example, the carol *Tidings True there become new* in OxEng, fol. 41v.

[72] For a discussion of print and English lyrics see Julia Boffey, 'Early Printers and English Lyrics: Sources, Selection, and Presentation of Texts', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 85.1 (1991), 11-26, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24302966> [Accessed: 4th August 2023].

our understanding of it as a form, how it worked in a textual and musical sense, and the contexts in which it could have been performed. Having re-examined our current understanding of carol culture and proposed new background and contexts for the history and performance of the carol, I will then examine the physical carol book and the carol on the page. This will show that musically-notated works must be examined alongside their non-notated counterparts in order to form an accurate picture of the carol in performance. Through this comparative approach I will proceed to trace echoes of oral culture and performance within the medieval carols.

Chapter I will focus on the question of 'what is the carol?', exploring traditional arguments suggesting that the carol is descended from the French *carole*. I will argue that we should not link the carol to ideas of circularity or roundness on the basis of a potential association with the *carole*. This chapter will also put the carol in direct comparison with other continental forms that were present during the fifteenth century. It will demonstrate how close in structure the carol is to the Italian *lauda-ballata*, arguing that these similarities demonstrate a connection between the carol and the mendicant orders and that the carol could have direct connections both to the mendicant orders and with dance. These two developmental pathways are not mutually exclusive.

Chapter II will build on the developmental pathways proposed in Chapter I, suggesting that even though the link between dance and the carol had faded by the fifteenth century, the carol was still associated with ideas of movement. This chapter will take a detailed look at the carol's role in aiding movement through space and how it affected composers, performers, and the audience in their understanding and navigation of medieval spaces. In doing so, I will show that the carol and medieval space cannot be defined as either liturgical or secular but exist as a combination of both. The medieval carol has a fluidity that enables it to appear in a range of different performance contexts and spaces. This will not just explore how the carol developed but will moreover move this argument forward by considering how it was experienced in different performance contexts, from the medieval banqueting hall to the medieval church. Along with Chapter I, this chapter will thus play an important part in re-contextualising the carol and our historical understanding of the form.

Chapter III considers the process of writing, transmission, and dissemination. It examines the carol during the fifteenth century, when it begins to appear more frequently in written record. It focuses

exclusively on the four musically-notated carol collections, arguing that aristocratic household chapels were important components of the polyphonic carol's creation, dissemination, and transmission. In addition, this chapter posits that the medieval carol has long been aligned with an 'English' identity but that we should move away from this idea, treating the carol more in its international context and as a form that is not aligned with any specific national identity. This rejects traditional associations between the carol and 'Englishness', adding to the international connections between forms made in the first two chapters to show that the carol was part of a wider ongoing cross-cultural conversation. This is essential in assessing the musical and literary culture of the late medieval period, demonstrating how travel and exchange impacted the creation of and transmission of song and manuscripts during this time.

Chapter IV expands on the study of musically-notated carol collections, examining their specific provenances and performance contexts. It focuses on the physical book and the layout of the manuscript page, exploring what this can tell us about how carol books were used. I suggest that what we recognise as the medieval carol was also acknowledged as a work with its own specific identity by medieval scribes. Furthermore, from the examination of these books and the page, I propose that the carol corpus was intended for performance from memory. This chapter also creates an important link between some of the musically-notated manuscripts and Bishop Edmund Lacy (d.1455). It highlights Lacy's extensive patronage of musicians, from those in the Chapel Royal to those resident at Exeter Cathedral and considers how patronage more generally affected the production of the carol books. This chapter thus ventures into the provenance and history of the musically-notated carol books, presenting new theories about the origin of these manuscripts.

Chapter V turns to an in-depth examination of the non-notated carol corpus, putting this in direct comparison with the musically-notated carol collections and arguing that to understand the non-notated carol collections we cannot explore them in isolation from their musically-notated counterparts.[73] By

[73] Louise McInnes has acknowledged that carol studies have often neglected to examine the non-notated and musically-notated books together and that this has impacted the study of the carol creating a 'very one-dimensional view of the repertoire'. She writes, 'Often, one finds that the musically notated carols are studied, or discussed in publication, separately from those extant without notation. […] separating the corpus in these ways does not do justice to our understanding of the repertoire; a multidisciplinary approach to their study is imperative'. McInnes's work has made attempts to redress this but this comparative approach has yet to make its way into mainstream carol scholarship. Louise McInnes, 'Saints and Sinners: The Representation of Women in Late–Medieval English Carols', in *Female-Voice Song and Women's Musical Agency in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Anna Kathryn Grau and Lisa Colton (Leiden: Brill, 2022), pp. 477-503, (p. 481).

examining scribal error, correction, and variation in the non-notated carol collections, I suggest that some non-notated carol books were intended for use alongside musically-notated manuscripts, acting as aides-mémoires for performers. In addition, I argue that echoes of performance can be found purely by examining the page and attending to the way carols were written, the mistakes that were made, and the differences that occur between versions of carols across different manuscripts. This builds on the discussion of memory in Chapters IV and on the work of scholars such as Mary Carruthers and Anna Maria Busse Berger.[74] It also gives significant attention to the palaeographical work done on scribal error and correction by Wakelin and studies of French chansonniers by Jane Alden.[75] This chapter therefore adds to our understanding of carol manuscripts by considering these books in their musical and textual contexts, assessing how performance affects the writing down of carols and what we can glean about the wider oral and performance culture of late medieval England through an interdisciplinary palaeographical, musical, and literary perspective.

In conclusion, this study will challenge our present understanding of the late medieval carol, conducting an interdisciplinary re-assessment of a century's worth of carol scholarship, starting from the carol's origins and progressing to an exploration of the carol in performance. It will seek to understand what the late medieval carol was to a medieval audience and understand how it was experienced not only on the page but off it.

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[74] Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (California: University of California Press, 2019); Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

[75] Wakelin, *Scribal Correction;* Jane Alden, *Songs, Scribes, and Society: The History and Reception of the Loire Valley Chansonniers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

I

GOING IN CIRCLES: THE EMERGENCE OF THE CAROL

It is often difficult to distinguish between the *carole* and the carol within scholarly work. Some treat the carol as if it is merely a later progression of the French *carole* and its history is therefore settled, or else write as if the words for the dance and for the song are synonymous.[1] Greene devotes an entire section to the carol's relationship to dance song in *EEC* and adamantly puts it that when discussing the place of the carol during the medieval period, 'there can be no serious question that […] a song divided into burden and stanza was recognized as what could be sung in a carole'.[2] Despite acknowledging that we cannot know the exact details of the *carole* dance, Greene nevertheless firmly associates the carol with a ring-dance.[3] This view that the *carole* was generally a round-dance is one that has also associated the carol with ideas of circularity.[4] This chapter will explore the origins of the carol by challenging the *carole's* association with roundness and circularity. It will maintain that while the carol may have a link to dance and the *carole*, it is unwise to say with certainty that the carol stemmed from a round-dance. Following this, I will examine the carol's relationship with the mendicant orders, particularly the Franciscans, arguing that the carol's connection to the *carole* and its

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[1] For many twentieth-century scholars Greene's *EEC* and John Stevens's *MC* were the culmination of carol studies, with many merely accepting the history and development pathway outlined by Greene. Several scholars have treated *carole* and carol as synonymous. John V. Fleming, for example, writes that 'the carol was a round dance in which the participants joined hands in a circle' – see John V. Fleming, *Roman de la Rose: A Study in Allegory and Iconography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), p. 84. The acceptance of Greene and Stevens's work has also resulted in generalised statements about the form, such as that by Elizabeth Hale Winkler, who writes that 'the carol form probably originated in a nonreligious circular dance song' but does not go any further in investigating the other possibilities. See Elizabeth Hale Winkler, *The Function of Song in Contemporary British Drama* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1990), p. 96.

[2] Greene, *EEC*, pp. xivii-xiviii.

[3] Greene, *EEC*, pp. xivii-xiviii. Greene's work agrees with the earlier view of E. K. Chambers who wrote 'the very name of the carol is significant; for here, no less than in the amorous *caroles* of twelfth-century France, are represented the mingled dance and song of the village *chorus*, hailing with rhythmic exultation the coming of the summer or the winter holiday' – see *Early English Lyrics*, ed. by E.K. Chambers and F. Sidgwick (New York: October House Inc., 1967), p. 294.

[4] Even though Karl Reichl admits that the carole could have taken many different forms he, nevertheless, implies that the structure of the carol would have suited a round-dance. Reichl writes that the song accompanying the carol 'corresponded by its division into stanza and refrain to the basic structure of the round-dance'. See Karl Reichl, 'The Middle English Carol', p. 163.

connection with the mendicant orders are not mutually exclusive – there is more nuance to the carol's history and developmental pathway than carol scholarship has appreciated.[5]

Carole and Carol: The Etymology

To treat *carole* and carol as synonymous poses immediate difficulties, blurring the lines between dance and song. It also views the carol as a form which did not exist in its own right, that did not have its own unique cultural life separate to that of its potential dance ancestor. As such, when discussing the *carole* and the carol in this chapter, I will use the term *carole* to refer specifically to a dance of French origin and the song that may have accompanied it. On the other hand, I will use the term carol or carol-song to refer to the song-form that is independent of dance and which takes the general structure proposed by Greene in *EEC* – that of a burden and uniform stanzas.[6] With this established, we therefore turn to the question of how the *carole* has become so intrinsically linked with the carol and how the carol came to be associated so firmly in modern scholarship with circularity and the ring-dance.

Modern definitions of the word 'carol' do little to shed light on the reasons for its connections with circularity. Even the etymological explanation of the term in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) admits that the lineage and definitions it proposes are 'tentative'.[7] The *Middle English Dictionary* (*MED*) also does not expand our knowledge of the medieval use of this term. It gives no entry for the word 'carol' but does for the word '*carole*':

> Definition 1: (a) A kind of round dance accompanied by singing; a group of people dancing and singing in a circle; (b) a song used by carolers; a song; (c) a religious poem or song; a psalm; (d) **in ~ wise**, in the manner of a **carole.**

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[5] In terms of carol scholarship, distinct groups appear to emerge in the twentieth century – those who see the carol as possibly having a liturgical association and those who see it as purely secular. Chapter II, pp. 51-89 will examine these views further and will dispute the view of the carol as belonging to either of these two categories.

[6] For Greene's general definition of the carol see Greene, *EEC*, pp. xxxii-xxxiii. There are few carols found in manuscripts before the fifteenth century. The carol appears a few times in manuscripts in the late-fourteenth century, some of which will be explored later in this chapter. However, carols in books of this time are few and far between compared to the fifteenth century.

[7] 'carol, n'", *OED* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/28123?reskeyi3anKs&result=1> [Accessed: 4th July 2023].

> Definition 2: (a) something circular, a ring of muscles and ligaments; (b) a ring of stones; esp., Stonehenge **geauntes ~** (c) a chain or braid.
>
> Definition 3: (a) A stall for study or writing; also, a writing table; (b) a device used in making candles; ?a round table.[8]

All three of these definitions link the *carole* with something circular – whether this is a dance, physical structure, or even a piece of furniture. Definition 1 and 2 are also linked with movement – Definition 1a identifies the *carole* as a round-dance accompanied by singing whilst Definition 2a connects the *carole* with muscles and ligaments, parts of the body integral to movement. Definition 1b and 1c also define the *carole* as a type of song. The song form, however, remains unspecified. Definition 1b gives the vague notion of 'song', whilst Definition 1c specifies a religious poem or song, giving the example of a psalm.[9] This collection of definitions does little more than to link the *carole* with the idea of circularity and movement, accompanied by a vague idea of song which may or may not be religious. It sheds no further light on the concept of the carol and how this differs from the *carole*. Nor, in fact, is it particularly specific about the shape of the *carole* dance – there are ideas of circularity but 'chain-like' or 'braid' formations are also mentioned. With these definitions providing little clarity on the *carole* or helping to differentiate the song from the dance, we therefore turn to the different arguments for *carole* and carol's etymological development. Robert Mullally outlines the main suggested paths of development for '*carole*', as summarised in Figure 1.1.[10]

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[8] 'carole n.', *MED* (Michigan: University of Michigan, 2023), <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary/MED6846/track?counter=3&search_id=26068604> [Accessed: 4th July 2023].
[9] The carols link to liturgical material will be further explored in Chapter II, pp. 52-63.
[10] See Robert Mullally, *The Carole: A Study of a Medieval Dance* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 1-18.

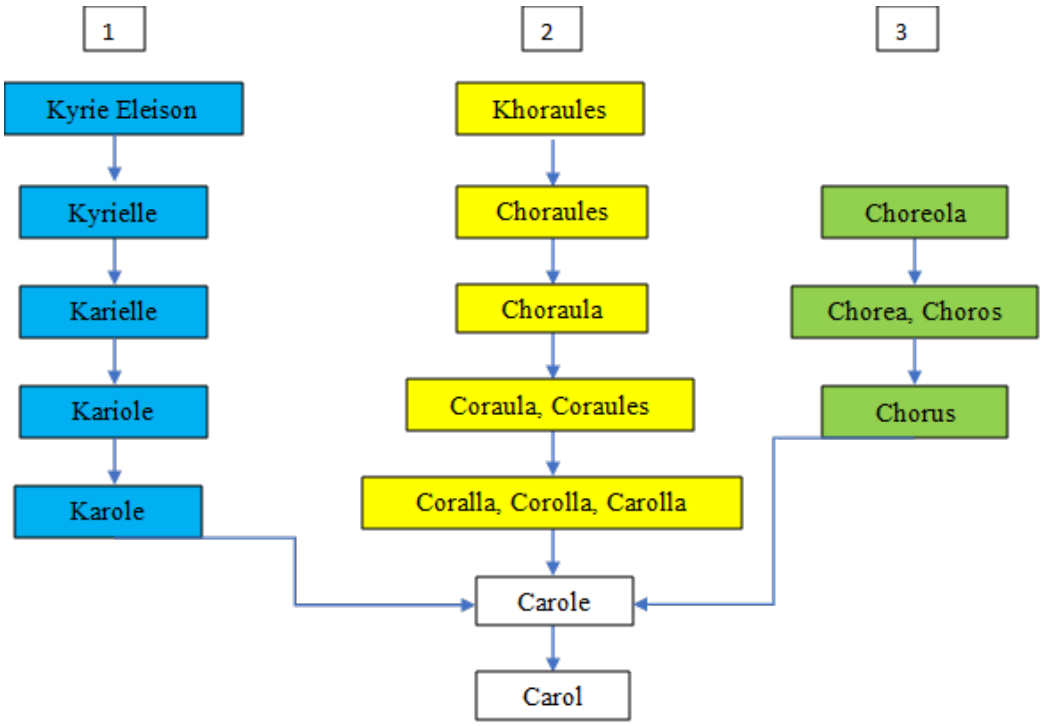

Figure 1.1: Paths of etymological development for the word 'carol' as summarised by Robert Mullally

Figure 1.1 identifies three different potential paths of etymological development. The blue path is proposed by Margit Sahlin, who argues that the *carole* came from processional couple dances in which the Greek words '*Kyrie Eleison*' were chanted.[11] However, there is little evidence that the *carole* developed from the *Kyrie*.[12] Path 3, outlined in green, proposes that the word carol may have arisen from the Latin word for dance: '*chorea*' or '*choreola*'.[13] This path is dismissed by Mullally on account of 'defective' phonology – it does not explain why the /j/ sound was lost as '*choreola*' developed into

[11] Sahlin, *Étude sur la carole*, pp. 82-94.
[12] Sahlin's ideas have been rejected by scholars, as Mullally writes, 'while acknowledging the originality of her contribution, her critics, nevertheless, generally rejected her arguments'. See Mullally, *The Carole*, p. 6.
[13] Mullally, *The Carole*, pp. 11-12. This developmental pathway was supported by scholars including Jean Nicot and Max Förster. See 'Carolle', *Le Grande Dictionnaire françois-latin augumenté*, ed. Jean Nicot et al (Paris: 1573) and Max Förster, 'Can Old French caroler be of Celtic Origin', *Language*, 4.3 (1928), 200-203, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/409390> [Accessed: 29th September 2023].

'*carole*'.[14] Path 2 shows the path of development that has been most widely accepted – that proposed by Laurentius Diefenbach in 1857.[15] It suggests that *carole* is derived from the Greek word '*χοραυλής*' [*Khoraules*], a term used to refer to the instrumentalists that accompanied choruses. From this came the Latin term, '*choraula*' [a flute player who accompanied dances], eventually leading to the Old French, '*carole*' [ring-dance].[16] Mullally expands upon Diefenbach's suggestion, exploring how Greek and Latin terms used to refer to people, namely instrumentalists, may have come to refer instead to a dance.[17] To illustrate how this type of transition may occur Mullally uses the example of the Latin term '*collegeium*' [guild, club, society] and its transition to the French '*collège*' [college], demonstrating how a term used to refer to people may develop into a term for an object.[18] Mullally thus concludes that the transition from Greek and Latin terms referring to people (instrumentalists) to the French *carole* [ring-dance] follows the similar etymological developments of other French terms derived from classical languages – this change in meaning is not extraordinary.[19] This etymology is the most widely accepted by scholars, as Greene states: 'an ultimate derivation from Greek *choraules*, flute-player, through the Latin is still regarded as the most probable'.[20] The easiest explanation for *carole* becoming carol, is then that the *carole* in medieval England gradually lost its association with dance and developed purely into a song form, the carol.[21] This still begs the question, however, of how medieval society distinguished between song and dance and how they became separate from one another. Thus, we now turn to mentions of both the *carole* and carol in the texts of the time.

Carole and Carol in Medieval Literature

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[14] Mullally, *The Carole*, pp. 11-12.
[15] 'Cho-', in *Glossarium Latino-Germanicum Mediae et Infimae Aetatis*, ed. by Laurentius Diefenbach (Frankfurt: 1857), pp. 113-114.
[16] Diefenbach, 'Cho-', pp. 113-114; Mullally, *The Carole*, p. 14.
[17] Mullally, *The Carole,* pp. 14-18.
[18] Mullally, *The Carole*, p. 15.
[19] Mullally, *The Carole*, p. 15.
[20] Greene, *EEC*, p. xxii.
[21] Chambers notes that at some point the carol lost its dance association and its use of the leader/chorus system. However, Chambers does not venture into any further detail on when this occurred – 'the burden or 'fote' remains a characteristic of the carols, long after both the dance accompaniment and the strict division of lines between a leader and a *chorus* have been forgotten'. See Chambers and Sidgwick, *Early English Lyrics*, p. 294.

In terms of the texts in which the *carole* and carol appear, references to *chorea* or *cauralas* in Latin are often translated as references to the *carole*. The *Life of St. Eligius*, written by St Ouen (c.609-683) in the seventh century, describes how 'nullus in festivitate sancti Joannis, vel quibuslibet sanctorum solemnitatibus, solstitia, aut vallationes, vel saltationes, aut caraulas, aut cantica diabolica exerceat' [on the feast day of St John, that is to say the holy solemnities during the solstice, no one should dance, or leap, or *carole*, or perform diabolical songs].[22] The Feast of St John the Baptist coincides with Midsummer's Eve and the celebration of the summer solstice. The term '*caraulas*' here has been translated as '*carole*', and forms part of a list of folk customs condemned by Eligius.[23] However, this text does not seem to treat the '*caraulas*' [*carole*] as a song. Instead, it specifies 'cantica diabolica' [diabolical songs] as the type to be banned on the celebration of this Feast. This suggests that Eligius is referring to folk-song more generally alongside the other activities listed. The *carole* appears to be something distinguished from this. The two activities that precede it are both concerned with movement – leaping and dancing. As such, the *carole* may belong to this group of movement-related activities rather than to the more general grouping of diabolical songs that Eligius then describes. This relates the *carole* more with the idea of dance and movement than with song. It does not relate either the *carole* or any of the diabolical songs mentioned with the idea of circularity.

When discussing the *carole* and the song accompanying it, many scholars also turn to the story of the Kölbigk carollers as recorded by Goscelin of St. Bertin (c.1040-1106) in the eleventh-century *Vitae S. Edithae*.[24] In this tale, Theoderic describes how twelve people gathered in the churchyard 'in

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[22] St Ouen, "Eligii Episcopi', in *Patrologiæ Cursus Completeus,* series Latina, 161 vols., ed. by Jacques Paul Migne (Paris: 1863), LXXXII, p. 528.

[23] Billington describes midsummer traditions including bonfires and the wearing of garlands. See Sandra Billington, *Midsummer: A Cultural Sub-text from Chrétien de Troyes to Jean Michel* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2001), p. 1.

[24] Goscelin, 'La Légende de Ste Édith, en prose et vers', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 56 (1938), 265-307, <https://doi-org.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/10.1484/J.ABOL.4.00812> [Accessed: 30th September 2023]. A recent study has been made of the story of the cursed carolers. The earliest version of the story is said to have appeared in the first half of the eleventh century. It is described as 'one of the most widely circulated tales of the Middle Ages'. See Lynneth Miller Renberg and Bradley Phyllis, in 'The Tale of the Kölbigk Dancers: Transmissions, Translations, and Themes', in *The Cursed Carolers in Context,* ed. by Lynneth Miller Renberg and Bradley Phillis (Abingdon: Routledge, 2021), pp. 1-18, (pp. 1-2) and Alessandro Arcangeli, 'Dance Under Trial: The Moral Debate 1200-1600', *Dance Research: The Journal of the Society for Dance Research*,

nocte natalis' [on Christmas Eve night] and persuaded the daughter of the local priest to join a ring-dance.[25] Theoderic then goes on to describe how they 'conserimus manus et chorollam confusionis in atrio ordinamus' [we joined hands and started a chorus of confusion in the churchyard].[26] Gerlevus, the 'ductor fruris' [leader of madness] accompanies the dance with a 'fatale carmen' [fatal song]:

> Equitabat Buou per siluam frondosam;
> Ducebat sibi Mersuindem formosam:
> Quid stamus? Cur non imus?[27]
>
> [Bovo was riding a horse through the leafy woods;
> He led himself to fair Merswindes:
> Why are we standing still? Why are we not going?]

Later the Kölbigk story recounts how a priest hearing the revelry in the churchyard comes out and challenges the dancers. However, they continue to dance, spinning round and round. This causes the priest to curse the group so that they continue to dance constantly for a year, forever repeating one line from the song: 'Quid stamus? Cur non imus?'.[28] This paints the song accompanying the *carole* as having a repetitive element which is sung by the chorus as well as a narrative sung by a soloist. Here we find a connection between a *carole* and a song-form similar to the carol, composed of a verse sung by a soloist and a burden sung by a chorus.[29] However, the song itself is not referred to by any Latin glosses of the word '*carole'*. The dance is referred to through versions of '*chorus'* and '*chorea*', while the song accompanying the *carole* is only ever referred to as '*carmen'* or '*cantilena*', general Latin terms for song.[30] Thus, it seems that the tune accompanying the *carole* was thought of in more general song-

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12.2 (1994), 127-155, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1290992> [Accessed: 21st August 2023], (p. 132). More on Goscelin can be found in *Writing the Wilton Women: Goselin's Legend of Edith and "Liber confortatorius"*, ed. by Stephanie Hollis (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004).

[25] Goscelin, 'La Légende', p. 287.

[26] Goscelin, 'La Légende', p. 287. Rebecca Straple-Sovers notes that Goscelin incorporates the character of Theoderic into the Kölbigk carollers story. See Rebecca Straple-Sovers, 'Kinesic Analysis: A Theoretica Approach to Reading Bodily Movement in Literature', in *The Cured Carolers*, ed. by Renberg and Phyllis, pp. 21-38, (p. 22).

[27] Goscelin, 'La Légende', p. 287.

[28] Goscelin, 'La Légende', p. 289.

[29] See the definition of 'carol' in Greene, *EEC*, pp. xxxii-xxxiii.

[30] Contrast the terms used by Goscelin for dance on Goscelin, 'La Légende', p. 287-288 to that used for song in Goscelin, 'La Légende', p. 288-289. John Stevens touches on the terminology used for song in John

terms rather than being specifically associated with the *carole*. Seeing as this version of the Kölbigk story does not even refer to the dance as the *carole*, we must be careful not to immediately associate the dance within it with this term. Mullally notes, in agreement with this, that the words '*chorus*' and '*chorea*' were used for a wide range of dances, not just the *carole*.[31] What is clear is that the dance performed is a ring-dance accompanied by a song with a repetitive phrase. What is not clear from the story is whether this was to the medieval mind a *carole* dance or just a general ring-dance. It may be that we have placed the *carole* within this story based on our preconceptions of it as a ring-dance and of it being accompanied by a song featuring a repetitive element. However, when we turn to a different version of the Kölbigk story, that from Robert Mannyng's (c.1275-1338) *Handlyng Synne*, the song used to accompany the ring-dance is specifically referred to as a 'karolle'.[32] In this version of the story Gerlew (Gerlevus in Goscelin's version) decides what the group should sing as they dance:

> Beune ordeyned here karollyng;
> Gerlew endyted what þey shuld syng:
> þys ys þe karolle þat þey sunge,
> As telleþ þe latyn tunge,
> "Equitabat Beuo per siluam frondosam,
> Ducebat secum Merswyndam formosam,
> Quid stamus, cur non imus?"
>
> "By þe leued wode rode Beuolyne,
> wyþ hym he leddë feyre Merswyne;
> why stoned we? Why go we noght?"
> þys ys þe karolle þat Grysly wroght.

Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance, and Drama 1050-1350* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 50-51. Nicolette Zeeman also summarises the ambiguity of Latin terms for song – 'The Latin terminology is very various. Although some terms, especially liturgical ones, clearly describe forms of musical composition (*sequentia*, *conductus*, *hymnus*, and the contested term *tropus*), many others can be used both for sung and non-sung poetry: *cantilena*, *cantio, cantus, canticum, versus, cantus versualis* ('mixed forms') and *plactus* ('lament', 'complaint'). From the classical period onwards *carmen* ('song', 'poem' can refer to musical song, but more often it describes poetry; *canere* can mean 'to sing', but also 'to recite' and 'to compose poetry'. See Nicolette Zeeman, 'The Theory of Passionate Song', in *Medieval Latin and Middle English Literature: Essays in Honour of Jill Mann*, ed. by Christopher Cannon and Maura Nolan (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2011), pp. 231-252, (p. 234).

[31] Mullally writes 'although chorea is frequently translated as carole, it could also signify a variety of other kinds of dance'. See Mullally, *The Carole*, p. 27.

[32] Robert Mannyng, *Roberd of Brunne's Handlyng Synne and its French Originale*, ed. by Frederick J. Furnivall (New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 2002). The details of Mannyng's life are summarised in Nicole Nyffenegger, *Authorising History: Gestures of Authorship in Fourteenth-Century English Historiography* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), pp. 20-24. Renberg notes that Mannyng seems to have accessed the Theodoricus text through Goscelin's *Life of St Edith*. Renberg also notes that Mannyng's version of the Kölbigk story names five of the carolers. Three of these five are women. The only named male carolers are Gerlew and Teodryght. Renberg concludes that Mannyng's version of this story is centred on the female dancers as the primary offenders. See Lynneth Miller Renberg, 'Dance and Protecting Sacred Space', in *Women, Dance and Parish Religion in England, 1300-1640* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2022), pp. 51-76, (p. 53, footnote 7; p. 68).

> Þys songe sunge þey yn cherchezerd, –
> Of foly were þey no þyng aferd, –
> Vn-to þe matynes were alle done,
> And þe messe shuld bygynnë sone.[33]

Mannyng also states that the group had gathered to 'karolle þe cherche aboute', implying the *carole* as a dance as well as a the song that they 'sunge' mentioned in the passage above.[34] After the priest curses the group it is also written that 'euery hande yn ouþer so fast was loke', suggesting a dance formation in which participants are hand-in-hand, again giving the impression of *carole* as being understood as both dance and song.[35] This provides the strongest evidence yet of the *carole* being used interchangeably to refer to dance and song, supporting the premise that the *carole* was at one point dance, then dance and song, and eventually merely song itself, the carol. In addition, this story provides some evidence for the *carole* as sometimes having a ring-dance form.

The link between the *carole* and circularity may also arise from the description of circular stone formations like Stonehenge as *caroles*, as found under Definition 2b of the *Middle English Dictionary*.[36] A direct use of the term '*carole*' in this sense of the definition occurs in Wace's (c.1100-1174) *Le Roman de Brut* as found in London, British Library, Egerton MS 3028 (MS 3028):[37]

> Beau Reis creez a ma parole
> Fai ci aportier la carole
> Qe Geanz firent en Irlande
> Un merveilouse ovre e grant
> Des peres en un cerne assis.[38]
>
> [Good King, believe my word,
> you must bring the carole here,
> that the Giants made in Ireland,
> a marvellous and huge work,
> made of stones set in a circle.]

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[33] Mannyng, *Handlyng Synne*, ll. 9041-9056.
[34] Mannyng, *Handlyng Synne*, l. 9040.
[35] Mannyng, *Handlyng Synne*, l. 9088.
[36] *MED*, Definition 2b. Kathryn Dickason describes the *carole's* relationship to Stonehenge in Kathryn Dickason, *Ringleaders of Redemption: How Medieval Dance Became Sacred* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), p. 186.
[37] MS 3028, fol. 29r. An edited version of Wace's *Le Roman de Brut* can be found in Wace, *Wace's Roman de Brut: A History of the British: Text and Translation*, rev. ed., ed. by Judith Weiss (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2002). Ardis Butterfield relates Wace's story of Stonehenge and the position of this structure as a 'national icon' in Ardis Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy: Chaucer, Language, and Nation in the Hundred Years War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 42-43.
[38] MS 3028, fol. 29r.

Wace's text is an Anglo-Norman translation of the story found within Geoffrey of Monmouth's (c.1095-1155) *Historia Regum Brittanie*.[39] In Geoffrey's *Historia* the Stonehenge monument is described as the 'chorea gigantum' [Giant's dance].[40] This is glossed as 'la carole' [the *carole*] in Wace's translation.[41] As we have seen, the Latin word '*chorea*' can apply to a wide range of dances and not specifically the *carole*.[42] The fact that Wace chooses to interpret this using the term '*carole*' could suggest that the positioning of the stones mentioned in the text influenced the decision to use this specific dance term. The thirteenth-century Middle English translation of *Le Roman de Brut* by Laȝamon (fl.1200) can be found in London, British Library Cotton MS Caligula A. IX (Caligula) and London, British Library, Cotton MS Otho C. XIII (Otho).[43] In Otho the *chorea* is interpreted as 'eoatantes ring' [Giant's ring] instead of *carole*. In Caligula the ring is not even named:

Ah ic
e wulle ræden ; to swulchere
neode. for ich what a wærc; mid
wundere bistonde. for þat weorc
stondeð; inne Irlonde. Hit is
a swiðe sellic þing ; þat weorc
is of stane ; swulc ne beoð oðer
nane. swa wid swa is weorlde
riche[51]

[But I
will advise you at such
need, for I know a work that
stands with wonder. For that work
stands in Ireland. It is
a very unusual thing. That work

---

[39] Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The Historia Regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, ed. by Neil Wright (Suffolk: D.S. Brewer, 1988), p.128. F. H. M. Le Saux describes how 'Wace chooses to make unambiguous borrowings from the vulgate version of the Historia'. See F. H. M. Le Saux, 'Britain, Rome and the House of Constantine', in *A Companion to Wace* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2005), pp. 108-124, (p. 123). Stuart Piggot discusses Geoffrey of Monmouth's version of the Stonehenge story in Stuart Piggott, 'The Sources of Geoffrey of Monmouth II: The Stonehenge Story', *Antiquity*, 15.60 (1941), 305-319, DOI: 10.1017/S0003598x00015842 [Accessed 22nd August 2023].

[40] Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia*, p. 128.

[41] MS 3028, fol. 29r.

[42] Mullally, *The Carole*, p. 27.

[43] Caligula, fols. 100v-100r. An edition of the texts from both manuscripts can be found in Layamon, *Layamon: Brut Edited From British Museum Ms. Cotton Caligula A. IX and British Museum Ms. Cotton Otho C.XIII*, ed. by G.L. Brook and R. F. Leslie (London: Early English Text Society, 1963). Jacqueline M. Burek writes that 'Laȝamon's Brut is a translation of Wace's Roman de Brut (completed in 1155), which is itself a translation of Geoffrey's Historia (c.1138) into Anglo Norman French.' See Jacqueline M. Burek, *Literary Variety and the Writing of History in Britain's Long Twelfth Century* (York: York Medieval Press, 2023), p. 153.

is of stone. There is no other thing so wide
in the whole of this earthly realm.]

Unlike the scribe of Wace's *Le Roman de Brut*, Laȝamon's Caligula scribe does not refer to the *carole* in this specific passage. Instead, they just refer to 'þat weorc' [that work].[44] However, within the manuscript there is a rubricated marginal note included by the scribe next to this passage.[45] Some of the words in this note are missing, possibly due to binding. It nevertheless is clear that this note once said 'corea gi[gan[tum]' [Giant's dance].[46] It is only later in the manuscript that the scribe refers to the standing stones as 'eotinde ring' [Giant's ring].[47]

It is true that the circular shape of the stone formation is noted using ring imagery within both the Otho and Caligula versions of Laȝamon's *Brut*. It is a significant stretch, however, to suggest, as Frances Eustace does, that in these three different translations of the Stonehenge story there is 'evidence of an understanding of the carolling imagery in the three languages, Latin, Anglo-Norman and Middle English'.[48] The only specific interpretation of the circular stone structure as a *carole* is that found in Wace's translation.[49] The others merely use references to the shape of a ring. The *Brut* scribes, in particular, avoid the description of the standing stones as a dance at all. Laȝamon did not necessarily need an understanding of the *carole* in order to translate the passage from Wace's *Le Roman de Brut,* his immediate source, into Middle English. There is enough information in the description in Wace's *Brut* for the formation of the stones to be clear without the requirement for an understanding of carolling imagery. Wace describes, for example, how the stones are 'un cerne assis' [set in a circle], which provides a detailed enough description for Laȝamon to imagine and describe the stones as the 'eotinde ring' [Giant's ring].[50] The only direct evidence that may signify that Laȝamon did have an understanding of the ring as a dance comes from the marginal note in Caligula which refers to the

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[44] Caligula, fol. 100r.
[45] Caligula, fol. 100r. Kathryn M. Rudy discusses marginalia including marginal notes. See Kathryn M. Rudy, *Piety in Pieces: How Medieval Readers Customized their Manuscripts* (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2016).
[46] Caligula, fol. 100v.
[47] Caligula, fol. 100v.
[48] Eustace, *Secular Carolling,* p. 8,
[49] MS 3028, fol. 29r.
[50] MS 3028, fol. 29r.

Giant's dance.[51] This suggests that Laȝamon consulted Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*, which uses exactly the same phrase to refer to the stones.[52] However, the fact that this reference to dance occurs within the margins rather than the body of text in the manuscript, suggests that this note was a later addition by a scribe. It is possible that a scribe turned to Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia* to clarify the description of the stones as a *carole* in Wace's *Brut*. There is no direct evidence, therefore, that there was an understanding of the *carole* across all three languages used to tell the story of Stonehenge. As such, it is unwise to take the reference to 'eotinde ring' in Laȝamon's *Brut* as a specific reference to the *carole* or to associate the *carole* with the idea of the ring as a result of this story.

Further specific references to the *carole* can be found from the thirteenth century. This includes that found in Robert of Gloucester's (c.1260-1300) *Metrical Chronicle*:

> After mete as riȝt was . þe menestraus eode aboute .
> & kniȝtes & swains . In karole gret route.
> So þat þe kings neue . & þe erles neueu of kent .
> Þe tueie ȝonge bachelers . þat noble were & gent .
> In þat noble tresche . strif bigonne arere .
> So þat þe herles neueu . þen oþer slou riȝt þere .[53]
>
> [After meat as right was . The minstrels went about .
> And knights and swains . In *carole* assembled
> So that the new Kings . and the new earls of Kent
> The two young bachelors . that noble and gentle were
> In that noble tresche . strife began at the back .
> So that the new earls . then others slowed right there]

This description treats the *carole* as a dance rather than a song, later labelling the movement a 'noble tresche'.[54] This places the *carole* in an aristocratic context, with knights and kings present. There is no mention of an accompanying song, although it describes how 'menestraus eode aboute' [minstrels went about], which seemingly implies that musical accompaniment in some form was present.[55]

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[51] Caligula, fol. 100v.
[52] Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia*, p. 128.
[53] Robert of Gloucester, *The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester*, 2 vols., ed. by William Aldis Wright (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), I, ll. 1218-1222. The text of the *Metrical Chronicle* can be found in London, British Library, Add. MS 19677; London, British Library, Cotton MS Caligula A. XI, and London, British Library, Harley MS 201.
[54] Robert of Gloucester, *Metrical Chronicle*, l. 1222.
[55] The placing of minstrels in the same environment as the *carole* is possibly why scholars have repeatedly associated the carol with the elusive wandering minstrel figure. For more on minstrels see Chapter V, pp. 171-172.

Although we cannot say with certainty what accompaniment this was, Robert Mullally shows that in French literature those who used instruments to accompany the *carole* were represented as socially inferior.[56] Instead, unaccompanied singing was seen as the appropriate partner for the dance.[57] The term '*carole*', however, is specifically mentioned in reference to the assembling of a dance rather than in connection with any song. The synonymous use of *carole* and *tresche* suggest that these terms both referred to the same type of dance but the passage does not outline this specifically as a ring-dance.

The unclear relationship of the *carole* with circularity or roundness, brings into question the movement of the dance itself. Sahlin questions the entire nature of the *carole* as a ring-dance, suggesting that it could have accompanied more of a procession-like movement.[58] Sahlin presents a number of textual examples where the *carole* can be linked to a procession or chain form and claims that 'ce que suggèrent cependant la plupart des textes, c'est plutôt l'idée d'un cortège de personnes marchant cérémonieusement deux à deux ou trois à trois' [What most texts suggest, however, is the idea of a group of people walking ceremoniously two by two or three by three].[59] Sahlin uses the example of the *carole* of animals in *Renart le Nouvel,* who move together 'main à main' [hand in hand].[60] Sahlin describes how 'c'est, apparemment, une chaîne, fermée ou plutôt ouverte, que formaient les animaux carolant dans *Renart le Nouvel*' [It is, apparently, a chain, closed or sometimes open that was formed by the animals carolling in *Renart le Nouvel]*.[61] In the text the animals forming the *carole* are listed together, for example:

Entre la Roine et Hiersent	[Between the Queen and Hiersent
Tint Renars; li Rois ensement	Stands Renars ; the King thus
Tint entre Hiersent et Harouge[62]	Stands in-between Hiersent and Harouge]

[56] Sahlin, *Étude sur la carole*, p. 25. The idea of procession and its relationship to the carol will be explored in Chapter II, pp. 52-63.
[57] Robert Mullally, 'Cançon de Carole', *Acta Musicologica*, 58.2 (1986), 224-231, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/932815> [Accessed: 7th August 2023], (p. 225).
[58] Sahlin, *Étude sur la carole*, p. 25.
[59] Sahlin, *Étude sur la carole*, p. 25.
[60] Sahlin, *Étude sur la carole*, p. 25; Jacquemart Giélée, *Renart le Nouvel*, SATF, ed. by Henri Roussell (Paris: A. & J. Picard, 1961), ll. 2513-2515.
[61] Sahlin, *Étude sur la carole*, p. 25.
[62] Giélée, *Renart*, ll. 2513-2515.

This description could certainly indicate that the animals are grouped into a chain-like formation but if these chains in texts like *Renart le Nouvel* (c.1289) were, as Sahlin suggests, sometimes 'fermées' [closed], then this may form the round shape that has come to be associated with the *carole*.[63] However, roundness is certainly not essential to the formation. Thus, it is perhaps not the shape that defines the *carole* dance but rather the type of movement within the chain.[64] This again does much to disrupt the idea of the *carole* being associated with roundness. If we are to accept the development of carol from *carole*, then we must dissociate it from the concept of circularity, as there is little evidence to say that this was a dance always concerned with circular movement. This means that we must also, as a consequence, move away from descriptions of the carol-song as being from a round-dance origin and thus influenced by notions of circularity.

From Dance to Song

Thus far this examination of *carole* and carol has ascertained that rather than being specifically a ring-dance, the *carole* was perhaps more a general reference to dance. Moreover, it is likely that this dance was accompanied by a song and that this song also started to be referred to as the *carole* or a *carole* song. From this the carol we see in English manuscripts of the later medieval period is likely to have emerged, losing its dance connection on the way. The fourteenth and fifteenth-century references we have that show this period of transition include those from the Gawain-poet (fl. c.1375-1400), John Gower (c.1330-1408), and Geoffrey Chaucer (c.1342-1400).[65] In *SGGK*, the Gawain-poet uses the term '*carole*' and associates this with courtly activity during the season of Christmas.[66] The poet describes how on St John's day they 'daunsed ful dreȝly with dere carolez', implying that the *carole*

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[63] Sahlin, *Étude sur la carole*, p. 25.
[64] Timothy J. McGee also admits that the carole might have involved a 'diverse set of formations and activities'. See Timothy J. McGee, *Medieval Instrumental Dances* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990), p. 20.
[65] *SGGK*; John Gower, *The English Works of John Gower*, 2 vols., ed. by G.C. Macaulay (London: Publication for the Early English Text Society by K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1900) I; John Gower, *The English Works of John Gower*, 2 vols., ed. by G.C. Macaulay (London: Publication for the Early English Text Society by K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1900) II; Geoffrey Chaucer, 'The Legend of Good Women', in *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd ed., ed. by Larry D. Benson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 587-603.
[66] *SGGK*, ll. 43 – 'syþen kayred to þe court caroles to make'. Colton and McInnes discuss the references to carols in *SGGK*. See Colton and McInnes, 'High or Low?', pp. 122-123.

here is still firmly associated with dance within this story and setting.[67] The Gawain-poet does also, however, make mention of a song:

> Much glam and gle went vp þerinne
> Aboute þe fyre vpon flet, and on fele wyse
> At þe soper and after, many aþel songeȝ,
> As coundutes of Krystmasse and caroleȝ newe[68]

Greene identifies the 'coundutes of Krystmasse' as being the Latin conductus, 'a song accompanying a change of position by a liturgical celebrant'.[69] This form had become less popular by the time of *SGGK*'s writing, which could provide the reason for the use of the phrase 'caroleȝ newe', a term highlighting this type of song as having newly emerged within popular culture replacing the older forms of song.[70] Greene also notes that the description of the 'caroleȝ newe' may have been used to highlight that these carols were ones that were sung and did not accompany dance, the carol as opposed to the *carole*. In *SGGK* the *carole* as a dance and the carol as a song are therefore evident. Although there is still mention of the dance at this point, the steps of the dance are not described. As such, we cannot, therefore, relate the *carole* dance to a ring-form or sense of circularity. This, again, leaves the Kölbigk story as the only written text thus far to firmly relate the *carole* dance and the carol-song to a sense of circularity.

The *carole* and carol also appear in this period of transition from dance to song in the works of John Gower, although the focus certainly seems to strengthen on the song form. In *Confessio Amantis* Gower describes how a 'freissh carole hath sunge aboute', again highlighting the act of creating these songs as being new or 'freissh' in a similar way to the Gawain-poet.[71] This suggests that the end of the fourteenth and start of the fifteenth century were a point where writers were acknowledging the carol-song as distinct from the *carole*-dance, a new song form. Interestingly, Gower also lists the carol next to popular French *formes-fixes*:

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[67] *SGGK*, ll. 1022-1026.
[68] *SGGK*, ll. 1652-1655.
[69] Greene, *EEC*, p. xxix.
[70] *SGGK*, l. 1655.
[71] Gower, *The English Works*, II, l. 3146.

> And also I have ofte assaied
> Rondeal, balade and virelai
> For hire on whom myn herte lai
> To make, and also forto peinte
> Caroles with my wordes qeinte,
> To sette my pourpos alofte;
> And thus I sang hem for the fulofte
> In halle and ek in chambre aboute,
> And made merie among the route,
> Bot yit ne ferde I noght the bet.[72]

This describes the carol specifically as a song without the dance connection: the speaker paints the carol with their 'wordes qeinte' rather than using any sort of movement. However, all three *formes-fixes* mentioned by Gower (*rondeau*, *ballade*, and *virelai*) began their lives as dance-songs, accompanying movement.[73] The structure of these three *formes-fixes* will be explored in greater depth later in this chapter; however, all three of these forms contain a refrain element. Gower may therefore position the carol in the same context as these *formes-fixes* due to their similar construction and the use of a repetitive phrase. The passage describes how the speaker 'sang' the *formes-fixes* and the carol for their love, positioning all of these forms as ones which are sung in this context and not danced. There is no reference to dance or indeed circular movement of any kind. The connection here is most definitely then with song. The sustained link between song and dance is more evident in Geoffrey Chaucer's *The Legend of Good Women*.[74] Chaucer writes:

> And after that they wenten in compas
> Daunsynge aboute this flour an esy pas,
> And songen, as it were in carole-wyse,
> This balade, which that I shal yow devyse.[75]

Chaucer then provides the 'balade' which comprises three verses with the refrain 'Alceste is here, that al may desteyne'.[76] Chaucer's description of a song being sung 'as it were in carole-wyse' and mention of 'daunsynge' in the previous line, suggests that this song is intended to be sung as the songs

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[72] Gower, *The English Works*, I, ll. 2726-2734. Robert Mullally also notes that Gower 'places the carol in the context of the French poetic forms' – see Mullally, *The Carole*, p. 116.
[73] Gower, *The English Works*, I, l. 2727.
[74] Chaucer, 'The Legend of Good Women', pp. 587-603.
[75] Chaucer, 'The Legend of Good Women', ll. 199-202.
[76] Chaucer, 'The Legend of Good Women', ll. 203-223

accompanying the *carole*-dance were sung.[77] As such, the 'carole-wyse' description is more of a description of the manner of the song accompanying the dance rather than a word for the song itself. What we can take from the song provided by Chaucer (also referred to as a 'balade' as opposed to a carol) is that the refrain element is integral to the piece. The 'carole-wyse' style appears to be focused on the inclusion of repetitive elements like refrain at this point. The piece does not, however, begin with a burden statement as the carols of the fifteenth century do. It is possible then that the final structure of the carol was cemented only later in the medieval period, as the fifteenth century progressed and, instead, to sing a song 'carole-wyse' was just to sing any song suitable for dancing that contained a refrain or repetitive element. The word 'carol' itself, after all, only occurs in one fifteenth-century source, the Audelay manuscript (c.1426), and one early-sixteenth century source, Balliol manuscript (1501-1533).[78] The songs in both of these manuscripts are not musically-notated. Many of Audelay's songs deal with the issue of repentance or religious subject matter. The Balliol manuscript, in comparison, is a commonplace book and thus collects together songs on a variety of different subjects.[79] These carols are presented with the burden at the head of the piece followed by the verses, in the structure identified by Greene as belonging to the carol and seen in other non-notated collections like the Sloane manuscript or OxEng.[80] The mention of these forms as carols in only two manuscripts of the fifteenth century nevertheless does not provide an adequate level of evidence for these songs being widely known or regarded as carols.

The fourteenth to fifteenth century thus seems to be a time in which the carol is in transition, developing its own identity separate to that of the *carole*-dance but retaining elements of the repetition that also shaped the dance songs described by Chaucer and the *formes-fixes* highlighted by Gower. Despite the lack of specific references to the carol during the fifteenth-century itself, its form and *mis-en-page* nevertheless highlight it as a distinct song form, as this chapter will go on to show in its exploration of the carol's relationship to the *formes-fixes* and the Italian *lauda* and *ballata*. Moreover,

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[77] Chaucer, 'The Legend of Good Women', ll. 200-201.
[78] For the use of the word 'carol' in manuscripts see Palti, Synge we now', p. 33.
[79] For more on commonplace books see David R. Parker, *The Commonplace Book in Tudor London: An Examination of BL MSS Egerton 1995, Harley 2252, Lansdowne 762, and Oxford, Balliol College MS 354* (Lanham, MD: Oxford University Press of America, 1998).
[80] See Greene, *EEC*, pp. xxxi-xxxiii.

these connections to other forms could show a more complex developmental pathway and origin for the carol than one specifically associated with the *carole* and dance.

Fickle Forms and Friars

The *carole*, as we have seen, was often condemned within medieval texts like that of the Kölbigk story. Christopher Page notes that during the thirteenth century the views of some European clerics towards the *carole* began to change.[81] Page notes that this softening towards dancing occurred mainly among the university-trained theologians and these views came to contrast with more traditionalist centres of liturgical thought.[82] To give examples of those who condemned the *carole*, Page turns to two clerics from the mendicant orders. He gives the example of the Dominican Humbert of Romans (c.1190-1277), who writes that young girls 'Item debent cavare a levitatibus que fiunt in cantilenis, in choreis, et similibus'.[83] Page translates this as 'Furthermore they must beware of the trifles which are committed in songs, in *caroles*, and in things of this kind'.[84] The next example Page gives comes from a Franciscan, Nicholas de Bayard (fl.1300), who writes 'sic nobiles puelle, filie summi regiminis, aliis canentibus in chorea, remanent in domo sedentes et orantes'.[85] Page then goes on to translate this as 'so noble girls, daughters brought up in the most respectable fashion, will stay in the house sitting and praying while others sing in a *carole*'.[86] Despite noting the 'imprecision' of the terms *chorea* and *carole* across texts, Page relies on *chorea* and *choreis* translating as *carole* in both of these instances.[87] As we have seen there is danger in this, as *chorea* may have referred to several different types of dancing or, in fact, to the general act of dance. As such, we move away from Page's interpretation of this as specifically relating to the *carole* and the song mentioned by de Bayard as being sung during the dance

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[81] Christopher Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale: Musical Life and Ideas in France 1100-1300* (Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), p. 111.
[82] Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale*, p. 111.
[83] Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale,* pp. 116-117.
[84] Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale*, p. 117.
[85] Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale*, p.117.
[86] Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale*, p. 117.
[87] Page states that the 'writings of the period 1200-1300 leave a strong impression that the 'festive company dance performed in a line, ring or chain' was enjoyed at almost all levels of society'. He interprets this dance as being the *carole*, which is sometimes referred to as *chorea*. However, despite Page's insistence that there are a large number of texts with contextual detail that justify this interpretation of *chorea* as *carole*, there is still significant danger in misinterpreting a more general reference to dance as being specifically aligned to the *carole*, considering the Latin term's range of meanings. Therefore, it is safer to interpret *chorea* merely as dance rather than as *carole* or any specific form. See Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale*, p. 116.

cannot firmly be said to be the accompaniment to the *carole*. What this does show is that the act of public singing and dancing is viewed by both these clerics as a gateway to further misdemeanours. Within the mendicant orders during the thirteenth century there was disagreement about the nature and appropriateness of dance and song. Albertus Magnus (c.1200-1280), a Dominican friar and one-time Master of the University of Paris, spends significant time outlining the circumstances in which dance and song may be acceptable. In relation to song, Page highlights that Albertus specifies that 'the words should be of an improving kind (de moribus)'.[88] Albertus also writes that there is no need for a specified melody; the song should just be of the type that suits dancing. As such, we see space being made by clerics for the performance of dance and song. Albertus recognises the ability of dance-song to convey messages to its participants, as a way of improving its performers.[89] This marks a note of interest from the mendicant orders in the ability of song to influence the nature of the performer or listener.

If we then turn to the carol from the late fourteenth to fifteenth centuries at the point of transition from accompaniment to dance to independent song, we find the form resident in several books connected directly with the mendicant orders. The earliest of these is Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates' Library, MS 18.7.21 (Grimestone).[90] This manuscript is the preaching-book of John Grimestone (fl. c. 1372), a Norfolk-based Franciscan friar.[91] Carols found in Grimestone's book and listed by Greene include *As I lay upon a night*, *Lullay lullay little child*, *Thou sighest sore,* and *Maiden and mother come and see*. There are two versions of a piece named *As I lay upon a night*

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[88] Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale*, p. 131. Page bases his discussion on Albertus Magnus's *Commentary on the Sentences of Peter Lombard* which can be found in Albertus Magnus, *B. Alberti Magni Ratisbonensis episcopi, ordinis Prædicatorum, Opera omnia*, ed. by Augusti Borgnet (France: Apud Ludovicum Vivès, 1895), p. 632ff.

[89] Peter Loewen writes that 'many Franciscan theologians were also preachers and song composers; but when they wrote as theorists, their aim was to expound and instruct'. Loewen also comments on the fact that Franciscans had musical instruction as part of their learning programmes and that this was seen as a way of helping not only the standard of singing but the standard of preaching. Music was therefore seen as integral to the preaching ability of the mendicant orders. Peter Loewen, *Music in Early Franciscan Thought* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), p. 3; p. 13.

[90] Grimestone.

[91] Andrew Galloway describes Grimestone's compilation of lyrics, noting that 'with 246 items in English verse, Grimestone's compilation is extraordinary, in a period where English lyric anthologies were unknown'. See Andrew Galloway, 'Theory of the Fourteenth–Century English Lyric', in *What Kind of a Thing Is a Middle English Lyric?,* ed. by Cristina Maria Cervone and Nicholas Watson (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2022), pp. 303-341, (p. 316). Although Galloway describes Grimestone as a Lincolnshire-based friar, the general scholarly consensus has been that Grimestone stemmed from Norfolk. See Greene, *EEC*, p. 331 and Malcolm Parkes, *The Hands Before Our Eyes: A Closer Look at Scribes* (London: Routledge, 2016), p. 26.

in the Grimestone book. The first occurs on fols. 3v-4v and is a conversation between the Virgin Mary and the Christ-child (*As I lay upon a night I*). The second occurs on fol. 5v (*As I lay upon a night II*).[92] The *Digital Index of Middle English Verse* (*DIMEV*) lists the second of these songs as a *virelai* and it does not contain a burden.[93] This *virelai* is, however, found again in one of the main sources of musically-notated carols, the Selden Carol Book (fols. 18r-18v), raising the question of whether this piece was actually considered a carol in its later life.[94] The *virelai* is, after all, the *forme-fixe* to which the carol is most often compared.[95] Traditionally the *virelai* begins with a full statement of the refrain which is then repeated after each of its three stanzas. In terms of its music, the first two parts of each stanza have the same musical setting and the third section of the stanza then copies the music of the refrain, providing an aural cue for the audience that the stanza is coming to an end and that the refrain is about to be re-stated.[96] Greene omits this work from *EEC*, but John Stevens includes it in an appendix of *MC*. David Fallows argues convincingly that the Selden version of *As I lay upon a night (II)* is a carol but also draws attention to its unique qualities: 'In style, and in manuscript context, it is beyond question a carol; in musical form it is a virelai, in poetic form it is a narrative in quatrains'.[97] This shows the boundaries of form into question, demonstrating how interrelated and flexible forms could be – what appears at first glance to be a *virelai* is, when considering its context and style, a carol. Yet, at the same time it is still musically typical of the *virelai*. By including this piece in a book primarily containing carols and liturgical pieces, the Selden scribe of *As I lay upon a night II* may have been using the manuscript context to determine how the audience thought of the piece, treating it in the manner of carol as opposed to the manner of a *virelai*. However, the appearance of *As I lay upon a night II* on the Selden page is slightly different from that of a carol, a point that Fallows does not make. This

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[92] To differentiate between both songs I will refer to the carol version as *As I lay upon a night I* and the virelai as *As I lay upon a night II*.
[93] See description of *As I lay upon a night II* on *DIMEV* – 'As I lay upon a night', *The Digital Index of Middle English Verse*, ed. by Linne Mooney et al (2023), <https://www.dimev.net/record.php?recID=607#wit-607-2> [Accessed: 24th August 2023].
[94] Selden, fols. 18r-18v.
[95] Greene notes that the virelai and the carol moved in different circles but their form is, nevertheless, similar. He refers to the carol as a 'sister, or at least a cousin, to the carol' – Greene, *EEC*, p. lv.
[96] Greene describes the *virelai* as follows: 'The fundamental parts of the virelai are four: (1) a burden placed at the head of the piece; (2) a part of the stanza independent of the burden; (3) a second part of the stanza corresponding (in rhymes and accents) to the burden; (4) the burden repeated'. See Greene, *EEC*, p.lv. A full transcription of this piece can be found as No.11a in Stevens, *MC*, p. 112
[97] Fallows, *Henry V,* p. 28.

suggests the Selden scribe may have thought of *As I lay upon a night II* in a slightly different manner to that of the carol, a point to which we will return in a discussion of the musically-notated manuscripts and *mise-en-page* in Chapter IV.[98] What the inclusion of *As I lay upon a night II* in the Selden Carol Book does show is the recontextualisation of a traditional *forme-fixe* in a carol context, emphasising the process of adaptation. Moreover, Grimestone's book shows that the friar was aware of both the *formes-fixes* and the carol and was experimenting with these forms at the same time during the fourteenth century.

The *virelai* and carol can both be understood as part of a group of songs referred to as 'refrain songs'. This group also includes the *rondeau*, *ballade*, *ballata*, and *lauda*, all of which were being composed and performed across Europe in the late medieval period. The three *formes-fixes* are most often written about in relation to the carol, due to their dance origin and inclusion of refrain. Lawrence Earp notes that the composer Guillaume Machaut (c.1300-1377) often used the label 'chanson baladée' [danced songs] for his *formes-fixes* and suggests that this was a conscious move by the composer to preserve these songs for dancing. As such, Earp suggests that by the 1340s the *formes-fixes* were starting to lose their connection to dance and had started to be viewed as songs merely for singing.[99] This transition from dance-song to song alone seems to occur slightly earlier than the carol's which, as we have seen, was still being discussed in terms of its relationship to dance or movement in the late fourteenth century. The focus on dance-song and the carol's similarities to the *formes-fixes* has, however, obscured its relationship to other continental forms of the time and, from this, distracted from the possible role of the mendicant orders in the carol development and dissemination.

We have seen that the carol had certainly found its way into the books of Franciscan friars by the fourteenth century and that prior to this the attitude towards the *carole* as a dance on the continent was softening in some circles of the mendicant orders in the thirteenth century. If we look

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[98] Chapter IV discusses the *mis-en-page* of carols, pp. 114-121.
[99] Laurence Earp, 'Lyrics for Reading and Lyrics for Singing in Late Medieval France: The Development of the Dance Lyric from Adam de la Halle to Guillaume de Machaut', in *The Union of Words and Music in Medieval Poetry*, ed. by Rebecca A. Baltzer, Thomas Cable, and James I. Wimsatt (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), pp. 101-131, (p. 115).

to other refrain-song types outside of the *formes-fixes* that are comparable to the carol, a relationship between these songs and the mendicant orders arises. It has been noted that the Italian *lauda*, in particular, bears a striking similarity to the carol.[100] It has also faced some of the same issues of the carol within scholarship, with scholars struggling to properly define it or know how to approach it. Elise Murray Cambon goes so far as to state that 'the lauda will not and cannot be shackled nor pigeonholed into a categorical description'.[101] Cambon instead lists the consistent features of the *lauda* in an attempt to clarify what it is and how it was used: it was religious in nature, it used the vernacular, and it was supposed to be sung by the people instead of the clergy.[102] The *lauda* most often appears with the structure of another Italian form, the *ballata*.[103] The *ballata*, like the French *formes-fixes*, was intended for dance and includes a refrain (*ripresa*) sung by a chorus and verses sung by a soloist (*stanze*). However, the subject matter of the *ballata* differs from the *lauda* – it is much more focused on tales of love and morality.[104] The musical structure of the *ballata* and *virelai* are comparable, as shown in Figure 1.2 where colours indicate which sections have the same music. Both generally take an AbbaA format, with the refrain acting as the 'A' musical section, followed by two verse lines with a matching 'b' melody, the repetition of the refrain melody but with different words (the 'a' line) and then a repetition of the refrain in full with its original words (A). This again shows the fluidity of form in relation to refrain-song, with similar musical structures being used in France and Italy, as shown in Figure 1.2.[105]

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[100] Fallows, *Henry V*, p. 25; Reichl, 'The Middle English Carol', p. 166.
[101] Elise Murray Cambon, 'The Italian and Latin Lauda of the Fifteenth Century' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Tulane University, 1975), p. 9.
[102] Cambon, *The Italian and Latin Lauda*, p. 9.
[103] Blake Wilson notes that the *lauda* lost its 'exclusive association with the lay confraternities and the ballata form and entered into the broader and shifting currents of emerging polyphonic styles and new poetic forms' as the fifteenth century progressed. See Blake Wilson, 'Lauda (It,: 'praise'; pl. laude [laudi]),' *Grove Music Online* (2001), <https://doi-org.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.43313> [Accessed: 24th July 2023]. A brief history of the *lauda* can be found in 'Lauda', in *Routledge Revivals*: *Medieval Italy (2004),* 2 vols., ed. by Christopher Kleinhenz (Abingdon: Routledge, 2004), II, pp. 615-616.
[104] Kurt von Fischer, 'Ballata', *Grove Music Online*, rev. by Gianluca D'Agostino (2001), <https://doi-org.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.01891> [Accessed: 24th August 2023].
[105] Nigel Wilkins writes that the *virelai* is 'akin to the Italian ballata in structure'. Wilkins also writes that 'its musical structure is essentially ABBA, regardless of subtleties of rhythm and metre in the superimposed text'. See Nigel Wilkins, 'Introduction', in *One Hundred Ballades, Rondeaux and Virelais from the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 1-12, (pp. 3-4) and Nigel Wilkins, 'Virelai', *Grove Music*

Ballata[106]		**Virelai**	
Per tropo fede talor se perìgola!	A	Douce Dame Jolie	A
		Pour dieu ne penses mie	
Non é dolor, nè più mortale spàsemo	b	Que nulle ait signorie	
Come sença falir cader in biàsemo	b	Seur moy fors vous seulement	
El ben se tacie e lo mal pur se cìgola.	a		
		Qu'ades sans tricherie	b
Per tropo fede talor se perìgola!	A	Chierie	
		Vous ay et humblement	
		Tous le jours de ma vie	b
		Servie	
		Sans villain pensement	
		Helas et je mendie	a
		D'esperance et d'aie	
		Don't ma joie est fenie	
		Se pite ne vous en prent.	
		Douce Dame Jolie	A
		Pour dieu ne penses mie	
		Que nulle ait signorie	
		Seur moy fors vous seulement	

Figure 1.2: Comparison of *ballata* and *virelai*

The *lauda* incorporates the structure of the *ballata* (and thus a similar structure to the *virelai*) but unlike the *ballata* it focuses on religious ideas.[107] Although the history and definition of the *lauda* is, like the carol, obscure, what has generally been accepted is that the *lauda* arose in Italy in an environment where the preaching style and missionary work of the mendicant orders, in particular that of the Dominicans and Franciscans, was beginning to flourish.[108] The mendicant orders travelled widely as part of their ministry, arriving in England between 1220 and 1230.[109] The friars had an interest in

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Online (2001), <https://doi.org/10/1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.29490> [Accessed: July 27th 2023]. Ross W. Duffin also states that the virelai resembles the ballata – see Ross W. Duffin, *A Performer's Guide to Medieval Music* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2000), p. 236.

[106] This *ballata*, *Per tropo fede talor se perìgola*, can be found in Rossi, fol. 19r. The *virelai*, *Douce Dame Jolie*, is by Machaut and can be found in BnF 1584, fols. 482v-483r.

[107] See von Fischer, 'Ballata', *GMO* and Wilson, 'Lauda', *GMO*. Kleinhenz also writes that 'by adopting the secular ballad form, the religious lauda actively – and successfully – competed with it secular counterpart for the attention of the public' – see 'Lauda', *Routledge Revivals*, p. 616.

[108] Cambon, *The Italian and Latin Lauda*, p. 9.

[109] G. Geltner describes the 'constant wandering between cities' of mendicant friars. See G. Geltner, 'Violence: Friars under Fire', in *The Making of Medieval Antifraternalism: Polemic, violence, Deviance, and Remembrance*

preaching in an accessible way, making use of the vernacular in translations and compositions in order to appeal to the non-Latinate public.[110] This approach to evangelisation in part explains the two vaguely defining features of *laude* highlighted by Cambon: the use of the Italian vernacular and religious subject matter.[111] If the mendicant orders were attempting to evangelise and spread the liturgy to the people, then it made sense to voice the liturgy in the language of the people. Thus, with Saint Francis and his efforts to only sing in the language of the people, the *lauda* emerged.[112] The approach developed by the mendicant orders led to the formation of lay confraternities. This included the *laudesi* who were particular proponents of the *lauda*, the singing of which was central to their acts of devotion.[113] Another confraternity, the *disciplinati*, a group connected with the act of self-flagellation, also sung *laude* during penitential processions.[114] Marco Gozzi notes the differences in the style of the *laude* of the *laudesi* and *disciplinati*, with the *laude* of the *disciplinati* being focused on Christ's Passion and the *laude* of the *laudesi* being of a more 'pleasant, singable and varied' nature.[115] The carol touches on a range of different subject areas – from Christ's Passion to feasting and drinking.[116] Within *EEC* Greene categorises the carols according to subject, demonstrating the

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(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 45-77, (p. 50); John Joseph Zec, 'The Relationship of the Carol, the Processional, and the Rhymed Office of the Nativity Cycle as Influenced by the Mendicant Orders in the Late Middle Ages in England' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, The Catholic University of America, 1997), Proquest Dissertations Publishing, p. 14.

[110] Jane Griffiths notes that the religious lyrics of friars such as James Ryman can be found in a variety of lay contexts. This shows 'that religious macaronic lyrics might be considered as a relatively widely disseminated form of vernacular theology: that is, that they are aligned with contemporary translations of a wide range of theological texts into English, as well as the production of original theological and spiritual writing in English'. This demonstrates the importance given to the vernacular during this period, particularly in terms of its role in the dissemination of lyrics. See Jane Griffiths, '"This word in Latyn": Translation and Untranslatability in Late Medieval Religious Macaronic Lyrics', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* (2023, forthcoming), Oxford Research Archive, 1-45, (p. 7); Zec, *The Relationship of the Carol*, p. 3.

[111] Cambon, *The Italian and Latin Lauda*, p. 9.

[112] Frédéric Ozanam, Amy E. Nellen, and Norman Carlyle Craig describe how 'St Francis appeared, and he, with his devotion to the poor, would only sing in the idiom of the people'. Francis's *Canticle of the Sun* is often seen as the beginnings of the lauda. Ozanam, Nellen, and Craig also note Francis's respect for the French language, describing how 'he loved her language; though he expressed himself in it haltingly, he spoke it with his Brothers. He made the neighbouring woods resound with French canticles' – see Fréderic Ozanam, Amy E. Nellen, and Norman Carlyle Craig, *The Franciscan Poets in Italy of the Thirteenth Century* (New York: Scribner's, 1914), p. 24; p.56. A strong relationship existed between French forms and Italian, as described by Marco Gozzi: 'French poetry for music was present in Italian courts in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the whole of Italian poetic production derived forms, vocabulary, themes, general lines (and presumably musical style too, when sung) from French lyric poetry'. See Marco Gozzi, 'Italy to 1300', in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music*, ed. by Mark Everist (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 121-135, (p. 129).

[113] Gozzi, 'Italy', p. 129.

[114] Wilson, 'Lauda'. Ideas of refrain-song and procession will be explored in Chapter II, pp. 52-63.

[115] Gozzi, 'Italy', p. 129.

[116] Greene, *EEC*, pp. xxxii-xxxiii.

diversity of topics explored through the carol form.[117] At least four of the fifteen Passion carols featured in *EEC*, are written by Franciscans. This includes a carol by Grimestone, *Maiden and mother come and see*, which will be explored in greater detail in Chapter II.[118] This means that over 25% of the Passion carols identified by Greene are written by Franciscans. This suggests that while the carol was used for a variety of subjects, the mendicant friars still recognised this form as an effective song type for reflecting on the Passion in the vernacular and sharing the Passion story with the people, creating a parallel with the *disciplinati's* use of *laude* for the same purpose.

The mendicant orders interest in translation is also evidence of their use of the vernacular to reflect on religious subject matter and make it more accessible. The fourteenth-century friar, William Herebert, was particularly active as a translation of Latin hymns.[119] Manfred Bukofzer highlighted that processional hymns and the carol share a similar structure:

> The general structure is the same in both forms, they both fall into burden and stanzas, which may differ in metrical structure and music, they both have the regular repeat of the burden after each stanza and the uniform pattern of the stanza itself, and they are both performed antiphonally.[120]

This structure is also found in the Latin carols (*cantilenae*). Bukofzer suggests a specific liturgical function and subject for these Latin carols, arguing that they have a slightly different relationship between burden and stanza from that of the carol or processional hymn.[121] Bukofzer is, however, again writing in the post-war period and follows Greene in trying to associate the carol with ideas of

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[117] Louise McInnes criticises Greene's categorisation of carols, writing that the general headings given to each of Greene's carol categories simplify the complexity of the female voice and figure within late medieval carols. This results in only ten songs being labelled 'Carols of Women'. See McInnes, 'Saints and Sinners', p. 478.

[118] Greene also included three Ryman carols in this group: *O my dear Son why dost Thou so*, *When false Judas Her Son had sold*, and *In prophecy thus it is said* (*EEC*, nos. 156, 157d, 159). The Grimestone carol can be found as no. 160. Originally Greene lists sixteen Passion carols in total (nos. 156-171) with five variations of no. 157. In the second edition no. 165 is omitted in agreement with Steven's exclusion of this carol from MC. A note highlights that Stevens suggested that the music of this particular carol was not one of a 'true carol'. See Greene, *EEC*, p. 111.

[119] Herebert's translations and style of copying are discussed in Ingrid Nelson, 'Enchanting Songs and Rhyming Doctrine in William Herebert's Hymns', in *Lyric Tactics: Poetry, Genre, and Practice in Later Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), pp. 59-87.

[120] Bukofzer, 'Holy-Week Music', p. 149.

[121] Bukofzer, 'Holy-Week Music', p. 150.

'Englishness'.[122] The shared structure between processional hymns and the carol provides an interesting suggestion for the development of the carol in England, a relationship that can be compared to that of the *lauda* and *ballata* on the Continent. In relation to the *lauda* and *ballata*, the mendicant orders took the *ballata* form, replacing the secular wording with the religious text of the *lauda*. These *laude* were then used by confraternities in their devotional practices, including in the movement of processions.[123] In England, the Franciscans made the effort to translate hymns into the vernacular. The carol is then seen separate from its dance context, taking an almost identical form to the processional hymns.[124] In medieval England Franciscan scribes may have taken the liturgical texts and instilled them with the spirit of familiar secular song, a song formerly associated with dance movement. Thus, this kept the structure of a liturgical form but engaged it with the vernacular in a way that appealed to a wider public audience. This audience then may have adapted the carol with vernacular wording for their own means, leading to the variety we see in terms of carol subjects. This shows how the relationship between *lauda* and *ballata* and processional hymn and carol are both similar and different – the lauda takes a secular song form and uses liturgical text, whilst the carol takes a form similar to the processional hymn but uses it with a mixture of secular and liturgical lyrics.[125] This development pathway for the carol still takes into account the dance origin of the carol but also shows how the influence of the mendicant orders may have had significant influence in terms of the overall popularity of the form in late medieval England and in the way the form was developed and disseminated. It acknowledges the similarities between the carol and other dance-songs, whilst also pointing out the shared characteristics with Latin processional hymns, suggesting that influence could come from both dance-song and processional hymns. As such, it is not truly the direction of

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[122] Colton and McInnes note that the 'carol's vernacularity has tended to rest on a twin agenda of nationalism and nostalgia'. See Colton and McInnes, 'High or Low?', p. 146.
[123] See Chapter II, pp. 52-64 for discussion of processional movement and its relationship to the carol.
[124] Rossell Hope Robbins describes how through Latin processional hymn translation William Herebert was 'groping his way toward the carol' before his death at Hereford in 1333. See Rossell Hope Robbins, 'Friar Herebert and the Carol', *Anglia*, 75 (1957), 194-198, <https://resolver-sub-uni-goettingen-de.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/purl?PPN338212566_0075> [Accessed: 20th March 2024], (p. 194).
[125] Evelyn Underhill notes that Jacopone da Todi, an Italian Franciscan friar known for laude writing, sometimes also wrote vernacular pieces using the metre of Latin hymns. This could imply that some of da Todi's works were also used as hymn substitutes. This emphasises the close ties between the performance contexts and developmental pathways of hymns, Continental refrain song, and carols. See Evelyn Underhill, *Jacapone da Todi, Poet and Mystic – 1228-1306: A Spiritual Biography* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1919), pp. 222-223.

influence from either the liturgical or the secular that is important in relation to the carol's developmental pathway. Rather, it is the fact that exchange occurred between secular and liturgical throughout the carol's development and that this helped to shape the eventual context from which the carol emerged and the form in which it emerged. Thus, this argument does not take the staunch positions of either dance-song proponents like Greene or processional hymn proponents like Robbins.[126] It instead suggests a more nuanced view in which multiple different forms may have had direct influence on the late medieval carol, rather than there being one specific pathway leading to its development and emergence.

Conclusion

When we turn to the early development of the carol it is clear that its history has more nuance than that of a mere ring-dance song and to describe the carol in this way is to overlook the complex nature of its origins. The carol does appear to have been a dance-song that separated from its dance context by the fifteenth century. However, it is by no means a ring-dance song – it may have been used for this type of dancing but it may have also been used in other movement types. It is unwise therefore to place too much emphasis on the relationship between the carol and ideas of circularity or roundness. It has often seemed that the discussion of the carol's origins in relation to the Franciscans and mendicant orders has remained separate from its use as a dance-song. A connection with the mendicant orders and a relationship with dance are not mutually exclusive. From the appearance of carols in books connected with the mendicant orders, it is evident that the carol was of use to these friars and that they were actively engaged with the copying of these lyrics. Comparing the carol to other forms connected with the mendicant orders shows how the carol may have been influenced by its contact with these orders, suggesting that the friars recognised the carol's ability to speak to the

[126] Greene and Robbins both take firm stances on the carol's development. Greene comments that there is 'no odour of sanctity' surrounding the carol. See Greene, *EEC*, pp. xivii-xiviii . On the other hand, Robbins criticises the argument that the carol emerged from 'nebulous Middle English dance songs'. Instead, Robbins proposes that the Latin processional hymn is a 'far more immediate and direct' source. See Robbins, 'Friar Herebert', pp. 194-195.

people and used it in similar ways to other refrain-songs – as a way of reaching out to the public in their own tongue. By using a structure similar to that of processional hymn, the song types of the church could still be brought to mind, but these songs could be sung in a way that connected to the people through non-Latinate language. This may have then provided the opportunity for the adaptation of this song for different purposes, leading to the variety of carol lyrics we see in the books that have been passed down to us. This connection with the processional hymn, to the mendicant orders, and the relationship of other songs used by the mendicant orders with movement prompts more questions regarding whether the separation of the carol from its dance context meant an entire separation of the form from the idea of movement. I therefore now turn to a discussion of movement, space, and its connection to the carol form in the period after the carol became independent from its dance context.

II

MAKING MOVES: THE CAROL AND SPACE

The carol's connection to dance, as we have seen, gradually faded as the fifteenth century approached. However, this did not mean that the carol severed all connection to movement. Both Rossell Hope Robbins and Margit Sahlin proposed that the carol was used in procession.[1] This was dismissed by Greene, who responded in his second edition of *EEC* by proclaiming that the carol had 'no odour of sanctity'.[2] This claim, again, was in line with Greene's aim to craft the carol as an English song, a product of the English people and their folk traditions. However, the carol, as a 'song on any subject', was suitable for different performance contexts and practices. This chapter will suggest that Greene's view of the carol as a purely secular form misunderstands the relationship of the liturgical and secular in late medieval culture. Moreover, I will argue that even though the carols link to dance had faded by the fifteenth century, there was still a connection to movement and the carol operated as a way to aid an audience's to navigation and experience of different spaces in a physical, spiritual, and mental sense.

Creation, Space, Movement

The process of artistic creation involves several different factors at work within the artist's mind simultaneously. Using elements of Eric Zimmerman's play theory, Elizabeth Upton argues that there are three sets of people that we have to consider in regard to music-making: composers, performers, and listeners.[3] Each of these categories, which Upton refers to as 'players', have their own influencing factors which determine their role in the music-making process and affect the eventual performance of the piece.

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[1] See Sahlin, *Étude sur la carole* and Robbins, 'Middle English Carols'.
[2] Greene, *EEC*, pp. xivii-xiviii.
[3] Elizabeth Upton, *Music and Performance in the Later Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 6; Play is defined by Zimmerman as 'the free space of movement within a more rigid structure. Play exists both because of and also despite the more rigid structures of a system'. Zimmerman then suggests that play is controlled by structural elements but that the relationships between these structures, 'the interstitial spaces between and among its components', allows a certain amount of freedom which also contributes to the shaping and performance of the play itself. See Eric Zimmerman, 'Narrative, Interactivity, Play, and Games', in *First Person: New Media as Story, Performance, and Game*, ed. by Noah Wardrip-Fruin and Pat Harrigan (Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2004), pp. 154-164.

This could be, for example, the composer's understanding of music theory, the listener's physical surroundings, or the performer's ability to read musical notation.[4] This relationship is described by Upton as a 'cascade, by which one player's play becomes a constraint for the next player'.[5] Upton is right to acknowledge that there are a variety of different individuals, experiences, and physical factors at work in the process of creation. However, I propose that this relationship may be more helpfully envisaged as a web due to the many different factors at play at the same time, the elements of human agency involved, and the potential knock-on impacts throughout the system depending on the constraints, decisions, influences, and abilities of different players within the web. For example, the composer has a direct relationship not just with the next player in the cascade (the performer) but also with the audience. The composer considers both players as they make their work. The composer is impacted by their existing knowledge of both of these players and also their perceptions and assumptions about how those players may react. The performer, similarly, has a direct impact on composer and audience, and the audience an effect on composer and performer. These categories of players are also not distinct from one another. The audience member can just as easily function as a participant at the same time – for example, when the audience joins in with the burden of the carol. As such, the relationship between players in the creative process is far more intricate than the 'cascade' descriptor can encapsulate. When one part of the web interacts with the piece it causes vibrations across the rest of the web, impacting all other parts of it. As we consider the different contexts for performance, we therefore have to attend to all the agents involved within the creative process and the impact that they each have on one another in the eventual performance.

The Carol in the Church

The previous chapter established that the carol is similar in form to the processional hymn.[6] Could this then mean that the carol maintained a link to movement through the act of procession? And how did the carol relate to movement through a liturgical space?

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[4] Upton, *Music and Performance*, p. 6.
[5] Upton, *Music and Performance*, p. 7.
[6] See Chapter I, pp. 47-49; Bukofzer, 'Holy-Week Music', p. 149.

Many carols directly quote from the liturgy and, in fact, from the processional.[7] If we turn to the Selden Carol Book the scale of these borrowings can be immediately seen merely by looking at the first ten folios of the manuscript.[8] Twelve pieces are recorded within these first ten folios – five arrangements of Latin liturgical texts, four macaronic carols, and three fully vernacular carols. This sample gives an accurate representation of the range of pieces contained within the manuscript. Figure 2.1 shows the Latin pieces featured in this first section of Selden and the liturgical origins of the texts.[9]

Folio	**Piece**	**Origin of text**
3r-3v	*Mater ora filium*	Marian Antiphon (p. 421 *Processional*)
3v-4v	*Sancta Maria virgo intercede pro toto*	Marian Antiphon (p. 421 *Processionale*; p. 198 and p.406 *Psalterium*; p.76 and p.1169 *Sanctorale*; p. 1741 *Temporale*)
5v-6r	*Ave regina / Ave Regina*	Marian Antiphon (p. 419 *Processionale;* p. 1266 and p. 1706 *Temporale*; p. 901 *Psalterium*; p. 1310 *Sanctorale*)
6r	*Beata Mater et innupta*	Marian Antiphon (p. 193 and p.407 *Psalterium*; p. 1738 *Temporale*; p.1280 *Sanctorale*)
8v-9r	*Miles*	Antiphon of Thomas of Lancaster

[7] Greene traces the origins of common Latin lines found in carols – see Greene, *EEC*, pp. lxxxvi-lxxxviii and Greene, *EEC*, pp. xcvii-xcviii. Rossell Hope Robbins states that Greene fails to consider the fact that the borrowed hymn lines come from the Processional. See Robbins, 'Middle English Carols', p. 564.

[8] The first ten folios have been chosen as they give a good sample of the range of material contained within the Selden Carol Book. The Selden Carol Book will be examined in further and fuller historical and palaeographical detail in Chapter IV, pp. 134-139 of this study. Robbins describes how 'with the exception of the Trinity roll, the three other polyphonic manuscripts include Latin antiphons from the Sarum and other processionals. In Egerton MS 3307, the Latin processional hymns are grouped together in one part of the manuscript, but in MS Arch. Selden they are interspersed among the English carols' – Robbins, 'Middle English Carols', p. 562.

[9] All Latin phrases in Figure 2.1 have been sourced from the following sources: 'Processionale ad usum Sarum', *The Sarum Rite*, ed. by William Renwick (Ontario: The Gregorian Institute of Canada, 2021), <https://hmcwordpress.humanities.mcmaster.ca/renwick/processional/> [Accessed: 2nd August 2023]; 'Sanctorale', *The Sarum Rite*, ed. by William Renwick (Ontario: The Gregorian Institute of Canada, 2021), <https://hmcwordpress.humanities.mcmaster.ca/renwick/breviary/latin-breviary/sanctorale/> [Accessed: 2nd August 2023]; 'Psalterium', *The Sarum Rite*, ed. by William Renwick (Ontario: The Gregorian Institute of Canada, 2021), <https://hmcwordpress.humanities.mcmaster.ca/renwick/breviary/latin-breviary/psalter/> [Accessed: 2nd August 2023]; 'Temporale', *The Sarum Rite*, ed. by William Renwick (Ontario: The Gregorian Institute of Canada, 2021), <https://hmcwordpress.humanities.mcmaster.ca/renwick/breviary/latin-breviary/temporale/> [Accessed: 2nd August 2023]. Greene notes that *Miles Christi gloriose* is an antiphon in praise of Thomas of Lancaster in Richard Leighton Greene, 'Two Medieval Musical Manuscripts: Egerton 3307 and Some University of Chicago Fragments', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 7.1 (1954), 1-34, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/829607> [Accessed: 24th September 2023], (p. 3).

	Christi gloriose	(p.397 *Processionale;* p.794 *Psalterium*; p. 1454 *Sanctorale)*

Figure 2.1: The Latin liturgical pieces found in the first ten folios of the Selden Carol Book

Four of the five Latin texts in Figure 2.1 can be traced directly to the *Processional*. Four of the five texts are also Marian antiphons. The only antiphon that is not in praise of Mary is *Miles Christi gloriose* which is an antiphon in praise of Thomas of Lancaster.[10] Nearly all of the Latin liturgical texts within these first ten folios can therefore be described as liturgical processional works.[11] Thus, from first appearances the Latin repertoire of the Selden Carol Book appears appropriate for use in a liturgical performance context, specifically the context of liturgical procession.

Macaronic and vernacular carols are found alongside the Latin liturgical pieces in Selden. Macaronic carols are so named because they make use of two languages within one poem, namely Latin and the vernacular.[12] In the Selden Carol Book the four macaronic carols are *Exortum est in love and liss*, *This rose is railed on a rice*, *Now well may me mirths make*, and *Holy Maiden blessed Thou be*. Figure 2.2 shows the Latin text featured in these carols and the origins of each of the Latin phrases.

Folio	**Piece**	**Latin Text**	**Origin of Latin Text**
7r	*Exortum est in love and liss*	Rex Pacificus	Antiphon for Christmas Eve (p. 277 *Temporale*)

[10] Greene, 'Two Medieval Musical Manuscripts', p. 3.

[11] In addition to Renwick's 'Temporale', 'Sanctorale', 'Psalterium', and 'Processionale', Latin phrases have been sourced from Greene, *EEC*, pp. lxxxvi-lxxxviii; Greene, *EEC*, pp. xcvii-xcviii and Greene, *EEC*, pp. civ-cv. Greene also gives the full text of Bernard of Clairveaux's *Letabundus* – see Greene, *EEC*, pp. xcviii-xcix. Hymns can also be found in *Thesaurus hymnologicus*, ed. by Daniel Hermann (Germany: J.T. Loeschke, 1856) (*TH*); *Analecta Hymnica Medii Ævi. XXIV-XXV*, ed. by G.M. Dreves and C. Blume (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1896) (*AH*) and *Hymnarium Sarisburiense*, (Cambridge: J. Deighton, 1851) (*HS*).

[12] There is a large corpus of existing literature on macaronic poetry. Siegfried Wenzel, for example, writes that 'From the thirteenth until the early sixteenth century, English poets produced hundreds of lyrics that similarly introduce Latin words or phrase into Anglo-Norman or English stanzas, lyrics that are mostly religious but also include an occasional drinking song, a political poem, or even humoristic satirical verses. The large corpus of over 500 carols of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries contains 210 items that show such a mixture' – Siegfried Wenzel, 'Medieval Literature', in *Macaronic Sermons: Bilingualism and Preaching in Late-Medieval England* (University of Michigan Press, 1994), pp. 1-12, (p. 2). William Wehrle describes macaronic poetry as 'the practice of interlarding a vernacular poem with foreign words' in William O. Wehrle, 'The Macaronic Hymn Tradition in Medieval English Literature' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, The Catholic University of America, 1933), p. xi. Elizabeth Archibald also offers a definition of macaronic in terms of its use by literary critics – 'in the stricter sense it describes the addition of Latin endings to vernacular words to create an effect like schoolboy dog Latin or the modern Franglais; in the looser sense it describes any mixing of words in different languages'. See Elizabeth Archibald, 'Macaronic Poetry', in *A Companion to Medieval Poetry*, ed. by Corinne Saunders (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), pp. 227-288, (p. 227).

		Exortum est in	Reading from the Gospel of Luke/Antiphon for Christmas (p. 309 *Temporale*)
		De fructus ventris	Antiphon for Christmas Day p. 331 *Temporale*
		Puer natus	Office for the third Mass on Christmas Day *Officia* p. 109 and 160
		Lux fulgebit	Second Mass of Christmas at Dawn *Officia* p. 101
		Gloria tibi	Doxology p. 290 *Temporale*
9v	*This rose is railed on a rice*	Misterium mirabile	Antiphon for the Feast of the Circumcision p. 505 *Temporale; TH*, p. 49 – Eastertide hymn
		Viri sine semine	'Sine virili semine' occurs in a hymn for Christmas found in *TH*, p.327 and 334
		Claro Dauid germine	
		Prophetarum carmine	
		Mire plenitudine	
		Saluator sine crimine[13]	
10r	*Now well make me mirths make*	Res miranda	Letabundus Sequence for Christmas and for Marian Feasts

[13] Greene notes that some Latin lines 'appear to have been composed for the particular place in which we find them, the author for the carol having simply shifted languages at the appointed place'. Greene describes the phrase 'Vllo sine crimine' as being of this type. This may also be the case with a similar line such as 'saluator sine crimine' and could explain why some Latin lines in this particular piece have no clear concordances. See Greene, *EEC*, p. lxxxv.

			Psalterium (Missa Votive), p. 954
		Sol de stella	Letabundus Sequence for Christmas and for Marian Feasts *Psalterium* (Missa Votive), p. 954
		Semper clara	Letabundus Sequence for Christmas and for Marian Feasts *Psalterium* (Missa Votive), p. 954
		Pari forma	Letabundus Sequence for Christmas and for Marian Feasts *Psalterium* (Missa Votive), p. 954
10v	*Holy maiden blessed Thou be*	Regina celi letare	Marian antiphon p.418 *Processionale;* Service of Blessed Virgin Mary at Eastertide, *TH*, p. 319

Figure 2.2: Sources of Latin lines found in the macaronic carols of the first ten folios of the Selden Carol Book

The use of Latin phrases alongside vernacular text incorporates parts of the liturgy that would have sounded familiar to those listening to the carol, drawing the mind towards a liturgical context even if the carol was performed outside of an overtly liturgical space.[14] This demonstrates how the carol could shape space by drawing connections with other familiar performance contexts and spaces. The use of liturgical language draws the listener and the performer's mind to the liturgy even if their physical context is not in any sense

[14] Referencing the work of Kathleen Palti, Griffiths describes how 'the singing of carols was held to have a communally binding effect, as their utterance linked participants in an eternal Christian community'. See Griffiths, '"This word in Latyn"', p. 19. See also Palti, 'Unpublished Fifteenth-Century Carol Collection', pp. 272-273.

a liturgical one, demonstrating how the performer and audience players within the creative web are impacted by the language used by the carol composer and the space which the composer tries to evoke. The ability of the composer to weave together Latin and English and incorporate liturgical phrases is demonstrated well by the carol *Exortum Est in love and liss,* as shown in Figure 2.3.[15]

Exortum Est in Love and Liss **(Selden, fol. 7r)**	**Metre**
Nowel syng we bothe al *and* som	-x-x-x-x
Now rex pacificus ys ycome	-x-x-x-x
Exortu*m* est i*n* loue *and* lysse	-x-x-x-x
Now cryst hys g*rac*e he gon vs gysse	-x-x-x-x
And w*ith* hys body vs bouȝt to blysse	-x-x - - x-x
De fructus ventris of mary bryȝt	-x-x- - x-x
Bothe god an man in here a lyȝt	-x-x-x-x
Owte of dysese he dyde vs dyȝt	-x-x-x-x
Puer natus to vs was sent	-x-x-xx
To blysse vs bouȝt fro bale vs blent	-x-x-x-x
And ellys to wo we hadde y went	-x-x-x-x
Lux fulgebit w*ith* loue *and* lyȝt	-x-x-x-x
In mary mylde his pynon pyȝt	-x-x-x-x
In here toke kynde w*ith* manly myȝt	-x-x-x-x
Gloria t*ib*i ay and blysse	-x-x-x-x
God vnto his grace he vs wysse	-x- -x- xx
The rent of heuen th*a*t we not mysse[16]	-x-x- - x-x

Figure 2.3: Transcription of *Exortum Est in Love and Liss* and its metrical structure

During the late medieval period England was a trilingual land. [17] As such, the use of two different languages in the same text is not uncommon. The smooth transition from Latin to English within *Exortum Est in Love*

[15] The refrain at the end of each verse has not been included in this transcription as the metre is not clear without the accompanying melismatic setting of the words 'bothe alle *and* su*m*me'. The burden and verses give a clear indication of the metre of the song.

[16] This poem has a palindromic rhyme scheme – Verse 1 rhymes with Verse 5, Verse 2 rhymes with Verse 4, and Verse 3 stands on its own. See Greene, *EEC*, p. 16.

[17] Rosalía Rodríguez-Váquez writes that 'After the Norman Conquest, English remained the spoken language of the great majority of the population and was also used as a written language, while Anglo-Norman and Latin were used

and Liss demonstrates how the languages could work well together within the same piece, weaving elements of liturgical language into a vernacular religious piece. The Latin from this carol also stems from pieces intended for the Christmas period and, more specifically, for Christmas Day. The vernacular text is focused on the birth of Christ, shaping this carol as one intended for the celebration of a specific Feast – the Nativity. This carol is also different from the typical macaronic carol, which Rosalía Rodríguez-Váquez describes as typically having 'a Latin burden – that is, a line that recurs at the end of each stanza – or a line repeated as a cauda'.[18] Instead of having a specific Latin line occurring at the end of each stanza, *Exortum Est in love and liss* begins each stanza with a Latin phrase that then smoothly transitions into the vernacular for the remainder of the verse. The burden includes a Latin reference in its second line ('rex pacificus') but by the end of the second line the burden has reverted to English again. The three lines of the verse all rhyme but the burden differs in rhyme from each of the verses. Latin and English are thus cleverly interwoven with the two languages in a way that does not significantly disrupt the metre or rhyme of the song. The provenance of the Selden Carol Book will be discussed more fully in Chapter IV, but what this does suggest is that carols like this were composed by those familiar with both Latin and English, as well as the liturgical context for the Latin phrases.[19]

The fact that *Exortum Est in love and liss* manages to maintain its metrical structure despite the regular changing of language may also be that the carol composer used a metrical structure they were already familiar with to compose the carol. *Exortum Est in love and liss*, like many other carols, maintains a four-line stress, with some corruptions, as shown in Figure 2.3. Rodríguez-Váquez notes that this four-line stress is also typical of Latin hymns.[20] Thus, *Exortum Est in love and liss* does not only mimic the form of a

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for formal texts. Rodríguez-Váquez also notes that 'in such a rich linguistic environment, macaronic literature offered a splendid opportunity for poets to show off their poetic skill'. See Rosalía Rodríguez-Váquez, 'Multilingual Metrics: The Case of English Macaronic Carols', in *The Poetic of Multilingualism – La Poétique du plurilinguisme*, ed. by Patrizia Noel Aziz Hanna and Levente Seláf (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), pp. 89-102. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne also writes that 'new specificities of English, French and Latin usage in the written and oral forms of the processes and records of documentary culture' are emerging as scholars examine the late medieval period. This is bringing into question the 'standardization' of English, purportedly driven by the Lancastrian crown' in *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England c.1100-c.1500*, ed. by Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (York: York Medieval Press, 2009), p. 3.

[18] Rodríguez-Váquez, 'Multilingual Metrics', p. 94.

[19] Wehrle writes that 'the skill of interlacing a definite Latin line into a poem so as to make it fit into the meter and often into the rhyme of the English poem required great skill in handling both languages, besides a thorough knowledge of both the liturgy and hymnody of the Church, from which these Latin tags were taken'. See Wehrle, *The Macaronic Hymn Tradition,* p. 167.

[20] Rodríguez-Váquez, 'Multilingual Metrics', p. 95.

processional hymn with its burden-verse structure, it also echoes the metrical structure of the processional hymn. The similarities between the carol and the processional hymn suggests that carols may have been able to act as substitutes for hymns in liturgical procession, retaining a link with movement.[21] Rossell Hope Robbins states that this position has mainly been argued for by musicologists, with literary historians ignoring 'both musical and textual evidence'.[22] Some scholars, including Greene, seem to feel that this position abandons the traditional association of the carol with dance.[23] However, a connection with the processional hymn and a use as a processional hymn substitute does not exclude the carol from originally having a dance origin. As stated in the previous chapter, the Middle English carol could have developed from a dance-song but could have then been used within liturgical rites by clerics who recognised its ability to reach out to the general public and to disseminate liturgical messages.

If carols were used within liturgical space for processional purposes, then it is likely that they were performed within the nave. Robbins notes that processions took place in the nave of the church, which provided an ideal opportunity for the use of vernacular song.[24] The nave of the church was not just a place for the people to gather to observe liturgical rites – it was also a place for the exchange of gossip and even for the occasional market.[25] A rood screen physically separated the nave from the chancel, the space at the eastern end of the church where the Mass was conducted. In terms of symbolism, the word 'nave' most likely stems from the Latin 'navis' meaning ship.[26] In the twelfth century the nave came to take on the secondary meaning of 'the body of the church' in British and continental sources.[27] Medieval composers and audiences would have been aware of this symbolism and thus considered it when composing their

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[21] Ruth Ellis Messenger notes that by the end of the tenth century the use of hymns outside of those in the breviary or missal for a special occasion was normal – 'To sanction the use of a hymn apart from those of the breviary and later of the missal is an important precedent which signifies the enlargement of the scope of hymn-singing and the possibility of building through processional and related usage a body of hymnody having its own individual character and functions'. See Ruth Ellis Messenger, 'Medieval Processional Hymns Before 1100', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 80 (1949), 375-392, <https://www.jstor.org/10.2307/283528> [Accessed: 1st August 2023], (p. 379).
[22] Robbins, 'Middle English Carols', p. 563.
[23] Greene, *EEC*, p. xivii-xiviii.
[24] Robbins, 'Middle English Carols', p. 569.
[25] Katharine D. Scherff labels the medieval nave as a 'more secular space than the sanctuary/chancel'. Scherff describes the journey through the church in detail – 'as one moves along the nave toward the chancel one approaches the most sacred part of the church and begins to feel the presence of God'. See Katharine D. Scherff, *The Virtual Liturgy and Ritual Artifacts in Medieval and Early Modern Studies* (London: Routledge, 2023), p. 49.
[26] 'nave, n.^{2} , 'Etymology", *OED* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), <https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/9781230689> [Accessed: 24th August 2023].
[27] 'nave, n.^{2}', *OED*.

works and considering the eventual performance of such works. Those experiencing musical works within the nave space would have therefore moved through the space with the overarching considerations of both architects and composers affecting their experience. This idea is summarised by Henri Lefebvre, who considers space as a social construct determined by the negotiation of conceived space, lived space, and perceived space.[28] Of the cathedral space, Lefebvre writes:

> The use of the cathedral's monumental space necessarily entails its supplying answers to all the questions that assail anyone who crosses the threshold. For visitors are bound to become aware of their own footsteps, and listen to the noises, the singing; they must breathe the incense-laden air, and plunge into a particular world, that of sin and redemption; they will partake of an ideology; they will contemplate and decipher the symbols around them; and they will thus, on the basis of their own bodies, experience a total being in a total space.[29]

Within the space of the cathedral the congregation is directly influenced by the world created by the designs of the architect, the symbolism of the building, the music of the composer, and the smells associated with the mass. This draws them closer to the liturgical messages imparted through the mass. Their entire experience of the space and how they move through it is carefully planned. As such, the music would have been used to assist in the navigation of the church, and in the spiritual and physical progression of those assembled within that space. [30] Within the creative web, the space and design of the nave would have also

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[28] Lefebvre defines perceived space as the 'spatial practice of a society'. By this Lefebvre means the daily actions which take place within the space and the wider networks which impact this. Lefebvre gives the example of a tenant in a government-subsidised high-rise housing project to illustrate this concept. (p. 38) Conceived space refers to the 'space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers', meaning it is the space created by those who control physical structures and elements. This is described as the 'dominant space' of any society. Lived space or representational space is concerned with an individual's aspirations, imagination, and the symbols around them. It is space 'directly lived through its associated images and symbols'. See Henri Lefebvre, 'Plan of the Present Work', in *The Production of Space*, trans. by Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), pp. 1-67, (pp. 38-39).

[29] Henri Lefebvre, 'Spatial Architectonics', in *The Production of Space*, trans. By Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), pp. 169-228, (pp. 220-221).

[30] Richard Kieckhefer discusses the use of processional space within the liturgy. He writes 'Five main principles govern this dynamism and the architecture that accommodates it. First, processional space permits clergy and congregation to move and thus relate to each other in shifting patterns as worship progressions. Second, the different uses of processional space can mark transitions from one stage to another in the liturgy; rather than serving simply as space for processions, longitudinal space is space in which processions help define the dynamics of the building and of the liturgy. Third, processions can take place within a single, unified space, but they give a sense of heightened sacrality when they involve transition from one type of space to another. Fourth, even before movement occurs, and even if movement forward toward the altar comes late in the service (most obviously at communion), processional space defines the possibilities for movement and serves as alluring invitation to the movement that eventually takes place. But fifth, the historical tendency has been for markers between one area and another to develop into barriers, partially or fully obstructing visibility and passage'. See Richard Kieckhefer, 'The First Factor: Spatial Dynamics', in *Theology in Stone: Church Architecture from Byzantium to Berkely* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 21-62, (pp. 25-26).

been an influencing factor on composer, performer, and audience (congregation), affecting the experience of the music itself.

The case for the carol acting as a substitute for the processional hymn and helping to guide movement through liturgical space, is also strengthened by the carol's connection with another liturgical work, the *Benedicamus domino*. The *Benedicamus domino* was an integral part of daily liturgical proceedings.[31] Each time the versicle '*Benedicamus domino'* [Let us bless the Lord] was sung it would be accompanied by the response '*Deo Gratias'* [Thanks be to God]. A number of carols include the words '*Benedicamus domino'* and its response, raising the question of a connection with the *Benedicamus domino*. Examples of carols which make use of these words include the Latin carol *Deo gratias persolvamus* and *Our king went forth to Normandy* from the Selden Carol Book.[32] Frank Ll. Harrison suggests a that the carol took over from the conductus as a *Benedicamus* substitute on particular Feasts or celebrations.[33] Rossell Hope Robbins also advocates for the carols use in liturgical processions and as a Benedicamus substitute. Karl Reichl, although more careful than Robbins, describes Harrison's argument as persuasive, noting that the *Benedicamus* was a 'place for elaboration, insertion, and development'. Reichl also notes that the disappearance of the conductus in the second half the fourteenth century left space for the carol to be used as a suitable substitute.[34] Reichl does, however, write that it is difficult to firmly link the medieval carol to liturgical origins, particularly considering the carols on more secular subjects.[35] Stevens also rejects the idea that the carol was used in liturgical procession, highlighting that ordinals prescribe chants to be sung during processions throughout the year and there is no clear written indication in processionals or liturgical service books that vernacular songs or carols were allowed to be sung in processions.[36] Furthermore, Stevens highlights the fact that a relationship

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[31] Anne Walters Robertson writes that the versicle 'Benedicamus domino' was sung 'eight or nine times during the course of daily worship' followed by the response 'Deo gratias'. See Anne Walters Robertson, '"Benedicamus Domino": The Unwritten Tradition', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 41.1 (1988), 1-62, <https://doi.org/10.2307/831750> [Accessed: 2nd August 2023], (p. 1).
[32] Selden, fol. 12r; Selden, fol. 17v-18r.
[33] Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, pp. 416-417; Frank Ll. Harrison, 'Benedicamus, Conductus, Carol: A Newly-Discovered Source, *Acta Musicologica*, 37 (1965), 35-48, <https://doi.org/10.2307/932337> [Accessed: 3rd August 2023]. Janet Knapp describes how 'processional introductions, conductus and Benedicamus trope are, in fact, readily interchangeable'. See Janet Knapp, 'Conductus', *GMO* (2001), <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.06268> [Accessed: 3rd August 2023].
[34] Reichl, 'The Middle English Carol', p. 164.
[35] Reichl, 'The Middle English Carol', p. 165.
[36] John Stevens, 'Carol, Origins and Social Setting', *GMO* (2001), <https://doi-org.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/10.1093/omo/9781561592630.013.90000382035> [Accessed: 8th March 2024].

between the carol and the *Benedicamus* would imply 'a close association between the carol and Christmas processions' and until there is more substantial evidence to support this we cannot say that the carol was used within the liturgy.[37]

Although Stevens is reluctant to accept the carol as a part of the liturgy without specific written indications, Harrison provides evidence for the carol as a *Benedicamus* substitute using the words of Bishop John Grandisson (c.1292-1369) in a 1337 Exeter Cathedral Ordinal. Grandisson's words suggest that 'extra-ritual' polyphony could be used in place of the *Benedicamus domino*:

> Ex licencia, si placet senioribus, loco Benedicamus ad Vesperas et ad Matutinas, et ad Missam post Sanctus, poterunt organizare cum vocibus vel organis.[38]
>
> [Freely, if it pleases those in charge, it can be used in the place of the *Benedicamus* before Vespers and before Matins, and before Mass after the *Sanctus*, whether this is organised with voices or with organ]

This suggests a degree of flexibility in the musical arrangements for certain services. However, the extent of this flexibility is dependent on those in charge of the proceedings. As such, it appears that the substitution of the *Benedicamus* with extra-ritual polyphony was not typical but largely dependent on personal preference. There was, nevertheless, room for this substitution to occur. Harrison also references Bishop Odo de Sully of Paris (c.1160-1208) whose statutes stated that there could be a 'relatively free choice of music as a substitute for the second Benedicamus at the Offices' on days of special license, including Christmas, the Circumcision and the Epiphany.[39] If the carol was adapted and used as a substitute for a liturgical piece like the *Benedicamus* on particular feast days, then there is also the possibility of it being used as a substitute for other liturgical pieces. The similarities between the processional hymn and the carol in terms of form and the fact that the carol often quotes from processional hymns, suggests that the carol may have been a suitable extra-ritual substitute for the processional hymn. The association of substitution with special feasts or events also fits with the fact that we find the carol associated with different feasts within fifteenth-century medieval manuscripts – in the first ten folios of Selden the Latin phrases found within the carols are linked

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[37] John Stevens, 'Carol, Origins and Social Setting'.
[38] Harrison, 'Benedicamus', p. 40; *Use of Sarum*, I, ed. by W. H. Frere (Cambridge: 1898), p. 254.
[39] Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, p. 417.

strongly with Christmas. *This rose is railed n rice* also quotes from an antiphon from the Feast of the Circumcision, which again is listed by Harrison as one of the feasts which had 'special license' for substitutions for the *Benedicamus.*[40] In addition, in the Ritson manuscript some of the carols sit below headings for different liturgical feasts, suggesting a potential liturgical use. It could then be that these feast days allowed musical substitution in other parts of the service. If this is the case, then the design of the late medieval carol certainly seems suited to act as a processional hymn substitute or a substitute for the *Benedicamus*.

If macaronic or vernacular carols were used within procession or as *Benedicamus* substitutes, then it would allow the congregation to be guided through the nave by both the movement of the procession and the use of their own language.[41] In an environment where translation into the vernacular was being promoted by the mendicant orders and the vernacular was seen as a tool for reaching the people, the introduction of vernacular or macaronic carols into liturgical procession may not be as impossible as traditional carol scholarship has maintained. What is certain, in any case, is that the late medieval carols focusing on religious subject matter are well-suited to procession in terms of form and language. The focus of scholars like Stevens or Reichl on the secular nature of some of the carol corpus and how this may distance the form from a liturgical function, creates too much of a division between sacred and secular. This excludes the carol from liturgical use merely because of the variety of its subject matter. It is this variety, in fact, that I would argue strengthens the carol's appeal to a more general audience, engaging the public with a musical form that is familiar and which resonates with them on a more personal level. There is therefore a case for the carol's continued association with a form of movement outside of dance. This argument also positions the carol as a form which could be used to guide its audience through liturgical space.

The Carol on the Streets

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[40] Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, p. 417.
[41] Robbins writes that carols 'form a means to salvation just as surely as the liturgy, hymns, or private prayers.' See Robbins, 'Middle English Carols', p. 561.

A connection between the carol form, movement, and the shaping of space also arises when examining medieval cycle plays.[42] These cycle plays were performed in major cities across the country, perhaps most famously in York, and were funded and performed by city guilds and craftspeople.[43] The plays were performed on wagons which would be wheeled around the city stopping at certain points for the play to be performed.[44] In relation to theme, the plays were religious and written by clerics, although they were performed by craftspeople and members of the guilds.[45] The plays aimed to reflect the entirety of salvation history and formed a procession around the city with different stations for each performance.[46] In York this cycle play procession shared the same route as the annual Corpus Christi liturgical procession through the city and copied its route.[47] However, such was the popularity of the *York Mystery Plays* that the church procession eventually had to be moved to the day after the Feast of Corpus Christi.[48] As a result, the civic

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[42] Early references to medieval Corpus Christi plays and other European vernacular plays are compiled in *The Medieval European Stage, 500-1550*, ed. by William Tydeman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

[43] Meg Twycross, 'The Theatricality of Medieval English Plays', in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre*, ed. by Richard Beadle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 26-74. Lynette R. Muir notes that the Feast of Corpus Christi was itself 'from its inception, a feast for the laity'. Thus, it is unsurprising that cycle plays performed by craftspeople and guilds are often associated with this feast. Muir also writes about the range of venues in which medieval liturgical plays could be performed: 'they were performed in churches and palaces, streets, squares and graveyards. They might be staged in a single (often indoor) location; in a processional or stational mode; or on a multiple, fixed-location set'. This shows the variation between in medieval liturgical plays and also demonstrates the liminality of space during this period – medieval liturgical plays found their home in a range of different environments, including ones that are not at first glance considered straightforwardly liturgical. See Lynette R. Muir, *The Biblical Drama of Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1995), p. 22; p. 45. Mary-Rose McLaren describes how pageants and processions were 'stunning and central events in the life of the city'. See Mary-Rose McLaren, *The London Chronicles of the Fifteenth Century: A Revolution in English Writing* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2022), p. 51.

[44] Twycross, 'The Theatricality of Medieval English Plays', p. 29.

[45] Tony Corbett, *The Laity, the Church, and the Mystery Plays: A Drama of Belonging* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009), p. 62.

[46] Clifford Davidson, 'The Creation: Iconography, Staging, and Costume', in *From Creation to Doom: The York Cycle of Mystery Plays* (New York: AMS Press, 1984), pp. 21-38, (p. 21); Twycross, 'The Theatricality of Medieval English Plays', p. 29.

[47] Alexandra Johnston highlights that 'by 1423 the play and the procession were again taking place on the same day' and that 'the evidence for the next thirty-six years seems also to point to the continuation of the procession and the play as separate events on the same day. See Alexandra F. Johnston, 'The Procession and Play of Corpus Christi in York after 1426', *Leeds Studies in English* 7 (1974), 55-62, <https://ludos.leeds.ac.uk:443/R/-?func=dbin-jump-full&object_id=121830&silo_library=GEN01> [Accessed: 11th July 2021], (p. 56).

[48] Johnston, 'The Procession', p. 58. Muir notes that there are records of processional plays performed in Lancashire and other areas that are now lost to us. From the end of the fifteenth century, it was only the York and Coventry cycle plays that continued to be performed every year on the feast of Corpus Christi. See Muir, *The Biblical Drama*, p. 26. The importance of some of these cycle plays can be seen by their relationship with the city administration. Margaret Rogerson describes how the York Plays were 'heavily regulated by civic administrators. Time and again the official records state that the performance groups were to present their pageants only at council-authorized playing stations and fix heavy fines for disruptions from non-compliance'. See Margaret Rogerson, 'Introduction: Performance in the City', in *The York Mystery Plays: Performance in the City*, ed. by Margaret Rogerson (York: York Medieval Press, 2011), pp. 1-24, (p. 3). Richard Beadle also highlights that the civic authorities paid 'special attention to the organization and indeed the integrity' of the plays – Richard Beadle, 'Nicholas Lancaster, Richard of Gloucester and the York Corpus Christi Play', in *The York Mystery Plays*, ed. by Rogerson, pp. 31-52, (p. 33).

procession occupied the place of the liturgical procession, becoming the main celebratory event on the actual day of the Feast.

Despite the religious subjects of the plays and the timing of their performance on the Feast of Corpus Christi, the plays' function was not solely religio-didactic. In fact, the plays were used by the guilds for the purpose of self-promotion and to emphasise the fraternal aspects of the guild. For example, the York *Crucifixio Christi* play was performed by the Pinners' Guild who were responsible for the production of nails.[49] During this play one of the soldiers describes how the 'stubbe will stiffely stande, / Thurgh bones and senous', bringing the audience's attention to the strength of the nails and of the quality of the workmanship.[50] *The Dream of Pilate's Wife* similarly draws attention to the wares of the guild performing the play.[51] This play was performed by the Tapiters, who produced tapestries, hangings and carpets, and the Couchers, who produced bedding and were similar to upholsterers.[52] Unsurprisingly, Procula's dialogue places significant emphasis on the quality of her clothes: 'the coloure of my corse is full clere, / And in richesse of robis I am rayed'.[53] Procula draws the audience's attention to the quality of the materials, highlighting the work of the Tapiters and Couchers. Thus both *Crucifixio Christi* and *The Dream of Pilate's Wife* demonstrate how cycle plays were used as advertisements. They do not just portray salvation history – they celebrate the ability and wares of the craftspeople of the city, the very same craftspeople who perform the plays. The performers and audience thus have a dual role within these plays: the performers are actors and salespeople and those watching the plays are both audience members and customers. Tony Corbett recognises that the plays acted as live advertisements but also highlights that 'the play was identified with the guild, as a part of their property and an image of their solidarity'.[54] Moreover, according to Corbett some of the jokes mentioned within these plays were inside jokes and thus better understood and appreciated by the performers than by the audience.[55] The plays therefore had a larger function in uniting

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[49] 'Crucifixio Christi', *The York Plays: A Critical Edition of the York Corpus Christi Play as Recorded in British Library Additional MS 35290*, 2 vols., ed. by Richard Beadle (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), I, pp. 332-341.
[50] 'Crucifixio Christi', ll. 102-103.
[51] 'Christ Before Pilate I: The Dream of Pilate's Wife', in *The York Plays,* ed. by Beadle, pp. 256-276.
[52] 'couchour, n', *MED* (2023), <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary/MED9965/track?counter=1&search_id=7689980> [Accessed: 3rd June 2021].
[53] 'Christ Before Pilate I', ll. 41-42.
[54] Corbett, *The Laity,* p. 91.
[55] Corbett, *The Laity*, p. 91.

members of the guild and emphasising the bonds of fraternity; it created a sense of belonging for those involved in the plays and there was certainly a sense of exclusivity when it came to understanding certain jokes or references within the plays. Furthermore, the plays helped to promote the image of the guild as a cohesive and united workforce. There was enough room within the conventions of these plays to allow them to be live advertisements, representations of salvation history, branding and self-promotion, a celebration of the city, and a team-building exercise rolled into one.

The cycle plays included musical interludes. However, only fragments of this music remain.[56] The evidence for the music of the cycle plays mainly consist of incipits referring to sung pieces, brief written records of song lyrics without musical notation, or references to songs within the text of the plays themselves.[57] It is accepted though that many cycle plays included musical works ranging from Latin liturgical pieces to vernacular carols.[58] If we turn to the *lauda* and its relationship to Italian liturgical plays, we can see how the carol may have had a similar, currently undervalued relationship with the cycle play and was perhaps even a fundamental element of the cycle play's development. The dramatic dimension of the carols used in the cycle plays bears similarity to dramatic *laude* (also referred to as the *laude drammatiche* or *lauda drammatica*).[59] The dramatic *laude* lay the foundations for the larger *sacre rappresentazione* which were organised by the confraternities and which flourished in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[60] Steven

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[56] Ardis Butterfield and Helen Deeming write that 'lyrics most often circulated as texts without music, presumably reflecting the specialist skills required to write and to read musical notation; in many cases, oral transmission of the melody may have continued alongside written transmission of a song's text, and some notated melodies may represent late redactions of music that had already been circulating orally for some time. Where song-melodies are preserved in writing they appear not in songbooks but almost invariably in small groups within the pages of largely non-musical manuscripts' – Ardis Butterfield and Helen Deeming, 'Editing Insular Song across the Disciplines: Worldes Blis', in *Probable Truth: Editing Medieval Texts from Britain in the Twenty-First Century* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 151-166, (p. 154).

[57] JoAnna Dutka, *Music in the English Mystery Plays* (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 1980), pp. 1-16.

[58] See Dutka, *Music in the English Mystery Plays*, pp. 17-64.

[59] Stevens, Rastall, and Klauser note that 'the medieval Italian drama can be distinguished from the drama of England, France, and Germany by two characteristics: an early tendency toward spectacular visual effects, and the strong influence of a tradition of popular religious song'. See John Stevens, Richard Rastall, and David Klauser, 'Medieval Drama', *GMO* (2013), <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.41996> [Accessed: 4th August 2023].

[60] Stevens, Rastall, and Klauser, 'Medieval Drama'. Antonio Donato and Erith Jaffe-Berg note that 'eventually, performances of these laude incorporated dramatic elements (lauda drammatica) connected with the development of Italian vernacular theater'. See Antonio Donato and Erith Jaffe-Berg, 'Philosophy and Social Theory', in *A Cultural History of Tragedy in The Middle Ages,* ed. by Jody Enders et al (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020), pp. 65-80, (p. 71). Muir also notes that the *disciplinati* movement were responsible for the establishment of vernacular liturgical drama in Italy and that the 'oldest surviving Corpus Christi play-text is to be found in the laudario from Overieto'. This shows an association between the Corpus Christi plays and the history of *laude* and the confraternities who performed them. See Muir, 'Liturgical and Feast-Day Drama', in *The Biblical Drama*, p. 22.

Botterill describes how the dramatic *laude* wove biblical narratives into simple dramatic structures with language suited to a non-Latinate audience.[61] The dramatic *laude* are found in both monologue and dialogue form.[62] The Franciscan friar, Jacopone da Todi's (c.1230-1306) *Donna del Paradiso,* found in Appendix 1, is an example of such a dialogue.[63] *Donna del Paradiso* is a conversation between the Virgin Mary and John, following Christ's arrest at the Garden of Gethsemene. John tells Mary of her son's arrest and beating at the hands of the Roman soldiers. Mary then goes to see Christ on the cross, who tells her to take John as her son.[64] This particular *lauda drammatica* bears a striking similarity to the carol *Thou that hangest there so high*, which can be found in four manuscript sources: Grimestone; London, British Library, Sloane MS 2593 (Sloane); London, British Library, Add. MS 31042 (London Thornton) and OxEng.[65] A comparison of all four carols can be found in Figure 2.4 and a full transcription of *Donna del Paradiso* can be found in Appendix I.[66]

Grimestone, fol. 121r (c.1372)	**Sloane, fols. 23r-24v (1400-1450)**
Jhes*us*: Maide*n and* mod*er* cu*m and* se Thi child is nailed to a tr*e* Ha*n*d *and* fot he may nouth go His bodi is wo*n*de*n* al i*n* wo Al aboute*n* he is to toren His heued is wr*e*thi*n* w*i*t*h* a thorn His sides bothe*n* on blode be	Nowel el el el el el el el el el el el el el el el Mary mod*er* cu*m and* se Þi sone is naylyd o*n* a tre Hand *and* fot he may not go His body is wou*n*dyn al in woo

[61] Steven Botterill, 'Minor Writers', in *The Cambridge History of Italian Literature*, ed. by Peter Brand and Lino Pertile (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 108-128, (p. 118).
[62] Nerida Newbigin notes that these dramatic monologue and dialogue laude are found from the mid-fourteenth century. See Nerida Newbigin, 'Serio Ludere: Confraternities and Drama in Central Italy, 1400-1600', in *A Companion to Medieval and Early Modern Confraternities*, ed. by Konrad Eisenbichler (Leiden: Brill, 2019), pp. 345-364, (p. 345).
[63] See Appendix I, pp. 221-223. An account of Jacopone da Todi's life and Franciscan spirituality can be found in Underhill, *Jacopone da Todi.*
[64] Appendix I, pp. 221-223.
[65] Grimestone, fol. 121r; Sloane, fols. 23r-23v; London Thornton, fol. 94v; OxEng, fols. 272r-272v. The carol also appears in a later printed work, Richard Kele's *Christmas carolles newely Inprynted.* See Richard Kele, Christmas carolles newely inprynted (London: Inprynted at London in the Powltry by Rychard Kele, dwelling at the longe shop vnder Saynt Myldredes Chyrche, 1545), ProQuest, <https://www.proquest.com/books/christmas-carolles-newely-inprynted/docview/2248510746/se-2> [Accessed: 25th August 2023]. A transcription of this carol is also found as carol 157a in Greene, *EEC*, pp. 31-33. Underhill describes *Donna del Paradiso* as completing the 'transition from *tenzone* to passion-play'. Underhill also notes that the 'intercourse of the Spirituals with Southern France' may have influenced this transition to a more dramatic narrative piece, as vernacular passion-plays were already occurring in Southern France prior to the existence of the Italian vernacular play. See Underhill, *Jacopone da Todi,* p. 219. Michael J. Anderson, however, acknowledges that scholars of Underhill's generation attributed the rise of liturgical drama across Europe to French traditions but that 'more recent studies have argued for a more widespread and indigenous drama'. Anderson also notes how from at least the late thirteenth century in Cividale, Northern Italy there was already a two-day Passion play taking place. See Michael J. Anderson, 'Introduction', in *The Medieval European Stage*, ed. by William Tydeman, pp. 423-426, (p. 424).
[66] Compare transcriptions in Figure 2.4 with da Todi's *Donna del Paradiso* in Appendix I, pp. 221-223.

W*ith* blod hes ble*n*t he may nouth se Ma*ria*: Mi suete Sone, th*a*t art me der*e* Wat hast th*o*u do*n*? Q*ui* art th*o*u her*e*? Thi suete bodi th*a*t in me r*e*st Th*a*t lueli mouth th*a*t I haue kist Nou is on rode mad thi nest Mi der*e* child, q*ua*t is me best? Jhe*sus*: Jon, this wo*m*man for my sake Wo*m*ma*n*, to Jon I the betake. Alone I am w*ith*ote*n* make On rode I ha*n*ge for ma*n*nis sake This game*n* alone me must pleyghe For ma*n*nis soule this det to deyghe Mi blod is sched my fles is falle Me thristet sor*e* for drink I calle Thei yeue*n* me eysil Medlid w*ith* galle For ma*n*nis se*n*ne i*n* wo I walle Yef thei were*n* ke*n*de to loue*n* me outh Of al my peine me ne routh Fad*er* my soule I the betake Mi bodi deyghet for ma*n*nis sake Se*n*ful soules i*n* helle lake To he*m* I go, awey to take Ma*n*nis soule th*o*u art my m*a*ke Loue me wel I the nouth forsake *And* my moder h*er*teliche For sche helpet the stedfasliche An th*o*u salt come*n* th*a*t blisse to Th*er* my Fad*er* is for eu*er*mo	Þi swete sone th*a*t þ*o*u hast born To saue ma*n*kyne þ*a*t was forlorn His bed is wrethi*n* in a þorn His blysful body is all to torn Qu*an* he þis tale bega*n* to telle Mary wold no*n* leng*er* dwelle But hyid her*e* faste to þ*a*t hylle þ*er* Jhe*s*us his blod bega*n* to spyll My*n* swete sone þ*a*t art me der*e* Qwy ha*n* me*n* hangyd þe her*e* Þi hed is wrethi*n* in a brer*e* My*n* louely sone qwer is þi*n* cher*e* Thi*n* swete body th*a*t in me rest Thi*n* comely mowth th*a*t I haue kest Now on rode is mad thi nest Leue chyld q*ua*t is me best Wo*m*ma*n* to Jon I the betake *Jon kyp* thi*s* wo*m*man for my*n* sake For synful sowlys my deth I take On rode I ha*n*ge for manys sake This game alone me muste play For sy*n*ful sowel*e* I deye today Th*er* is no*n* wyght th*a*t goth be the way Of my*n* peynys ca*n* wel say
London Thornton, fol. 94c (c.1450)	**OxEng, fols. 272r-273v (1450-1475)**
Mare mod*er* cu*m* and se Thin awned ere chyld ys nalyd on tre Both fowt *and* hand he may not go That blyssyd chyld ys lappyd in wo That blyssyd chy	Mary modyr cu*m* *and* se Thi son is naylyd on a tre His body is wappyd all in wo Hand *and* fot he may not go Thi son lady th*a*t th*o*u louyst soo Nakyd is naylyd vpon a tre The blyssyd body th*a*t th*o*u hast born To saue ma*n*kind th*a*t was forlorn His body lady is al to torn Hi shed w*ith* thornys as ye may se Wa*n* Joh*a*n th*i*s tal began to tell Mary wyld not le*n*ger dwell Thyl sche ca*m* to th*a*t hyll Th*er* sche myth her owyn Son see My swet Son th*o*u art me der Qwy haue me*n* ha*n*g the her? Thi hed is closyd with a brer Qwy haue men soo doo to the

	Joh*a*n th*i*s woma*n* I the betake Kep th*i*s woma*n* for my sake on the rod I hy*n*g for ma*n*nys sake For synful man as th*ou* may se This game *and* loue me must pley For synfull sowlis th*a*t ar to dey Ther ys no ma*n* th*a*t gothe be the wey Th*a*t on my peynis wyl lok *and* se Fadyr my sowle I the betake My body deth for ma*n*nys sake To hel I go w*ith*owtyn wake Mannys sole to make fre Prey we al to that blyssyd son That he vs help wa*n* we not mo*n* *And* bry*n*g us to blys th*a*t is abone Ame*n* ame*n* ame*n* for charite

Figure 2.4: Comparison of versions of *Thou that hangest there so high*

The narrative of *Thou that hangest there so high* and da Todi's *Donna del Paradiso* is almost exactly the same. The main difference between *Donna del Paradiso* and the carol is that the *lauda* depicts Mary watching Christ's trial and begging with Pilate to go back on his decision – a part that is omitted from the carol. Nevertheless, the narrative of the carol is essentially a condensed version of that of the *lauda*.[67] The earliest version of *Thou that hangest there so high* is found in Grimestone's manuscript from the fourteenth century.[68] Grimestone was, like da Todi, a Franciscan.[69] The version of the carol found in the Grimestone manuscript does not actually contain a burden at its head. Moreover, it is written as more of a dramatic narrative than the other versions of the carol. The name of each character is provided in the margin, marking the change of character. The form *Thou that hangest there so high* takes in the Grimestone manuscript is therefore closer to that of da Todi's *Donna del Paradiso* than to the other versions of the same carol. Considering that both da

[67] Greene writes that 'Although many of the carols are narrative after a fashion, as a rule they present no close sequence of events like that in a good narrative poem; there is seldom any logical link between stanza and stanza'. *Thou that hangest there on high* demonstrates an exception to this. It is obviously narrative with logical links between stanzas. See Greene, *EEC*, p. cxxxi.

[68] Grimestone, fol. 127r. A colophon in the Grimestone manuscript states that the collection was being worked upon from at least 1372. See Andrew Galloway, 'Theory of the Fourteenth-Century English Lyric', p. 316.

[69] Bert Roest has described Grimestone as 'one of the most important compilers of religious lyrics in the fourteenth century'. See Bert Roest, *Franciscan Literature of Religious Instruction Before The Council of Trent* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), p. 299. Edward Wilson discusses Grimestone's collection in detail. See Edward Wilson, *A Descriptive Index of the English Lyrics in John of Grimestone's Preaching Book* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1973).

Todi and Grimestone were Franciscans, it is possible that Grimestone was paraphrasing a well-known Franciscan dramatic *lauda* in his book, providing the foundation for its transition into carol form – a form it seems to have achieved by at least the early fifteenth century. This provides a basis for the carol having parallels with the *lauda* and a potential relationship with the Franciscans. Dramatic *laude* also formed the starting point for the creation of the *sacre rappresentazione* – therefore if the carol was following similar developmental patterns to the *laude*, then it could be that narrative carols like *Thou that hangest there so high* were also important to the development of wider medieval religious plays.[70] Thus, although only traces of the carol are left within cycle plays, it is possible that narrative versions of the carol may have been building blocks of late medieval religious drama. This is not to say that the carol had exactly the same relationship with medieval cycle plays that the *lauda* had with the *sacra rappresentazione* or was the direct source for the cycle plays like the *lauda drammatiche* was the source for *sacra rappresentazione*. Instead, it suggests that narrative carols as a musical form were an important contributing factor to the history of medieval cycles plays. The inclusion of carols in the plays also speaks of the important role that they continued to play as a storytelling device within the structure of the play itself.

The dialogue element of *Thou that hangest there so high* demonstrates how salvation history could be brought to life within song form and therefore how the carol could structure the audience's navigation of this history. *Thou that hangest there so high* brings the Passion story to life, allowing audiences to encounter and experience the Passion in the present. The audience would have been guided through the story by Mary, Christ, and John's dialogue, playing the part of an onlooker within the story. This experience therefore brought salvation history outside of the church, into the language of the people, and into a tangible experience in the present moment. The carol, in this sense, was a tool for both transformation and transportation. If we turn to the carols found within cycle plays, then this ability to recast space and to guide audiences physically and mentally through salvation history is evident.[71] It was often the shepherds who sung the carols within the cycle plays. This includes two songs (Song I and Song III) which appear alongside

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[70] Walter Cohen writes that 'the laude drammatiche eventually provided the basis for the sacra rappresentazione, the characteristic form of the fifteenth-century Italian religious drama'. See Walter Cohen, *Drama of a Nation: Public Theatre in Renaissance England and Spain* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), p. 66. Underhill also notes that, like the English vernacular passion plays, the composition and performance of pieces like *Donna del Paradiso* may have been influenced by local guilds – Underhill, *Jacopone da Todi*, p. 220.

[71] McLaren describes how processions and pageants create this effect by being 'a visual image of spiritual reality' – McLaren, *The London Chronicles*, p. 61.

O sisters two (*The Coventry Carol*) (Song II) in the *Pageant of the Taylors and Shearmen* (*Pageant*).[72] The manuscript containing the three songs featured in the *Coventry Corpus Christi Plays* is now lost to us. However, a record of these carols exists in Craig Hardin's *Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays*.[73] A note above the three carols states: 'theis songes belonge to the Taylors and Shearemens Pagant. The first and the laste the shepeards singe and the second or middlemost the women singe'.[74] The women mentioned in this note are not the performers themselves, who were most likely men, but the female characters of the play. The 'middlemost' or second song sung by the female characters is the one famously referred to as *O sisters two (The Coventry Carol)*, a lullaby carol commemorating the massacre of the innocents.[75] The first and third songs are both sung by the shepherds and, typical of the carol form, include a refrain. This refrain makes use of the words 'terly terlow', a representation of shepherds' pipes.[76] Shepherds were often linked with instrumental music in medieval art.[77] It is therefore unsurprising that the refrain of Song I and Song III (which, in fact, seem to be both parts of the same carol) reflect the sound of pipes – it harks back to pastoral imagery.[78] An example of this link between shepherds and instrumental music can be found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 93, fol. 28r (Douce), a fifteenth-century Book of Hours.[79] This folio, included as Figure 2.5 below, shows an angel holding a banner reading 'Gloria in excelsis Deo et terra pax' [Glory be to God and on Earth peace] at the top of the page. Beneath the angel is a depiction of the nativity scene and then beneath this scene are several illustrations of the shepherds.[80] The image at the bottom of the page shows a group of shepherds holding hands and performing a round dance accompanied by a piper on the left of the image.[81] This folio therefore depicts the mortal and pastoral meeting the heavenly and divine. The wilder music-making, with instruments and dance does, however, seemed to be confined to the earthly realm.

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[72] Hereafter this play will be referred to as the *Pageant*. 'The Shearmen and Taylors' Pageant', in *Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays*, ed. by Craig Hardin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1902), pp. 1-33. Note that page numbers are given for stage directions and line numbers for specific lines from the play. Page number and line number are given for the references to the three songs from the *Pageant*.
[73] Hardin, *Pageant*.
[74] Hardin, *Pageant*, p. 31.
[75] See Song II (Hardin, *Pageant*, p. 32, ll. 1-18).
[76] Hardin, *Pageant*, pp. 31-32.
[77] Further depictions of musical shepherds can be found in manuscripts including London, British Library, Add. MS 50005, <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_50005>, fol. 36v; London, British Library, Harley MS 2923, fol. 66; London, British Library, Royal MS 6 E VI, fol. 8r.
[78] For a full transcription of this carol see Figure 2.6. This transcription is taken from Hardin, *Pageant*, p. 31-32.
[79] Douce, fol. 28r; Figure 2.5.
[80] Douce, fol. 28r; Figure 2.5.
[81] Douce, fol. 28r; Figure 2.5.

Figure 2.5: A depiction of shepherds performing a round dance accompanied by a piper (Douce, fol. 28r) (Photo © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford)

A closer examination of the song the shepherds sing in the *Pageant*, *About the field they piped full right* (*About the field*), sheds light on the music of the shepherds and its relation to the carol.[82] The *About the field* from the *Pageant* appears to be a version of the carol found in OxEng, fol. 60r and Balliol, p. 465.[83] Figure 2.6 compares the three versions of this carol:

[82] This carol is also referred to as *As I Owt Rode* in the *Pageant* itself.
[83] OxEng, fol. 60r; Balliol, p. 465.

***Pageant*, p. 91** **(1534)**	**OxEng , fol. 60r** **(1450-1475)**	**Balliol, p. 465** **(1501-1533)**
Song I As I out rode this enderes night, Of the thre joli sheppardes I saw a sight, And all abowte there fold a star shone bright; They sange terli, terlow, So merely the sheppards ther pipes can blow. **Song III** Doune from heaven, from heaven so hie, Of angeles ther came a great companie With mirthe and joy and great solemnitye; The[y] sange terly, terlow, So merely the sheppards ther pipes can blow	Tyrle tyrlo so merylye the shepperds began to blow Abowt þe fyld þei pyped full right Even abowt þe middes off þe nyght Adown frome heven þei saw cum a lyght Off angels þer came a company With mery songes *and* melody Þe shepperdes a nonne gaue them a spy Gloria in excelsis þe angels song And said who peace was present among To euery man þat to the faith wold long The shepperdes hyed them to bethlem To se þat blyssid sones beme And þer they formid þat glorous streme Now preye we to that meke chyld *And* to his mother þat is so myld The with was neuer defylyd That we may cum unto his blysse Where joy shall neuer mysse Þan may we syng in paradice I pray þow all that be here Fore to syng *and* mak good chere In þe worship off god thys yere	shepердes be gan to blow A bowt the feld they pypyd right So meryly the shepердes be gan to blow A down from hevyn þat ys so hygh Angellys ther cam a company With mery songes and melady The shepердes a non that gan aspye Gloria in excellces the angels song *And* sayd þat pease was present a mong To euery man þat the seyth wold fong The shepердes hyed them to bedlam To se that blessyd son beme And ther they fond þat glorius leme Now pray we to þat meke chyld And to hys moder þat ys so myld The which was never defyled

Figure 2.6: A parallel comparison of three versions of *About the field*. Corresponding phrases are highlighted using the same colour.

The content of the songs from the *Pageant* and the carols found in OxEng and Balliol are very similar. In Figure 2.6 the lines bearing the greatest similarities to each other have been highlighted in matching colours across the three pieces. From this it is clear to see that the greatest similarity between all three pieces comes within Song III of the *Pageant.* These lines correlate with those featured at the end of the first verse and start of the second verse of the carol in both OxEng and Balliol.[84] Although the wording is not exactly the same in the third line of Song III from the *Pageant* ('W*ith* mirthe and joy and great solemnitye'), the content of this line, nevertheless, also maintains some similarity to the second line of the second verse in both OxEng ('W*ith* mery songes *and* melody') and Balliol ('W*ith* mery songes and melady').[85] The primary difference between the versions of *About the field* is therefore Song I of the *Pageant* compared to all the other verses featured in either Balliol or OxEng. This suggests that the first song of the *Pageant* was either composed specifically for the purpose of the play or altered from the original lyrics of the carol to better narrate and accompany the action of the play as the shepherds journey to Bethlehem after seeing the star.[86] The majority of the original words from the first verse of the carol recorded in Balliol and OxEng may have then been used to form Song III in the *Pageant,* making the focus of this song the words of the angels and the 'mirthe' the shepherds make at the coming of Christ.[87] Within this play we may therefore see a carol being adapted and altered to complement the storyline and to aid the dramatic performance of the play. The carol may be altered purposefully to suit this specific performance context and space.

It is significant that the carol accompanies specific movement, heralding the start of the shepherds' journey to Bethlehem. The carol again plays a role in representing the travels of the shepherds and the movement from one place of significance to another – a journey that can be described almost as a pilgrimage. *About the field* also helpfully represents a change in dramatic context, from the scene taking place between the angels and the shepherds to the Nativity scene. Instead of a curtain falling across the stage, the music ushers in a new location and setting. In this way the audience are themselves transported from one place to another, from the fields with the shepherds to the stable with Christ. The audience, like the

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[84] See Figure 2.6.
[85] Compare the first line of the third song in the *Pageant* (Hardin, *Pageant*, p. 91, ll. 1-5) and the first line of the second verse in both Balliol (p. 465) and OxEng (fol. 60r*)*; Figure 2.6.
[86] Hardin, *Pageant*, p. 10. The shepherds sing *About the field* as they travel to see Christ.
[87] See Song III in Figure 2.6 or Hardin, *Pageant*, p. 31, ll. 1-5.

performer, takes part in the action and movement of pilgrimage. The carol therefore controls the transition between spaces and the portrayal of space itself.

To return, however, to the shepherds' imitation of instrumental music and the blowing of pipes, this stands in contrast to the music used by the angels. Latin liturgical pieces within cycle plays were linked with angelic choruses who were played by trained singers.[88] Young boys from the choirs were often used to play female roles or angels.[89] These angels sometimes wore vestments to mark them out from other characters. Their separation from the mortal realm was further emphasised, as Richard Rastall remarks, by their 'Latin liturgical or quasi-liturgical texts for singing'.[90] The use of Latin and its need for translation in order to be fully understood, distinguishes the angelic song from vernacular mortal song, creating the effect that earthly song is a mere reflection of heavenly music, music that is almost too pure to be fully decipherable by those on Earth.[91] In the *Pageant*, for example, the angels sing 'Gloria in excelsis Deo', the same Biblical phrase that the angel holds on fol. 28r from Douce (Figure 2.5).[92] In the *Pageant* the shepherds on hearing the angels singing the *Gloria*, discuss the song:

iii. Pastor Harke! the syng abowe in the clowdis clere!
Hard I neyuer of soo myrre a quere.
Now, gentyll brethur, draw we nere
To here there armony

i. Pastor Brothur, myrth and sola sys cum hus among;
For be the swettnes of ther songe,
Goddis Sun ys cum, whom we haue lokid for long,
Asse syngnefyith thys star that we do see.

ii. Pastor "Glore, glorea in exselsis," that wase ther songe;
How sey ye, fellois seyd the not thus?

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[88] Richard Rastall, *The Heaven Singing: Music in Early Religious Drama*, I (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1999), pp. 308-309.
[89] Rastall, *The Heaven Singing*, pp. 308-309.
[90] Rastall, *The Heaven Singing*, p. 191; Rastall, *The Heaven Singing*, pp. 256-258.
[91] Rastall, *The Heaven Singing*, p. 191.
[92] Hardin, *Pageant*, p .9; See Figure 2.5.

i. Pastor Thatt ys wel seyd; now goo we hence
To worschipe that chyld of hy manyffecence,

And that we ma syng in his presence

"Et in tarra pax omynibus"

There the scheppardis syngis "Ase I owt Rodde," and

Josoff seyth:[93]

In this part of the *Pageant* the shepherds acknowledge the 'swettnes' of the 'querre' of angels' song.[94] Moreover, the angels are described as singing in 'armony' [harmony] by the shepherds.[95] Mariana Lopez emphasises the importance of not only what is sung in cycle plays but also what is heard: the importance of the aural as well as the oral.[96] The angelic song is distinguished from mortal song in this scene and the shepherds make a point of moving nearer to 'here there armony'.[97] Of course, the reference to harmony may be interpreted as merely referring to the act of singing. However, the angels sing as a choir, indicating several voice parts. These parts could combine or overlap to form harmony or create polyphony, an effect which would require closer listening to appreciate the interplay of vocal lines, the complexity of the piece, and to understand the message it relays.[98] Rosemarie McGerr notes that even the shepherds may have performed polyphonically, with the original manuscript of the *Pageant* featuring a polyphonic setting of *About the field*.[99] As such, polyphony may have been a feature of the musical works within the *Pageant*. However, what distinguishes the 'armony' of the angels and that of the shepherds was the difficulty of the polyphony and its use of Latin, which would make it even more difficult to decipher to a non-Latinate

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[93] Hardin, *Pageant*, ll. 264-277.
[94] Hardin, *Pageant*, l. 269; Hardin, *Pageant*, l. 265.
[95] Hardin, *Pageant*, l. 267.
[96] Mariana Lopez, 'The York Mystery Plays: Exploring Sound and Hearing in Medieval Vernacular Drama', in *Sensory Perception in the Medieval West*, ed. by Simon C. Thomson, and Michael D. J. Bintley (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2016), pp. 53-73.
[97] Hardin, *Pageant*, l. 267.
[98] Peter Pesic has examined polyphony in terms of music and the human experience, discussing how the brain processes 'many-voicedness' in Peter Pesic, *Polyphonic Minds: Music of the Hemispheres* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2017).
[99] Rosemarie McGerr, 'Voicing Identity, Community, and Diversity in The Second Shepherds' Play', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 32 (2019), 69-112,< https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/2680051> [Accessed: 5th July 2021], (p. 74).

audience and would require closer listening.[100] *About the field* is, in comparison, in English and thus simpler to listen to in a polyphonic setting and to comprehend. The musical setting of the *Gloria* from the *Pageant* may have been taken out of an original church context and performed on the streets of the city.[101] This would encourage the audience to experience the streets and move through them and the story itself as if it were a liturgical space. Recycling a *Gloria* from a liturgical context would provide a reason for why there is no information relating to a musically-notated version of the *Gloria* within the original *Pageant* manuscript – the setting was most likely known by the performers from a church context. The musical setting of *About the field*, in comparison, may have been specifically composed for the performance of the *Pageant*, borrowing lyrics or ideas for lyrics from the carol recorded in OxEng and Balliol. If this is the case, then this piece would have needed to be recorded in written form within the manuscript and learnt separately. As the audience moved through this part of the story and met the shepherds this song, its use of the vernacular, and the similarity of its words to the carol, would encourage a general non-Latinate public to relate to the characters of their shepherds and the role these characters play in the Nativity story as a whole. The choice of music therefore affects the navigation of the story for the audience and, moreover, changes how they experience and move through space at different points.

Different uses of staging, wagons, and scaffolds also worked alongside the music of the cycle plays to complicate ideas of space and movement. Church space was brought to mind not only by the use of Latin liturgical song, but also through the use and structure of space. Writing about the *York Mystery Plays*, Martin Walsh suggests that the way cycle plays made use of the wagons to perform this music further emphasised and complicated ideas of space and movement.[102] Walsh argues that the street space was used to present the journey of those involved in the storyline, with the higher sections of the wagons representing spaces of particular significance.[103] Lopez expands on this and suggests that the wagons and spaces in which the cycle plays were performed would have prompted certain considerations in regard to the acoustics and the hearing of the plays and music, particularly as many of the liturgical items would have been heard outside

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[100] Hardin, *Pageant*, l. 267.
[101] Lopez, 'The York Mystery Plays', p. 56.
[102] Martin W. Walsh, 'High Places and Travelling Scenes: Some Observations on the Staging of the York Cycle', *Early Theatre*, 3 (2000), 137-154, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43500428> [Accessed: 29th September 2023], (p. 138).
[103] Walsh, 'High Places', p. 138.

the performance context they were originally designed for: the church.[104] Lopez's research into the acoustics of the streets of York reveals that higher sections of the scaffolds used in these plays allowed greater reverberation time and thus greater clarity when it came to vocal performance.[105] Lopez goes on to suggest that a higher deck would have been ideal for the performance of angelic music due to the longer reverberation time and acoustic effects of being higher up.[106] This suggests that within cycle plays space and sound were important considerations both in terms of symbolic significance and of orality and aurality. Higher spaces were ideal points for the performance of the liturgical and the acoustic conditions for which the music of the church was designed. Rastall provides further evidence for the point, noting that the Salisbury use dictates that five choristers sing the *Gloria* whilst clothed in white vestments from a high position within the church.[107] To position the angelic choir on a higher deck and in costume to sing the *Gloria* would also be to echo the familiar positioning and use of space within the church. The rather dramatic performance of the *Gloria* in the church would be replicated within the street space, simulating the church experience of Christmas mattins in a secular space.[108] This idea of high and low space and how it comes to visually symbolise Heaven and Earth is also depicted within the folio from Douce (Figure 2.5), where the angel and the Latin phrase the angels are said to have sung are depicted at the top of the folio far above the instruments and songs of the shepherds which occupy the borders and bottom section of the folio.[109] In terms of Latin and vernacular music, the liturgical and the secular, it is therefore clear that space was an important factor in distinguishing between heavenly and earthly sound, in terms of how it was used both visually and acoustically across a range of spaces.

Heaven and Earth are also differentiated within the cycle plays in terms of the characters who sing. Whilst good characters, such as angels or the shepherds, sing freely within the plays, it is notable that bad

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[104] Lopez, 'The York Mystery Plays', p. 56.
[105] Lopez, 'The York Mystery Plays', p. 70.
[106] Lopez, 'The York Mystery Plays', p. 70.
[107] Rastall, *The Heavens*, pp. 257-258.
[108] Colton describes how 'numerous carols and other devotional lyric genres made direct or indirect reference to musical practice on the fringe of liturgical and secular space'. The performance of the *Gloria* within the street space is one of these direct references to musical practice in liturgical space, thereby encouraging the mind to engage with secular and liturgical spaces at the same time. This demonstrates the liminality of not just the carol but medieval music as a whole. See Lisa Colton, 'Song in Space and Space in Song: Physical and Conceptual Boundaries in English Devotional Music, 1250-1550', in *Devotional Interaction in Medieval England and its Afterlives*, ed. by Sarah Blick and Laura D. Gelfand (Leiden; Brill, 2018), pp. 208-237, (p. 236).
[109] Douce, fol. 28r. See Figure 2.5.

characters rarely participate in music-making. Nan Cooke Carpenter also notes that 'no character ever performs musically in any of the plays.[110] Herod may order his minstrels to "blow up a merry fit" but he takes no part in the music himself'. This is similar to the use of syntax in the *York Mystery Plays* – the consistent metre of Lucifer's line, for example, is broken once he falls.[111] This speech also occurs at a point where we expect song, considering the former pattern of alternation of the musical interventions of the angels at the beginning of the scene.[112] Thus, specific music helps to portray certain characters. In addition, music and metre are used within the cycle plays to help to emphasise the roles of different characters and their position in the Heaven-Hell hierarchy. A carol like *About the field* is a song of the people and of those on Earth. A lack of music, on the other hand, is a distinguishing feature of a character that the audience should shy away from. Moreover, the carol is distinguished from the songs of the angels and the songs of Heaven by its relative simplicity compared to liturgical music and by its use of the vernacular.[113] There appears, therefore, to be somewhat of a hierarchy here in terms of musical works – with fully Latin works representing Heaven, vernacular works representing Earth, and a lack of music representing evil.

Despite the different representations of heavenly music and earthly music, the liturgical music in the cycle plays and the music of the shepherds are still performed within the same physical space: the streets of the city. The streets became a stage where liturgical and secular music mixed within the same performance context. Certain streets were also chosen for symbolic purposes, to represent the physical spaces mentioned within the cycle plays themselves. The Shambles in York, for example, a street that was occupied by butchers' shops and where blood literally ran down the cobbles, was used in the *York Mystery Plays* to represent the site of the Crucifixion.[114] Thus, the spaces in which the carols and musical works were performed were both the physical spaces of the city and the spaces that they represented: in the case of the Crucifixion, Golgotha. It is this two-fold nature of the spaces of the cycle plays that allows liturgical and non-liturgical music to be performed comfortably within the same venues. As such, the shepherds' carols

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[110] Nan Cooke Carpenter, 'Music in the English Mystery Plays', in *Music in English Renaissance Drama*, ed. by John H. Long (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1968), pp. 1-31, (p. 27).
[111] See 'The Fall of the Angels', in *The York Plays,* ed. by Beadle, I, pp. 3-8, (ll. 81-94).
[112] 'The Fall of the Angels', in *The York Plays,* ed. by Beadle, I, pp. 3-8, (ll. 1-40). Angelic singing takes place after each group of three verses of God's speech.
[113] V.A. Kolve, *The Play Called Corpus Christi* (London: Arnold, 1966), p. 170.
[114] See B.A. Corsair and W.L. Fitzell, 'The Shambles', in *The York Butchers' Gild: The Company of Butchers of York from A.D. 1272* (Company of Butchers of York, 1975), pp. 3-7.

were not just performed in the streets of the city but also on the hills of Bethlehem; the angelic chorus likewise did not just echo through city squares and lanes but also within the heavenly realm, with the staging and arrangements of the space designed specifically to reflect this. The audience thus negotiated and moved through the city and these different Biblical spaces at the same time as they followed the procession, accompanied by the music of the cycle plays. The carols and music used within cycle plays were essential components of the audience's physical and mental movement through and navigation of both city and story, present and past.

The Carol in the Hall

The carol did not just recast the space of the streets, it also found a home in the hall. Furthermore, it was used to structure movement and the act of feasting within this space. *The boar's head in hands bring I* (*The Boar's Head Carol)* is one such example of a carol sung during medieval feasts.[115] It was traditionally performed at celebratory feasts where a boar's head was brought into the hall. This includes the feast which took place to celebrate the coronation of Henry II (1133-1189) in the twelfth century. Raphael Holinshed describes the boar's head ceremony writing that 'Upon the daie of coronation, king Henrie the father seued his sonne at the table as sewer, bringing vp the bores head with trumpets before it'.[116] This tradition had a theatrical dimension, with the boar's head even announced by trumpet fanfare. The boar's head tradition has continued at Queen's College, Oxford from the fourteenth century until the present day. The processional movement of the boar's head through the hall is accompanied by a carol, *The boar's head.* This carol is found in four manuscript sources, two of which are shown in Figure 2.7: Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Brogyntyn MS ii.1 (Brogyntyn) and Balliol. These two versions of the carol bear the greatest similarity to each other of the manuscript sources.

Brogyntyn fols. 202r-202v (c.1450-1475)	**Balliol, p. 477 (c.1501-1533)**
Hey hey hey hey þe borys hede is armyd gay	Caput apri refero Resonens laudes D*omi*no
The boris hede i*n* honed I bryng With garlond gay in porttoryng Pray yow all with me to synge With hay	The boris hed in honed I brynge With garlonde gay *and* byrde syngynge I p*ray* you all helpe me to synge

[115] This will be referred to as *The boar's head.*
[116] Raphael Holinshed, *Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland,* 6 vols. (London: 1807), II, p.130.

Lordys knyȝtt*es* and skyers Persons prystis and wycars The boris hede ys þe fust mes With hay The boris hede as I yow say He takis his leyfe *and* gothe his way Son aft*er* þe xii theylffyt day With hey The*n* co*m*mys i*n* þe secund kowrs wit mykyll pryd Þe cranne*s and* þe heyrro*n*us þe bytte*r*is by þ*er* syde Þe p*er*trychys *and* þe plowers þe wodcok*es* *And* þe snyt With hay Larkys i*n* hoot schow ladys for to pyk with Good drynk þ*er* to lycyvs and fyn*n* Blwet of allmayn*n* ro*m*nay and wym With hay Gud bred alle and wyin da*re* I well say Þ*e* boris hede with musterd armyd soo gay With hay Furma*n*te to pottage with we*n*nissu*n* fyn*n* *And* þe ho*m*buls of þe dow *and* all þ*a*t eu*er* co*m*mis in With hay Cappons I bake w*ith* þe pesys of þe roow Reysons of corrans w*ith* odyr*e* spysis moo With hay	Qui estis in conviuio The boris hede I vnderstond Ys cheff s*er*uvyce in all this londe Wher to ever it may be fonde Seruitur cu*m* sinapio The boris hede I dare well say Anon after the XIIth day He taketh his leve *and* goth away Exiuit tu*n*c de patria

Figure 2.7: Comparison of two versions of *The boar's head in hands bring I*

The last five verses of the Brongyntyn carol do not originally belong with the first three verses – the metre and rhyme scheme are different. The first three verses, however, do bear similarity to the verses of the Balliol carol. The traditional version of the Queen's College carol has come down to us from a tutor's transcription in 1811 and printed in Ames's *Typographical Antiquities*.[117] The carol reads:

[117] See Greene, *EEC*, pp. cxxx-cxxxi and Joseph Ames, *Typographical Antiquaries = or, The History of Printing in England, Scotland, and Ireland*, ed. by Thomas Frognall Dibdin, 2 vols (London: 1812), II, pp. 250-252.

Caput Apri defero
Reddens laudes Domino

The Boar's head in hand bear I,
Bedeck'd with bay and rosemary;
And I pray you, my masters, be merry
Quot estis in convivio.

The Boar's head, as I understand,
Is the rarest dish in all this land,
Which thus bedeck'd with a gay garland
Let us servire Cantico.

Our Steward hath provided this
In honour of the King of Bliss;
Which on this day be served is
In Reginensi Atrio[118]

The first two verses of the 1811 *The boar's head* are, again, close to that of the Brogyntyn and Balliol carols. The third verse of the 1811 carol differs from that of Brongyntyn and Balliol. The 1811 version introduces the character of the Steward who has organised the feast 'in honour of the King of Bliss' and specifies that the feast is taking place 'In Reginensi Atrio' [in the Queen's Hall]. The earlier versions of the carol, however, describe how the boar's head custom finishes after the twelfth day, at the end of the Christmas season.[119] The ending of the earlier carols is far more general than that of the 1811 version – they do not outline a specific place for performance, rather they just discuss the culmination of the boar's head tradition at the end of the festive season. The similarities between the three carols, however, suggest that the 1811 *The boar's head* carol descends from the late medieval versions. Carols were easily adapted to different circumstances and their verses could be substituted or altered.[120] As such, the 1811 version of the carol is likely to have been adapted to suit the specific space of its performance: Queen's College hall.

When the boar's head ceremony took place, a soloist would enter the hall and deliver the introductory words of the carol: 'The bores heed in hande bring I, / Bedeck'd with bay and rosemary.[121]

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[118] Ames, *Typographical Antiquaries,* p. 251.
[119] Madeleine Pelner Cosman notes that Christmas during the medieval period was a twelve-day festivity. See Madeleine Pelner Cosman, *Medieval Holidays and Festivals: A Calendar of Celebrations* (London: Piatkus, 1981), p. 16.
[120] Greene notes that the carol was easily adapted – 'The prevailing points of difference between manuscript copies of the carols are substitution of one burden or refrain for another […], omissions and substitutions of stanzas, and changes in the order of stanzas. The frequency with which such omission and substitution occur in Middle English poetry of all types testifies to the liberties taken with manuscript material as well as the accidents which often befell it. Pieces intended for singing, like carols, were doubtless intentionally shortened in some cases. On the other hand, to no form of poetry could verses be added more easily than to the carol.' See Greene, *EEC*, p. cxxxi.
[121] Ames, *Typographical Antiquaries,* p. 251.

The soloist announces the arrival of the boar's head to the hall and promotes communal participation and engagement with the festivities and song. They encourage those watching to 'synge merely' and to join in with the performance of the burden, making them part of the procession. From the outset it is made clear that this is not just a song for the soloist but a song for all those assembled within the space – the carol in this context and in the space of the hall is a song of introduction and of celebration. In 1903 Sarah A. Tooley described the performance of *The boar's head*:

> All eyes are fixed on the door, and there is a flutter of expectancy when the blast of the trumpet is heard which heralds the approach of the procession. First come the Provost and the Fallows in their black gowns, and then the bearer of the feast follows, holding aloft on a great silver dish the boar's head gaily decked with tiny banners and crowned with garlands of bay and rosemary. The Chaplain and the choir boys follow, chanting the old carol, beginning:
>
> "The boar's head in hand bear I,
> Bedeck'd with bays and rosemary;
> And I pray you my masters be merry,
> Quo testis in convivio
> Caput apri defero
> Reddens laudes Domino."
>
> On moves the stately procession to the rhythmic sound of the carol, the chorus
>
> "Caput apri detero
> Reddens laudes Domino,"
>
> swelling at the end of each verse, until the high table at the further end of the Hall is reached, where the Boar's Head is set down amidst a thrill of admiration.[122]

Tooley's description of the boar's head ceremony describes how the 'stately procession' moves to the 'rhythmic' sound of the carol.[123] This implies that the metre of the carol is designed to suit the movement of the procession, adding to the 'stately' nature of the event.[124]. Kathleen Ashley discusses how moving

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[122] Sarah A. Tooley, 'Old Christmas Customs in the Counties', *The English Illustrated Magazine*, 9 (London: 1903), 266-275, <https://search.proquest.com/historical-periodicals/old-christmas-customs-counties/docview/3357131/se-2?accountid=13042>, [Accessed: 19th January 2021], (p. 266).
[123] Tooley, 'Old Christmas Customs', p. 266.
[124] Tooley, 'Old Christmas Customs', p. 266

together within a procession 'conveyed the message that all participants shared a commitment to the same goal'.[125] Thus, the movement of the procession had meaning, symbolising a 'togetherness or solidarity'.[126] This act of both singing and moving combines within the hall space, working together to create a fraternal experience for those gathered. The voices of those assembled structure and enable the movement through the space driving the ceremonial procession and crafting the hall as not just a space for feasting but as a space for togetherness.

The act of procession also brings to mind liturgical action within a space initially seen as non-liturgical. This is not the only echo of the liturgy within the boar's head ceremony and carol though. The university tutor, R. Dickinson, who recorded the 1811 words to *The boar's head,* also drew a connection between the melody of some psalms and that of the carol:

> It is sung to the common chaunt of the prose version of the Psalms in Cathedrals; at least whenever I have attended the service at Magdalen or New College Chapels, I have heard the Boar's Head strain continually recurring in the psalms.[127]

It would not be at all surprising if some carols were set to psalm chant in the medieval period – many medieval audiences would have certainly been familiar with the sound of the 'stereotypical melodic formulae' used in the psalms.[128] Mel R. Wilhoit notes that the process of contrafacta allowed psalms to be adapted to popular melodies. Wilhoit writes that 'this practice no doubt furnished ready-made melodies for churches to intone the Psalms'.[129] This may explain why Dickinson remarks on the 'strain' of *The boar's head* in the psalms – the process of contrafacta may have taken place and the carol may have been one of the 'familiar melodies' to which a Psalm was set.[130] This could have also occurred in the opposite direction,

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[125] Kathleen Ashley, 'The Moving Subjects of Processional Performance', in *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. by Kathleen Ashley and Wim Hüsken (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001), pp. 7-34, (p. 14).
[126] C. Clifford Flanigan, 'The Moving Subject: Medieval Liturgical Processions in Semiotic and Cultural Perspective', in *Moving Subjects*, ed. by Ashley and Hüsken, pp. 35-52, (p. 39).
[127] Ames, *Typographical Antiquities*, p. 252
[128] Joseph Dyer, 'The Singing of Psalms in the Early-Medieval Office', *Speculum* 64.3 (1989), 535-578, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2854183> [Accessed: 24th January 2021], (p. 535).
[129] Mel R. Wilhoit, 'Psalms in the Early Church', in *Hymns and Hymnody: Historical and Theological Introductions*, 3 vols, ed. by Lamport, Forrest and Whaley (Oregon: Cascade Books, 2019), I, pp. 32-44, (p. 39).
[130] Smaill's dissertation discusses the relationship between liturgical melody and carols. See Smaill, 'Medieval Carols', pp. 208-293. Smaill discusses the connection between processional hymns and carols, noting that 'the subsequent discovery of melodic borrowing from chants in carols connects the two even more closely'. See Smaill, 'Medieval Carols', p. 209. The melodic relationship between carol and chant is discussed further from pp. 215-221.

with the carol taking on a melody normally associated with the psalms. In any case, the use of the *The boar's head* melody within the Psalms or a Psalm melody within *The boar's head* carol , would have crafted the carol as having a liturgical element to its music, an element which would have resonated with an audience with aural familiarity with the music of the Church, as it did with Dickinson. This would have brought to mind parts of the liturgy, shaping the context and space of the performance as one which was both secular and liturgical at the same time. Thus, the audience would have experienced the movement of procession, the singing of the carol, and the space of the hall through both liturgical and secular lenses.

The liminality of performance space and procession would have been also emphasised within other aspects of the boar's head ceremony feast. Medieval feasting was governed by a set of conventions and rules of etiquette which dictated the form a feast should take and the customs which should accompany it. The boar's head procession would have been considered in a similar vein to an *entremet,* a form of entertainment that distinguished a feast from a regular meal.[131] In the list of feast courses transcribed by Thomas Austin from the fifteenth-century Harleian MS 4016, the *entremets* are listed alongside the food, although they are referred to by a different Middle English term: 'soltete' (subtlety).[132] In 1443, for example, three soltetes are mentioned for the feast celebrating 'the stalling of John Stafford, Archibisshoppe of Caunterbury'.[133] This includes an subtlety depicting 'Seint Andrew, sitting on an hie Auter of a-state, with bemes of golde; afore him knelyng, þe Bisshoppe in pontificalibus; his Croser kneling behind him, coped'.[134] When attending a feast, the guests would have therefore expected to witness these entertainments and from them would have drawn particular allegorical connections and allusions.

The liminality of the medieval feast and its use of symbology is also referenced in medieval art. The late fifteenth-century Melbourne *Miracles of Christ Triptych* (*The Melbourne Triptych*), which shows the wedding

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131 Christina Normore, *A Feast for the Eyes: Art, Performance, and the Late Medieval Banque*t (Chicago: University Press Scholarship Online, 2015), p. 6.
132 Thomas Austin, *Two Fifteenth-Century Cookery-Books: Harleian Ms.279 (Ab.1430), & Harl. Ms.4016 (Ab.1450), with Extracts from Ashmole Ms.1429 Laud Ms.553, & Douce Ms.55*, Early English Text Society Series, No. 91 (London: N Trübner & Co, 1888), pp. 68-69.
133 Austin, *Two Fifteenth-Century Cookery-Books*, p. 68.
134 Austin, *Two Fifteenth-Century Cookery-Books*, p. 68. Helen Phillips examines 'occasional poetry', poetry that was intended for civic and courtly celebrations and which was often accompanied by music. Phillips notes that in the late medieval period the growing literacy rates resulted in the copying and dissemination of the poetry used to celebrate or interpret important events. Phillips gives an example of this type of poetry, describing how 'Lydgate's ballade stanzas (NIMEV 1929) for seven-year-old Henry VI's 1429 London coronation accompanied sugar and pasty sculpture 'sotilte' figures of St Edward and St Louis'. See Helen Phillips, 'Occasional Poetry, Popular Poetry, and the Robin Hood Tradition', in *The Oxford History of Poetry* ed. by Boffey and Edwards, pp. 385-404, (p. 385).

at Cana, is used by Christina Normore to demonstrate the liminality of the medieval feast and the space in which it occurs.[135] In the *Triptych* the wedding party are all dressed in the fashions of fifteenth-century nobles, a detail which takes the biblical feast and re-contextualises it within a medieval context.[136] Normore also describes the figure of Jesus and the connection drawn between courtly feasting and the Eucharistic feast:

> Jesus here appears to be a performer rather than a savior, enacting what was in fact a common banqueting trick of transforming one food into another. Alternately, a court feast has been elevated to the status of a sacred ritual, making a secular meal into something uncomfortably close to the Eucharistic feast of which the wedding at Cana was believed to be a sign.[137]

Although Normore highlights the liminality of liturgical and secular material within this artwork, the description of it as 'uncomfortable' misinterprets the symbolism of this piece and the medieval understanding of the liturgical and secular.[138] As we have seen, the liturgical and secular worked in the same spaces and were experienced at the same time by those assembled within those contexts – whether this was in the medieval hall, on the streets, or within the church. Thus, to describe the relationship of the liturgical and secular as 'uncomfortable' is to not understand the fluidity of medieval space or culture. The medieval hall in *The Melbourne Triptych* is depicted as a place of religious transformation and of performance but this is not an uneasy depiction – it merely demonstrates that this piece, the feast it represents, and the space of the medieval hall, cannot be confined solely to either the categories of liturgical or secular. As such, those who experience or move through this space, navigate both the liturgical and secular at the same time.

Considering the use of *entremet* and symbolism within the space of the hall and the performance of the *The boar's head*, it is unsurprising that we find a strong allegorical connection made between the boar and Christ himself in Ritson.[139] The carol states:

> The borys hede that we bring here
> Betokeneth a Prince withowte pere
> Ys born this day to bye vs dere;

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[135] *Triptych with the Miracles of Christ*, c.1491-1495, oil on wood panel, 122.4 x 184.0cm, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, <https://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/explore/collection/work/3736/> [Accessed: 13th February 2021]; Normore, *A Feast for the Eyes*, p. 1.
[136] Normore, *A Feast for the Eyes*, p. 1.
[137] Normore, *A Feast for the Eyes*, p. 1.
[138] Normore, *A Feast for the Eyes*, p. 1.
[139] Ritson, fols. 7v-8r.

Nowell, nowelle.

A bore ys a souerayn beste
And acceptable in euery feste;
So mote thys Lord be to moste and leste;
Nowell, nowelle.[140]

The boar's head here represents Christ who is 'withowte pere'. Like the boar's head, Christ is also 'souerayn' and thus must be 'acceptable' to everyone, to 'moste and leste'.[141] This carol, like *The Melbourne Triptych* draws an allegorical connection between the literal feast within the hall and a heavenly feast in which all are encouraged and invited to partake. It links the feast, the carol, the bringing in of the boar's head in the procession, and the space in which all of this is performed and experienced with liturgical content. The audience would have been aware of the liturgical connections, making their experience of the boar's head feast one which was celebratory and secular but also celebratory and liturgical at the same time. Furthermore, the audience would have engaged with the carol as the element guiding processional movement through this space, infusing the hall with liturgical meaning during performance.

Conclusion

Although our modern preconceptions of the liturgical and secular make it difficult to discuss the liminal nature of medieval space and song, it is nevertheless clear that the medieval carol operated in ways and spaces that were both liturgical and secular, often simultaneously. All three performance contexts demonstrate how the carol shaped movement within the different spaces of the church, streets, and hall. The carol retained a link to movement once it had separated from its dance origins, helping to shape physical motion through different performance spaces. Moreover, the carol also helped to drive narratives, aiding the ability of audiences and performers to be mentally transported to different spaces and performance contexts and structuring their experience, understanding, and movement through these spaces. Thus, the carol was a tool used by composers, performers, and audiences alike to assist with the navigation and understanding of space, whether this was in a mental, spiritual, or physical capacity. Having examined the origins of carols, the creative web at play in the creation and performance of carols, and how carols were

[140] Ritson, fols. 7v-8r.
[141] Ritson, fols. 7v-8r.

used and understood in different performance contexts, we now turn to the question of circulation and dissemination, focusing on the collaborations and networks which enabled the carol to flourish in the fifteenth century.

III

THE CAROL IN CIRCULATION: EXCHANGE AND IDENTITY

It is in the fifteenth century that the carol appeared more frequently in written record both with and without musical notation. This suggests that there was a move away from the carol as a form passed mainly through oral tradition.[1] During the fifteenth century the carol also embraced a polyphonic life, appearing in four main polyphonic collections: the Trinity Carol Roll, Selden Carol Book, Egerton manuscript and Ritson manuscript. Polyphony required trained musicians in terms of both composition and performance.[2] This positions the polyphonic carol in a context in which there were highly-skilled musicians. With this in mind, we turn to prominent episcopal and aristocratic household chapels which provided an environment in which musically-notated books like Trinity, Selden, Egerton, and Ritson would have been useful. This chapter will examine how the carol was transmitted, disseminated, and circulated in the late-medieval period, with a particular focus on the period of the Hundred Years' War. I will demonstrate that the carol had an important place within prominent household chapels and similar institutions, particularly in its polyphonic form. Moreover, the political context of the late medieval period, the strengthening of musical institutions both in England and beyond, and the travels associated with composers and entire households during this time played a key part in the carol's development. Thus, I will show that this environment and

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[1] Karin Boklund-Lagopoulou writes that 'virtually all scholars agree that the vernacular poetry of medieval Europe has its roots in an oral tradition of popular song'. See Boklund-Lagopoulou, 'Popular Song and the Middle English Lyric', in *Medieval Oral Literature*, ed. by Karl Reichl (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), pp. 555-580, (p. 555). Leo Treitler discusses how written and oral cultures operate in relation to medieval music, arguing that oral and written mediums worked together. He states that 'Music writing was introduced into an oral tradition, and it must have been used initially in support of that tradition'. See Leo Treitler, *With Voice and Pen: Coming to Know Medieval Song and How it Was Made* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 238.

[2] Helen Deeming and Freida van der Heijden describe polyphony as 'a very broad term indicating any music in more than one part […] it took many forms, from the earliest examples in which a chant melody was sung in parallel fourths or fifths – a type of singing known as organum […] to extremely elaborate compositions in which three or four simultaneous melodic lines were ingeniously combined to create complex and rich musical textures'. See Helen Deeming and Frieda van der Heijden, *Medieval Polyphony and Song* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023), pp. 1-2. Stephen Rose writes that 'polyphony required highly trained singers, able to hold their own parts, and medieval polyphonic genres such as the motet were emphatically for a narrow circle of the elite'. See Stephen Rose, 'Early Music', in *An Introduction to Music Studies*, ed. by J.P.E Harper-Scott and Jim Sampson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 119-135, (p. 125).

the culture of collaboration and exchange means that the carol should not be aligned with a specific national identity and that the idea of the carol as an 'English' form must be re-assessed.[3]

The Carol in the Court: Household Chapels and Polyphony

The fifteenth century spanned the transition between the Houses of Lancaster, York, and, in the last part of the century, the Tudors. A span of one hundred years saw seven different monarchs: Henry IV (r.1399-1413), Henry V (r.1413-1422), Henry VI (r.1422-1461; 1470-1471), Edward IV (r.1461-1470; 1471-1483), Edward V (r.1483), Richard III (r.1483-1485), and Henry VII (r.1485-1509). The first half of the century was also marked by ongoing conflicts between England and France during the Hundred Years' War (1337-1453), which resulted in prominent households travelling between England and the Continent regularly.[4] The reign of the Lancastrian kings brought more of a specific focus on the household chapel and the importance of its music, beginning with the expansion of the Chapel Royal under Henry IV.[5] During Henry V's reign the singers of the Chapel Royal were used to full effect during the Agincourt celebrations.[6] Henry V is also considered to have been a composer himself, with works featured in the Old Hall manuscript

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[3] Dumitrescu describes 'national influence and stylistic imitation' as one of 'the most crucial elements in the study of European music of the fifteenth century'. See Theodor Dumitrescu, 'An English Adoption of the Burgundian Chanson', in *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Musical Culture: Learning from the Learned*, ed. by Suzannah Clark and Elizabeth Eva Leach (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005), pp. 174-183, (p. 174). Continental literary relations have received much scholarly attention, particularly in recent years. Elizaveta Strakhov pays particular attention to the relationship between England and the Continent, describing an 'England that is physically on the Continent, and an England understood by the Continent as firmly a part of its history and, potentially, its destiny' – see Strakhov, *Continental England*, p. 9. other works which have explored Anglo-Continental relations and their effect on culture include Marion Turner, *Chaucer: A European Life* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2019); Ardis Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy* and David Wallace, *Europe: A Literary History, 1348-1418*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016). Despite this attention to Anglo-Continental links, the carol has yet to receive significant attention in this regard.

[4] Theresa Earenfight states that aristocratic households 'move across Europe, marry foreigners, and staff their households with ambassadors, tutors, clerics, artists, and soldiers from far afield'. See Theresa Earenfight, 'Personal Relations, Political Agency, and Economic Clout in Medieval and Early Modern Royal and Elite Households', in *Royal and Elite Households in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: More than Just a Castle*, ed. by Theresa Earenfight (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 1-14, (p. 2). A study of the English Household Chapel has also been made by Kent Rawlinson in Kent Rawlinson, 'The English Household Chapel, c.1100-c.1500' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Durham, 2008), <http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/2232/> [Accessed: 31st August 2023].

[5] W.H. Flood, 'The English Chapel Royal under Henry V and Henry VI', *Sammelbände Der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 10, no. 4 (1909), 563–67, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/929379> [Accessed: 24th November 2021], (p. 563).

[6] The Dean of the Chapel Royal, Robert Gilbert, accompanied Henry V to Agincourt – Flood, 'The English Chapel Royal', p. 564. Nicola Coldstream, ' 'Pavilion'd in Speldour': Henry V's Agincourt Pageants', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 165.1, (2012), 153-171, <https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1179/0068128812Z.00000000011>, [Accessed: 3rd January 2022]; Helen Deeming, 'The Sources and Origin of the 'Agincourt Carol'', *Early Music*, 35.1 (2007), 23-38, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4137268> [Accessed: 5th January 2022].

under the title 'Roy Henry'.[7] The household chapels of John, Duke of Bedford (1389-1435), Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (1390-1447), and Thomas, Duke of Clarence (1388-1421), were also prominent sites of musical innovation.[8] Bedford, Gloucester, and Clarence were major proponents of culture, all having significant libraries and chapels, and acting as patrons to important cultural figures of the time, musical and otherwise.[9]

Aristocratic households decreased in size from the fourteenth century but, nevertheless, remained substantial.[10] The royal household was the most prominent of these households, with Henry VI's household comprising up to eight hundred members.[11] All aristocratic households were geared towards maintaining the prominent social and cultural status of the household. To this end, household chapels and skilful musicians were prized entities. Aristocratic households also had a history of itinerancy throughout the Middle Ages. This subsided somewhat during the fifteenth century and instead members of the household were based at several different residences, with London residences holding particular importance.[12] This did not mean that the travels of the household ceased – parts of the household still travelled with their patron, and this often included the household chapels. In 1417, for example, boy choristers were brought to Normandy to be with the King's chapel, with the musician John Pyamour (d.1431) organising this process.[13] Bedford's household chapel was also taken to Paris from 1423 to 1429 and then to Rouen from 1429 to 1435.[14] The musicians of Bedford's chapel therefore had exposure to continental music for several

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[7] See Malcolm Vale, *Henry V: The Conscience of a King* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2016), p. 212 and Bent, *Dunstaple*, p. 5.

[8] Jenny Stratford, for example, describes the 'peripatetic chapel within Bedford's household, formally established in 1409 at the latest and maintained with splendour throughout the regency'. See Jenny Stratford, 'The Manuscripts of John, Duke of Bedford: Library and Chapel', in *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium* (Woodbridge, Surrey: Boydell Press, 1987), pp. 329-350, (p. 336).

[9] See Alessandra Petrina, *Cultural Politics in Fifteenth-Century England: The Case of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester* (Boston: Brill, 2004); Paul E. Szarmach, M. Teresa Tavormina, and Joel T. Rosenthal also describe Thomas of Clarence's patronage in relation to the Old Hall Manuscript – see 'Old Hall Manuscript', in *Medieval England: An Encyclopaedia*, ed. by Paul Szarmach, M. Teresa Tavormina, and Joel T. Rosenthal London: Garland Publishing, 1998), p. 560. Jenny Stratford, 'John [John of Lancaster], duke of Bedford], *ODNB* (2011),<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/14844> [Accessed: 21st February 2022]; G.L. Harriss, 'Thomas [Thomas of Lancaster], duke of Clarence, *ODNB*, (2020) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27198> [Accessed: 28th February 2022]; G.L. Harriss, 'Humphrey [Humfrey or Humphrey of Lancaster, duke of Gloucester [called Good Duke Humphrey], *ODNB* (2020),<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/14155> [Accessed: 28th February 2022].

[10] C. M. Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 8-10.

[11] Woolgar, *The Great Household*, pp. 8-10.

[12] Woolgar, *The Great Household*, p. 197.

[13] Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, p. 48.

[14] Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, p. 51.

years. The composer John Dunstable (c.1390-1453) is thought to have been a prominent member of Bedford's chapel.[15] He may have even accompanied Bedford to France for some time.[16] It seems that Dunstable may have also worked within the household chapel of Queen Joan (c.1368-1437) from 1427 to 1436, and then in the service of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester.[17] Travelling with these household chapels to and from the Continent would certainly explain the prominence of Dunstable's music in continental manuscript sources – it would have provided plentiful opportunity for musical exchange.[18] Dunstable's prominence as a composer is also emphasised by the wide dissemination of his works within continental sources, which shows the interest of continental scribes in musical enterprises within English household chapels.[19] Aristocratic society thus provided the ideal network for musical exchange, transmission and dissemination.

Household chapels were centres of worship and were made up of a variety of different figures – from the dean to the musicians of the chapel.[20] Musicians of these chapels had to have the ability to sing both regular plainsong and complex polyphonic pieces as part of their duties.[21] Polyphonic performances were distinguishing marks of the ability and skill of the choir and thus the overall quality of the household chapel itself. The music composed and performed by musicians in these chapels was not solely liturgical

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[15] Stratford, 'The Manuscripts', p. 338. Margaret Bent labels Dunstable the 'foremost English composer of the fifteenth century). See Margaret Bent, *Dunstaple* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 1.
[16] Bent, *Dunstaple*, p. 1.
[17] Bent notes that there are gifts and payments to Dunstaple from Queen Joan from 1427-1436. Dunstaple is also described in a 1438 document as the servant of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. See Margaret Bent, 'Dunstaple [Dunstable], John (d.1453), composer', *ODNB* (2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8286> [Accessed: 24th September 2023].
[18] Manfred F. Bukofzer, 'John Dunstable: A Quincentenary Report', *The Musical Quarterly*, 40.1 (1954), 29-49, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/739701> [Accessed: 2nd February 2022], (p.30).
[19] For wider discussion of the relationship of music and the court see Christopher Page, 'Music and the Origins of Courtliness', in *Courtly Arts and the Art of Courtliness*, ed. by Christopher Kleinhenz (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006), pp. 29-48 and Nigel Wilkins, 'Music and Poetry at Court: England and France in the Late Middle Ages', in *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. by V. J. Scattergood and J.W. Sherborne (New York: St Martin's Press, 1983), pp. 183-204. Dunstable's *O Rosa Bella* is an example of a piece that seems to have had particularly wide dissemination on the Continent. It occurs in seventeen manuscripts and its music is written by Dunstable with text by Leonardo Giustiniani. This also demonstrates a collaboration of an English composer and an Italian lyricist, with two different figures involved in the production of this song. Alison Hanham discusses *O Rosa Bella* and the musical and dance culture of Calais. Hanham also transcribes the French jottings on the back of an envelope addressed to George Cely, producing what appears to be a refrain song similar in form to the carol. See Alison Hanham, 'The Musical Studies of a Fifteenth-Century Woold Merchant', *The Review of English Studies*, 8.31 (1957), 270-274, <https://doi.org/10.1093/res/VIII.31.270> [Accessed: 3rd September 2023].
[20] Kisby writes that 'it was the capacity of the king's chapel to sing choral polyphony that was its most notable contribution to the performance of the Opus Dei'. See Fiona Kisby, 'The Early Tudor Royal Household Chapel: Function, Organisation and Personnel', *Court Historian*, 2.sup1, (1997), 8-13,<https://doi-org.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/10.1179/cou.Supplement.1997.2.1.004> [Accessed: 24th September 2023], (p. 9).
[21] Kisby, 'The Early Tudor Royal Household Chapel' p. 9.

– these composers were also responsible for a large number of secular works, almost certainly including carols.[22] From the late fourteenth century the full choir started to be used to sing polyphony, and this practice was spearheaded by institutions like colleges and household chapels.[23] New types of polyphony emerged, with Frank Ll. Harrison labelling these new forms as music 'which was sung "out of choir" in the ritual and physical sense'.[24] As such, polyphonic works were not just sung within the church environment. Accompanying these changes was the production of larger books, more suitable for the performance of choral polyphony than smaller codices. Larger books, like Eton, Eton College Library, MS 178 (Eton Choir book) (595 x 420mm), allowed an assembled group to stand together to read and perform the music, as shown in an illustration from Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Départment des Manuscrits, Français 1537 (BnF 1537) in Figure 3.1.[25]

[22] Kisby notes that many of the composers from household chapels wrote part-songs and other secular works that formed the entertainments for 'banquets, pageants and plays' which were an important part of courtly life. See Kisby, 'The Early Tudor Royal Household Chapel', p. 10.
[23] Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, p. 156.
[24] Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, p. 157.
[25] BnF 1537; Eton Choirbook.

Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France. Département des Manuscrits. Français 1537

Figure 3.1: Manuscript illustration of group singing from a choirbook (BnF 1537, fol. 57v)

(Source: gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliothèque nationale de France)

It is possible that the importance placed within aristocratic households on the performance of polyphonic material during the late medieval period resulted in an increased production of polyphonic manuscripts, which could explain why we have fewer polyphonic choirbooks and collections from the early medieval period in comparison to the late. This idea is strengthened by the fact that there are several records from colleges and aristocratic households listing late medieval polyphonic books which are now lost to us.[26] Our existing corpus of musical manuscripts from the late medieval period, although far more extensive than what has been passed down from before the fourteenth century, is therefore still merely a tiny reflection of what was.[27] Colleges, household chapels, and Cathedral choirs also became considerably stronger forces from the thirteenth century onwards – Edward I (1239-1307), for example, began to construct a royal chapel in Westminster in 1292 and there was an expansion of choral provision at Beverley Minster in 1320, with eight more boys recruited as choristers.[28] Thus, the number of polyphonic books during the late medieval period reflects the expansion of polyphony and the strengthening of choral foundations and provision across the country.

Networks, Exchange and Transmission During the Hundred Years' War

To turn specifically to transmission and exchange between musicians of the household chapels during the Hundred Years' War, we begin to examine the polyphonic carol books and their relationship to the Continent. Figure 3.2 lists the number of carols that are shared between each of the musically-notated

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[26] Andrew Wathey discusses the scale of loss in relation to polyphonic books in Andrew Wathey, 'Lost Books of Polyphony in England: A List to 1500', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 21.1 (1988), pp. 1-19, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14723808.1988.10540923> [Accessed: 29th September 2023].

[27] David Rundle has also worked extensively on the manuscripts of Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester's library. A list of the manuscripts identified by Rundle as once being part of Gloucester's Library can be found as an appendix to the following lecture: David Rundle, 'Good Duke Humfrey: Bounder, Cad, and Bibliophile', *Christmas Lecture to the Volunteer Guides of the Bodleian Library* (2013), 1-17. Discussion of John, Duke of Bedford's collection of manuscripts can also be found in Stratford, 'The Manuscripts of John, Duke of Bedford', pp. 329-350. Further information on lost collections can be found in James Raven, *Lost Libraries: The Destruction of Great Book Collections Since Antiquity* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

[28] Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, pp. 17-19.

books. Appendix II then lists the complete repertoire of each of the four carol manuscripts, highlighting the carols in bold.[29]

Manuscripts	**Number of Carols Shared**
Selden and Trinity	6
Selden and Egerton	2
Selden and Ritson	4
Trinity and Egerton	0
Trinity and Ritson	1
Egerton and Ritson	1

Figure 3.2: Number of concordances between the four polyphonic carol books

Although the numbers of shared carols appear small, in terms of the carol repertoire the concordances between different manuscripts are still significant. For example, almost half of the carols in the Trinity Roll also occur in Selden, which implies a relationship between the manuscripts. Trinity, Selden, Egerton, and Ritson also share one specific carol: *I pray you all*, suggesting that this was a particularly well-circulated piece. Selden is the only manuscript of the four that shares different carols with each of the other three musically-notated carol books. This implies a culture of musical sharing and exchange in the fifteenth century, with networks that helped to promote transmission and dissemination of material. The Hundred Years War (1337-1453) helped to facilitate some of this musical transmission and exchange during the fifteenth century. The earliest polyphonic carol manuscripts were produced during this time: Trinity in the aftermath of the Battle of Agincourt (c.1415-1417) and Selden and Egerton between 1425 and 1450.[30] During the fifteenth century many influential composers spent considerable amounts of time on the Continent – whole household chapels would travel to the Continent with their patrons.[31] Thus, there was ample opportunity for cultural and musical exchange. The poet Martin Le Franc (c.1410-1461) noted the influence of English composers in *Le Champions des Dames*.[32] Le Franc wrote of how English compositions affected the works of continental composers Guillaume Dufay (c.1397-1474) and Gilles Binchois (c.1400-1460):

> Car ilz ont nouvelle pratique
> De faire frisque concordance

[29] See Appendix II, pp. 224-229.
[30] Each polyphonic manuscript's dating will be discussed in further detail in Chapter IV, pp. 114-169.
[31] Theresa Earenfight, 'Personal Relations', p .2.
[32] A full edition of the text can be found in Martin Le Franc, *Les Champions des Dames*, ed. by Robert Deschaux (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1999).

En haulte et en basse musique
En fainte, en pause et en muance
Et ont prins de la contenance
Angloise et ensuÿ Dunstaple
Pour quoy merveilleuse plaisance
Rend leur chant joieux et notable[33]

[For they have a new practice
of making joyful agreement
in high and in low music,
in feigning, in pauses, in variations,
they have taken on the style
of the English and follow Dunstaple [Dunstable]
and because of this marvellous pleasure
makes their song joyful and notable]

Many scholars have accordingly attempted to argue for a *contenance angloise* [English style] that can be seen in the works of fifteenth-century continental composers.[34] The exact description of the *contenance angloise* and understanding of the musical techniques attributed to it has remained relatively unclear.[35] However, several scholars have interpreted these words as a reference to a certain musical style of which the composer John Dunstable (c. 1380-1453) was a primary proponent. Richard L. Crocker, for example, writes of how 'Dufay and Binchois learned from John Dunstable (ca.1380f-1453), adopting la contenance angloise (the English style)'.[36] Lisa Colton, on the other hand, has proposed that the *contenance angloise* is actually a play-on-words and, instead, refers to the 'heavenly or angelic musical agreement of notes within English writing'.[37] Colton is careful to state that this interpretation does not suggest that continental composers did not admire or seek to adopt elements of English musical writing but does, nevertheless, argue for a less literal interpretation of the *contenance angloise* as a specific English style.[38] It instead shapes English compositions, such as those by Dunstable, as works that continental composers were actively aware of and

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[33] The French text is taken from Margaret Bent, 'The Musical Stanzas in Martin Le Franc's *Le Champion des Dames*', in *Music and Medieval Manuscripts: Palaeography and Performance*, ed. by John Haines and Randall Rosenfield (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2004), pp. 91-127, (p. 97). For discussion of Le Franc's words see Lisa Colton, *Angel Song: Medieval English Music in History* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 133-148.
[34] For a summary of arguments relating to the *contenance angloise.* see Colton, *Angel Song*, pp. 133-148. For further discussion of the *contenance angloise* see David Fallows, 'The Contenance Angloise: English Influence on Continental Composers of the Fifteenth Century', *Renaissance Studies,* 1.2, (1987), 189-208, <http://www.jstor.com/stable/24409841> [Accessed: 4th January 2022] and Sylvia Kenney, *Walter Frye and the Contenance Angloise* (New Hale: Yale University Press, 1965).
[35] Colton writes of the 'many attempts' to 'pin down the meaning of the music-related words' – Colton, *Angel Song*, p. 134.
[36] Richard L. Crocker, *A History of Musical Style* (New York: Dover Publications, 1986), p. 143.
[37] Colton, *Angel Song*, p. 144.
[38] Colton, *Angel Song*, p. 144.

took some inspiration from. Colton's more allegorical interpretation allows for more space for exchange to be seen as a two-way system, with English composers influenced by continental and continental composers influenced by the English. Furthermore, it lessens the association of 'Englishness' or a set national identity with musical works of the late medieval period.

The movement of noble households, including their choirs, to the Continent was, in part, prompted by the Hundred Years' War, when major English aristocrats were appointed to positions on the Continent – for example, John, Duke of Bedford became regent of France and spent a significant time in both Rouen and Paris.[39] This travel would have opened up numerous opportunities for cross-cultural exchange between English and continental musicians. Evidence of this exchange can be found in both the carol and the works of continental composers who are known to have come into contact with English aristocratic households and their composers. The Ritson manuscript is one such collection that demonstrates some of the musical exchange that happened between English composers and continental composers throughout the fifteenth century. Theodor Dumitrescu traces a connection between the music of the Ritson manuscript and the Burgundian tradition, particularly the music of Binchois.[40] English musical tradition influenced Binchois and, conversely, Binchois appears to have influenced English musical tradition.[41] In terms of the carol repertoire, Ritson's *To thee now Christs dear darling (To thee now)* (fols. 37v-38r) has some similarities with a *Credo* setting attributed to Binchois in Trento, Italy, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio, MS 1379 [92] (Trent 92).[42] This *Credo* setting has three sections similar to the musical setting of the Ritson *To thee now*.[43] This includes a duet part in the *Credo* which is almost exactly the same as the first burden of the carol, a section which corresponds to the music used for the verse in *To thee now*, and a second duet section in the *Credo* which corresponds to the second part of the first burden.[44] The Egerton and Selden manuscripts contain further carols that appear similar in terms of music

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[39] Bedford travelled to Paris in 1420 and spent Christmas in Louvre with Henry V. He was based in Rouen as governor of Normandy from 1422. See Stratford, 'John'.
[40] Dumitrescu, 'An English Adoption', pp. 174-183.
[41] Anthony Pryer, 'Binchois [Gilles de Bins]', in *The Oxford Companion to Music,* ed. by Alison Latham (Oxford University Press, 2011), DOI: 10.1093/acref/9780199579037.001.0001 [Accessed: 6th December 2021].
[42] Dumitrescu, 'An English Adoption', p. 175; Ritson, fols. 37v-38r; Trent 92. An edited version of the Credo can be found as no. 18 in Gilles Binchois, *The Sacred Music of Gilles Binchois*, ed. by Philip Kaye (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).
[43] Peter Wright, 'Binchois and England: Some Questions of Style, Influence, and Attribution in his Sacred Works', in *Binchois Studies*, ed. by Andrew Kirkman and Dennis Slavin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 8 7-118.
[44] Wright, 'Binchois', pp. 87-118.

to compositions by Binchois: *All Holy Church was but a thrall (All Holy Church)* (Egerton fols. 62v-63r) and *A new work is come on hand* (Selden fol. 21v). Reproduced in Figures 3.3, 3.4, 3.5 and 3.6 are Wright's transcriptions of the opening bars of Binchois's *Gloria* and *Se j'eusse un seul peu d'esperance* and John Stevens's transcriptions of *A new work is come on hand* and *All Holy Church*.[45] These transcriptions demonstrate the shared rhythmic and melodic material between these pieces, with the use of similar stepwise melodic progressions in these first few bars.

[45] Transcriptions taken from Wright, 'Binchois', p. 92.

Figure 3.3: Transcription of opening bars of *All Holy Church*[46]

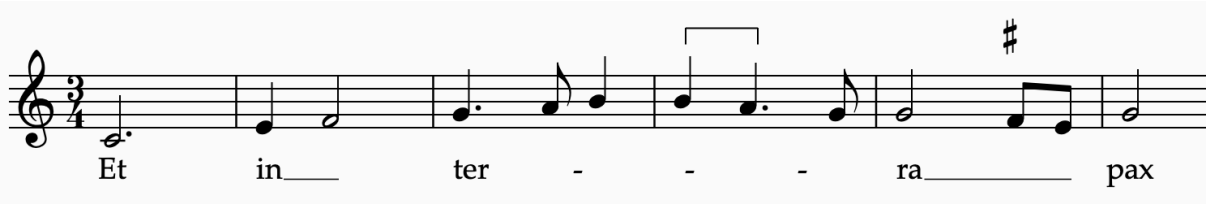

Figure 3.4: Transcription of opening bars of Binchois's *Gloria*[47]

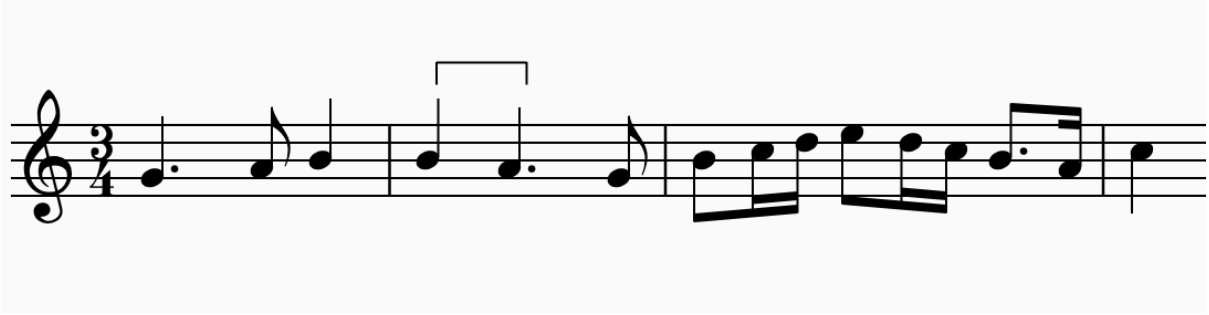

Figure 3.5: Transcription of opening bars of *Se j'eusse un seul peu d'esperance*[48]

Figure 3.6: Transcription of *A new work is come on hand*[49]

[46] Stevens, *MC*, no. 59, pp. 48-49, bb. 1-5.
[47] Wright, 'Binchois', p. 92, bb. 1-6.
[48] Wright, 'Binchois', p. 92, bb. 1-4.
[49] Stevens, *MC*, no. 30, pp. 22-23, bb. 1-4.

In regard to the *Credo* and *To thee now*, the primary difference between the Trent *Credo* and *To thee now* is the second three-part burden included in *To thee now* that has no corresponding section in the *Credo*. However, Wright notes that this is potentially because the *Credo* scribe copied from a version of the carol where there was no second burden.[50] *To thee now* occurs not only in the Ritson manuscript but also in the Trinity Carol Roll, the earliest polyphonic carol manuscript. Although Wright makes the point that the composer could have been copying a different version of the carol with only the first burden, he does not consider or remark on the fact that the carol that may have influenced the *Credo* may have been an earlier version of the carol than that found in Ritson.[51] Fallows argues that carols with single burdens should be treated as an earlier layer of the carol repertory.[52] The carols with a double burden occur more regularly in the later carol books of the fifteenth century, as shown by the comparison of the four major polyphonic carol manuscripts in Figure 3.7:

Manuscript	**Number of Single Burden Carols**	**Number of Double Burden Carols**	**Percentage of Double Burden Carols (%)**
Trinity (c.1415-1417)	11	2	15
Selden (c.1425-1450)	17	11	39
Egerton (c.1425-1450)	15	15	50
Ritson (c.1440-1460)	3	37	93

Figure 3.7: Comparison of number of single-burden carols compared to double-burden carols in the four main fifteenth-century polyphonic carol manuscripts

Figure 3.7 shows a marked increase in the use of the double-burden carol throughout the fifteenth century. If the composer was copying from a version of *To thee now* with a single burden as opposed to a double burden, then it seems likely that the exemplar featured an earlier version of *To thee now* than the one in Ritson, a version composed and in circulation in the earlier part of the fifteenth century. The music of the *Credo* is, however, very similar to that of the Ritson *To thee now*. It may be that the exemplar the *Credo* composer worked from had a carol with predominantly the same music as the Ritson *Pray for vs* but without a second burden. The Ritson *To thee now* may therefore be a slightly elaborated setting of an original single-

[50] Wright, 'Binchois', p. 92
[51] Wright, 'Binchois', p. 92.
[52] Fallows, *Henry V*, pp. 33-42.

burden carol with just an additional second burden. This could point towards the *Credo* composer being influenced by an earlier version of the Ritson *To thee now*.

I have specifically used 'the composer' instead of Binchois when referring to the *Credo* because there is a note of uncertainty regarding the *Credo*'s attribution. Fallows asserts with confidence that Binchois, although given credit by a later hand for the *Credo*, would not have been responsible for 'purloining two voices from an existing carol' and adding a 'miserable contratenor'.[53] However, this idea of 'purloining' or 'stealing' misunderstands the entire musical environment, transmission, and recycling of material during the late medieval period.[54] If we consider the environment that Binchois would have been operating in and exposed to alongside the musicological evidence, then we can take a more nuanced view and understand further concordances between proven Binchois pieces and the carol corpus. There is no evidence of Binchois ever visiting England. However, Binchois was in the service of William de la Pole, first Duke of Suffolk (1396-1450), from 1423, during the Duke's time in Northern France.[55] We cannot say precisely when Binchois left the Duke's service but we know that he joined the court of Philip III of Burgundy (1396-1467) in 1430.[56] It was in this first half of the fifteenth century that at least three of the four major polyphonic carol manuscript collections were written – Egerton and Selden in the second quarter of the fifteenth century and the Trinity Carol Roll in the first. As such, there was certainly enough time for Binchois to come into contact with the carol corpus during his time with de la Pole's household.

It is likely that the Duke of Suffolk had already been exposed to carols as a regular part of courtly musical life. There is evidence that the Duke also had regular contact with figures heavily associated with carols. The Duke of Suffolk not only came into contact with Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, during his years in France, but it is also likely that he was frequently in the company of the Duke of Bedford.[57] In fact, Suffolk was made one of Bedford's 'leading lieutenants' in Normandy during the 1420s.[58] Thus, it is highly

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[53] Fallows, *Henry V*, p. 128.
[54] For a nuanced view of musical and textual borrowings see Suzannah Clark and Elizabeth Eva Leach, 'Introduction: Learning, Citation and Authority in Musical Culture Before 1500', in *Citation and Authority,* ed. by Clark and Leach, pp. xxi-xxiv
[55] Pryer, 'Binchois [Gilles de Bins]'.
[56] Pryer, 'Binchois [Gilles de Bins]'.
[57] John Watts, 'Pole, William de la, first duke of Suffolk', *ODNB* (2012), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22461> [Accessed: 6th January 2022]. The relationship of Charles d'Orléans and William de la Pole is also explored in Henry Noble MacCracken, 'An English Friend of Charles of Orléans', *PMLA*, 26.1 (1911), 142-180, <https://doi.org/10.2307/456876> [Accessed: 31st August 2023].
[58] Watts, 'Pole, William de la'.

likely that the households of Suffolk and Bedford were in close contact with each other. Considering that Dunstable is thought to have travelled with Bedford to France, it is also possible that Binchois and Dunstable had some contact during their years in the service of different English aristocratic households. Even if they did not directly meet Dunstable's work was, in any case, well-known and highly regarded on the Continent during the fifteenth century.[59] As Bedford's household chapel was most likely based in France from 1422 to 1435 and Binchois was in the service of Suffolk from 1423 until approximately 1429, there was ample opportunity for the two composers to come into contact with one another. As Bukofzer notes, the number of Dunstable works in continental manuscripts suggest that Dunstable enjoyed popularity abroad.[60] It would therefore fit for Dunstable to have spent at least a few years on the Continent.[61] Dunstable is thought to have been responsible for a number of carol settings.[62] If operating within the same musical circles as Dunstable, Binchois is therefore likely to have heard the performance of carols and may have even come into contact with carol manuscripts. This may explain the perceived influence of carol settings on Binchois's own corpus. Although this does not prove that the *Credo* featured in Trent 92 is that in Binchois's hand, it does demonstrate that Binchois was active within a musical context and environment where carols were probably performed as a result of the heavy English presence in Northern France during this time. Furthermore, the carols Binchois would have been exposed to, particularly during his time in the Suffolk household during the 1420s, are more likely to have been part of the earlier carol repertoire – those containing a single burden as opposed to a double burden.

Working in the service of households like that of Suffolk was not just a chance for the exchange of musical ideas, but also an opportunity for collaboration between musicians and poets. Thus, it was a chance for innovation in terms of lyrics. The lyrics of three of Binchois's compositions have clear attributions: *Mon cuer chante joyeusment* [My heart sings joyfully] is a rondeau composed by Charles d'Orléans (1394-1465), *Tristre plaisir et douleureuse joie* [Sad pleasure and painful joy] a rondeau by Alain Chartier (c.1385-1430), and *Dueil angoisseux, rage desmesurée* [Anxious grief, overwhelming rage], a ballade by Christine de

[59] Bukofzer, 'John Dunstable', p. 30
[60] Bukofzer, 'John Dunstable', p. 30
[61] Bukofzer, 'John Dunstable', p. 30.
[62] Bent, *Dunstaple,* p. 23; Fallows, *Henry V*, p. 178.

Pizan.[63] All three of these writers were prominent in courtly environments. Even though d'Orléans was in captivity in England for twenty-five years following Agincourt he, nevertheless, had a close relationship and a shared literary interest with Binchois's patron, the Duke of Suffolk.[64] However, it is worth noting that Suffolk only became d'Orléans's keeper in the early 1430s, when Binchois had already left Suffolk's service and had joined the chapel of Philip III.[65] Regardless of whether Binchois came into contact with the work of d'Orléans through Suffolk or merely through the popularity of d'Orléans's poetic works and the other aforementioned writers in the courtly setting, it is clear that these lyrics were prompts for musical creativity and literary-musical collaboration, much like a modern-day lyricist may work with a composer to create a piece.[66] As such, the environment of the court and prominent households should not be viewed primarily in terms of purely musical or literary exchange. It should be considered through a more interdisciplinary lens as a centre of general artistic exchange between different disciplines.[67] Artists of all kinds did not just collaborate within their discipline but benefitted from the ideas and innovation of different creative minds who worked within their environment.

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[63] Dennis Slavin, 'Some Distinctive Features of Songs by Binchois: Cadential Voice Leading and the Articulation of Form', *The Journal of Musicology*, 10.3 (1992), 342-361, < https://www.jstor.org/stable/763654> [Accessed: 2nd February 2022], (p. 345).

[64] See Mariana Neilly, '"The Fairfax Sequence" Reconsidered: Charles d'Orléans, William de la Pole, and the Anonymous Poems of Bodleian MS Fairfax 16', *Fifteenth Century Studies*, 36 (2011), 127-136, <https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/fairfax-sequence-reconsidered-charles-dorléans/docview/850414414/se-2?accountid=13042> [Accessed: 5th January 2022], (p. 128); R.D. Perry and Mary Jo-Arn, *Charles d'Orléans' English Aesthetic: The Form, Poetics, and Style of Fortunes Stabilnes* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2020).

[65] See Pryer, 'Binchois [Gilles de Bins]. For more about Binchois and the court of Philip III see David Fiala, 'Music and Musicians at the Burgundian court in the fifteenth century', in *The Cambridge History of Fifteenth-Century Music*, ed. by Anna Maria Busse Berger and Jesse Rodin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 427-445, <https://doi.org/10.1017/CHO9781139057813.031> [Accessed: 22nd December 2022].

[66] Both Butterfield and Nuttall describe the 'experimental English' of Charles d'Orléans, remarking on how his error-marked efforts to compose poetry in French demonstrate the culture of exchange between England and France in the fifteenth century. Nuttall describes this time as a 'place full of pressure, redefinition, and cultural uncertainty' and points out that similar 'unstable contact' can be found between English and Latin, English and Scots, and between the spoken and written word. See Jenni Nuttall, 'Inventing Literary English', in *The Oxford History of Poetry in English,* ed. by Boffey and Edwards, pp. 61-75, (p. 73) and Ardis Butterfield, 'Rough Translation: Charles d'Orléans, Lydgate, and Hoccleve' in *Rethinking Translation: Ethics, Politics, Theory*, ed. by Emma Campbell and Robert Mills (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2012), pp. 204-225, (p. 223).

[67] The English presence in France during the period of the Hundred Years' War created multiple opportunities for exchange between thinkers, artists, and writers of all kinds. Jenni Nuttall states, for example, that we see Chaucer and Gower basing their poetic compositions on French models, employing enjambment more frequently within their work. The trilingual environment of England also allowed writers to experiment further with form, language, and composition. As Nuttall writes, 'Poets could add to the language, inventing words to meet the demands of metre, rhyme, and alliteration. They might borrow words, most often from French, or coin new English words modelled on equivalents in French or Latin'. See Nuttall, 'Inventing Literary English', pp. 61-62.

The culture of musical exchange and circulation is seen when comparing Binchois's *Inter natos* to other fifteenth-century pieces, as noted by Wright.[68] Figures 3.8, 3.9 and 3.10 show how a carol, *Ther is no rose*, has similar material to *Inter Natos* and Dunstable/Power's *Alma Redemptoris Mater* with the same melody opening all of these pieces. There is also some similarity between the opening of these three pieces and Binchois's *Gloria*, as shown in Figure 3.11.

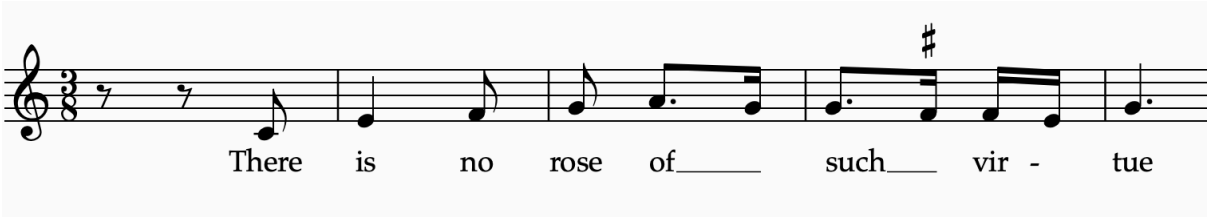


Figure 3.8: Transcription of *There is no rose* from the Trinity Carol Roll[69]

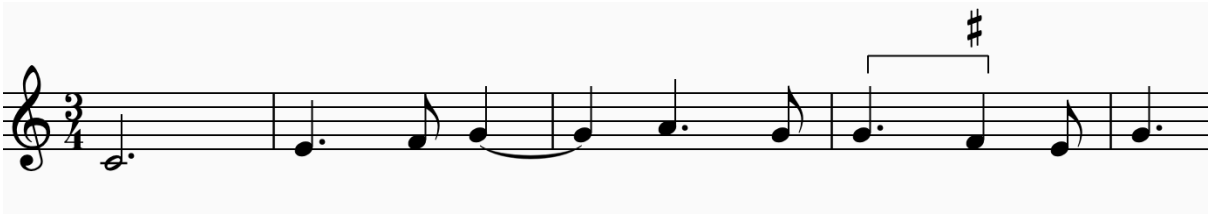
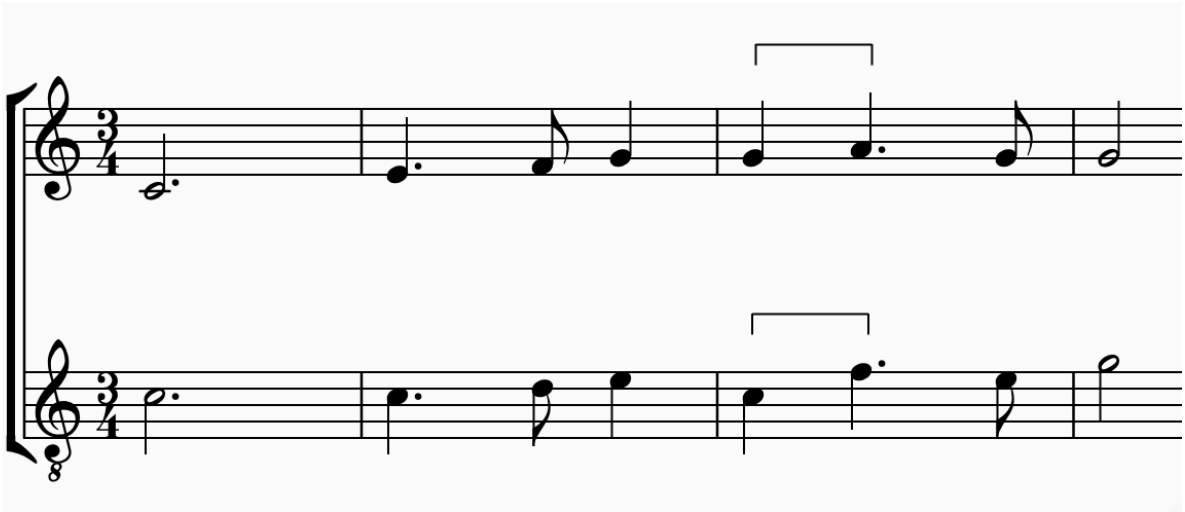


Figure 3.9: Transcription of *Inter natos* by Gilles Binchois[70]



[68] Wright, 'Binchois', pp.95-98.
[69] Transcription from Stevens, *MC*, no. 14, pp. 10-11, bb. 1-4.
[70] Transcription from John Dunstable, *John Dunstable: The Complete Works*, ed. by Margaret Bent, Ian Bent, and Brian Trowell, 2nd rev, ed., *Musica Brittanica* viii, (London: Stainer and Bell, 1970), no. 42.

Figure 3.10: Transcription of *Alma Redemptoris Mater* by Dunstable/Power[71]

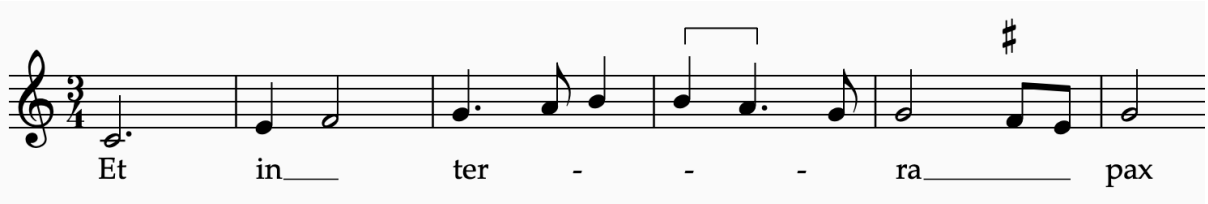


Figure 3.11: Transcription of opening of Binchois's *Gloria*

Although just one example of composers re-using or borrowing material, the use of this sequence in these compositions is indicative of a wider environment where musical ideas were recycled and new lyrics set to familiar musical themes. Wright's insistence on the use of the label 'English carols' and 'English openings' again emphasises the focus on associating medieval music with specific national identities and overlooking a more complex culture of exchange.[72] *There is no rose*, *Alma Redemptoris Mater*, and *Inter natos* are all Marian pieces. This crafts this melody as one which was commonly associated with Marian celebrations or traditions. Wright also notes that this figure was the opening progression of the plainchant *Alma redemptoris mater*.[73] As such composers may have borrowed the plainchant sequence to begin other Marian pieces, using this melody to situate these new pieces within a wider Marian tradition and evoking a liturgical context in the mind of the performer and listener. As previously mentioned, *There is no rose* is from the Trinity Carol Roll, one of the earliest polyphonic carol manuscripts. The musical setting of the carols within these manuscripts were ones which were circulating from at least 1415 onwards.[74] In terms of *Alma Redemptoris Mater* and *Inter natos,* Power worked at Woking Palace until 1419 before joining Thomas, Duke of Clarence's household chapel in Northern France. However, Clarence died in 1421.[75] Dunstable was probably a member of Bedford's household chapel and active in France from 1422.[76] Binchois was also in Suffolk's service in France from 1423.[77] Even if Power had left France by 1422, these timings could still place

[71] Transcription from Bent, Bent, and Trowell, *John Dunstable*, no. 40.
[72] Wright, 'Some Observations', pp.95-96.
[73] Wright, 'Some Observations', p. 96, footnote. 30.
[74] The carol *Our king went forth* gives a *terminus ad quem* for the Trinity Carol Roll of 1415.
[75] Roger Bowers, 'Some Observations on the Life and Career of Lionel Power', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association, 1975-1976*, 102 (1975-1976), 103-127, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/766097?seq=1&cid=pdf-reference#references_tab_contents> [Accessed: 20th March 2024]],
[76] Roger Bowers, 'Some Observations', p. 106; Bent, 'Dunstaple', *GMO*.
[77] Pryer, 'Binchois [Gilles de Bins]'.

Dunstable and Binchois in the same geographic area at the same time. Bowers does note, however, that little is known of Power's movements following Clarence's death in 1421 and speculates that he could have joined the chapel of the Duke of Bedford, consequently coming into contact with Dunstable.[78] It is possible then that this musical sequence was one popular on the English mainland for Marian material during the first quarter of the fifteenth century. However, the movements of musicians and the aristocratic households from England to Northern France, would have also provided ample opportunity for this material to make its way to the Continent influencing both continental composers and English composers resident in France as households moved from place to place and interacted with one another.

An alternative explanation for the inclusion of this musical sequence's inclusion in the Trinity Carol Roll and in *Alma Redemptoris Mater*, *Inter Natos*, and *Gloria* could be that Trinity was work of a musician that travelled with an aristocratic household and who therefore had exposure to the types of musical material being used within the chapels of noble households.[79] The design of Trinity, in particular, could point towards this being a collection that travelled. Figure 3.12 shows a comparison of the physical details of all four polyphonic carol collections.

Manuscript	**Description**
Selden	Type: Codex Surface: Parchment Decoration and Notation: Penwork initials – mainly blue with red flourishes, black rastrum ruling (staves have been erased to make place for lyrics in some sections), small sketch of a rooster of fol. 23r. Size: 260 x 180mm Date: 1425-1450
Egerton	Type: Codex Surface: Mixed parchment and paper Decoration and Notation: Red rastrum-ruled staves, black mensural notation, initials are done in red, blue, salmon, and black ink. Red cross at the bottom of fol. 15r and fol. 20r. Size: 292 x 213mm Date: 1425-1450
Trinity	Type: Roll Surface: Parchment

[78] Bowers, 'Some Observations', p. 110.
[79] Deeming, 'The Sources', pp. 31-34.

	Decoration and Notation: Erased inscription at the top of the roll, red rastrum-ruled staves, red and blue initials often alternating at the start of each verse. Some red penwork around some of the initials. Size: 2005 x 180mm Date: 1415-1417
Ritson	Type: Codex Surface: Mixed paper and parchment Decoration and Notation: Carol section with blue initials and red penwork Size: 258 x 180mm Date: 1440-1460

Figure 3.12: Comparison of the details of the four polyphonic carol manuscripts[80]

Trinity is the only collection that takes the form of a roll – the others are all codices. Thomas Forrest Kelly presents several reasons for the use of a roll as opposed to a codex during the medieval period: that they were a more portable form and thus better for travelling, that they could act as ceremonial documents, that they were used when the scribe was unsure how large a collection was going to be (as you could just continue to add more sheets to the end of the roll), and that they could be used to demonstrate a genealogy or a passage of time'.[81] Kelly suggests that the Trinity Carol Roll falls into the third category: that of the scribe being unsure of how long the document would be.[82] However, I would suggest that the Trinity Carol Roll may have actually been made in the form of a parchment roll for Kelly's first suggestion: the purpose of travel.[83] Deeming has, likewise, suggested that the portability of a roll in comparison to a codex was considered in the making of the Trinity Carol Roll, possibly with the scribe having to travel to London for the Agincourt celebrations or similar events. The portability of the Trinity Carol Roll would be well-explained if the Roll was copied by a musician used to travelling with a noble household both nationally and internationally. If the Trinity Carol Roll was also commissioned or written for a specific purpose, such as a commemoration of the Agincourt victory, then it may be that this Roll held music that was intended

[80] Dating of each manuscript is my own based on consideration of different arguments by various carol scholars, including Greene, Fallows, and Padelford. See Greene, *EEC*; Fallows, *Henry V*; Frederick Morgan Padelford, 'English Songs in Manuscript Selden B.26', *Anglia* 36 (1878), 79-115, <https://doi.org/10.1515/angl.1912.1912.36.79> [Accessed: 24th September 2023]. The dating of these manuscripts will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter IV, pp. 141-169.
[81] Thomas Forrest Kelly, 'Scroll 'n' Roll', *Early Music America: The Magazine of Historical Performance*, 25.2 (2019), 48, <https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/scroll-n-roll/docview/2279747912/se-2> [Accessed: 24th September 2023]; Thomas Forrest Kelly, 'Performers' Scrolls', in *The Role of the Scroll* (London: W.W. Norton & Company, 2019), pp. 101-123.
[82] Kelly, 'Scroll 'n' Roll', p. 48.
[83] Kelly, 'Scroll 'n' Roll', p. 48.

for a more specific performance context and one outside of a household chapel's normal course of work. This would fit with Peter M. Lefferts argument that certain medieval musical rolls were a 'textual medium for music sung at less familiar and less frequently performed rituals'.[84] The corpus of carols within Trinity may therefore be designed for a specific occasion and for a household that regularly travelled, an idea which will be explored in further detail in Chapter IV.[85]

Travel and time on the Continent with a noble household would also place the scribe of the Trinity Carol Roll in similar environments to composer such as Binchois, Dunstable, and Power. Thus, in terms of what the similarities between Trinity's *There is no rose*, Power/Dunstable's *Alma Redemptoris Mater*, and Binchois's *Inter natos*, may suggest to us about transmission, travel, and exchange, it could be that composers were borrowing from plainchant but also learning as they travelled and borrowing musical material from songs on similar themes from fellow composers from other aristocratic households. It is difficult to say with certainty that Binchois's use of material found in a carol and in the work attributed to either Dunstable or Power implies a borrowing from English music or plainchant or simply a borrowing form other composers who were resident in a similar environment. Indeed, it may be a borrowing from both. England's presence on the Continent would have provided the opportunity for the meetings of continental and English composers and the consequent exchange and sharing of thematic material in both directions. In terms of the *Credo*, this may also provide more evidence for it being the work of a continental composer like Binchois. The similarities between the *Credo* and *Pray for vs* may have arisen from exchange and collaboration between different noble households on the Continent during the first quarter of the fifteenth century and may point towards the performance of carols in these households during their time on the Continent.

The sharing of musical material between carols and continental liturgical pieces, as shown by the *There is no rose* and *Inter natos* example, demonstrates that there was ongoing musical exchange between continental composers and English composers. As such, it is difficult to label any musical piece produced

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[84] Peter M. Lefferts, 'The Musical Rotulus: Artifact, Image, and Attributes', in *The Dorset Rotulus*, ed. by Margaret Bent, Jared C. Hartt, and Peter M. Lefferts (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2023), pp. 299-334, (p. 307). Lefferts provides a detailed overview of musical rolls from 1250-1600, contextualising the manuscript environment in which the newly-discovered Dorset Rotulus existed.

[85] See Chapter IV, pp. 128-134.

at this point of ongoing travel, exchange, and collaboration as ever truly 'English'. To do so falsely treats the musical culture of the late medieval period as limited to the borders of each country. It has also been somewhat overlooked that, although rare, carols have been identified in manuscripts created on the Continent. In 1960 Christopher Hamm suggested that a textless piece found in Trento, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio, MS 1374 (Trent 87) is a carol.[86] Hamm writes 'Having already suggested that the piece found on fol. 118 of Trent 87 is English, I will further point out that it must be a carol'. He then goes on to provide a transcription and description of the piece.[87] Hamm therefore emphasises the 'Englishness' of the carol despite it being copied in a manuscript from the Continent. Fallows identifies a second potential carol in a continental source – a piece titled *Wann ich betracht die Vasenacht* in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. MS 3725 (Buxheim Organ Book), fol. 93r (c.1450-1500).[88] Despite Fallows writing that 'there are, of course, reasons why a carol should have found its way into a German source' he does not expand on these reasons.[89] Fallows also notes that there are similarities in sound between this song and *There is no rose* but, again, does not give any detail on this. The first phrase of the upper voice of the *There is no rose* burden begins by ascending from C to A, then descending again by stopping on G for two notes, dropping to E and then ascending again to finish on G. This is shown in the transcription in Figure 3.8, repeated here again as Figure 3.13.

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[86] Christopher Hamm, 'A Group of Anonymous English Pieces in Trent 87', *Music & Letters*, 41.3 (1960), 221-215, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/731967> [Accessed: 30th August 2023], (p. 214); Trent 87.
[87] Hamm writes 'The end of the burden is marked off by pauses and two-breve rests in each of the voices, and there is a suggestion of a brief recapitulation of the burden at the end of the verse.' See Hamm, 'A Group of Anonymous English Pieces' – Hamm, 'A Group of Anonymous English Pieces', p. 214.
[88] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. MS 3725, <https://rism.online/viewer.html#?manifest=https://api.digitale-sammlungen.de/iiif/presentation/v2/bsb00104633/manifest&xywh=-149%2C-278%2C2976%2C4268&cv=198>, fol. 93r (Burnheim Organ Book); David Fallows, 'English Song Repertories of the Mid-Fifteenth Century', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 103 (1976), 61-79, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/765886> [Accessed: 30th August 2023].
[89] Fallows, 'English Song Repertoires', p. 67.

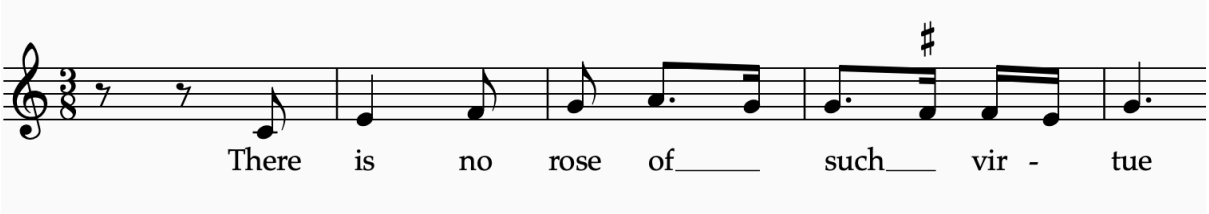

Figure 3.13: Transcription of the first phrase of *There is no rose*[90]

The first few bars of *Wann ich betracht die Vasenacht* have echoes of this phrase. *Wann ich betracht die Vasenacht* starts on C and has quick descending flurry to A before an ascending sequence leading to the A an octave above. It then also descends again, stopping for two notes on G, dropping to F and then rising again to A. This is therefore similar to the *There is no rose* sequence albeit with slight elaboration.[91] This again seems to imply borrowing from a carol source but this time to seemingly create a new carol piece. Fallows notes that the piece is repeated within the Buxheim Organ Book but under a different name – *In mentem veniunt cucumeres* (*Cucumbers come to mind*).[92] Fallows suggests that this means the compiler did not know the common German title for the piece. However, it could also be that this was a song melody in wide circulation and thus used as a type of contrafactum, becoming known under different song names in the process. In any case, the inclusion of a carol in the Buxheim Manuscript under a German heading demonstrates that the carol did have a home on the Continent. This conflicts with the 'Englishness' often attributed to late medieval carols – the carol was in circulation and known beyond England. With this in mind, it is unwise to suggest that the carol has any singular national identity and scholars should move away from the idea of defining the carol as a specifically 'English' form.

Conclusion

The musical culture of the fifteenth century was centred around travel, exchange, transmission, and circulation. The movements of musicians and aristocratic households, and the relationship between

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[90] Stevens, *MC*, no.14, pp.10-11, bb. 1-5.
[91] A modern transcription of this piece can be found in David Fallows, *Secular Polyphony 1380-1480*, Musica Britannica 97 (London: Stainer & Bell, 2014), no. 38.
[92] Buxheim Organ Book, fol. 1v.

different courts, allowed the carol to move freely between places, people, and books. The aristocratic household chapel provided opportunities for musicians to receive patronage and to collaborate and experience the music of other composers of the time, not just within England but on the Continent too. In terms of the carol, it is in fifteenth century manuscripts that we find the largest collection of musically-notated carols, predominantly in a polyphonic form. The similarities between carol settings and continental music and the appearance of the carol in continental sources are indicative of a wider culture of collaboration, exchange, and transmission. Despite several household chapels and musicians being positioned on the Continent throughout the fifteenth century, the carol appears to have been largely ignored in relation to whether it was performed on the Continent or travelled to the Continent with English musicians. When considering the life of the carol we should therefore be reshaping our ideas with the culture of travel and exchange that was active in the late medieval period in mind. The carol can be seen as a lyric not representative of a singular national identity but instead one which exemplified the interactions and collaboration of musicians and the ongoing culture of exchange throughout this period. Having re-analysed the concept of the 'English' carol, established the historical, political, and cultural contexts for its performance, and challenged the history and developmental pathway traditionally attributed to this form, we therefore turn to an examination of the carol books themselves. In doing so, we look at the role of the book within the contexts and performance culture previously discussed and ask whether we can find echoes of performance by examining the page.

IV

HEARING THE PAGE: MUSIC AND MANUSCRIPTS

Carols occur primarily in two book forms: notated musical collections and non-notated collections of lyrics. Having established the origins of the carol and the contexts in which performance may have taken place, we now turn to the carol in performance and therefore to an examination of both manuscript types. This chapter begins by concentrating on the polyphonic carol corpus, which primarily appears in the four notated collections: Trinity, Selden, Egerton, and Ritson. It argues that to form a clearer picture of the polyphonic carol in performance we must look both at the book and page and beyond the book and page – to what is there and to what is not there. By examining the four polyphonic carol books in detail, I argue that scribes acknowledged the carol as a musical work with its own specific identity and that the carol repertoire may have been intended for memorisation and for performance off-book. To establish this, I begin by examining the use of the four manuscripts in comparison to other musical books of the time, before turning to the specific contexts in which these books may have been situated and discussing provenance and how these four manuscripts were used. Having established how the physical books were used, I will then turn to a more in-depth analysis of the manuscript page, looking both at what is written and what is not written on the page. This chapter will show that the way that these polyphonic carols are written down, the design of the books in which they appear, and the contexts in which these books may have been used, indicate that carols were intended for performance from memory.

Music Books and their Functions: *Mise-en-Page*

To understand the role, function, and musical context of carol books and therefore carols themselves, we begin by turning to how the carol appeared on the page. Carols are almost always written with the burden and first verse directly underneath the musical notation and the remaining verses listed out separately, as shown in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1: fol. 23r from the Selden Carol Book (Photo © Bodleian Library, University of Oxford)

Some Latin liturgical pieces and *cantilenae* appear alongside carols in the three carol codices (Selden, Egerton, and Ritson). The Latin liturgical pieces have all of their text directly beneath the music, as opposed to just the first verse, separating them in terms of layout from the carols within the same books. The *cantilenae* take the same layout as the carols – this is unsurprising as they function in the same way as the carol form and are basically Latin-texted carols. Page layout is quite consistent for pieces considered carols or *cantilenae* across three out of four of the polyphonic manuscripts. It may appear at first glance that a version of *Abide I hope it be the best* in Trinity, shown in Figure 4.2, is an exception to the standard page layout, as it has all its verses printed out directly beneath the stave. However, this is possibly because the verses of this carol are very short statements from the *Book of Proverbs*, made up of only two lines of verse set out in one long line.[1] Although it may seem that the additional verses are intentionally copied out below the music of the verse, this may be coincidental. The length of verses 2 and 3 and this one-line format for each verse, mean the verses appear almost as if they are also set to music rather than being listed out separately underneath the notated part of the carol.[2]

[1] Greene, *EEC*, p. 206.

[2] See Figure 4.2; This carol has been associated with John Audelay. A version of this carol exists in the Audelay manuscript. The Trinity Carol Roll is earlier than the Audelay manuscript. It is likely then that Audelay came across the carol during as it circulated in the first quarter of the fifteenth century. Audelay was resident in London and in the service of Lord Richard Lestrange at this point. If Trinity was used for the London Agincourt celebrations or for the royal court, then it may be that Audelay came across this carol during his time in the city and later considered it worthy of inclusion within his lyric anthology. It could also be that Audelay travelled to the Continent with Lestrange's household and came across the carol in this context. This could provide further evidence for Trinity's association with an aristocratic household with London connections. See Susanna Fein, 'John Audelay and James Ryman', in *A Companion to Fifteenth-Century English Poetry* (Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 2013), pp. 127-141, (pp. 129-130). The most comprehensive study of Audelay thus far is a collection of essays edited by Susanna Fein – see *My Wyl and My Wrytyng: Essays on John the Blind Audelay,* ed. by Susanna Fein (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2009).

Figure 4.2: ***Abide and Hope It Be the Best*** **(Trinity Carol Roll, recto)**

(Photo © Trinity College, Cambridge)

The carol is often distinguished from other vernacular pieces in the collections by its layout on the page. *Glad and blithe mote ye be* in the Selden Carol Book, for example, is a vernacular translation of the *Letabundus*.[3] Instead of just a first verse falling underneath the musical notation, *Glad and blithe mote ye be* is fully notated. The layout thus again separates it from the layout of the carols in the Selden Carol Book. The consistent layout of the carols across three out of four of the carol books suggests that the scribes of these four manuscripts knew that they were copying a particular form which had a specific appearance on the manuscript page. This is likely to have also been a layout that a performer would have known and recognised, possibly bringing to mind a certain style, structure, or type of performance.[4] As such, even though there are few direct written descriptions of pieces as 'carols' and none specifically within these four polyphonic carol books, it is likely that the layout of the page made a piece recognisable as belonging to this specific poetic and musical form.[5] The design of the carol on the page appears intentional. There is, however, one manuscript which is an exception to all of this – the carols of the Egerton manuscript list the first three of their verses directly beneath the musical notation with any additional verses then underneath or to the side of the musical notation. Some carols also appear spread over two pages.[6] The layout of this manuscript is a discussion to which we shall return in more detail later in this chapter.

If we compare the layout of the carols in books of English origin to the layout of secular song in continental manuscripts, then we can see that much of the material does not share the same *mise-en-page* as the carol but that scribes also consistently copy certain forms in specific ways. For example, Machaut's *virelais* in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Français 1584 (BnF 1584) are written with the refrain, first and second verses directly under the notation.[7] As explored earlier in this study, the *virelai* is composed of a refrain and three stanzas, with the refrain repeated after each stanza.[8] Figure 4.3 shows an example of

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[3] Stevens notes that the *Letabundus* was a 'much loved' sequence and 'produced innumberable 'imitations', contrafacts in different languages and for different purposes'. See Stevens, *Words and Music,* p. 91. It could then be that *Glad and blithe mote ye be* takes the same fully-notated format as the Latin liturgical pieces, precisely because it is a translation of the Latin.

[4] This will be discussed in relation to fauxbourdon later in this chapter.

[5] Audelay has one of the only specific references to pieces as 'carols', see Mullally, *The Carole,* p. 116.

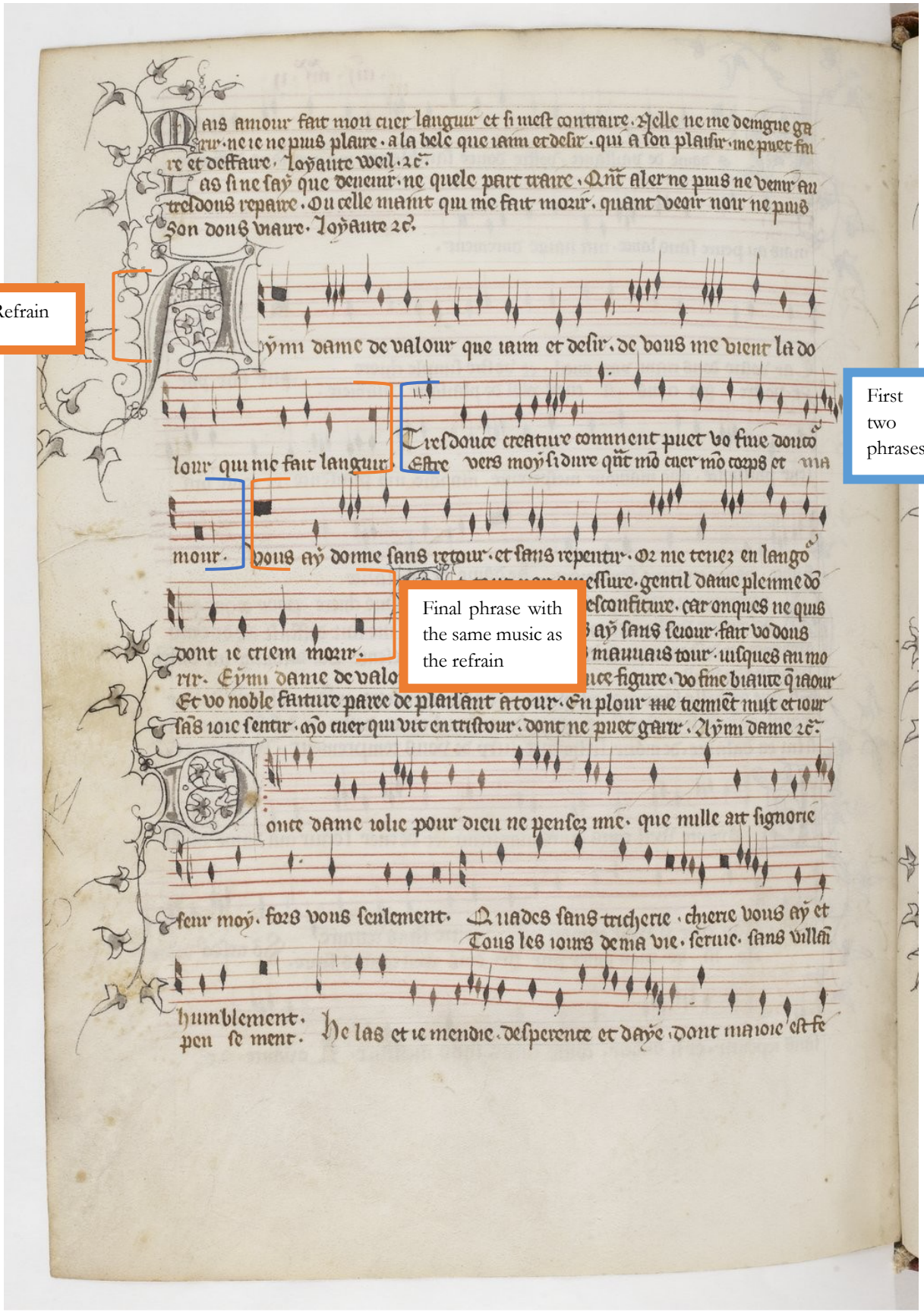
[6] The Ritson manuscript occasionally uses two pages or more for notating its burden and first verse. However, there is a lot of correction within the manuscript, which may offer a reason for why the pieces are not so neatly condensed as that of Selden or Trinity. Ritson's *mise-en-page* is still in line with that of Selden and Trinity than Egerton as it sets only the burden and first verse of the carols to music. Additional verses are then listed out below the musical notation.

[7] BnF 1584.

[8] Greene, *EEC,* p. lv.

one of Machaut's refrains, *Aymi! Dame de valour*.[9] On the manuscript page the scribe writes the melody of the refrain out with the words directly beneath the notation. The melody of the first two lines of the first verse is then written out once. Both the first and second lines are set underneath this notation. The refrain melody is then written out again with the words of the final part of the stanza beneath the notation. The remaining lyrics of the piece occur in the space underneath the notated section of the *virelai*, in a similar way to the carol.

[9] BnF 1584, fol. 482v.



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France. Département des Manuscrits. Français 1584

Figure 4.3: *Virelai* by Machaut in BnF 1584, fol. 482v (Source: gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliothèque national de France)

Although the layout here is similar to the carol when described – with the refrain and first verse notated and the rest of the verses appearing in the space underneath the musically-notated section, the appearance of the *virelai* is still different. The way the music and lyrics of the first part of the *virelai* are set out is in itself a memory device and a tool to help the performer understand the structure of the piece. The first part of the stanza which has a melody independent of the burden is written out once with the first and second lines of the stanza both appearing underneath this notation. This not only saves space, but it also visually signifies a repetition and a return to the melodic line just sung. The scribe makes clear the transition from the musical material of the first two lines of the stanza to the final section of the stanza by writing out the melodic line of this last phrase in full, even though it is the same as that of the refrain. Writing the lyrics of this final stanza section underneath that of the refrain, which shares its musical material, would have potentially caused visual confusion to the performer, suggesting perhaps that these lyrics were to be sung after the refrain. By writing the melody of the final stanza phrase out in full following the first two phrases, the scribe provides a logical structure for the performer to follow, whereby they know when to transition from each section of the piece. The carol, on the other hand, does not in general repeat the melodic material of the burden within the verse. Instead, the burden and stanza's musical material is separate from one another. Thus, the scribe has to write out the entire melody of the stanza for the carol. The *mise-en-page* for the *virelai* is consistent across the main Machaut manuscripts.[10] This consistency again suggests that scribes identified the layout of the music and lyrics of the piece when copying and linked certain structures with certain forms. The reader and performer may have also recognised the form of the piece merely from how the music and lyrics were set out on the page in front of them, and this would have given indication of how the piece was to be performed. The layout of the carol on the page and the fact that it is structured in this way consistently across three of the four polyphonic manuscripts suggests that the carol was known to scribes working on these collections as a specific form with its own identifiable structure on the page.

Music Books and their Functions: Book Design

[10] See BnF 1584, BnF 1585, and BnF 1586.

Having established that the carol had its own specific identity and recognisable form within the polyphonic carol books, we now turn to the function of the books themselves and their relationship to other musical books of the time. Two of the primary forms that music books took within the late medieval period are choirbooks and partbooks. Choirbooks were large books, written in a score layout and designed so that an ensemble could gather around the book and sing directly from it. Partbooks on the other hand contain the notation for a single voice. To perform a piece using partbooks each singer would have to have a book with their individual part. These parts would combine in performance to produce the entire polyphonic composition.[11] Partbooks were designed to be held or else to rest on music stands or tables.[12] Little is known, in comparison, about how the carol collections were used and if, in fact, they were intended for performance.

One of the main physical differences between the choirbooks and the carol collections is the size of the book. Many complete choirbooks of English origin from the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries are now lost to us. Figure 4.4 lists four of the English choirbooks of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries that are still available to us.[13] These books have been chosen due to their suggested English provenance, dating, and because they contain some of the core polyphonic repertoire of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Three of the four choirbooks measure over half a metre in height, with the largest of the six choirbooks, Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 667/760 (Caius Choirbook), standing at 715mm. The size of these books suggests that their music was intended to be sung by a bigger ensemble, with the music legible to all assembled musicians. This then raises questions regarding the size of the three carol codices and their intended use. Figure 4.5 shows the size of the carol collections. The smallest of the books, Ritson, has 40% of the total surface area of the smallest choirbook, London, British Library, Add. MS 58950 (Old Hall). The largest of the carol books (Egerton) is equivalent to just 18% of the total surface

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[11] Julie E. Cumming and Evelyn Tribble, 'Distributed Cognition, Improvisation and the Performing Arts in Early Modern Europe', in *Distributed Cognition in Medieval and Renaissance Culture* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019), pp. 205-228, (p. 220); Peter Beal, 'Partbook', in *A Dictionary of English Manuscript Terminology 1450-2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 285-286.

[12] Cumming and Tribble, 'Distributed Cognition', p. 220. Peter Beal describes how some partbooks were designed 'so that any opening had four separate parts, each facing a different direction towards, so that four or more singers or instrumentalists could sit or stand around it and use it at the same time'. See Beal, 'Partbook', pp. 285-286.

[13] These manuscripts have been chosen because of their suggested English provenance and because they are the choirbooks closest in age to the carol books, originating from 1400-1550. For the purposes of this study dating ranges for the choirbooks have been kept within fifty years. Choirbook fragments and virtual reconstructions of choirbooks from fragments have been omitted from this study.

area of the largest choirbook (Caius). The smaller size of the carol collections in comparison to that of the choirbooks therefore suggest that Egerton, Selden, and Ritson were designed with smaller choral forces in mind or for a different use.

Manuscript	Page Size (mm)	Surface Area (mm²)	Date
Old Hall Manuscript	416 x 276	114,816	1410-1420
Eton Choirbook	595 x 425	252,875	1500-1504
Lambeth Choirbook[14]	665-8 x 465-70	313,960	1520-1530
Caius Choirbook	715 x 480	343,200	1520-1530

Figure 4.4: Size, surface area, and dating of four choirbooks

Manuscript	Size (mm)	Surface Area	Dating
Trinity	2005 x 180	360,900	1415-1417
Selden	253 x 193	48,829	1425-1450
Egerton	292 x 213	62,196	1425-1450
Ritson	258 x 180	46,440	1440-1460

Figure 4.5: Size, surface area, and dating of four carol collections

The size of the choirbook can be attributed to the expansion of polyphony in the late-fifteenth century leading into the early-sixteenth century, with new polyphonic pieces produced which required the entire choir's participation.[15] As such, books needed to be big enough for each singer in these larger ensembles to be able to read and perform the music.[16] This would also explain why the two smallest choirbooks in Figure 4.4, the Eton Choirbook and Old Hall, have the earliest dating, originating in the first half of the fifteenth century. Larger books were also needed for pieces with a greater number of parts. Frederick

[14] London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 1, (Lambeth).
[15] Harrison notes that in the early medieval period until the fourteenth century there was greater focus on solo voices. With the later medieval period there came 'the development of forms of polyphony in which the whole choir took part'. This change was championed by colleges, collegiate churches, and the aristocratic household chapels. See Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, p. 156.
[16] Frederick Sternfield writes that 'the term 'choirbook' itself implies a book of a size large enough for a dozen or so singers to look on to, while gathered in front of a lectern that supported it'. See Frederick W. Sternfield, *Music from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance* (London: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1973), p. 302.

Sternfield describes, for example, how the Eton Choirbook has twenty-two compositions for four parts, fifty-two for five, thirteen for six, three for seven, and one each for eight, nine, and thirteen parts. This, Sternfield argues, emphasises the 'English love of full sonority by writing consonant counterpoint for large numbers of parts, encompassing a full choral range from bass to boy soprano'.[17] In comparison, carols are often printed with two to three parts (three if a three-voice burden is included). A large amount of space is therefore not needed to accommodate a greater number of individual vocal lines. The type of writing prioritised by the scribe may also affect the size of the manuscript itself. The choirbooks have a larger corpus of Latin liturgical music than the four carol manuscripts. Most settings of Latin song are fully-notated with all the text written directly underneath the music. In comparison, the burden and first verse of the carols generally appear directly underneath the notation, with the rest of the verses written in available space underneath the staves. The appearance of the carol on the page is therefore relatively condensed in comparison to Latin pieces. This suggests that this disparity in size between choirbooks and carol codices is not solely due to the size of the performing ensembles but may also have something to do with the function and use of the books themselves.

Smaller chansonniers can perhaps be better compared to the carol books in terms of size and purpose. These books are even smaller than the carol collections, with Leuven, Alamire Foundation, MS 1 (Leuven Chansonnier) being only 120mm x 85mm in size. Like the carol collections, it contains both liturgical and secular material with one Latin-texted motet and forty-nine French secular pieces.[18] The Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 517 (Dijon Chansonnier) is 175mm x 128mm and contains a mixture of formes-fixes, chansons, and free form pieces.[19] Connecticut, Yale University, Beinecke Library, MS 91 (Mellon Chansonnier) is slightly bigger at 192 x 135mm and contains two motets, and fifty-five secular pieces (forty-seven French, four Italian, three English, and one Spanish).[20] Both the carol books and the chansonniers, which both have high numbers of vernacular pieces are therefore made to a smaller size. Alden remarks that the small size of the Loire Valley Chansonniers make them 'unlikely communal

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[17] Sternfield, *Music from the Middle Ages*, p. 303.
[18] Leuven Chansonnier; see 'B-AF MS 1 (Leuven Chansonnier), *DIAMM*, <https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/4735/#/> [Accessed: 20th March 2024].
[19] Dijon Chansonnier; see 'F-Dm MS 517 (Dijon Chansonnier)', *DIAMM*, <https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/1705/#/> [Accessed: 20th March 2024].
[20] Mellon Chansonnier; see 'US-NHub 91 (Mellon Chansonnier), *DIAMM*, <https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/1085/#/> [Accessed: 20th March 2024].

performance manuscripts' as only two or three performers could read from the books at any one time.[21] The carol books are slightly bigger than these chansonniers and therefore may have enabled a performing ensemble of perhaps three to five singers maximum. However, this would still present some difficulty, particularly considering *mis-en-page*, the cramped nature of some of the carol text, and the need to look back and forth from music to non-notated verses in the space below the initial musical setting. With this in mind and the number of parts presented on the page in the carol books, it seems likely that these books were either designed for a small ensemble and relied a lot on the recall of singers to prevent mistakes or, like the chansonniers, the books were intended for individual use, as a 'singular object'.[22]

Choirbooks were meant to be performed from, and their large size is testament to this – they were constructed for performance, particularly within a liturgical setting. The books were made not just with practicality in mind but also so that they had a physical presence within the liturgical space. The extensive decoration in manuscripts like the Eton Choirbook demonstrates the care and attention given to the design of the books and of the page. However, these books would be difficult to move, particularly if travelling within a national or international context. The carol books due to their small size appear to be better suited to movement, whether this is in procession or as a household travelled from place to place. The repertoire of the carol books could also be considered more of a 'travelling repertoire', a collection of songs that were suitable to be sung in a variety of different contexts and which required a smaller ensemble for performance. This shapes the carol books as more personal in their use, potentially designed more with a small household chapel in mind or a specific patron, rather than a particular performance space. The design of the carol books thus suggest a focus on person rather than place.

Although partbooks were in use from as early as the first half of the fifteenth century, more literature exists on the use of partbooks in the early modern period and the years following than on their function within the late medieval period. This is possibly because very few partbooks survive from this

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[21] Jane Alden, 'Forms of Intimacy': Miniaturisation and Sociability in the Fifteenth-Century Chansonnier', *The Media of Secular Music in the Medieval and Early Modern Period (1100-1650)*, ed. by Vincenzo Borghetti and Alexandros Maria Hatzikiriakos (New York: Routledge, 2024), pp. 116-138, p. 118.
[22] Alden, 'Forms of Intimacy', p. 118.

early in the fifteenth century – most of the surviving corpus stems from the 1500s and 1600s.[23] More partbooks are available to us than choirbooks or carol collections. This is potentially because a different book had to be produced for each vocal part: a greater number of books coming into existence thus increases the chances of one or more of the books surviving across the centuries. Figure 4.6 shows the sizes and dates of some of the main partbook collections, primarily from the sixteenth century. The repertoire of these partbooks is, like the carol books, both secular and liturgical. For example, London, National Archives, MS SP I/246 contains anonymous secular pieces such as *Wavering and wandering are women's witts* alongside liturgical pieces like *Benedicamus domino* by Robert Johnson.[24] These partbooks have been selected based on their English provenance and because they provide a good overview of the design of the English partbook corpus from 1500 to 1550, the period where partbooks seem to have achieved greatest popularity within musical circles.[25]

Manuscript	**Page Size (mm)**	**Surface Area (mm^2)**	**Dating**
London, British Library, Add. MS 34191	238 x 175	41,650	1500-1525
Cambridge, St John's College, MS 234 (K.31)	320 x 233	74,560	1523-1525
Cambridge, University Library, Dd.13.27	323 x 228	73,644	1523-1525

[23] Susan Rankin speculates that The Shrewsbury Manuscript is a partbook from the fifteenth century. This has previously also been argued by Harrison and Bukofzer – see Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, p. 406 and Manfred F. Bukofzer, 'English Church Music of the Fifteenth Century', in *New Oxford History of Music*, ed. by Dom A. Hughes and Gerald Abraham, 10 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), III, pp. 165-213. Rankin suggests that the Shrewsbury manuscript takes the part book form 'considerably earlier' than when partbooks came into general use. She suggests that this is due to its function within plays and procession. This book may therefore be one of the earliest examples of a partbook. See Susan Rankin, 'Shrewsbury School, Manuscript VI: A Medieval Part Book?', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 102 (1975), 129-144, <https://doi.org/10/1093/jrma/102.1.129> [Accessed: 27th December 2022], (p. 133). Fragments of a partbook are also found in 'Envelope C' in Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 314. These fragments are, however, badly damaged. See 'CambriU Pembr. 314', in *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550*, 5 vols, ed. by Charles Hamm (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1979), I , pp. 135-136.

[24] This manuscript's inventory can be found on 'GB-na SP I/246', *Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music* <https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/464/#/inventory> [Accessed: 30th August 2023].

[25] The Shrewsbury partbook has been omitted from this study because it is a very early example of a partbook and falls outside of the general accepted date range in which partbooks were coming into use. See Rankin, 'Shrewsbury School', p. 133. All partbook references have been sourced from *DIAMM*, where more extensive details of each book can be found. Note that where the size of the leaves varies within a partbook, the largest leaf measurements have been used to calculate the maximum surface area. For the purposes of this study and to examine general size trends over the span of 50 years in England, partbooks that were copied in England have been selected and dating ranges for partbooks have been kept within fifty years. *DIAMM* offers more specific datings of each book. Partbooks dating from after 1550 have been excluded from this study. In cases where there are a set of partbooks available I have chosen one partbook for measurements and dating, as partbooks which are part of a set tend to have similar measurements.

London, British Library, Harley MS 1709	264 x 190	50,160	1525-1530
London, British Library, Royal Appendix 45	140 x 194	27,160	c.1530-1533
Cambridge, Peterhouse, Perne Library, MS 40 [Triplex]	286 x 198	56,628	1539-1541
London, The National Archives, MS SP I/246	151-8 x 203-12	33,496	1540-1550
London, British Library, Royal Appendix 74	187 x 279	52,173	1547-1548
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Mus. Sch. e. 420	178 x 270	48,060	1549-1552
London, British Library, Add. MS 32377	144 x 190	27,360	1585-1590

Figure 4.6: Size, surface area, and dating of English partbooks from 1500 to 1550

Susan Rankin identifies Shrewsbury, Shrewsbury School, MS VI (Shrewsbury) as an early fifteenth-century example of a partbook in agreement with Harrison and Bukofzer.[26] This places the manuscript in a similar time period to the earliest musically-notated carol manuscripts. Shrewsbury measures 217mm x 144mm, placing it as one of the smaller part books by surface area (31,248mm^2). In fact, the partbook has an even smaller surface area to any of the carol collections. In comparison to choirbooks, the smaller size of the partbooks suggest several things about performance practices. It may be that partbooks enabled a more mobile performance as they were able to be carried by each performer. They therefore could have been used in performances requiring movement more easily than a large choirbook. In addition, the books could have been useful in rehearsal situations where there was a focus on an individual part, or in a performance where singers were based in different areas of a space. Individual books with monophonic melodies may have also been cheaper to produce than a large choirbook. Partbooks would have not been required to have the same visual presence as the choirbook, particularly if used whilst performers were moving. The partbooks are consequently more similar to the carol collections and chansonniers than the choirbooks in terms of size. All the choirbooks in Figure 4.4 have a surface area exceeding 100,000mm^2, with an average surface area of 256,213mm^2. In comparison, the three carol codices have an average surface area size of

[26] Rankin, 'Shrewsbury Manuscript', p. 133; Bukofzer, 'English Church Music' p. 183; Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, p. 406.

52,488mm^2 and the partbooks of Figure 4.6 an average surface area of 48,489mm^2.[27] The layout of the carol on the page on the other hand, comprising polyphonic lines rather than monophonic ones, has more in common with the choirbook than the partbook. In view of the comparisons between carol books and other music books of the time, the carol books may therefore be designed both with portability and use by a smaller ensemble or even an individual in mind. The inclusion of all vocal parts on the page instead of a single melodic line also suggests a context in which the examination or reading of the piece as a whole on the page remained important.

Performance, Provenance and Use: The Trinity Carol Roll

The deductions made thus far from the physical characteristics of the carol collections in comparison to other late medieval musical books point towards a use by smaller ensembles, potentially the private chapels of noble or ecclesiastical households. A closer look at the provenances of each of these manuscripts can also inform our understanding of their use and thus of their relationship to performance.

The earliest of the four polyphonic carol collections, Trinity, has been argued to have Norfolk origins based on the dialect of the manuscript.[28] It is certainly the work of a highly-trained musician. The manuscript is neatly copied with use of rubric to highlight certain words and notes. The staves are red rastrum-ruled and the initials at the start of verses are marked out in alternating blue and red. This is a high-quality manuscript. Its roll form, however, like the small size of the three other polyphonic carol codices, opens up the possibility that this manuscript was designed with travel in mind, perhaps even internationally. If this was the case then the manuscript most likely travelled with a musician of Norfolk origins. If we turn to the repertoire of the Roll then this could shed light on the context or environment for which the Roll was made. The Trinity repertoire is primarily concerned with Christmas, with eight of the thirteen carols referencing events during the Christmas season, as shown by Figure 4.7.

Name	**Subject**

[27] The Trinity Carol Roll has been excluded from the average surface area taken from the carol collections. This is because its form is significantly different – it is a roll rather than a codex and thus has a much larger surface area, as shown in Figure 4.5.
[28] Deeming, 'The Sources and Origin', p. 31.

The holy ghost is to thee sent	Marian – Annunciation
To thee now Christs dear darling	St John the Apostle (Feast Day: 27th December)
In Bethlehem that fair city	Christmas
This babe to us that now is born	Christmas
There is no rose of such virtue	Marian
As I lay upon a night	Annunciation
Our king went forth	The Battle of Agincourt
Of this martyr make we mend	St Stephen's Day
In Bethlehem this bird of life	Christmas
Now God almighty down hath sent	Christmas
A principle point of charity	Christmas
Abide I hope it be the best	Moral counsel
A babe is born of high nature	Christmas

Figure 4.7: Subjects of carols in the Trinity Carol Roll

The Trinity Carol Roll thus seems designed for the Christmas season. The presence of *Our king went forth* suggests a specific function or use relating to events concerning Henry V. This carol celebrates the victory of Henry V at the Battle of Agincourt. Deeming suggests that the song was possibly composed for Henry V's triumphant return to London in 1415.[29] Greene rejects this stating that 'there is no reason to believe that this carol was actually sung on that occasion', although he does also note that 'Deo gratias' was displayed on a conduit tower near St Paul's during the celebrations.[30] The inclusion of *Our king went forth* in this manuscript raises questions over musical institutions which may have had reason to commemorate this victory even after the celebrations had concluded. The majority of Trinity's repertoire is related to

[29] Deeming also notes that this is the only poem in carol form to celebrate the Agincourt campaign. The story features in other texts of the time, namely *The Battle of Agincourt I* recorded in London, British Library, Cotton MS Cleopatra C iv, fol. 24r (Cleopatra) and in Lydgate's *The Battle of Agincourt II*, found in London, British Library, Harley MS 565. Deeming also states that it is possible that the Cleopatra scribe and Lydgate took inspiration from the carol. See Helen Deeming, 'The Sources and Origin', pp. 24-30.
[30] Greene, *EEC*, pp. 257-258.

Christmas. *Our king went forth* and *Abide I hope it be the best* are the notable exceptions. Our king went forth also sits at the very heart of the manuscript. This seems to point towards a context that placed considerable importance on the Agincourt victory, a context which would appreciate the commemoration of this victory alongside major festive celebrations.

A musical institution that may be a possible home for this manuscript considering its repertoire, the skills needed to produce the manuscript, and the importance of the Agincourt victory, is the Chapel Royal. Henry V's Chapel Royal comprised some of the most skilled composers and musicians of the day.[31] The King had a substantial interest in music and was also known to supplement celebrations or victories with additional musical offerings. For example, in 1417 he requested that the 'ornaments, jewels, books, vessels, and other gear of the Chapel' be taken to Southampton in preparation for the entire Chapel Royal travelling to France for the Easter Sunday celebrations. When Rouen surrendered in 1419, Henry also proceeded to the Cathedral, where he was met by his Chapel who processed before him singing *Quis est magnus*.[32] At the time of the Agincourt victory the Dean of the Chapel Royal was Edmund Lacy (d.1455**)**. Lacy was a benefactor to several musicians including Nicholas Sturgeon (d.1454), a musician from South West England who was also a member of the Chapel Royal in 1415 and Richard Blythe, a Chapel Royal clerk who Lacy appointed to a Hereford prebend in 1417.[33] Other recipients of Lacy's patronage in his later years included John Trouluffe and Richard Smert, composers associated with the carol in the Ritson manuscript.[34] Lacy's tenure as Dean of the Chapel Royal lasted from 1414 to 1417. During this time he

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[31] Henry V paid special attention to the Chapel Royal and 'too special measures for the efficiency of choral services'. Rewards given to musicians for their service include a grant of land gives to John Hunt in 1414 and substantial benefices granted to John Prentys, Stephen Paynton, John Cook, and Thomas Gyles. William H. Grattan Flood, 'The Beginnings of the Chapel Royal: An Unwritten Page of English Musical History', *Music & Letters*, 5.1, (1924), 85-90, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/726265> [Accessed: 20th March 2024], (p. 87).

[32] Flood, 'The Beginnings', pp. 87-88.

[33] Brian Trowell and Andrew Wathey, 'John Benet's 'Lux Fulgebit ex Anglia – O Pater Pietatis – Salve Thoma', *St Thomas Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford: Essays in his Honour*, ed. by Meryl Jancey (Hereford: Friends of the Hereford Cathedral Publications Committee for the Dean and Chapter, 1982), pp. 159-180, (p. 169).

[34] Among Lacy's beneficiaries were Nicholas Sturgeon, John Trouluffe, Richard Smert, and a John Dunstaple. Although it cannot be said for certain that the John Dunstaple who received a canonry from Lacy at Hereford was John Dunstaple the composer, it would certainly fit within Lacy's interests to support a musician like Dunstable. See Nicholas Orme, 'Lacy, Edmund', ODNB (2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/15846> [Accessed: 5th January 2022]. Bent, 'Dunstaple'.

accompanied the King to Agincourt along with the Chapel Royal.[35] He was close to Henry V and is known to have delayed his first visit to the diocese of Exeter in 1420 due to the King's poor health.[36] Lacy was also the executor of the King's will in 1422, which demonstrates continued contact with the royal household. Lacy was therefore a central figure in royal circles from the time of the Battle of Agincourt to Henry V's death. Lacy's position as Dean of the Chapel Royal at the time of the Battle of Agincourt, his close relationship to Henry V, and his demonstrated interest in the carol form through his patronage of carol composers and connections with other carol collections, could therefore provide a context for the commissioning of the Roll from a musician within the Chapel Royal for use in the royal household, a musician who most likely had Norfolk origins based on the dialectal evidence.[37]

The inclusion of *Our king went forth* in the Trinity Carol Roll would celebrate a battle at which both Lacy and Henry V were physically present. This carol also occurs in the Selden manuscript. A transcription of both the Trinity and Selden versions of the piece are shown in Figure 4.8.

Selden Carol Book, fol. 17v	**Trinity Carol Roll, recto**
Deo gracias anglia Redde p*ro* victoria Owre ky*n*ge went forth to norma*n*dy *Wi*t*h* grace *and* myȝt of chyvalry Ther god for hy*m* wrouȝt m*er*velusly Wher fore Englonde may calle *and* crye	Deo gracias anglia Redde p*ro* victoria Our king went forth to Norma*n*dy Wyth g*ra*ce *and* myth of chyualry Þ*er* god for hy*m* wrouth meruelowsly Qwerfore y*n*glo*n*d may cal *and* cry

[35] Henry V was a patron of music and a composer himself. Pieces by the King occur in the Old Hall manuscript and are signed 'Roy Henry'. Henry also increased the size of the Royal Chapel only weeks after he was crowned. Thus, music was at the heart of court life and an extensive chapel accompanied Henry on his journeys across England and on the Continent. See Margaret Bent, 'The Old Hall Manuscript', *Early Music*, 2.1 (1974), 2-14, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3125876> [Accessed: 7th March 2024]; Alison K. McHardy, 'Religion, Court Culture and Propaganda: The Chapel Royal in the Reign of Henry V' in *Henry V: New Interpretations*, ed. by Gwilym Dodd (York: York Medieval Press, 2013), pp. 131-156; Deborah Fisher, *Henry V: A History of His Most Important Places and Events* (Yorkshire: Pen & Sword Books, 2022), p. 134; Alexandra Buckle, 'An English Composer in Aristocratic Service: Robert Chirbury, c.1380-1454', *Plainsong & Medieval Music*, 15.2 (2006), 109-122, DOI: 10.1017S0961137106000350 [Accessed: 24th September 2023], (p.114). For a discussion of the identity of 'Roy Henry' see Malcolm Vale, *Henry V,* p. 212. E. Stanley Roper also notes that Henry V ordered the chapel choir to sing the psalm 'In Exitu Israel' alongside other anthems after the Battle of Agincourt – E. Stanley Roper, 'Music at the English Chapels Royal c.1135, Present Day', *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 54th Session (1927-1928), 19-33, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/765557> [Accessed: 24th September 2023], (p. 21).

[36] Deeming, 'The Sources', p. 31.

[37] Linguistic features such as the use of 'xal' instead of shall and 'Qw' as a substitute for 'wh' in words such as 'wherefore' strongly suggest a Norfolk origin, when placed into the mapping function of the online *Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (eLALME). The linguistic profiles of manuscripts associated with Norfolk are found under the 'Linguistic Profiles – Norfolk', *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieaeval English* (University of Edinburgh), <http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/elalme/elalme_frames.html> [Accessed: 9th December 2022].

Deo gracias Redde pro victoria He sette a sege þe sothe for to say To harflu tovne w*ith* ryal aray Þ*a*t tovne he wan *and* made affray Þ*a*t fraunce shal rywe tyl domesday Deo gracias b. Than for soth þat kny3t comely In Agincourt feld he fau3t manly Thorw grace of god most my3ty He had bothe þe felde *and* þe victory Deo gracias Ther dukys *and* erlys lorde *and* barone Were take *and* slayne *and* þ*a*t wel sone And su*m*me were ladde in to lundone W*ith* ioye and merthe *and* grete renone Deo gracias How gracious god he saue oure kynge His peple *and* alle his wel wyllynge 3ef hym gode lyfe *and* gode endynge Þat we w*ith* merth mowe sauely synge Deo gracias a.Than went oure kynge w*ith* alle his oste Thorwe fra*m*nce for alle þe frenshe boste He spared no drede of left ne most Tyl he come to agincourt coste Deo gracias	Deo gra*cia*s anglia Redde p*ro* victoria He set a sege for sothe to say To harflu toun*e* wyth ryal a ray Þat toune he wan and made a fray Þat frau*n*se xal rewe tyl domysday D*e*o gra*cia*s Than went hym forth owr kyng comely In achyncourt feld he fau*y*th manly Thorw grace of god most meruelowsly He had bothe feld and vyctory D*e*o gra*cia*s Ther lordys erlys and baroun*e* Wer*e* slayn and takyn *and* þ*a*t ful soun And su*m*me were browth i*n* to londoun*e* Wyth ioye *and* blyss and greth renoun*e* D*eo* gr*acias* Almythy god he kepe our kyng Hys pepyle i*n* al hys weel welyng And geue hem grace withouty*n* endy*ng* Þa*t* may we calle *and* sauely syng D*e*o gra*cia*s

Figure 4.8: Transcription of *Our king went forth*

There is slight correction in the Selden version of *Our king went forth*, with the scribe putting a small rubricated 'a' next to what, at first, appears to be the final verse. A small rubric 'b' is also positioned next to the second verse. This means that what appears to be the last verse of *Our king went forth* in Selden is actually intended to be performed as the second verse, with the second verse then becoming the third. However, the additional verse marked 'a' in Selden is actually omitted entirely from the Trinity version of the carol. This suggests an issue with the exemplar, where the additional verse has possibly been omitted

resulting in the copying of the carol without the verse. The scribe in Selden may then have remembered a performance of the carol including this additional verse and written it at the end of the carol, placing a rubricated letter next to the verse to indicate where it should occur within the structure of the carol. However, enough space is left on the leaf in Selden for this additional verse. It does not appear to have been added as an afterthought or as something suddenly remembered. The order of the verses in the exemplar may have been wrong. Such a mistake in an exemplar could suggest a problem with the exemplar scribe's memory in relation to the carol, indicating that they either misremembered the order of the verses or else accidentally omitted a verse impacting the transmission of the carol when it came to be copied by another scribe. It is difficult to know with certainty what occurred within the exemplar, but this nevertheless suggests that the exemplar containing *Our king went forth* was copied in haste or was copied directly from performance or memory of a performance, leading to mistakes which impacted future copies of the carol.

In relation to Trinity's other repertoire, the Roll also contains a carol of moral counsel, *Abide I hope hit be the best*, and *To thee now,* a carol which appeals to the 'Prince of Peace', St. John the Apostle. [38] Despite Fallows's suggestion that the manuscript stems from a 'Suffolk collegiate, well away from the royal politics that seem to be portrayed in Egerton', a carol appealing to a Prince of Peace alongside a carol warning of hasty action and a carol commemorating Agincourt, suggests a political connection or context for performance.[39] Fallows has previously argued that another carol focusing on a Prince of Peace, *Princeps pacis,* was composed specifically for performance in front of Henry V. He gives two potential occasions for performance: the signing of the Treaty of Troyes in May 1420 or the Christmas of 1420, which Henry V spent in Paris.[40] Thus this provides precedent for carols being performed within the royal household and being composed specifically with Henry V in mind. *To thee now* is a carol dedicated to St John the Apostle. This carol is also found in OxEng, Balliol, London, British Library, MS Harley 4294 (Harley 4294), and two versions in the Ritson manuscript.[41] Henry V had a special devotion to John of Bridlington, to whom he attributed his victory at Agincourt. This carol to John the Apostle may therefore be intended to also bring to mind John of Bridlington, reflecting this devotion and working with *Our king went forth* to further

[38] Trinity. A complete transcription of this carol can be found in Greene, *EEC*, pp. 66-67.
[39] Fallows, *Henry V*, p. 150.
[40] Fallows, *Henry V*, p. 99.
[41] Ritson, fols. 48v-49r; Ritson fols. 37v-38r.

emphasise the victory at Agincourt. As such, this may further associate Trinity with a post-Agincourt context within royal circles. This fits with Fallows's suggestion that *Our king went forth* was composed between the years of 1415-1417, not long after Agincourt. The carol makes no mention of the second French campaign (1417-1421) and also mentions the celebrations in London as if it were a past event.[42] If the manuscript was copied by a scribe who was present at Agincourt or at the London celebrations, then it was most likely copied shortly after these events. It is also worth noting that motets celebrating Agincourt also appear in the Old Hall manuscript which is dated to a very similar time period (1410-1420) and has close connections to the Chapel Royal and Henry V. Thus, composers in the Chapel Royal were actively promoting musical material focused on Henry V's victory.[43] Considering the context of this manuscript and the specifics of its repertoire, I would therefore date Trinity to between 1415 and 1417. This is in general agreement with Fallows and Deeming.[44] This dating also places the manuscript firmly within the tenure of Edmund Lacy as Dean of the Chapel Royal. Acknowledging the Bishop's connection to the carol genre, the Chapel Royal's involvement with Agincourt-related song, and the Christmas material featured in Trinity, I would also go so far as to suggest that the manuscript was produced within the Chapel Royal as a celebration of both the King's achievements and the Christmas season.

Performance, Provenance and Use: Selden Carol Book

The Selden Carol Book, which also features *Our king went forth,* has been argued to originate from Worcester, with Greene assuming this provenance based on the book having possibly passed into Bishop John Alcock's (c.1430-1500) hands at some point. He also suggests this connection with Alcock based on an unclear drawing of a cockerel on fol. 23r, arguing that it relates to Alcock's insignia.[45] However, I have recently

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[42] Fallows, *Henry V*, p. 150.
[43] Anne Curry notes that 'Henry's constant emphasis on divine assistance at Agincourt is also reflected by various carols and motets written for his chapel which allude to the victory'. Curry also states that several of these Agincourt-influenced songs are found in the Old Hall manuscript, which is closely tied to Henry V and his household chapel. See Anne Curry, *Agincourt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 67. Malcolm Graham Malcolm Graham Allan Vale states that Old Hall contains 'motets closely associated with some of the titles of music performed at the celebrations of the Agincourt victory in 1415'. See Vale, *Henry V,* p. 212. Also see Flood, 'The English Chapel Royal', p. 564.
[44] See Fallows, Henry V, pp. 149-153 and Deeming, 'The Sources and Origin', pp. 23-34.
[45] Greene, *EEC*, p.314.

suggested that an alternative provenance for this manuscript may be Hereford. This is primarily based on the inclusion of a rare antiphon in praise of Thomas of Lancaster (c.1278-1322), *Miles Christi gloriose,* and a potential link to the composer John Dunstable.[46] The fourteenth-century London, British Library, Royal MS 12 C XII (Royal), a manuscript from a Hereford Franciscan friary, also holds an Office for Thomas on Lancaster on its first folio. Christopher Page has noted that this rhymed office in Royal seems to be modelled on sections from another manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, University College, MS 78a (Univ), a missal according to the Use of Hereford.[47] Figure 4.9 shows the sections compared by Page:

Univ, fol. 188r	**Royal, fol. 1v**
O miranda sanctitas per quam [Christi] pietas sic mundo profecit; nam mutus et cecitas, gutta, claudus, surditas et gibbus defecit.	O iam Christi pietas atque Thome caritas palam elucessit. Heu! nunc languet equitas viget et impietas, veritas vilessit.

Figure 4.9: Comparison between sections from Univ and from Royal

The metre and rhyme scheme of the Univ and Royal sequences are the same, and a 'Christi pietas' clause is used in both pieces. The stanza from Univ is part of the sequence *Magne lucem caritatis*, which is dedicated to Thomas of Hereford. Another poem from Royal, *Summum regem honoremus*, is also identified by Page as a contrafactum of a sequence in Univ, *Summi regis in honore*. The Univ *Summi regis in honore* sequence has three versions: one in praise of Thomas of Hereford, one in praise of the Virgin, and one in praise of St Ethelbert.[48] Page thus concludes that when anyone familiar with the Use of Hereford performed the Office dedicated to Lancaster in Royal, their mind would be drawn to comparisons with these three figures, particularly Ethelbert and Thomas of Hereford.[49] The cathedral at Hereford is dedicated to both St

[46] Selden, fols. 8v-9r.
[47] Oxford, University College, MS 78a (Univ). Christopher Page, 'The Rhymed Office for St Thomas of Lancaster: Poetry, Politics and Liturgy in Fourteenth-Century England', *Leeds Studies in English* 14 (1983), 134-151, <http://digital.library.leeds.ac.uk/id/eprint/182> [Accessed: 25th July 2023].
[48] Page, 'The Rhymed Office', pp. 137-138.
[49] Page, 'The Rhymed Office', pp. 137-138.

Ethelbert and the Virgin and, as such, the Office of Thomas of Lancaster with its sequence evoking both of these holy figures, would have been appropriate for this setting. This paints a picture of Hereford as a place with a pre-existing devotion to Thomas of Lancaster.

It is noteworthy that the Royal manuscript also contains some of the same material as another manuscript: London, British Library, MS Add. 46919. The record for this manuscript states that William Herebert (c.1270-1333), a Franciscan friar active in Hereford from the fourteenth century, made notes in the Royal manuscript.[50] This proves contact between the manuscript containing the Office for Thomas of Lancaster and a Franciscan friar with Hereford connections, showing that the Hereford Franciscans were aware of the Office for Thomas of Lancaster a century earlier than the copying of the Selden Carol Book.[51] Thus, it is not out of the question that they may have also been responsible for texts encouraging the cult of Thomas of Lancaster in the Hereford community and may have had a role in the later copying of the *Miles Christi gloriose* antiphon in the Selden Carol Book. Although it is difficult to say with certainty that the Selden Carol Book was connected to the Hereford Franciscans, the presence of *Miles Christi gloriose*, the Franciscans known interest in the carol form, and the known connection between the Hereford Franciscans and other manuscripts featuring devotional material to Thomas of Lancaster, may suggest a link between the Franciscans and the polyphonic life of carols in the fifteenth century. At the very least, what these connections demonstrate is that Hereford would have been a suitable setting for the composition and performance of the *Miles Christi gloriose* antiphon. Moreover, the relationship between the Royal and Univ sequences demonstrates the Franciscans' interests in adapting texts to suit new performance contexts and purposes, as discussed in Chapter I.

The Selden manuscript's connection to Hereford is also based on potential links to Lacy, who was elevated to the position of Bishop of Hereford by Henry V in 1417.[52] There is evidence that Lacy was

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[50] 'Detailed Record for Additional 46919', *Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts*, (British Library Board, 2023), <https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=19356> [Accessed: 30th September 2023].

[51] The Selden Carol Book was copied in the mid-fifteenth century. The dating will be discussed in more detail in Chapter IV, pp. 134-139.

[52] For a detailed argument regarding the Selden Carol Book's connection to Hereford and Bishop Edmund Lacy see Micah A. Mackay, 'Re-evaluating the History and Provenance of a Fifteenth-Century Carol Book, Oxford, Bodleian Library, S Arch. Selden B.26 Part I', *Journal of the English Book Society*, 25 (2022), 111-138. Henry V was also present at the ceremony which confirmed Lacy as Bishop of Hereford. See Richard Leighton Greene, 'John Dunstable: A Quincentenary Supplement', *The Musical Quarterly,* 40.3 (1954), 360-363, <https://doi.org/10.1093/mq/XL.3.360> [Accessed: 24th September 2023], (p. 362).

musically active whilst at Hereford – he owned a pair of organs at Whitbourne whilst Bishop of the Diocese.[53] Lacy's time at Hereford was, however, short-lived, as he was made Bishop of the wealthier Exeter diocese just three years later in 1420. During his tenure at Exeter he was also major proponent of music-making; the vicars-choral and at least five West country musicians benefitted from his patronage.[54] Furthermore, Lacy is known to have had a private chapel which was 'served by chaplains and musicians of his own household'.[55] The cantor of this household chapel was John Pyttes whose burial monument inscription describes him as 'presulis Edmundi Lacy cantor que capelle' [cantor of the chapel of Bishop Edmund Lacy].[56] Lacy's devotion to music and the patronage of musicians is therefore well-established.[57]

Whilst at Hereford, Lacy encouraged dedication to Henry V within his diocese. Lacy's Hereford Register notes, for example, that the Bishop issued mandates for 'prayers and processions with a special collect for the success of the King and his army across the seas'.[58] Lacy therefore was concerned with encouraging the public to celebrate Henry V's achievements and to support his plans abroad. This could provide further reason for the presence of the *Our king went forth* in both the Trinity and Selden manuscripts. Despite Lacy's short tenure at Hereford, his influence on the diocese did not end with his move to Exeter. In fact, Lacy's Office for St Raphael was used at Hereford during Lacy's later years.[59] Lacy also gifted one of his Hereford successors, Thomas Spofford, vestments, copes of red velvet, orphreys of gold and red clothes, and coverings and frontlets of cloth for the Hereford Cathedral altars.[60] In addition, he gifted the organs at Whitbourne to Spofford in 1440, almost twenty years after he had left the diocese.[61] A 1454 letter from William Boothe, Archbishop of York, states that Lacy had sent vestments for high mass, three copes of red velvet, three albs, and twenty pounds to support the vicars choral. York also adopted the Office for St Raphael.[62] Lacy continued to support musicians and musical pursuits across the country up until his

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[53] *Registrum Thome Spofford Episcopi Herefordensis*, *A.D. MCCCCXXII-MCCCCXLVIII*, ed. by Thomas Arthur Bannister (London: Canterbury and York Society, 1919), p. 234.
[54] Orme, *The Early Musicians*, p. 400.
[55] Orme, *The Early Musicians*, p. 400.
[56] Orme, *The Early Musicians*, p. 401.
[57] Orme writes that 'music was evidently one of Lacy's major interests'. See Orme, *The Early Musicians*, p. 399.
[58] *The Register of Edmund Lacy, Bishop of Hereford (A.D. 1417-1420)*, trans. by Joseph H. Parry and ed. by Arthur T. Bannister (Hereford: Cantilupe Society, 1917), pp. 17-19.
[59] *Registrum,* pp. 267-279.
[60] George Oliver, *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*: *And a History of the Cathedral, with an Illustrative Appendix*' (Exeter: William Roberts, 1861), pp. 100-104.
[61] Trowell and Wathey, 'John Benet's 'Lux Fulget Ex Anglia', p. 170; *Registrum Thome Spofford*, p. 234.
[62] Oliver, *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, p. 102.

death on 18th September 1455. In terms of patronage, it has been suggested that the composer John Dunstable was another recipient of Lacy's support. A John Dunstable was appointed to a canonry at Hereford in 1419 by Lacy. Although the name 'John Dunstable' was popular in the fifteenth century, it would align with Lacy's interest in music and inclination towards patronage to have appointed a celebrated musician like John Dunstable to a canonry.[63] The initials 'J.D.' also occur next to the carol *Holy writ sayeth which no thing is soother (Holy writ)* on fol. 5r of the Selden manuscript.[64] Greene suggests that this refers to John Dunstable.[65] This is also supported by E.W.B Nicholson.[66] However, suggesting that the initials could indicate Dunstable's authorship, Nicholson notes that many of Dunstable's known works are signed in a different way to the initials in Selden.[67] Fallows dismisses this outright arguing that the ascription is not at the head of the piece or just after the music, where it is most commonly seen. Fallows instead suggests that these initials may just be an ascription for the text identifying the copyist of the lines.[68] Although there is no consensus on whether these initials are a mark of Dunstable's authorship, both Margaret Bent and David Fallows suggest that Dunstable may have been responsible for the composition of a number of carols.[69] Dunstable was certainly a well-regarded composer and appears to have been well-connected to aristocratic households throughout his career. Considering Dunstable's influence in the fifteenth century and the fact that we have over four hundred records of carols available to us and four manuscripts of polyphonic carol settings demonstrating the popularity of the form, it would be unsurprising if Dunstable did contribute to the carol corpus.

Even though Lacy had been translated to Exeter by the time of the Selden Carol Book's copying, it is possible that this manuscript was nevertheless commissioned by Lacy or that he encouraged carol

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[63] Greene, 'John Dunstable', pp. 360-363. Fallows also notes that Greene's case for Lacy appointing Dunstable the composer as a canon is strong. See Fallows, *Henry V*, p. 131.
[64] Selden, fol. 23r. The only other carol with an ascription in the Selden Carol Book is *The lord that lay in an asse stall.* This has the name 'Childe' written above it. Lacy's Hereford Register highlights a secular acolyte called 'Thomas Chyld' who was present in the diocese in 1420. However, little is known about this figure and it is unwise therefore to firmly related this individual to the composer in the Selden manuscript. See *The Register of Edmund Lacy, Bishop of Hereford,* p. 108.
[65] Greene, 'John Dunstable', pp. 360-363.
[66] E. W. B. Nicholson, 'Introduction', in *Sacred & secular songs, together with other ms. compositions in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, ranging from about A.D. 1185 to about A.D. 1505,* 2 vols., Early Bodleian Music 2, ed. by John Stainer, J.F.R Stainer, and C. Stainer, (London: Novello, 1901), (p. xxii).
[67] Nicholson, 'Introduction', p. xxii.
[68] Fellows, *Henry V*, pp. 88-89.
[69] See Bent, *Dunstaple,* p. 23; Fallows, *Henry V*, p. 178.

within the diocese. The size of the book like the other carol manuscripts again suggests that it was designed with portability in mind and for use by a smaller ensemble. Considering this and the fact that Lacy remained in active contact with Hereford during his later years, it is possible that this manuscript was intended for the private household chapel of a Hereford-based church figure. The manuscript may have been intended as a gift to one of Lacy's successors. This would explain why the repertoire of Selden is a mixture of carols form the first quarter of the fifteenth century and pieces composed towards the mid-century. *Tota pulchra es*, a piece ascribed to a 'Poloumier', for example, appears towards the end of the manuscript. The 'Poloumier' of this piece is often associated with the composer John Plummer, who was present in the Chapel Royal from 1438 and is also listed in connection with Windsor from 1442.[70] Fallows dates the copying of *Tota pulchra es* and the two pieces which follow it, *Tappster, fill another ale* and *Welcome be ye when ye goo,* to around 1440.[71] This means that the repertoire of the Selden manuscript spans a period of approximately twenty years. If the manuscript was commissioned or gifted by a figure like Lacy or influenced by composers like Dunstable, then it may reflect a repertoire that was known and experienced earlier in the fifteenth century alongside later pieces. Considering the appearance of both early carols and later pieces in the Selden Carol Book, I would therefore date the copying of the Selden Carol Book to the second quarter of the fifteenth century (c. 1425-1450) and argue that it reflects the tastes of an individual or scribes who had experienced the carol culture of the early fifteenth century.

Performance, Provenance and Use: Egerton

The Egerton manuscript, like the Trinity Carol Roll, is a manuscript of particularly high quality, containing several illustrations, elaborate initials, and red rastrum-ruled staves.[72] The quality of the manuscript has led to scholars suggesting that it originated from a particularly wealthy institution or household. More

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[70] Andrew Wathey, 'Dunstable in France', *Music & Letters,* 67.1, (1986), 1-36, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/735523> [Accessed: 20th March 2024], (p. 6); Fellows, *Henry V,* p. 157.

[71] Fallows suggests that one way to navigate the problem of the dating of Selden is to identify the 'Poloumier' piece featured in the book with John Pyamour as opposed to John Plummer. Pyamour was active in the Chapel Royal between 1416-1420 and would have therefore coincided with Lacy's tenure as Dean. This would place the Selden Carol Book's dating in the first quarter of the fifteenth century. See Fallows, *Henry V,* p. 157.

[72] Greene suggests that this manuscript had left St George's before 1538 based on the inclusion of a carol dedicated to Thomas of Canterbury and criticising the actions of Henry VIII – Greene, 'Two Medieval Musical Manuscripts, pp. 2-8.

specifically it has been suggested that the manuscript originated from St George's Chapel, Windsor or Meaux Abbey in Yorkshire. [73] The musical works within the manuscript are mainly anonymous, apart from two pieces by John Tuder, a Kentish composer.[74] The argument that the manuscript originates from Meaux Abbey, a wealthy Yorkshire Cistercian Abbey, stems from the fact that the phrase 'Mieulx en de cy' occurs within an initial on fol. 20r. Greene takes this to be a play on words, with 'mieulx' being a reference to Meaux.[75] Fallows dismisses Greene's argument, stating that works belonging to the Sarum Rite which are found in Egerton are incompatible with the practices of a Cistercian Abbey.[76] However, what both Fallows and Greene do not note is that the phrase 'de mieulx je pense en mieulx' is the motto of the Paston family, a wealthy Norfolk-based family who were keen to better establish themselves during the fifteenth century.[77] Although one could argue that this could be mere coincidence, it is quite striking that a phrase similar to the motto associated with the Paston family is then found in the centre of the letter 'P' within the Egerton manuscript, as shown in Figure 4.10.[78] The Pastons entered the ranks of aristocratic society due to the

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[73] Greene, 'Two Medieval Musical Manuscripts', p. 2. Margaret Bent strongly refute Bukofzer and Scholfield's argument that one of the Egerton scribes is also a scribe of Old Hall, a manuscript originating from St George's, Windsor. She demonstrates considerable differences in the letterforms of the two scribes – see Margaret Bent, 'The Old Hall Manuscript: A Palaeographical Study' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 1969), pp. 102-105.

[74] Roger Bowers, 'Tuder [Tudor, Tutor], John', *GMO* (2001), <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.28557> [Accessed: 26th January 2023].

[75] Greene, *EEC*, p. 301.

[76] Fallows, *Henry V,* pp. 134-148.

[77] Colin Richmond and Roger Virgoe, 'Paston, William', *ODNB* (2007), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/21514>[Accessed: 26th January 2023]; Colin Richmond, 'Paston family', *ODNB* (2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/52791>, [Accessed: 26th January 2023]; Helen Castor, 'Paston, John', *ODNB* (2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/21511> [Accessed: 26th January 2023]. Colin Richmond also describes how William Paston arranged a marriage for his son, John Paston, with the intention of thrusting 'his family up the social ladder'. William was keen to acquire land and to establish himself as a 'manorial lord in Paston'. See Colin Richmond, *The Paston Family in the Fifteenth-Century*: *The First Phase* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 102. Rachel E. Moss also describes the Paston's 'rapid ascent' of the social hierarchy. See Rachel E. Moss, 'Situating Fathers: The Cultural Context', in *Fatherhood and Its Representations in Middle English Texts* (Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2013), pp. 16-39, (p. 22).

[78] Egerton, fol. 20r. The motto also appeared on fol. 14v. This has now faded significantly. By the sixteenth century the Pastons had become one of the major music collecting families of England, with Edward Paston (c.1550-1630) known to have collected several manuscripts and printed sources of Latin, French, and Italian songs, as well as lute books. Price notes that 'if the household accounts of these Pastons had survived a more determined effort could be made to supplement the work already undertaken on the musical manuscripts. In the absence of such appears, the activities of this highly cultivated, religiously clandestine family can only be faintly sketched'. This is especially true of the musical associations of the Pastons before the sixteenth century. See David C. Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 96-98. In regard to Edward Paston, Hector Sequera notes that we have proof of his extensive collection of musical pieces but 'practically no evidence of the musical instruments, domestic musicians or performances that took place within its walls. This lacuna is especially glaring since the musical texts clearly suggest that consort music was performed on transposing instruments, several sizes of lutes and various combinations of voices'. Thus, there are some large gaps in our current knowledge of the

successful career of William Paston (1378-1444) and advantageous marriages – the first between William himself and Agnes Paston (c.1405-1479) and the second between his son, John Paston (1421-1466), and Margaret Mautby (c.1422-1484).[79] The Pastons have also been associated with book ownership during the fifteenth century. The eldest son of John Paston and Margaret Mautby, Sir John Paston (1442-1479), was an avid book collector. An inventory of his books survives; however, the books are predominantly literary works by authors such as Chaucer or Lydgate (c.1370-1451) and there is no evidence of music books within this collection.[80] A family such as the Pastons, however, are likely to have had either a private chapel or else been patrons of a local monastic or religious institution. The act of patronage or of having one's own private chapel would have highlighted the Paston family as members of aristocratic society, a status that they had been trying to further cement throughout the fifteenth century, having only truly established themselves as gentry at the beginning of the century.[81]

Paston's musical life despite the musical books that have been passed down to us. See Hector Sequera, 'Practice and Dissemination of Music in the Catholic Network as Suggested by the Music Collection of Edward Paston (1550-1630) and Other Contemporary Sources', in *Networks of Music and Culture in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. by David J. Smith and Rachelle Taylor (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 215-230, (p. 215).

[79] Richmond and Virgoe, 'Paston'.

[80] G. A. Lester, 'The Books of a Fifteenth-Century English Gentleman, Sir John Paston', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 88.2 (1987), 200-217, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43343811> [Accessed: 22nd January 2023]. H.S. Bennett describes how Sir John Paston did not just collect books but was 'accustomed to hire professional scribes and illuminators to work for him'. This included the scribe, William Ebsham, who is known to have worked on Sir John Paston's 'great book' – See H.S. Bennett, *The Pastons and their England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 112-113 and 'The Paston Letters: A Selection in Modern Spelling', ed. by Norman Davis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), p. 168. Ebsham's original letter to Paston can be seen in London, British Library, Add. MS 43491, fol. 13r. William Paston II also had a keen interest in books and in one of the *Paston Letters* discusses the decoration of manuscripts in detail with Thomas Carey. See Elizabeth Grace McDonald, 'Uncommon Readers? The Paston Family and the Textual Cultures of Fifteenth-Century East Anglia' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of East Anglia, 2018), p. 23.

[81] Edward IV declared that the Pastons were of 'worship blood' after John Paston I was accused of being descended from 'serfs'. See Richmond and Virgoe, 'Paston'.

Figure 4.10: The illuminated 'P' initial in Egerton (From the British Library Collection: Egerton, fol. 20r)

In regard to the Paston motto, this is a phrase also found in Lydgate's *Temple of Glas*.[82] Lydgate may have had connections to the Paston family. He was a monk of Bury and is known to have received the patronage of several prominent families, including that of William de la Pole and Alice Chaucer.[83] The Pastons would have not only known many of these prominent families and patrons of Lydgate, they may have known the writer himself personally – William Paston, after all, became a brother of the Abbey of Bury St Edmund's

[82] John Lydgate, *The Temple of Glas*, ed. by J. Allan Mitchell (Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 2007), l. 310.
[83] Douglas Gray, 'Lydgate, John', *ODNB* (2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/17238>[Accessed: 30th August 2023]; Rowena E. Archer, 'Chaucer [married names Philip, Montagu, de la Pole, Alice, duchess of Suffolk', *ODNB* (2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/54434> [Accessed: 30th August 2023]. Andrea Ruddick notes that the Pastons were in dispute with the Dukes of Suffolk over the manor of Drayton and Hellesdon. Thompson writes that 'Paston had acquired these properties as part of the contested Falstolf inheritance in 1459. He had also inherited from Falstolf the enmity of the young Duke of Suffolk, John de la Pole, and his mother, Alice Chaucer, the dowager duchess of Suffolk, who both had designs on Drayton and Hellesdon'. See Andrea Ruddick, 'Local Politics and Ecclesiastical Patronage in Gentry Letters', in *Political Society in Later Medieval England: A Festschrift for Christine Carpenter*, ed. by Benjamin Thompson and John Watts (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015), pp. 93-112, (p. 101).

in 1429.[84] The Pastons consequently have connections through Lydgate through their link with both Bury and a circle of East Anglian literary patrons. Lydgate can also be connected to the medieval carol. A piece by Lydgate appears as a carol in London, British Library, MS 5465 (Fayrfax), a late fifteenth-century/early sixteenth century manuscript connected to the Chapel Royal.[85] It is possible, then, that Lydgate's poetry was also performed in carol form by musicians connected to the Chapel Royal.[86]

Considering the relationship of Lydgate to the Pastons and to the carol, it is interesting then that the phrase 'mieulx en de cy' found in the Egerton manuscript may also have a connection with the motto 'de mieulx en mieulx', which is seen by the dreamer on a lady's clothes in Lydgate's *The Temple of Glas*.[87] There are suggestions that this Lydgate motto only became associated with the Pastons with the marriage of William Paston to Agnes Berry in 1420, the same quarter of the fifteenth century in which Lydgate's work was composed.[88] If the marriage occurred before the poem, then it is possible that this union inspired or was the basis for a commission of the work.[89] However, it could also be that the Pastons borrowed a line from Lydgate to act as their own motto, helping the family in their quest to shape themselves as established English nobility. Using this motto in books they either owned or commissioned would also help to cement their roles as literary patrons within the East Anglian community , potentially providing the reason for the use of 'mieulx en de cy' within the letter 'P' in Egerton.[90] Although we cannot say for certain where this manuscript came from, I would agree with Fallows that the style of this manuscript fits with an aristocratic home and was commissioned by someone with literary interests, who cared not just about the

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[84] Samuel Moore, 'Patrons of letters in Norfolk and Suffolk, c.1450', *PMLA*, 27 (1912), 187-207, <https://doi.org/10.2307/456676> [Accessed: 24th September 2023], (p. 204). Lydgate's renown was such that it is likely his patrons sought him as opposed to the poet himself having to seek patrons. Robert J. Meyer-Lee writes 'Lydgate's royal patronage made his texts desirable cultural commodities for nobles who sought an aura of royalty, as well as for those gentry who wished to emulate courtly behaviour'. See Robert J. Meyer-Less, 'John Lydgate: The Invention of the English Laureate', in *Poets and Power from Chaucer to Wyatt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 49-87, (p. 51).

[85] Fayrfax.

[86] The Lydgate poem is set to music by a composer referred to as Sheryngham. Sherringham is a town in North Norfolk. Therefore, it is likely that the composer who set Lydgate's poem to music was, like Lydgate, from or at some point based in Norfolk.

[87] Egerton, fol. 20v; Lydgate, *Temple*, l. 310.

[88] Richmond and Virgoe, 'Paston'.

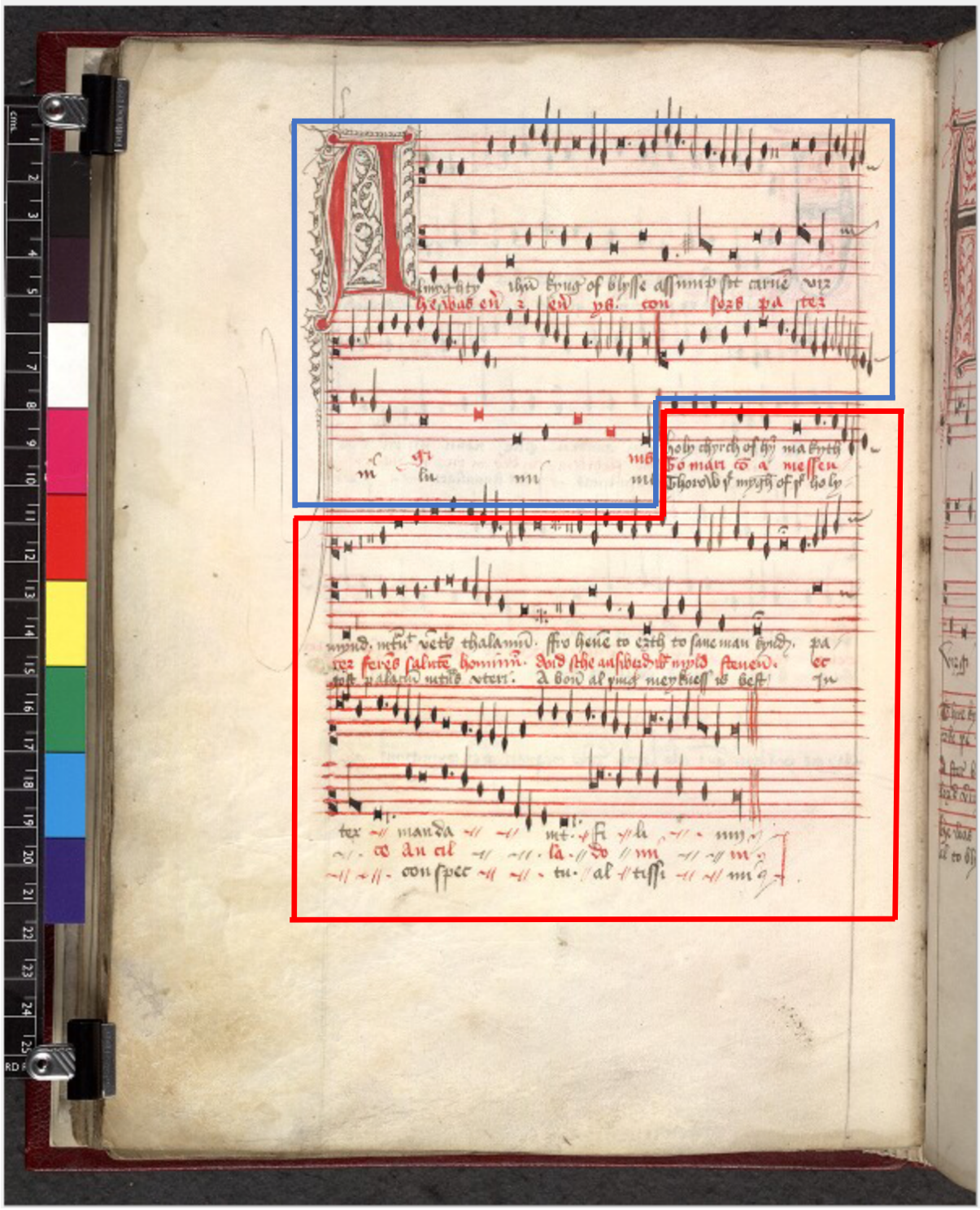
[89] Walter F. Schrimer writes that 'Since the motto of the lady eulogized in the poem is the same as that of the Pastons […] it is thought that William Paston commissioned it'. Schrimer admits that the timing of the marriage makes this suggestion improbable but that families eager to climb the social ladder were, nevertheless, 'eager to embellish with all manner of outward show marriages arranged on a highly commercial basis'. See Walter F. Schrimer, *John Lydgate: A Study in the Culture of the XVth Century*, trans. by Ann E. Keep (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1961), pp. 37-38.

[90] Egerton, fol. 20v.

music but also about the style and quality of the book itself. Furthermore, I would tentatively suggest that the 'mieulx' reference points towards a connection with the Pastons as opposed to other aristocratic houses of the time.

Egerton is the biggest of the three codices but still not as substantial as the choirbooks in terms of size.[91] The book, particularly considering its decoration and quality, may have therefore been intended for a small chapel or else just as a fine piece within a larger book collection. However, there is another possibility considering Egerton's larger size compared to the other two carol codices, the quality of the decoration, and its unique layout for its carols: that this manuscript was designed for its patrons to use to follow musical pieces which were being performed by an ensemble. To examine this, we turn to the *mise-en-page* of the Egerton carols. At the beginning of this chapter, it was noted that the carols in Egerton differ in terms of layout from the general carol corpus, with as much of the text as possible (normally three verses) set directly underneath the music as opposed to just the burden and first verse. This suggests that particular care and time was taken over the layout of the page and effort was taken to make the carols appear relatively consistent in layout with the Latin liturgical pieces. Some of Egerton's carols also span two pages of the book. Carols from the Ritson and, occasionally, the Selden Carol Book also cross over onto a second page. In Ritson this tends to be because the burden is written on the verso page and the first verse on the second page. In Selden, this only tends to happen if the scribe has run out of space –for example, on fol. 15v the scribe runs out of space at the bottom of the folio for any additional verses and has to write these verses out at the top of fol. 15r. In Egerton, the carols with one burden follow a similar one-page layout to Selden, but with three verses written underneath the music instead of one. A second page is primarily used for carols with a second burden. When this occurs, the second burden is written out in full on the second page with musical notation, as shown in Figure 4.11.

[91] See Figures 4.4 and 4.5.



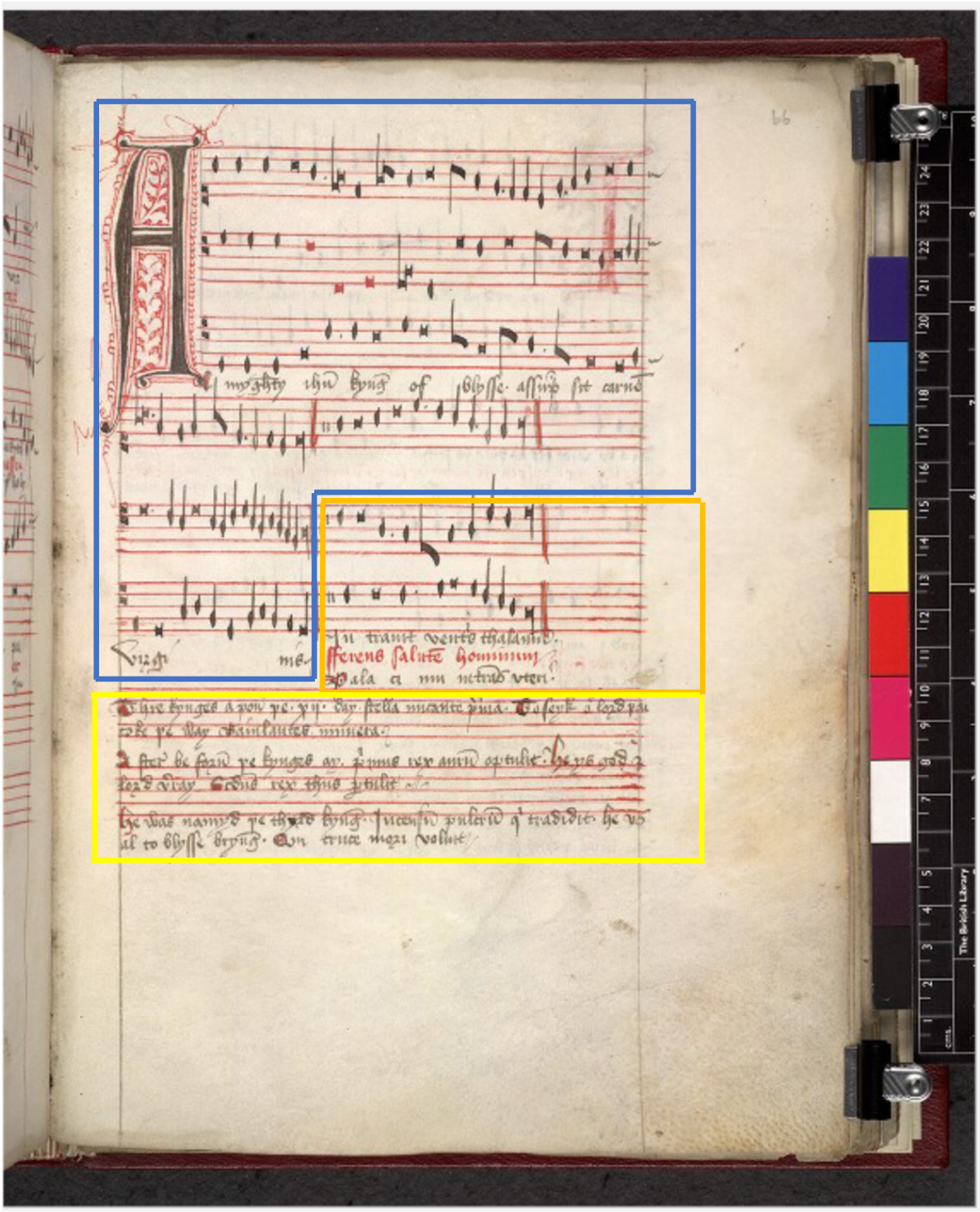


Figure 4.11: Layout of *As Holy kirk makes mind* in the Egerton manuscript. The blue box outlines the burden sections, the red box outlines the first three verses, the orange box outlines the repetition of the second line of verse as a chorus, and the yellow box outlines the remaining verses. (From the British Library Collection, Egerton, fols. 65v-66r).

In the example in Figure 4.11 the first version of the burden is set for two verses and the second burden section for three. Greene notes that the second version of the burden only takes the first couplet of the original burden on the previous folio – 'Almyghty Jhesu, Kyng of Blysse, /Assumpsit carne*m* virginis'.[92] In addition to this, the second line of each verse is repeated again on the second page, as shown by the orange box in Figure 4.11. Greene suggests that this second burden part and the repetition of the second line of each stanza on fol. 66r indicates that these parts were meant to be repeated as a chorus.[93] An alternative suggestion, however, is that the scribe provides options for the piece's performance, presenting a version of the carol that could purely be sung in two parts on fol. 65v, and on fol. 66r including a version of the carol that could take a three-part burden and a different musical setting for the second line of each verse. This idea finds analogy in Rossell Hope Robbins's similar suggestion regarding layout in the Ritson manuscript.[94] Robbins points out that carols in the Ritson manuscript appear with the burden printed at first with two voices and then again with three voices and argues that Greene's insistence that this couplet is intended to be sung twice (firstly with two voices and then secondly with three voices) is wrong. Robbins instead suggests that the two different settings of the burdens were intended to provide the performer with options for the carol's performance dependent on the size of the ensemble or even personal preference.[95] The two-page layout of the two-burden carols in Egerton may therefore show that the household for which this book was intended was one in which versatility and adaptability of the carol was key and in which the size of the available choral force was more uncertain.

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[92] Greene, *EEC*, p. 13.
[93] Greene, *EEC*, p. 13.
[94] John Milsom remarks on the copying of other books in the Paston music collection, stating that they are not often copied as you would expect: 'There are many Paston music manuscripts – an astonishingly large number, in fact – and it is easy to imagine what they should contain: masses and ritual music conveniently laid out for use by Catholic families during their covert celebration of the Roman Offices and Mass. The reality of the Paston books is utterly different […] Most of them contain a mixture of sacred and secular works; many transmit only extracts of longer works; sometimes the words are missing. […] Rather than supplying music for the undercover services of England's Catholics, the Paston copyists instead concentrated on producing chocolate-box-like selections of pieces, evidently with domestic music-making in mind'. Egerton also contains a mixture of sacred and secular works. It also contains a carol for Thomas of Canterbury that has not been crossed out or erased, a potential indication of Catholic ownership. Its layout and copying are also not what you would traditionally expect for music-making. See John Milsom, 'Sacred Songs in the Chamber', in *English Choral Practice*, 1400-1650 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 161-179, (pp. 172-173).
[95] Robbins writes that 'This procedure is confusing for two reasons. From a musical standpoint, the repetition of words alone has no significance. From a literary standpoint, the essential simple carol-form of couplet burden (and in some cases quatrain stanzas) is complicated without warrant. A more plausible view is that the two arrangements are alternative, that is, one or the other to be sung, according to the occasion or the ability of the performers, but never to be sung concurrently'. See Rossell Hope Robbins, 'The Burdens of Carols', *Modern Language Notes*, 57.1 (1942), 16-22, < https://www.jstor.org/stable/2910675> [Accessed: 3rd August 2023], (p. 2).

There is another possibility for the way Egerton presents its carols – one that relates to the patron's engagement with performance rather than the performer's use of the book. If we take Greene's initial idea that both the first and second burden were to be sung, with the second burden being sung as a chorus, then this two-page format shows the leader parts on one side of the page and the chorus parts on another. This appears designed for the reader to be able to have a clear indication of which parts are soloistic and which parts are intended for a larger group to sing, aiding the navigation of the piece. This could position the book as being used with leaders following the music on the left page, and the chorus following the parts listed on the following page. However, this might also aid the navigation of the song for a reader who is perhaps not a performer at all but one which may want to merely be able to follow all the components of the carol, knowing which part is intended as a more communal element. Jane Alden notes that many performers may have actually sung from 'memory or using workday copies', whilst important members of the household followed the songs along in the more highly-decorated books.[96] This may be the case with Egerton – it may have been intended as a manuscript for a member of an aristocratic family interested in following music rather than actively performing it. This may therefore explain Egerton's *mise-en-page* – it may have not been a book intended for the performer, but a book intended for the patron.

Performance, Provenance and Use: Ritson

The use and provenance of the final carol manuscript, Ritson, can more easily be ascertained compared to the other three carol collections due to the presence of named composers in the book. Ritson is almost certainly associated with Exeter, where it was used by composers associated with the household chapel of Edmund Lacy. Throughout the Ritson manuscript the names Trouluffe and Smert appear at the end of the pieces. It is unusual for attributions to be included alongside the carol corpus. Selden contains only the

[96] Jane Alden describes the making of the Loire Chansonniers in a way that is very relatable to the Egerton manuscript – 'A scribe sits at his desk pondering the order he has just received – for a song collection containing the most popular works of the day, beautifully illuminated with historiated initials and floral borders. The scribe has never seen such a book. The music manuscripts he is accustomed to copying are for everyday use, not luxuriously finished items to be read by private individuals at their leisure. But now he must prepare a portable songbook that, in size and form, should resemble a deluxe book of hours. Instead of devotional texts, it is to contain secular chansons in the vernacular'. See Alden, *Songs, Scribes, and Society,* p. 1.

initials 'J.D.' on fol. 5r and the name Childe on fol. 28v.[97] The initials on fol. 5r are thought to refer to John Dunstable but the name 'Childe' has yet to be connected with any composer of the time.[98] The entire carol corpus of Egerton and Trinity, on the other hand, remain completely anonymous. The inclusion of composer names in Ritson therefore gives us rare insight into the environment in which this carol book was created. It is known that Smert acted as a vicar choral at Exeter.[99] Smert started his vicar-choralship at Exeter in 1427 and continued there until 1430. In 1435 he was appointed to the rectory of Plymtree, before returning to Exeter as a vicar choral again in 1449.[100] Orme notes that this return was almost certainly 'through a collation by Lacy' and that Smert continued to attend to Plymtree whilst undertaking his duties at Exeter.[101] Trouluffe's connection to the Cathedral, on the other hand, is more unclear. He appears later than Smert, and was granted a canonry by Lacy in Probus, Cornwall in 1448 followed by a second canonry in Crantock at some point. Trouluffe is also recorded as gifting the vicars-choral of Exeter a silver cup in 1463 in return for their prayers.[102] Orme has theorised that the existence of Trouluffe's compositions in Ritson, alongside his links to Cathedral members, and his listing in Cathedral records as a 'confrater' of the vicars choral, may indicate that Trouluffe served in the Bishop's personal household in a musical capacity.[103] A record of an Exeter legal case in which Trouluffe acts as a witness greatly strengthens this suggestion, with Trouluffe described as the 'late s*ervan*t to the seide Edmund'.[104] In regard to the carols with which these musicians are connected, Figure 4.12 highlights the carols and *cantilenae* associated with these names and whether the carol is associated with one composer or both.[105]

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[97] Selden, fol. 5r; Selden fol. 28v.
[98] See Mackay's work discussing the potential relationship of the 'J.D.' of Selden to John Dunstable –Mackay, 'Re-evaluating the History and Provenance', pp. 118-119.
[99] Nicholas Orme, 'The Early Musicians of Exeter Cathedral', *Music & Letters*, 59.4 (1978), 395-410, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/733939> [Accessed: 24th September 2023], (p. 402).
[100] Orme, 'The Early Musicians', p. 402.
[101] Orme, 'The Early Musicians', p. 402.
[102] Orme, 'The Early Musicians', pp. 402-403; Trouluffe also requests prayers for his parents and for John Burnebury, the Treasurer of the Cathedral at the time. See John Allen, 'Medieval Documentary Evidence Relating to the High Street, Trichay Street, and Goldsmith Excavations', in *Studies in the Roman and Medieval Archaeology of Exeter*, 2 vols., ed. by Stephen Rippon and Neil Holbrook (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2021), II, pp. 93-138, (p. 132).
[103] Orme, 'The Early Musicians', pp. 402-403.
[104] 'John Cobbethorn and others, executors of Edmund bishop of Exeter v Hugh William', in *Calendars of the Proceedings in Chancery in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth,* ed. by John Bayley, (London: G. Eyre and A. Strahan, 1827), I, pp. li-liv, (p.liii).
[105] The names of Trouluffe or Smert do not appear on page of the carols *Diews wous garde* or *Man be merry*. However, Stevens associates both of these compositions with Smert in *MC*.

Folio	Carol/*Cantilenae*	Composer
7v-8r	*The boars head*	Smert
8v-9v	*Dievs wous garde hyewsser tidings I you bring (Dievs wous garde)*	Smert
11v-12r	*Man be merry I thee rede (Man be merry)*	Smert
15v-16r	*Ave decus saeculi*	Smert
16v-17r	*Soli deo sit laudum gloria*	Smert/Trouluffe
17v-18r	*Of Mary Christ was bore*	Smert
20v-22r	*O David thou noble key*	Smert/Trouluffe
29v-30r	*Jesu of a maid Thou wouldest be born*	Smert
32v-33r	*Glorious God in Trinity*	Smert/Trouluffe
34v-35r	*A child is born of a maid*	Smert
40v-41r	*When Jesu Christ baptized was*	Smert/Trouluffe
52v-53r	*Be Thy birth Thou blessed Lord*	Smert

Figure 4.12: Pieces associated with Smert and Trouluffe in the Ritson Manuscript

Trouluffe does not appear to have been the sole composer of any of the compositions – his name only appears in connection with Smert's. This does not prove that Trouluffe did not compose any carols by himself, as the other thirty-five carols in Ritson are all anonymous and therefore some could have been his work. What the appearance of Trouluffe's name alongside Smert's does suggest is that Smert was heavily involved with the composition of carols in this early layer and that Trouluffe had some form of collaboration with Smert. The inclusion of small phrases and illustrations next to the names of both composers almost certainly suggests some sense of camaraderie between both men. A piece by Smert and Trouluffe, *When Jesu Christ baptized was*, is accompanied by notes saying 'hit ys gode to be gracious, sayde John Trouluffe' (fol. 40v) and 'well fare thyn herte, sayde Smert' (fol. 41r).[106] On fol. 34v Smert's name appears with a penis drawn next to it. Trouluffe's name then appears also with an illustration of a penis on fol. 40v next to the phrase 'hyt ys gode to be gracius'. On the following folio (fol. 41r) Smert's name makes another appearance next to the phrase 'well fayre thyn herte'. Next to the composer's name is an image of a flower.[107] Smert's name is also sometimes accompanied by three dots and a downward pen stroke, which could almost be described as a more rudimentary version of the flower. These illustrations are demonstrated in Figures 4.13 and 4.14.

[106] The 'hit ys gode to be gracious' notes is repeated on fol. 56v with 'sayde Trouluffe' following at the bottom of fol. 57r. The note 'softe and esely, sayde Trouluffe' is on fol. 57v and 'well fare ȝure herte, sayde Smert' on fol. 58v.
[107] Ritson, fol. 41r.

Figure 4.13: Possible illustration of a flower next to Smert's name (From the British Library Collection: Ritson, fol.32v).

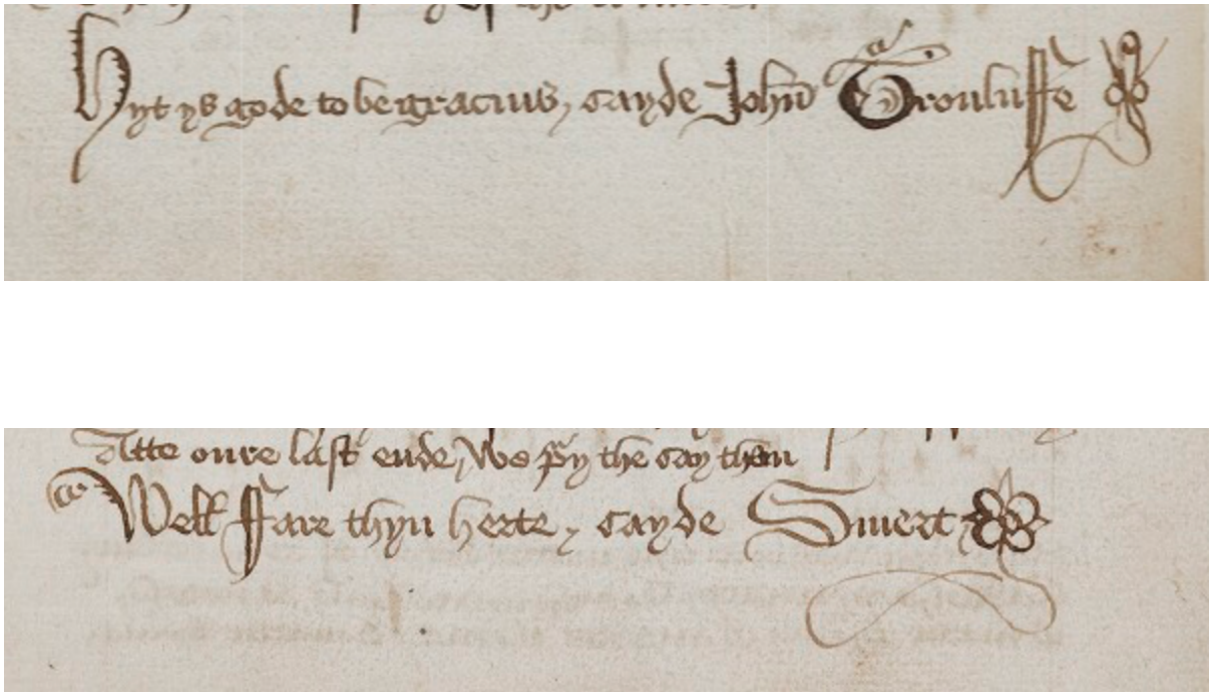

Figure 4.14: Illustration of a penis next to Trouluffe's name and a flower next to Smert's name. (From the British Library Collection: Ritson, fols. 40v and 41v).

The visual playfulness of the illustrations next to both names implies a culture of collaboration within the environment in which Ritson was produced, potentially identifying these pieces as products of shared endeavour and craftsmanship.[108] It brings to mind the type of courtly or household interactions and collaborations as depicted in the poem *The Floure and the Leafe* (c.1470).[109] In this text the company of the leaf assists that of the flower by drying the flower's clothes and treating their sunburn. Jane Chance writes how the leaf represents chastity, not merely in physical terms but as 'equivalent to loyalty, whether in relation to virginity or to heterosexual love'.[110] The symbolism of Trouluffe and Smert's drawings may therefore represent a similar ideal – a brotherhood, shared loyalty, and spirit of collaboration. The poem finds its roots within traditions of the court, where courtiers would state whether they placed more value on the flower or the leaf. The game was both concerned with gender, with the flower representing femininity and the leaf masculinity, and with the qualities of both flower and leaf.[111] The flower, for example, could represent beauty and sexual pleasure, whilst the leaf could be more representative of chastity and loyalty.[112]

Considering the implications of *The Flower and the Leaf* it could be that the drawings next to the names of Smert and Trouluffe are symbolic of the relationship between two men. Alternatively, the drawings could be a remark on the nature of the pieces themselves and how they might be performed. The carol *When Jesus Christ baptized was* is signed with both Trouluffe and Smert's names. Trouluffe's name appears underneath the third verse alongside the phrase 'hit ys gode to be gracius'. Next to Trouluffe's

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[108] Pilato writes of 'a spirit of amity between the men'. See Anastasia S. Pilato, 'The Carols of the Ritson Manuscript, BL Add. 5665, at Exeter Cathedral: Repertory and Context (Unpublished senior honors thesis, University of Connecticut, 2013), p. 12; Jane H. M. Taylor describes manuscripts as 'a record of socially restricted literary communication whose function is to signify class and kinship ties, or to acknowledge shared poetic tastes'. The Ritson manuscript and the relationship between Trouluffe and Smert can be seen within this framework. See Jane H. M. Taylor, 'Courtly Gatherings and Poetic Games: 'Coterie' Anthologies in the Late Middle Ages in France', in *Book and Text in France 1400-600*: *Poetry on the Page*, ed. by Adrian Armstrong and Malcolm Quainton (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 13-30, (p. 15).

[109] See *The Floure and the Leafe; and, The Assembly of Ladies,* ed. by Derek Pearsall (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980).

[110] Chance also notes that *The Floure and the Leafe* has historically been treated as Chaucerian in nature. See Jane Chance, 'Christine de Pizan as Literary Mother: Woman's Authority and Subjectivity in 'The Floure and the Leafe' and 'The Assembly of Ladies'', in *The City of Scholars: New Approaches to Christine de Pizan*, ed. by Margarete Zimmerman (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1994), pp. 246-259, (p. 249).

[111] Marion Turner writes that 'the game of the flower and the leaf involved choosing sides and debating and defending certain values. Most commonly the flower and the leaf was a gender competition, with the flower associated with women and the leaf with men'. See Turner, *Chaucer,* p. 347.

[112] Turner, *Chaucer*, p. 348. Deschamps's version of *The Floure and the Leafe*, for example, describes how the flower has 'pris, loange et grace' [precedence, praise, and grace] whilst the leaf has only 'verde coulour' [green colour]. The poem in its original French and as a translation can be found in the appendix to Joyce Coleman, 'The Flower, the Leaf, and Philippa of Lancaster', in *The Legend of Good Women: Context and Reception*, ed. by Carolyn P. Collette (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006), pp. 33-58, (pp. 56-58).

name is a drawing of a penis. Smert's name appears on fol. 41v, underneath the last verse of the carol and next to the phrase 'well fare thyn herte'. Following Smert's name is a drawing of a flower. The carol itself runs as follows:

Jhesus aute*m* hodie
Regressus est a Jordane
Jhesus autem hodie
Regressus est a Jordane

When Jh*e*sus C*ri*ste baptyzed was
The Holy Gost descended w*it*h grace
The Fade*r* voys was herde in the place
Hic est Filius meus ipsum audite

There were thre p*er*sons *and* o lorde
The sone baptized w*it*h on acorde
The Fader sayde this blessed worde
Hic est Filius meus

Considere now all C*ri*stiante
How the Fader sayde bycause of the
The grete mistery of the Trinite
Hic est Filius meus

Now Ih*e*su as þ*o*u art bothe god and man
And were baptized in flom iordayn
Atte oure last ende we p*ra*y the say than
Hic est filius meus

The first three verses all reference the God's 'voys' and tells of how the Father said 'Hic est filius meus ipsum audite' [This is my son, listen to him]. The final verse then takes more of a focus on those assembled to perform and listen to the carol, stating 'atte oure last ende we pray the say than'. This final verse is therefore in the voice of those assembled to sing and listen to the carol rather than in the voice of God. Considering the gendered implications of the flower and leaf and the fact that the penis illustration occurs next to Trouluffe's name underneath the first three verses of this carol, it may be that this illustration is a reference to the type of voice appearing in the carol at this point. It could be that a male or lower voice part was used for these first three voices to embody the words said by God. Smert's name appearing underneath the final verse with a flower-like symbol could be interpreted as a signal for female voices or higher boy

chorister voices to also join the song, becoming part of the collective 'we' praying at their 'last ende'.[113] If we turn to another carol by Trouluffe and Smert, *Glorious God in Trinity*, which is also accompanied by the symbol of the flower next to both of the composers names, then this suggestion appears even more likely.[114] This carol reads:

Ihesu Fili Dei
Miserere mei
Jhesu Fili Dei
Miserere mei

Glorius God in Trinite
Well of man *and* pyte
Thus cryed the woma*n* of canany
Miserere mei
Miserere mei

Thou came fro heuen fro thi fe
To this worlde a man to be
Ther for y crye deuoteli
Miserere mei

As þ*o*u haddest vn hir pyte
So y p*ra*y thou haue vn me
Glorius God in Trinite
Miserere mei

Patterson writes that 'evidently ll. 6-9 are the words of the woman'.[115] He does not expand greatly on this assumption apart from stating that the first line of verse 2, 'Thou came fro Heuen fro thi fe' (glossed as 'fro thi se' in Patterson) was chosen by the poet as it fitted with 'the description of the woman's country given in the Gospel: Then Jesus went thence and departed into the costs of Tyre and Sidon. And, behold, a woman of Canaan came out of the same coasts'.[116] As there appears to be no further explanation Greene

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[113] Carissa M. Harris notes that several lyrics in Ritson feature the female voice, giving the example of a lyric *Be pes ye make me spille my ale*, which is a dialogue between a rapist and victim. Harris also notes that the parts of the women within the Ritson lyrics, would have been performed by Exeter Cathedral boy choristers. As such, the flower is likely to indicate the higher voices of these choristers which represent the female voice within the song. See Carissa M. Harris, 'Songs of Wantonness: Voicing Desire in Two Lyric Anthologies', in *Obscene Pedagogies: Transgressive Talk and Sexual Education in Late Medieval* Britain (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2021), pp. 186-226, (p. 186; p. 191). Louise McInnes notes that women could have been involved in the performance of carols. McInnes highlights an initial from the Egerton manuscript next to a drinking carol, *Comendentes Convenite*, which shows women alongside men. McInnes also notes that this piece is set to a slightly higher pitch than other pieces in Egerton, which may suggest the involvement of women in the performance. See McInnes, 'Saints and Sinners', pp. 477-480.
[114] Ritson, fols. 32v-33r.
[115] Frank Allen Patterson, *The Middle English Penitential Lyric* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1911), p. 170.
[116] Patterson, *The Middle English Penitential Lyric*, p. 170.

dismisses Patterson's assertion that lines 6-9 are that of the woman and his gloss of the first line of verse 2 as referencing the sea.[117] However, if we take the flower symbol as a symbol of the female voice then Patterson's suggestion seems to make sense – the poem describes the voice of the woman crying 'miserere mei deus' and then moves to a more personal perspective with the performer crying the same words 'deuoteli'. This suggests a comparison being made between the actions of the performer of the song and the Biblical actions of the women of Canaan. As such, this narrative seems to fit with the idea of a female performer or female voice. Greene dismisses Patterson and treats this poem as being largely in the poet's voice because he does not consider the carol from the voice of the performer as well as the carol from the voice of the poet. If Greene had considered this carol with performance and poetic composition in mind, alongside Patterson's suggestion and the illustrations found next to Smert and Trouluffe's names throughout Ritson, then the role of the female voice not just within the words of the poem but in performance may have become clear. The illustrations within Ritson may then be more than simple drawings or illustrations of collaboration, they may indicate the type of voice needed within different songs.

The notes left by Trouluffe and Smert show that Ritson was produced in an environment in which work was actively being done on carol composition, with composers eager to have their names associated with these works. This environment was one encouraged by a patron, a name that has become more prominent throughout this study of carol culture: Edmund Lacy. It is known that Lacy had significant interests in both Smert and Trouluffe, having acted as patron to both men. Lacy even recalled Smert to the Cathedral as a vicar-choral in 1449.[118] This was only a few years before Lacy's death in 1455, which shows a continued interest in music-making in Lacy's later years. We also know that Lacy actively encouraged the making of music books. James Michell, a priest in Lacy's service, bequeathed a 'quaternum meum cum

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[117] See notes to carol 277 in Greene, *EEC*, pp. 172-173. Palti writes that 'where women's voices are heard, notably in lullabies and bawdy carols, critics predominantly treat the lyrics as imitations of oral traditions, co-opted within religious or satirical literature' and notes that this was a pattern initiated by Greene in *EEC*. Palti, 'Singing Women', p. 359. Louise McInnes also criticises Greene's treatment of 'Carols of Women', arguing that it takes a narrow and restrictive view of carols which touch on the female experience or use the female voice. See McInnes, 'Saints and Sinners', pp. 477-480.

[118] See Nicholas Orme, 'Lacy'; David Greer, 'Smert, Richard', *GMO* (2001), <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.25985> [Accessed: 9th December 2022]; David Greer and Nicholas Orme, 'Trouluffe [Truelove, Treloff], John, *GMO* (2001), <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.28472> [Accessed: 9th December 2022]; Orme, 'The Early Musicians', p. 400.

canticis de musyke' [quatern with songs of music] to another priest, John Bosovseke, in his will.[119] Michell's will outlines that this was a music book held in the chapel of Edmund Lacy and that the book was left to Bosovseke with Lacy's permission.[120] It is possible then that the making of the Ritson manuscript and the collaboration between Trouluffe and Smert was encouraged by Lacy in his final few years. The Ritson manuscript may have been intended purely as a carol book and not just as a collection of general polyphony. This may be why this earliest layer of the manuscript predominantly contains carols.[121] Fallows has recently questioned the dating of Ritson to the late 1400s or early 1500s arguing that this early layer of carols could have been copied as early as the 1430s at Exeter.[122] This would place the writing of these carols precisely in the middle of the tenure of Lacy's tenure at the Cathedral.[123] Based on the general style of the carols, including the use of longer burdens than the carols of Selden, Trinity, and Egerton, I would argue that the Ritson carols are slightly later than Fallows's suggestion, but still agree that an earlier dating of the manuscript than that of the late 1500s is entirely plausible, perhaps from c.1440-1460. This could place the manuscript's copying in the final years of Lacy's life. Following Lacy's death, the manuscript may have remained in the hands of the chapel but passed on to different musicians, leading to a change in purpose and function and incorporating other musical forms. As such, it is possible that this book was originally intended purely as a carol book for use within a personal household chapel. Its repertoire may then reflect the musical tastes of Lacy, influenced by slightly later musical writing traditions than the carols of earlier manuscripts. In terms of dating this would, as previously stated, put the date of the carol layer in the mid-fifteenth century, far earlier than previous suggestions but still later than Fallows's dating.[124] Although in his final few years Lacy was not well enough to travel huge distances, he may have still travelled locally.[125]

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[119] *The Register of Edmund Lacy, Bishop of Exeter, 1420-1455*, 5 vols., ed. G. R. Dunstan, Canterbury and York Society (Torquay: Printed for the Society by the Devonshire Press), IV, p. 34.

[120] James Michell's will states: Item lego Johanni filio Thome Bosovseke quaternum meum cum canticis de musyke qui quiden quaternus est in capella reverendissimi patris et domini domini mei Exoniensis episcopi cum eiusdem domini supportacione benigna [I leave to John, the son of Thomas Bosovseke my quatrain with songs of music which is in the chapel of my most reverend father and lord, the Bishop of Exeter, with the same kind lord's support]. See Wathey, 'Lost Books', p. 16 and *The Register of Edmund Lacy, Bishop of Exeter*, p. 34.

[121] See Appendix II, pp. 224-229 for a full list of the repertoire of all four polyphonic manuscripts. Carols are highlighted in bold, black text.

[122] Fallows, *Henry V*, p. 120.

[123] Mackay, 'Re-evaluating the History', p. 117.

[124] For an explanation of Fallows's dating see Fallows, *Henry V*, pp.130-133.

[125] Lacy had a disease of the shin bones which prevented him from travelling long distances on horseback and limited his visits to London in later years. See J.S. Roskell, *Parliament and Politics in Late Medieval England*, 3 vols. (London: Hambledon Press, 1981), I, p. 112.

This may explain the small size of Ritson in comparison to choirbooks – it may have been intended to travel with the household chapel which accompanied Lacy from place-to-place. The creation of the manuscript in the last few years of Lacy's life could also give a potential reason for the 'farewell Trouluffe' inscription on fol. 55r. This occurs at the very end of the carol layer next to one of the few non-carol pieces, *Nesciens mater virgo virum*.[126] It is possible that this marks the end of the collaboration between Smert and Trouluffe or else that this was a farewell piece intended for Lacy towards the end of his life. Trouluffe was not a vicar-choral yet appeared to have played some musical role within Lacy's household. Lacy's passing would have therefore marked an endpoint for Trouluffe's service, unless the next Bishop had had need for him.[127] The appearance of the Ritson Carol Book thus suggests a use within a smaller private chapel. However, this book appears to have remained in the hands of its musicians rather than finding its way into possession of a patron. In any case, the environment in which Ritson came to be was certainly one in which collaboration was encouraged and enjoyed. It is a book that shows both personal and working relationships between composers, appearing to the reader not only as a record of favoured repertoire but as a collaborative, working document.

Examination of all four polyphonic carol manuscripts thus presents several arguments relating to the use of polyphonic carol books during the fifteenth century. Firstly, that all of these carol collections were most likely produced with specific patrons or people in mind and reflected repertoire which celebrated or had a relationship to a specific figure. Secondly, that all of these books were portable collections and able to travel with performers or patrons. Thirdly, that some of the books, particularly Selden and Egerton, may have been used by individual patrons as a way of following performance. Finally, that carol collections like Ritson may have been working documents in which repertoire was collected, corrected, and adjusted by composers of a specific institution, and which could be consulted by members of a household ensemble preparing themselves for performance.

Carol Books in Performance: From Memory or the Page?

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[126] Ritson, fol. 55r.
[127] Ritson, fol. 55r.

Having established the potential contexts and functions of all four of the polyphonic carol manuscripts and how the books themselves may have been used, I now turn towards what is and what is not on the pages of these manuscripts, and what this indicates about performance within these contexts.

Within Selden, Egerton, and Ritson, Latin lyrics and vernacular lyrics differ in the way they are written out how they relate to the musical notation – Latin lyrics are almost always written syllabically across the three codices, whilst the vernacular lyrics are very rarely divided syllabically. At first glance, one could argue that this suggests that more attention was paid to the accurate performance of Latin pieces than vernacular works, with a more dedicated focus on word placement and the relationship between musical phrasing and text. However, there are still indications that word placement was considered by some of the scribes copying carols. In Selden, for example, although the English lyrics are not split syllabically most of the time, occasional syllabification does occur, normally towards the end of the phrase. The text also has uneven spacing at points, attempting to visually demonstrate where the words are intended to be set in relation to the music, as shown in Figure 4.15.[128]

[128] In Latin texts melisma is also often marked out in red. See Mark Everist, *Discovering Medieval Song: Latin Poetry and Music in the Conductus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 92-93.

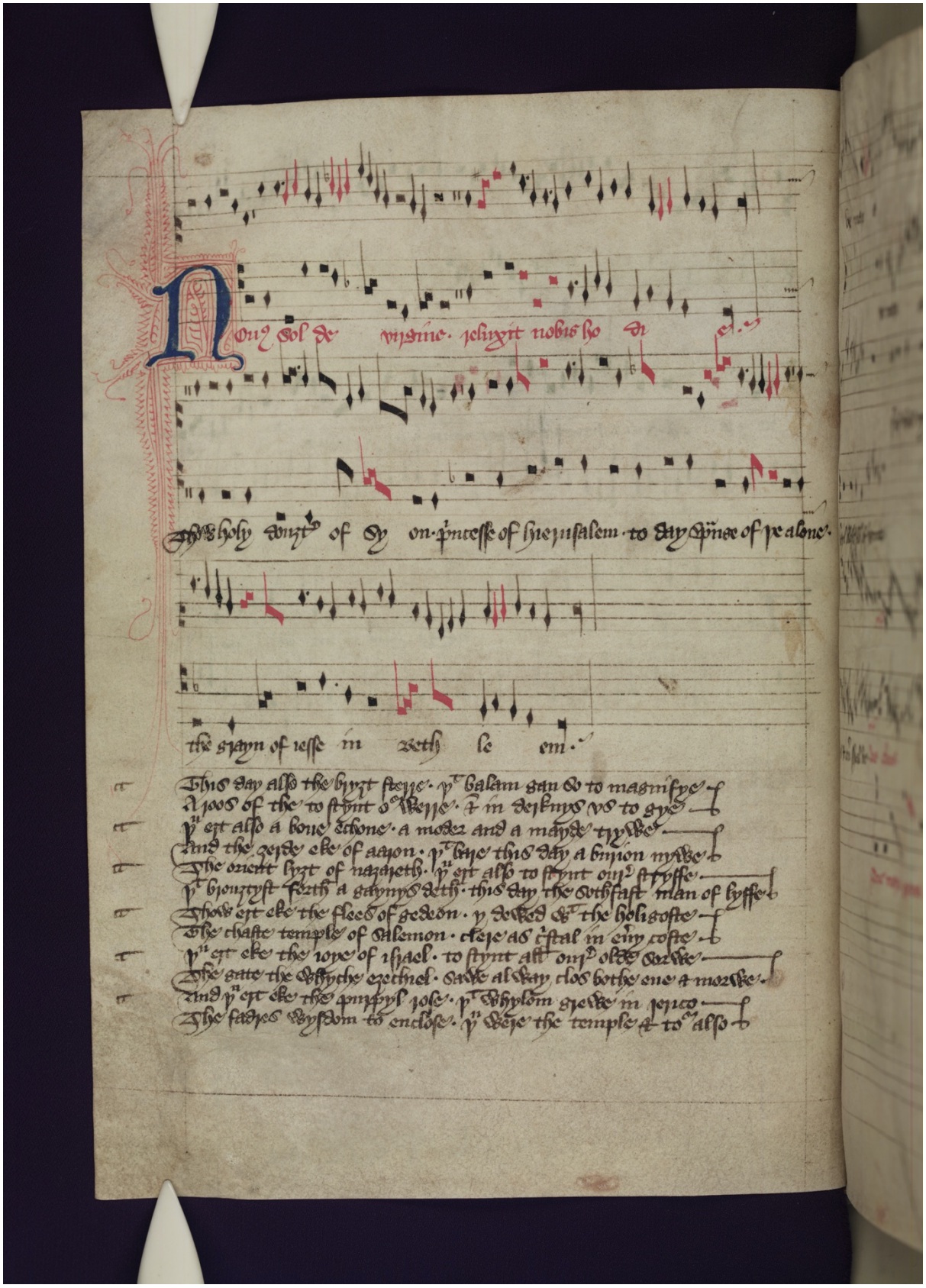

Figure 4.15: *Thou holy daughter of Sion* (*Thou holy daughter*), Selden fol. 25r (Photo © Bodleian Library, University of Oxford)

Figure 4.15 shows how, in the carol *Thou holy daughter,* the word at the end of the first verse is separated syllabically to illustrate on which note the final syllable should fall.[129] However, this instance of syllabification on 'Bethlehem' within the vernacular text occurs only as the piece reaches a cadential point, a point at which it needs to be clear to singers where the final syllable falls within the musical phrase. The spacing in-between words also differs throughout the first verse to show how the text relates to the notes on the page. Thus, even if not all the text is split syllabically these are visual cues to indicate how text and music work together. Another explanation for the consistent syllabification of Latin lyrics and the lack of syllabification for the vernacular may then indicate something else: that the vernacular pieces within these collections were easier to commit to memory than the Latin. The vernacular pieces may have been easier to mentally set to music due to the familiarity of the language, so syllabification of vernacular text was only really needed to indicate the ends of phrases.[130] If this is the case and the setting of text to music was easier to memorise in the vernacular than in Latin, then these carols could have easily been performed off-book. This introduces an interesting possibility for the polyphonic carol manuscripts – that these manuscripts contained familiar repertoire intended for memorisation and that these books were intended as reference or rehearsal books that household ensembles could take with them as they travelled.

To examine this idea of the four polyphonic carol collections as reference or rehearsal books, we now turn to the concept of fauxbourdon and examine both what is on the page and what is not visible on the page. Brian Trowell describes fauxbourdon as 'a technique of either improvised singing or shorthand

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[129] Egerton, fol. 59v.

[130] Laurence Earp notes the difficulty that scholars face when approaching the topic of text setting in fifteenth-century sources – 'it is commonly believed that the sources of 15th-century music are unclear in their presentation of text underlay, and that the editor is pretty much left to his own devices in establishing the correlation of syllables and notes'. Earp describes how in the fourteenth century music was written on the page after the text. As such, scribes had to follow exemplars closely to try to estimate the space needed for melisma and to try to create an accurate setting of text to music. In the fifteenth century scribes began to copy the music first followed by the text. See Laurence Earp, 'Texting in 15th-Century French Chansons: A Look Ahead from the 14th Century', *Early Music*, 19.2 (1991), 194-197, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3127635> [Accessed: 30th September 2023]. Extensive work on underlay and the relationship of music to text has also been done by Don Harrán and Margaret Bent. See Don Harrán, *Word-Tone Relations in Musical Thought: From Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century* (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler-Verlag, 1986) and Margaret Bent, 'Text Setting in Sacred Music of the Early 15th Century: Evidence and Implications', in *Musik und Text in der Mehrstimmigkeit des 14. Und 15. Jahrhundrets: Vorträge des Gastsymposions in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, 8. Bis 12. September 1980*, ed. by Ursula Günther and Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1984), pp. 291-326.

notation particularly associated with sacred music of the 15th century'.[131] This improvisation usually took place in pieces where there were two voice-parts listed on the page. If these two voices were composed with intervals of sixths or octaves between them, then a third part could then be improvised within the performance by 'following certain strictly formulaic procedures'.[132] This meant that the third voice part did not have to appear on the page. Highly-skilled musicians would have known that the interval gap between the two parts allowed for the creation of a third improvised part within performance. Although in his transcription of the musically-notated medieval carol corpus Stevens creates and includes fauxbourdon parts for the carols in which he notices the required interval gap between the two voice parts on the page, he does not go into detail on the topic of fauxbourdon and how it may have operated or what it may have indicated about the medieval carol corpus.[133] Only recently has scholarship ventured into these discussions, with Fallows devoting a chapter of his *Henry V and the Earliest English Carols* to the topic of fauxbourdon.[134] Fallows states that the fauxbourdon part was usually calculated by the performer based on the lowest voice part (tenor).[135] This involved singing up a third from the tenor part and up a fifth at cadences.[136] Fallows also concludes that the use of fauxburdon is associated with the earliest layer of English carols and that these are earlier than examples of fauxburdon that we find on the Continent in the music of composers like Dufay.[137] Furthermore, the early continental examples of fauxburdon are, like the English carols, only workable when the improvised voice is worked out from the tenor as opposed to the discantus.[138]

The possibility of fauxburdon due to the interval gap of the two written vocal lines is particularly seen with the burdens of carols. This suggests that in the performance of polyphonic carols extra emphasis was sometimes added to the burden, the part containing the central message, through the inclusion of an additional voice. Fallows notes that six of the thirteen carols in the Trinity Carol Roll contain burdens with room for a fauxburdon part.[139] The potential use of fauxburdon within the carol corpus suggests several

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[131] Brian Trowell, 'Fauxbourdon', *GMO* (2001), <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630> [Accessed: 20th January 2022].
[132] Trowell, 'Fauxbourdon'.
[133] Stevens, *MC*.
[134] Fallows, *Henry V*, pp. 45-51.
[135] Fallows, *Henry V*, pp. 50-51.
[136] Fallows, *Henry V*, pp. 50-51.
[137] See Heinrich Besseler, *Bourdon und Faubourdon; Studien zum Ursprung der niederlandischen Musik*, (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1950), pp. 13-15; Fallows, *Henry V*, pp. 46-51.
[138] Fallows, *Henry V*, p. 51.
[139] Fallows, *Henry V*, p. 43.

different options for the performance of these polyphonic carols. Firstly, fauxbourdon is often signified in other polyphonic works by an accompanying textual note saying 'fauxbourdon' or 'faburden'.[140] Only a carol in Ritson contains a specific 'fauxbourdon' instruction.[141] The use of fauxburdon in the other carols must be inferred from the intervals between parts. Highly-skilled musicians would have been able to tell if fauxburdon was possible from looking at the music, so the marking out of a fauxbourdon part may have been thought unnecessary. However, it could also suggest that the ensemble the pieces were intended for was already familiar with the repertoire and how it should be performed. A prompt was not therefore needed to perform the carol with a fauxbourdon part. Skilled musicians are also often able to harmonise purely based on the intervals and harmonic progressions heard within a piece, even if they do not have the music to hand.[142] This involves relying purely on the aural and oral reception of the piece and being able to mentally compose a part just within the mind. The unwritten nature of the fauxbourdon may therefore highlight the capacity of musicians to mentally compose fitting vocal parts which harmonise with the existing melodic lines. There is no specific need for the book for the composition of the fauxbourdon part. All that is needed is for those singing the existing musical parts to do so accurately and for the musician singing the fauxbourdon then to understand the intervals between these existing parts and to be able to navigate that relationship between parts within performance. Thus, the fauxbourdon performer could easily be off-book without the need to consult the manuscript, relying instead on their ability to compose within the mind based on the musical parts heard or already known.

The fact that the accuracy of the two existing lines was essential to the successful performance of a fauxbourdon part – with a sudden change of intervals between parts or the tenor or discantus performing inaccurately potentially jeopardising the fauxbourdon line, meaning it does not harmonise with the rest of the vocal lines – opens the possibility of the carol codices being used as reference works, for small ensembles to check parts and ensure that they were properly memorised before performance. If we accept

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[140] Fallows, *Henry V*, p. 45. Ernest Trumble produced a large-scale listing of sources that carried the note 'fauxbourdon'. See Ernest Trumble, *Fauxbourdon: A Historical Survey* (New York: Institute of Medieval Music, 1959).
[141] See Ritson, fols. 26v-27r.
[142] Robert Gjerdingen describes how in Gregorian chant the 'chant served as a reference or cognitive anchor from which the cantor who improvised the embellishing voice took his bearings'. The same idea applies here to the performance of fauxbourdon. The two written vocal lines in this case would act as the anchor. See Robert Gjerdingen, 'Musical Structure: Melody, Texture, and Harmony in the Classical Tradition', in *The Routledge Companion to Music Cognition*, ed. by Richard Ashley (New York: Routledge, 2017), pp. 153-164, (p. 153).

these manuscripts as books belonging to travelling households and being intended as portable collections, then the idea that the polyphonic carol corpus was intended to be performed from memory as opposed to from book appears even more likely. Take, for example, the Trinity Carol Roll. If we assume that the Roll did indeed travel with the Chapel Royal and was intended for performance in front of Henry V and that half of the carols required at least three soloists if including the fauxburdon part, then the layout of the manuscript does not seem appropriate for a group of people to use in performance. The cramped nature of the text, with the majority of the verses often to the side or below the music (as with many of the carol codices) and the need therefore when reading the music to skip between text and musical notation, would have been difficult for multiple performers crowded round the manuscript. The manuscript seems designed for individual rather than group use. This suggests that familiarity with the selected carol pieces was needed by members of the ensemble and a reliance on memory rather than the page within performance. It would not be efficient for a travelling ensemble to carry many different copies of the same musical text with them as they journeyed from place to place. If this had happened, then it is also likely that more manuscripts of carols would have been passed down to us than what we currently have, as is the case with partbooks. Thus, within the contexts identified for the four carol manuscripts, a reliance on memory and performance from memory seems more of a likely scenario than performance from the page.

Considering the use of fauxbourdon and the possibilities this introduces of the carol corpus being primarily intended for performance by memory, the accurate placement of text in relation to music again lends weight to the idea of the existing polyphonic carol books as reference works, used for rehearsal, checking, and learning. Within polyphony, the accurate text placement ensures that the message of the piece remains clear and that phrases can be easily heard and understood. The placement of text between parts can affect how a singer navigates the music. A word being sung in an unexpected place in one part has the potential to cause error in the other parts. Both setting the text to music accurately and performing this accurately is therefore important. This may explain why some parts of the vernacular carol text are syllabified towards the end of a phrase and why spacing between words is sometimes used to indicate where a word sits in relation to a musical note. Having a book available for reference with clear indications of where word change and note change occurs may have assisted ensembles when it came to performance with an improvised fauxbourdon part. If the two written vocal lines were confident with what was written

on the page and could reproduce it accurately in performance, moving from word-to-word and from note-to-note at the correct points, then this reduces the margin for error in the improvised fauxbourdon part and the possibility of what I will term 'ear skip' – when a performer within an ensemble hears an incorrect change of text or note in another part and consequently loses their own place within the music and texture of the different parts.[143] Familiarity and confidence with the two written vocal parts of carols containing fauxbourdon would therefore minimise the possibility of ear skip and the potential for disharmony to occur between parts.

The way that text appears on the carol book may also tell us more about who the carol books were intended for as well as how they were meant to be used. The text scribe in Egerton, for example, consistently writes out the second verse in red. Fallows notes that the pen they use for this is broader and takes up more space leaving little room for text setting to be made clear through the use of gaps or syllabification. There are instances where the Egerton scribe does have space to syllabify the occasional word within carols or, like in Selden, uses space to indicate where the words should fall in relation to the text, suggesting at least a basic understanding of music or attention being paid to the setting of words to music within an exemplar. However, the instances of this are few and far between. This could suggest that the scribe's primary intention was to produce a book which was visually impressive rather than overly musically accurate. Even if this book was one intended for reference by a performing ensemble, the musicians within a household to which such a book belonged would have been highly-trained enough to be able to mentally set text to music, so this may not have been a major issue for performers. However, if we consider the suggestion that Egerton was designed for use by a bibliophilic patron wishing to follow the performance of a piece or collect together favoured repertoire, then this provides another reason for attention to be centred on the look of the book rather than the overly accurate relation of music and text. Considering this potential function for the manuscript, it is then interesting to note that when additional

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[143] George Kane writes that error or variation often comes from unconscious slips in thought, reading, or writing – see William Langland, *Piers Plowman: The A Version: Will's Visions of Piers Plowman and Do-Well,* ed. George Kane, rev. edn. (London: Athlone, 1988), pp. 143-144. The impact of hearing, particularly within a music context is less discussed. I have consequently chosen to refer to the potential for error through something which is heard as 'ear skip' to relate this to the process of 'eye skip', where a scribe accidentally omits a word or phrase from the manuscript they are copying by visually 'skipping' over a part of what is written. For discussion of eye skip and other textual errors see Wakelin, *Scribal Correction,* p. 220*;* Takao Kato, 'Corrected Mistakes in Cambridge University Library MS Gg.4.27', in *Design and Distribution of Late Medieval Manuscripts in England*, ed. by Margaret Connolly and Linne Mooney (Woodbridge: York Medieval, 2008), p. 82.

verses are listed out underneath the notated section of music, these verses are not separated out line by line or marked out by brackets, as they are in Selden or Trinity. Rather, the scribe, as shown in Figure 4.16, writes the verse out as one would prose.[144]

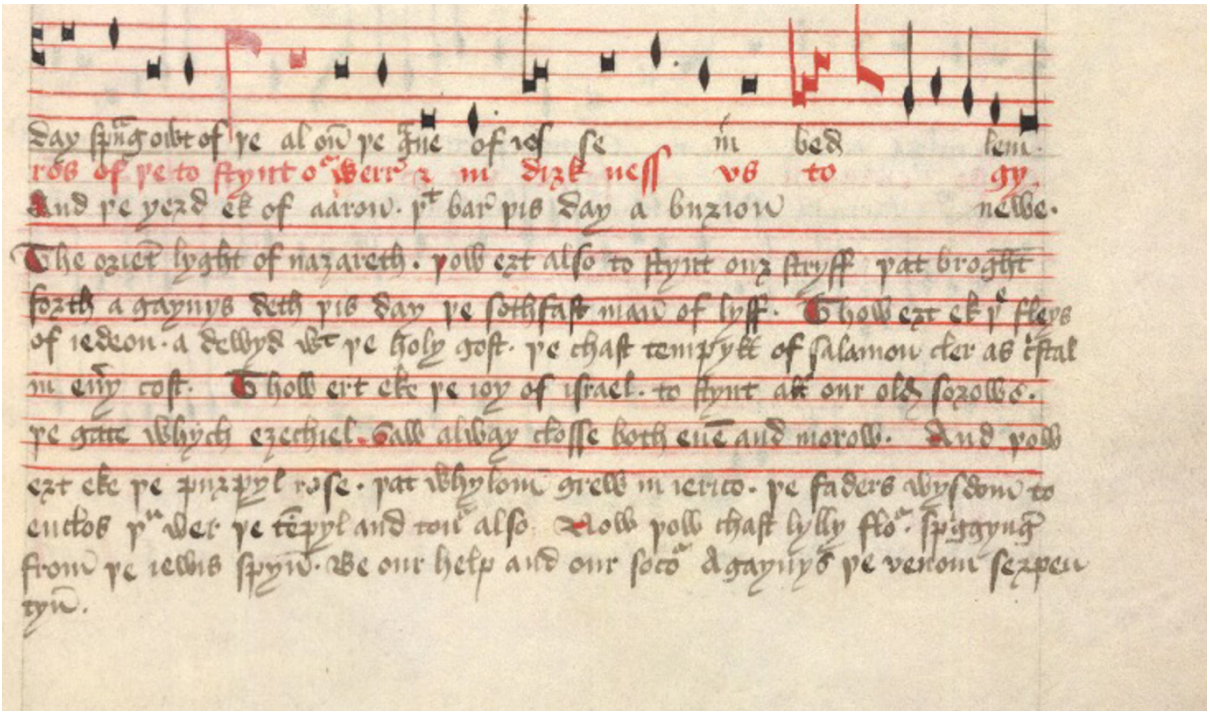

Figure 4.16: *Thou holy daughter* (From the British Library Collection: Egerton, fol. 53r)

This, again, implies less of a focus on performance 'from book'. It could also suggest that the scribe was more used to working with or copying prose and was not a scribe usually employed to copy text to fit with musical notation. One must therefore ask what the exemplar for Egerton may have been like for the scribe to copy in such a way. Having acknowledged the consistency of layout styles in the other three carol books, it is hard to argue that the scribe of Egerton was not working from an exemplar with this consistent layout. It appears that the scribe has made an active choice to deviate from the normal way in which carol lyrics are copied. Discussing the relationship between prose and verse, Adrian Armstrong, Sarah Kay et al describe the work of Godzich and Kittay, which suggests that prose is seen as more suitable medium to present knowledge because it allows a form of objectivity as it is not reliant on traditions of oral

[144] Compare the additional verses of Egerton's *Novus sol de virgine*, with that of Selden in Figure 4.11.

performance.[145] If we accept this argument, then the scribe of these lyrics may be attempting to elevate the lyrical offering within Egerton by presenting it in a way that is prosaic, thereby allowing it to be 'read' both as a way of following live performance but also, if necessary, outside of the structures of oral performance in a way which emulates prose.

Egerton's prosaic carol style can be explained through the argument that the book is designed more with a reader in mind than a performer. However, the carol corpus was also designed for participation, with the burdens designed for people to be able to join in with singing. This is why burdens frequently feature phrases encouraging communal singing and using inclusive language. *Novus profusi gaudio*, a carol featuring English, French, and Latin lyrics, has a burden proclaiming '*Benedicamus domino'* [let us praise the Lord], and *The Holy Martyr Stephen* states that 'we' pray to the Lord night and day.[146] With the participatory nature of the carol burden in mind, a patron may have been expected to join in with this element of the song even if they merely followed the soloists during the verses. We might expect then particular attention to be paid to the burden if the manuscript was designed with participation in mind and with the possibility of a patron joining in with the burden of the musical work. Emphasis on the burden is found in the two-page layout of carols with a double burden, with the more communal setting of the three-voice second burden on the right-hand page distinguishing it from the leader's initial two-voice burden on the left page. This second burden is also often placed next to other 'chorus' elements, such as the repeated second line of the verses of *As Holy kirk makes mind*, shown in the second image of Figure 4.11. This creates a page for the soloists and a page for communal singing. In the case of the *cantilenae Qui natus est in virgine,* there are two burdens, but the piece is only set across one page.[147] However, the scribe takes care to highlight the communal part of the carol by writing chorus by the second burden, as shown in Figure 4.17.

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[145] 'The semiotics of verse texts remain indexed to performance even when the texts themselves are written down; the absence of oral performance is a factor precipitating the collapse of confidence in the capacity of verse adequately to convey knowledge of the world. […] verse [in later medieval texts] continues to be regarded as inferior to prose when it comes to rendering reality in the way that social changes increasingly require, namely as impersonal and objective, and as no longer dependent on reference to what is immediately present'. See Adrian Armstrong et al, 'One Persistent Presence: Verse after Prose', in *Knowing Poetry: Verse in Medieval France from the Rose to the Rhétoriqueur*s, ed. by Adrian Armstrong and Sarah Kay (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2011), pp. 27-48, (p. 28).

[146] Egerton, fol. 64r; fol. 51v; fol. 54v.

[147] *Cantilenae* and carols are structured and function in the same way. It is unsurprising therefore that the *cantilenae* are often treated the same way as vernacular and macaronic carols in terms of how they appear on the page.

Figure 4.17: ***Qui natus est de virgine*** **(From the British Library Collection: Egerton, fol. 5r)**

Considerable care is therefore taken to highlight sections of carols designed for communal singing within this manuscript. The *mise-en-page* of Egerton manuscript carols, particularly those containing two burdens, may therefore show that this manuscript was indeed intended for use by those joining in with the communal element of carols. The manuscript is not just designed with beauty in mind and so that it can be easily read in a more prosaic style, it is also designed with the sense that its user will value the outlining of participatory sections. This again emphasises the difference of Egerton in comparison to the other carol collections, suggesting that the Egerton manuscript is less concerned with carol performance from memory but rather with the ability of its user to navigate carol pieces and know their own role in a carol's performance. This does, however, still leave room for the soloists of the carols contained within this book to perform from memory, something to which we shall return as we progress to the study of the non-notated carol corpus.

Conclusion

Although all four carol collections are often considered together, from comparing carol books to other music books of the time and through the study of the physical manuscripts themselves, the *mise-en-page*, what is and what is not on the page, it is clear that the four manuscripts differ in their function, use, and provenance. This is testament to the carol's versatility and the different contexts for collecting polyphonic works and performing them. It is, however, clear that the consistency of the appearance of the carol on the page suggests that the scribes of these manuscripts identified the carol as having its own particular identity among musical works and thus its own recognised layout on the page. Edmund Lacy emerges from this study as a figure of significant interest in connection with the polyphonic carol and its dispersal in written form throughout fifteenth-century England. This is a figure whose relationship to the carol has been briefly explored within the remit of this study, but whose connection to the emergence of the polyphonic carol is certainly worth further academic investigation. Close examination of textual underlay, the use of fauxburdon, and the treatment of the burden within these carol manuscripts also demonstrates that the polyphonic carol corpus may have been intended for memorisation and performance off-book. This throws further light on the potential use of the carol manuscripts. When the evidence from the page is considered alongside the physical features of each manuscript, the possibility of the use of these polyphonic carol books in rehearsal, for reference, as works-in-progress, and for the benefit of patrons who merely wished

to follow performance and join in during moments of participation, is made more likely. Furthermore, a connection to memorisation and performance off-book begins to emerge.

V

HEARING THE PAGE: PERFORMANCE BEYOND TEXT

The four polyphonic carol manuscripts provide insight into some of the performance contexts and ways of performing carols. However, alongside these four books there exists a more extensive collection of carol lyrics without musical notation. This chapter will examine the four musically-notated manuscripts in direct comparison with non-notated collections of carols. It begins by introducing the non-notated carol corpus and discussing the contexts in which these books existed and how they may have been used, before moving onto an in-depth comparative examination of the non-notated and musically-notated carol books. Through this comparative method I argue that instances of scribal correction, error, and variation show the influence of performance, instructions for performance (namely musical notation), and memory on scribes. I will suggest that whilst the four musically-notated polyphonic carol books may have been intended as working documents for composers or for the use of the head of a noble household or chapel, these non-notated books were meant to act as personal aides-mémoires for individual performers. In light of this suggestion, it is essential to study the non-notated repertoire with an understanding of the notated carol collections and vice-versa if we are to create a picture of carol culture in the late medieval period or make statements about the carol's historical performance. Non-notated carol books cannot be productively studied in isolation from their notated counterparts.[1] In addition, I will argue that from the non-notated collections of carols we can gather a greater picture of late medieval performance and musical culture than currently appreciated and can come to see carol culture as being largely centred around memorisation and performance from memory. This chapter will take a combined literary-musicological approach, addressing the lack of musicological awareness that has previously existed in relation to the study of purely textual collections.[2] It will see these non-notated books not just as collections of lyrics but as echoes of performance and oral

[1] McInnes, 'Saints and Sinners', p. 481.
[2] Writing on the Sloane, OxEng, and St John's manuscripts, Palti notes that non-notated manuscripts 'lie beyond musicology's immediate field of interest.' See Palti, 'Synge we now', p. 30.

tradition, elements of which can be glimpsed by looking closely at the way in which scribes copied, the mistakes they made, and how these carols appear in the surviving books.[3]

Four Non-Notated Carol Books: OxEng, Balliol, Sloane, and Lincoln

If the polyphonic carol manuscripts were primarily intended as reference or rehearsal books for a choir or patron, then this raises questions about the use and function of their non-notated counterparts – who wrote these books and why did they write them? Scholars including Thomas Wright, H. L. D. Ward and Rossell Hope Robbins have previously described non-notated carol collections as the work of minstrels or itinerant musicians.[4] Whilst discussing the Sloane and OxEng manuscripts, Thomas Wright describes how some of the songs within these books were 'only at times copied down by accident in collections like the two which I have edited, which we may therefore regard as very curious monuments of the minstrel lore'.[5] As such, Wright connects these non-notated collections with memory but labels these collections as accidental occurrences. Robbins also highlights Sloane, OxEng, and Cambridge, St John's College, MS 54 (St John's) as 'intended for minstrel rather than religious use'.[6] As scholarship has furthered its understanding of writing and performance practices scholars have distanced themselves from this school of thought, instead proposing that many of these non-notated books could have had clerical roots.[7] The connection between

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[3] Armstrong et al, 'Persistent Presence', p. 28.

[4] A thorough definition of and background to minstrelsy is provided in Richard Rastall and Andrew Taylor, *Minstrels and Minstrelsy in Late Medieval England* (London: Boydell & Brewer, 2023). For descriptions of some of these non-notated collections as minstrels' books, see H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 3 vols (London, 1833-1910), l.516 and Thomas Wright, *Songs and Carols from a Manuscript in the British Museum of the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1856), p. 3. Robbins also discusses the relationship of the carol with minstrels in Rossell Hope Robbins, 'The Earliest Carols and the Franciscans', *Modern Language Notes*, 53.4 (1938), 239-245, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2912477> [Accessed: 12th February 2023], p. 244. John Stevens expresses a certain hesitance when describing songbooks or carol collections as minstrels' books, see John Stevens, *Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 49-51. This hesitancy to associate lyrics with minstrels is also shared by John C. Hirsch in his discussion of a leaf from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson D.913. See John C. Hirsch, 'The Rawlinson Lyrics: Context, Memory and Performance', in *Middle English Texts in Transition: A Festschrift Dedicated to Toshiyui Takamiya on his 70th Birthday*, ed. by Simon Horobin and Linne R. Mooney (York: York Medieval Press, 2014), pp. 104-115, (p. 107). It is worth noting though that minstrels did move around from court to court and therefore likely had exposure to the carols that were sung in this environment and the music produced by aristocratic chapels. Vale, for example, describes the 'constant passage of minstrels and singers from court to court' and how minstrels were often brought to different areas by celebratory events. See Malcolm Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe*, 1270-1380 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 292.

[5] Wright, *Songs and Carols*, p. 7.

[6] Robbins, 'The Earliest Carols, p. 244.

[7] Andrew Taylor, 'The Myth of the Minstrel Manuscript', *Speculum,* 66.1 (1991), 45-73, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2863947> [Accessed: 24th September 2023]. Greene's provenance's for OxEng and Sloane argue against the association of these manuscripts with minstrels. Each provenance will be discussed further within this chapter.

non-notated carol books with minstrels has been disputed by scholars including Richard Rastall and Andrew Taylor, who write 'the collections cannot, however, be assigned to minstrels; they could equally have belonged to any of the numerous lay people who worked for the monasteries or even, as Greene suggests, to the monks themselves'.[8] By looking at the concordances between polyphonic carol books and the non-notated carol collections, we can begin to see that some of these non-notated books may have come into being in similar environments to their polyphonic counterparts. However, rather than being intended for reference within a choir or chapel library, these books may have been for individual use and rehearsal, becoming collections of preferred lyrics, prompts for songs, and exercise books for composition.

Appendix III lists the carols found in the four polyphonic carol collections (listed in red) that also have concordances in non-notated collections. This table has been made based on carol witnesses and concordances identified initially by Greene in *EEC*. These were then cross-referenced with references found on the *Digital Index of Medieval English Verse* (*DIMEV*) and the carols found in John Stevens's *MC*.[9] The table excludes any concordances found in printed collections, as this study concentrates primarily on manuscript culture and the handwritten sources of carols in the late medieval period. This witness table also excludes Latin *cantilenae* identified by Stevens, although they often take the same structure as the carol.[10] As such, the table takes into account macaronic and vernacular carols. Where further concordances have been found in the years following the publication of *EEC*, these have also been listed in the table.[11] This produces a concordance list of twenty-one non-notated carol books which share carols with at least one of the four polyphonic manuscripts. Of these manuscripts, Sloane; OxEng; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS

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[8] Rastall and Taylor, *Minstrels*, p. 248.
[9] See Linne R. Mooney et al, *Digital Index of Medieval English Verse*, (2023), <https://www.dimev.net/index.html> [Accessed: 24th August 2023] and Stevens, *MC*.
[10] Stevens, *MC*. These *cantilenae* are often referred to as 'Latin carols' or similar. I have chosen to concentrate on the English and macaronic carols due to the significant data we have available and the accuracy that this could therefore give in a concordance list compared to one which incorporated the Latin cantilena. To cross-reference English and macaronic carols we have *EEC*, *MC*, *DIAMM*, and *DIMEV* at our disposal. Greene lists the concordances for each carol in *EEC* and this can be checked against the repertoire lists of English and macaronic lyrics on *DIMEV* to see if any new concordances have been identified. *DIAMM* and *MC* provide information primarily on the musically-notated books, with *DIAMM* offering a repertoire list of notated collections and *MC* collecting together all the Latin, English, and macaronic carols in musically-notated works. However, there is currently no database available which includes all the Latin *cantilenae* in non-notated sources. As such, it is difficult to fully cross-reference concordances. The likelihood of missing a concordance between *cantilenae* in musically-notated books and non-notated collections is therefore high. As such, I have chosen to compile just the English and macaronic carol concordances across musically-notated and non-notated sources within the table in Appendix III, pp. 230-233 to ensure that the concordance list is as accurate as possible and that the likelihood of missing a concordance is low.
[11] The Lincoln manuscript is not recorded in Greene. Pali discusses the repertoire of this manuscript in Palti, 'An Unpublished Fifteenth-Century Carol Collection', pp. 260-278.

Lincoln Lat. 141 (Lincoln), and Balliol have the highest number of concordances with the polyphonic books, as shown in Figure 5.1.[12] This suggests that they were present in an environment in which musically-notated pieces were circulating, whether by performance or by exemplar. We will therefore concentrate predominantly on these books within this chapter and begin by discussing their provenance and establishing the environment and contexts for performance from these three books.[13]

	Sloane (1400-1450)	**OxEng (1450-1475)**	**Lincoln (1450-1500)**	**Balliol (1501-1533)**
Trinity (1415-1417)	1	2	1	4
Selden (1425-1450)	1	2	0	2
Egerton (1425-1450)	0	1	0	0
Ritson (1440-1460)	0	3	1	3

Figure 5.1: Table showing number of concordances between three non-notated collections and the four polyphonic manuscripts

The earliest manuscript featured in Figure 5.1 is Sloane, which shares two carols with the musically-notated books, one with Trinity and two with the Selden Carol Book.[14] This manuscript dates to the first half of the fifteenth century and comprises thirty-seven leaves written in a neat anglicana hand. Like other carol collections, the manuscript is small, measuring just 150mm x 110mm, potentially indicating that it was designed with portability in mind. In terms of carol layout, the manuscript follows the common layout of non-notated carols – the burden of each carol is written at the top either in a single line or in two lines. Verses then follow the burden. The rhyme scheme of each stanza is indicated with bracketing and the

[12] Although the number of concordances may look small at first glance. However, we have only four complete books of polyphonic carol repertoire (Trinity, Selden, Egerton, and Ritson). The number of concordances between this small sample of musically-notated books and Balliol, Sloane, OxEng, and Lincoln are significantly higher than the concordances with other non-notated books (normally just one concordance as shown in Appendix III, pp. 230-233). This suggests that these non-notated manuscripts are worth further investigation in regard to their relationship with the musically-notated books.

[13] Balliol, Sloane, Lincoln, and OxEng will be the primary sources mentioned within this chapter. However, the non-notated books listed in Appendix III, pp. 230-233 will still be drawn in for points of comparison and to explore different connections further.

[14] Sloane shares *As I lay upon a night* (fol. 30v) with Trinity and Selden and *Holy maiden, blessed thou be* (fol. 25r) with Selden.

refrain is featured to the right of these brackets. The copying of the manuscript is neat, with small bits of rubric used at the start of some lines. The scribe has evidently taken care of this manuscript, returning to neatly correct their work when necessary.

The manuscript is thought to have been much larger; however, much of it has been lost over time and it is therefore impossible to say if this manuscript was intended solely as a songbook or, indeed, how large the collection was in its original state.[15] It has been argued that Sloane has a Warwickshire origin.[16] However, it has generally been agreed in more recent times that this book originated in East Anglia.[17] The dialectal evidence certainly points towards a connection with this area – for example, 'sh' is often replaced by 'x', a common feature in books with an East Anglian and, more specifically, a Norfolk connection.[18] Sloane also features carols dedicated to St Edmund and to St Nicholas.[19] Greene notes that the monastery of Bury St Edmund's in Suffolk had a tradition of boy-bishops throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and this boy-bishop became known as 'the bishop of St Nicholas'.[20] There was also an altar dedicated to St. Nicholas in the monastery's church.[21] Greene therefore suggests that the content of the book and its dialect demonstrate a connection with the monastery of Bury St Edmund's.[22] Although Greene seems particularly determined to situate the Sloane manuscript in Bury St Edmund's, Wakelin suggests a slightly different area.[23] Focusing on the carol *Think man whereof thou art wrought*, Wakelin links the

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[15] Greene, *EEC*, p. 306; Palti, 'Synge we now', p. 69. Wakelin makes the most plausible estimate of Sloane's size. He writes that 'there was once a further forty-eight leaves, perhaps six quires of eight, as the first three remaining quires are eight leaves each. Sloane was, then, an impressively large gathering of eighty-four folios and perhaps one hundred and fifty lyrics' – see Wakelin, 'The Carol in Writing', p. 29.

[16] Thomas Wright, *Songs and Carols*, p. viii.

[17] Greene, *EEC*, p. 306.

[18] See the description of the manuscript on *eLALME* – 'Sloane 2593 – Norfolk', *Electronic Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval England* (2023),<http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/elalme/elalme_frames.html> [Accessed: 10th February 2023].

[19] *A new song I will begin* is a carol for St Edmund's day and features on Sloane, fol. 25v. A carol to St Nicholas, *Saint Nicholas was of great post,* features on Sloane, fols. 2v-3r. An assessment of East Anglia in the Middle Ages can be found in *Medieval East Anglia*, ed. by Christopher Harper-Bill (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005).

[20] Greene, *EEC*, p. 306. Under the miscellaneous records of 'The Manuscripts of the Corporation of Bury St. Edmunds' is an 'Account of William Barwe' from 1418 in which a payment of twelve pence to the boy bishop on St Nicholas Day is listed, as well as payments to 'minstrels at Christmas and the feast of St. Edmund'. See 'The Manuscripts of the Corporation of Bury St. Edmunds', in *The Manuscripts of Lincoln, Bury St. Edmund's and Great Grimsby Corporations; and of the Deans and Chapters of Worcester and Lichfield, &c*, ed. by William Dunn Macray et al (London: Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, 1895), I, pp. 121-157, (p. 124).

[21] Greene, *EEC*, p. 306.

[22] Greene, *EEC*, p. 306. Hirsch also describes how Sloane is 'clearly associated with Bury St Edmunds, almost certainly with the great Benedictine abbey there'. See John C. Hirsch, *Medieval Lyric: Middle English Lyrics, Ballads, and Carols* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), pp. 7-8.

[23] Daniel Wakelin, 'Lightning at Lynn, 1363: The Origins of a Lyric in MS Sloane', *Notes and Queries* (2001), 382-385, (p. 383).

dramatic natural events in the carol's text to events that occurred at Lynn and were recorded in the back of a Bury St Edmund's chronicle.[24] Wakelin does not make any specific claim about the manuscript's provenance but does 'plausibly propose' that a Lynn-based Franciscan may at least have been responsible for the lyric's composition.[25] At the back of the Sloane manuscript the name Johannes Bardell appears: 'Johannes bardel debet istum librum þe qweche bradel is dwellyd in C'.[26] Greene suggests that this is a monk of Bury, John Berdwell. However, Wakelin points out that the name Bardel or Barwell was one popular in Norfolk. He highlights that a John Bardwell was the son of Sir William Bardwell and witnessed a legal document with John Catton, whose name Wakelin suggests may be part of the writing next to Bardel's own name in Sloane.[27] The Bardwell family name came from a township close to Bury St. Edmunds. They owned significant land in Norfolk and Suffolk. This included Berdewell Hall, a manor that was demolished in 1725 and is said to have had its own chapel.[28] Information about John Bardwell, the son of William Bardwell (c.1365-1434), is relatively scant.[29] However, it appears that he married Elizabeth (Alice) Clopton and had at least one child. He died before his father, who passed away in 1434.[30] Although we cannot link the Sloane manuscript with certainty to a particular household or to this family, it is nevertheless still a possibility that Sloane was connected to the Bardwells of this family, particularly in light of the connections this study has so far shown between the carol corpus and individual households. This particular John Bardwell would have certainly been active in the years that Sloane was thought to have been written, in the first part of the fifteenth century. His father, as a knight in the service of both the King and other Lords, would have also been placed in courtly environments where carols were performed. Thus, we

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[24] Wakelin, 'Lightning at Lynn', p. 383.
[25] Wakelin then distances himself slightly from this argument by stating that 'this single similarity between the carol and the annals cannot alone confirm such speculation about Lynn or Franciscan origins'. See Wakelin, 'Lightning at Lynn', p. 384.
[26] Sloane, fol. 26v.
[27] Wakelin also lists other prominent Bardels/Bardwells. For Wakelin's summary of potential Sloane-related Bardel's, see Wakelin, 'Lightning at Lynn', p. 385.
[28] Although it is uncertain when this chapel was built, there is a description of the manor and chapel in an 1829 publication, *A General History of the Country of Norfolk*. The hall is described as 'a fine old embattled stone building, moated round; there was a family chapel within it, full of coat armour on the walls and windows. It was demolished in 1725'. See John Chambers, 'West Herling', *A General History of the Country of Norfolk, Intended to Convey All the Information of a Norfolk Tour, with the More Extended Details of Antiquarian, Statistical, Pictoral, Architectural, and Miscellaneous Information; Including Bibliographical Notices, Original and Selected*, 2 vols. (Norfolk: Printed by and for John Stacy, 1829), II, pp. 708-709, (p. 709).
[29] It appears that Sir William de Berdewelle was well travelled and 'retained by different lords and gentlemen to fight either the battles of the King or their own', see Walter Arthur Copinger, 'Bardwell', in *The Manors of Suffolk: The Hundreds of Babergh and Blackbourn* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1905), pp. 262-270, (p. 263).
[30] Copinger, 'Norton Manor', in *The Manors of Suffolk*, pp. 349-352, (p. 350).

can make an informed guess that William Bardwell at the very least had some exposure to the songs that were popular in this courtly environment.[31] However, it is safer, without any stronger connections between this Bardwell family and the Sloane manuscript, to merely describe Sloane as a manuscript of East Anglian origin probably used by an individual who had reason to perform content that was primarily religious or moral in nature.[32]

OxEng is similar to Sloane in terms of its origins. It is thought to stem from Norfolk based on dialectal evidence, although the exact origin of the book is yet to be deduced.[33] The collection shows several stints of copying by two different scribes (Scribe A and Scribe B). OxEng has at several points been described as a minstrel's book, an assertion strongly disputed by Andrew Taylor.[34] Taylor makes a convincing argument for OxEng's dissociation with the idea of the minstrel, arguing that the satire on abbots and monks and the defacement of a carol celebrating Thomas of Canterbury points towards it stemming from a religious institution. However, Taylor also makes a number of inaccurate claims about OxEng. The first of these is that Scribe A only copied the first three and a half folios of the manuscript, and that Scribe B copied the rest of the lyrics. Instead, based on the features of these hands, Daniel Wakelin proposes the stints of copying shown in Figure 5.2:[35]

Folio	**Scribal Hand**
11r-41r	A
41v (top)	A
41v (bottom)	B
42r (main text)	A

[31] William Bardwell's military career and the connections made through this career, are documented by Philip J. Caudrey in Philip J. Caudrey, 'Military Service', in *Military Society and the Court of Chivalry in the Age of the Hundred Years War* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2019), pp. 23-62, (pp. 51-53).

[32] Boklund-Lagopoulou notes that Sloane's carols include thirty-three on Biblical history, Christ, Mary, and other saints, nine on repentance (including one poem on the Passion), and two on the Sacrament of the Altar. See Karin Boklund-Lagopoulou, *'I have a yong suster': Popular Song and the Middle English Lyric* (Portland, Oregon: Four Courts Press, 2002), pp. 64-65.

[33] See Richard Beadle, 'Prolegomena to a literary geography of later medieval Norfolk', in *Regionalism in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts: Essays Celebrating the publication of A Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English*, ed. Felicity Riddy (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1991), pp. 89-108.

[34] Taylor, 'The Myth of the Minstrel Manuscript', pp. 62-64.

[35] Wakelin, 'The Carol in Writing', p. 42, footnote 39. The hand of Scribe B is often slightly neater, the letter 'f' is not flattened at the top.

42r (corrections)	B
42v-48r	A
48r-61v	B

Figure 5.2: Wakelin's suggestion of changes of hand in OxEng

I agree with Wakelin's overview of the copying stints. Scribe B's main contribution to the manuscript occurs at the end of the book from fols. 48r-61v. The only other instance of Scribe B's involvement occurs on fol. 41v to fol. 42r as they correct Scribe A's work adding the burden of *Bring us in good brown bread* at the bottom of fol. 41v and adding verse A at the bottom of fol. 42r. After *Bring us in good brown bread* Scribe A's stint of writing carries on from fol. 42r to 48r. Scribe B's first correction at the bottom of fol. 41v occurs at the end of the carol *Tidings true there become new* (*Tidings true*). This is shown in Figures 5.3 and 5.4.

Figure 5.3: *Tidings true* in OxEng, fol. 41v (Photo © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford)

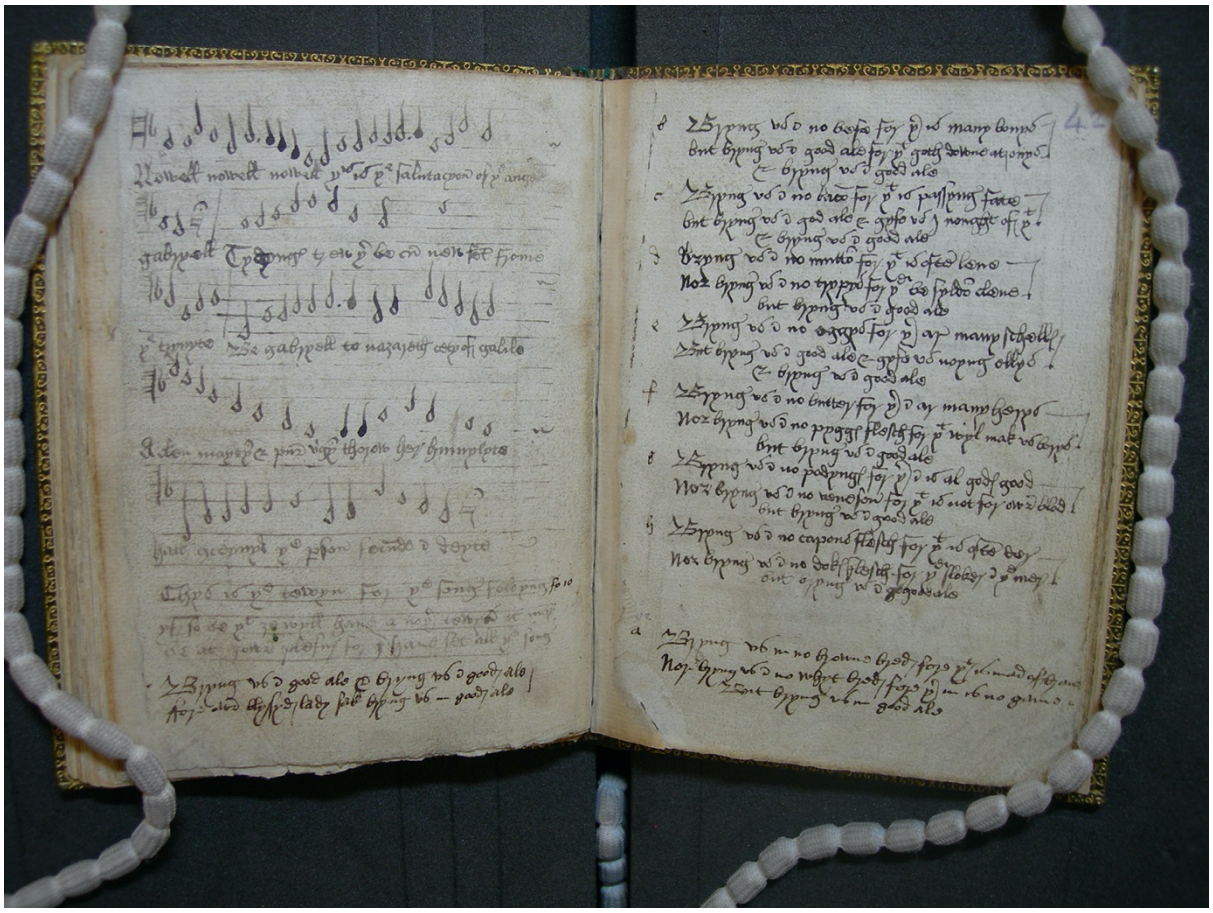

Figure 5.4: *Tidings true* and *Bring us in no brown bread* (OxEng, fols. 41v-42r). [36]

(Photo © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford)

[36] Only one image of this manuscript has been digitised by the Bodleian. All other photos used from this manuscript are reader images taken by Daniel Wakelin and kindly reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Libraries and Professor Wakelin. See Daniel Wakelin, 'BodL MS Eng poet. e.1', <https://www.flickr.com/photos/133734300@N05/albums/72157655499640972/with/18839421943/> [Accessed: 1st October 2023].

Tidings true is one of the only musically-notated pieces in OxEng.[37] Although this book contains some musical notation, I have still considered it as part of the non-notated repertoire. This is because its notation is minimal with only three instances of very brief, simple, monophonic music. OxEng therefore fits within the requirements of a non-notated collection as specified in the introduction.[38] Underneath *Tidings true* Scribe A has written that the musical notation is intended for the 'song folyng'. However, what follows on fol. 42r is not the rest of *Tidings true* but *Bring us in good brown bread*. The remaining lyrics of *Tidings true* only occur ten folios later in Scribe B's hand on fol. 51v. J. M. Gibbon suggests this is intentional and that the melody of *Tidings True* was meant for use with *Bring us in good brown bread*.[39] Gregory E. David and William Chappell also suggest that the *Tidings True* tune was also that of *Bring us in good brown bread*.[40] In fact, Chappell prints the words of *Bring us in brown bread* directly below that of *Tidings true* in an attempt to show how they correspond. However, this is unsuccessful. Chappell has to add two bars of music to the burden to create enough musical material for the words of *Bring us in good brown bread* to work with the tune of *Tidings true*.[41] Chappell attempts to justify this addition and argue for this example being an instance of contrafactum, stating that 'the only way in which the latter (*Bring us in good brown bread*) could have been sung to the music written in the manuscript (*Tidings true*), would be by omitting "And bring us in good ale;" but, as it is merely a repetition, it could be omitted'.[42] This seems to require too much change to make the melody work for *Bring us in good brown bread*. Moreover, the fact that *Bring us in good brown bread* appears in London, British Library, Harley MS. 541 (Harley 541) with its second line complete, suggests that this line was not intended for omission and that the version of *Bring us in good brown bread* in OxEng is accurate. Chappell thus appears reluctant to accept that the lyrics simply do not fit the music.

If the change in carols from fol. 41v to fol. 42r does not represent a case of contrafactum, then what does it indicate? Greene agrees that the melody of *Tidings true* does not fit the words of *Bring us good ale*. Furthermore, he notes that the change in ink demonstrates that 'some kind of break occurred just at

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[37] OxEng's concordances with other musically-notated book can be found in Appendix III, pp. 230-233.
[38] See Introduction.
[39] J. M. Gibbon, *Melody and Lyric from Chaucer to the Cavaliers* (London, 1930), p. 17.
[40] Gregory E. David, 'The Early Collectors', in *Victorian Songhunters: The Recovery and Editing of English Vernacular Ballads and Folk Lyrics*, 1820-1883 (Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, 2006), 19-34, p. 22 and William Chappell, *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, 2 vols, (London: Cramer, Beale and Chappell, 1858-59), I, pp. 41-43.
[41] Chappell, *Popular Music*, p. 42.
[42] Chappell, *Popular Music*, p. 42.

that point in the writing of the manuscript'.[43] The burden of *Bring us in good brown bread* is written on the bottom of fol. 41v by Scribe B. The verses then occur on fol. 42r in Scribe A's hand, with letters next to each verse to indicate their order. A separate verse at the bottom of fol. 42r is written by Scribe B and labelled 'A'. The fact that the majority of the *Bring us in good brown bread* verses are written by Scribe A on fol. 42r and Scribe B has only corrected the carol by writing the burden at the bottom of fol. 41v and the first verse on the bottom of 41r suggests that there is a missing leaf here, one that has either been lost or removed.[44] This leaf would have probably contained the remaining verses of *Tidings true* on its recto, perhaps leading onto its verso. It would have also contained the burden and first verse of *Bring us in good brown bread* in Scribe A's hand. The fact that Scribe B has filled the gap, adding corrections to Scribe A's work at the start of the manuscript but their main copying stint only occurs at the end of the manuscript, also suggests that the book at some point passed from Scribe A to Scribe B's possession. This means that rather than being a collaborative project, with multiple copyists working together on the book at the same time, the project was possibly originally an individual effort. The book may have then changed hands and passed from one person to another at a specific point of time. The leaf may have been lost when the manuscript came into Scribe B's hands, leaving Scribe B to correct the work and to provide a full transcription of *Tidings true* lyrics ten folios later.[45] The fact that Scribe B is familiar with both songs nevertheless suggests that they were in a similar environment to Scribe A and exposed to similar material. Scribe B's efforts to correct Scribe A's work and to ensure that the manuscript is 'complete' by adding in the rest of the *Tidings true* carol, also indicates a level of dedication to the project and to ensuring the collection was accurate and Scribe A's work was correct.

Although the origins of OxEng are difficult to pinpoint, the passing of the book between two scribes shows that the book existed in a context where multiple people were dedicated to recording carols and song and where the tradition of carol-writing could continue once Scribe A had either finished or could not continue with their work. OxEng is also the only one of the non-notated corpora featured in Figure 5.1 to have concordances with all four of the musically-notated carol manuscripts.[46] Considering this, it is

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[43] Greene, *EEC,* p. 255.
[44] This cannot be corroborated through the quiring because the book has been rebound and the quiring is now unclear.
[45] OxEng, fol. 51v.
[46] See Appendix III, pp. 230-233.

likely that OxEng existed in a musical environment, one in which the polyphonic carol repertoire was circulating and in which carols were actively being performed and not just written down. This is an assertion to which we will return later in this chapter, as we discuss whether indications of performance or instructions for performance can be found within non-notated repertoire. Having established the context in which Sloane and OxEng existed, we now turn to the Lincoln manuscript.

The Lincoln manuscript records nine carols.[47] The manuscript dates from the late-fifteenth century and the carols are copied by an anglicana hand. Like Sloane and OxEng the manuscript is also thought to derive from Norfolk based on dialectal evidence. However, as this thesis has argued, it is difficult to trust dialect studies due to the influence of travel and exchange during the late-medieval period.[48] The first quire of this composite manuscript contains the carol texts. The rest of the manuscript consists of grammatical notes and vocabularies, including a Latin to English vocabulary and a Greek to English vocabulary.[49] The final two carols differ from the first seven in terms of theme and appearance – *Listen lords veriment* is a carol in the voice of a shoemaker and *Solomon the wise he taught in his life* is a misogynistic anti-marital carol. The change in ink for the copying of these final two carols could suggest that the carols in the Lincoln manuscript were copied in different stages, perhaps with different source material based on the departure from the religious carols of the first five folios. The presence of vocabularies and grammatical notes within the manuscript suggest that the book was at some time present in an academic environment. Palti describes how schools, in particular form a 'meeting place between oral and literate types of communication'.[50] As such, it is possible that these song texts and fragments could have been exercises prescribed to a chorister by their teacher or choirmaster, an idea which may shed more light on the function and performance of these carols and to which I shall therefore return later in this chapter as I examine evidence of performance and memorisation in the carol corpus.

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[47] Seven of these are published in Palti, 'An Unpublished Fifteenth-Century Carol Collection', pp. 260-278 and the final two are published in Edward Wilson, 'Two Unpublished Fifteenth-Century Poems from Lincoln College, Oxford, MS. Lat. 141', in *Notes & Queries*, 27.1 (1980), 20-26, <https://doi-org.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/10.1093/nq/27-1-20> [Accessed: 26th September 2023].

[48] See Chapter III, pp. 90-113 and IV, pp. 114-169.

[49] The contents of the manuscript are described in Palti, 'An Unpublished Fifteenth-Century Carol Collection', pp. 261-262, following the description found in N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), III, 638-640.

[50] Palti, 'An Unpublished Fifteenth-Century Carol Collection', p. 262.

Balliol is a slightly later manuscript, compiled in the first half of the sixteenth century. It differs from the other three manuscripts discussed thus far as it is a commonplace book, a collection of song, verse, recipes, and other items which captured the writer's interest.[51] In this case we know the origins of the book – it belonged to Richard Hill (fl.1508-1536), a merchant of London.[52] The book is shaped like a ledger, measuring 292mm x 108mm. The collection may have therefore been a travelling book, going with Hill as he conducted his business.[53] Although Hill's work may have taken him to many different places, his residency and known connections to London place him within a metropolitan centre of book production, influenced by its governmental importance, its trade connections, religious houses, and aristocratic houses.[54] Balliol's later dating means it was written a number of years after the introduction of print to England.[55] Hill consequently had access to a wide variety of different texts, disseminated and circulated through many different routes.[56] Although this manuscript is significantly later than the other non-notated books explored within this chapter, its creation at a time of heightened literary exchange is significant.[57] Its collected repertoire allows us to see which of the early carols survived across the fifteenth century and how they changed as the century progressed. Balliol's record of carols is extensive. Greene lists seventy-eight carols from Balliol.[58] Of these, Balliol shares three carols with the Trinity Carol Roll, one with Selden, and three with Ritson.[59] In addition, seventeen of its carols are shared with OxEng, five with Sloane, and one with

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[51] Julia Boffey writes that these 'miscellanies have something of the flavour of personal archives' – see Julia Boffey, 'London Books and London Readers', in *Cultural Reformations: Medieval and Renaissance in Literary History*, ed. by Brian Cummings and James Simpson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 420-437, (p. 421). David Reed Parker refers to Balliol as 'perhaps the richest example of the English commonplace book'. See David Reed Parker, *The Commonplace Book',* p. 37.

[52] Cathy Shrank, 'Hill, Richard', *ODNB* (2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/68090> [Accessed: 24th September 2023].

[53] William P. Hill notes that Hill was part of a family of merchants who were trading in London, Calais, and the Low Countries. See William P. Hill, 'Richard Hill of Hillend and Balliol MS. 354', *Notes & Queries*, 177.26 (1939), 452-456, <https://doi.org/10.1093/nq/177.26.452> [Accessed: 25th September 2023], (p. 453). Mary-Rose McLaren also describes Hill's life as a 'citizen and grocer of London' who in 1508 'was made free in the Merchant Adventurers and in 1511 […] was sworn at the Grocers' Hall' – see McLaren, *The London Chronicles,* pp. 35-37.

[54] See Boffey, 'London Books', p. 421.

[55] William Caxton introduced print to England in c.1476 – see Boffey, 'London Books', p. 421.

[56] Malcolm Richardson writes that 'the manuscript book trade increased hugely all over England during the fifteenth century, and the process produced businessmen/booklovers/compilers such as the erratic John Shirley and enabled merchants like the early Tudor grocer Richard Hill to create their personal compendia or anthologies, either by copying texts or assembling them from pre-written booklets.' See Malcolm Richardson, *Middle Class Writing in Late Medieval London* (London: Routledge, 2010), p. 12.

[57] Boffey, 'London Books', pp. 421-422. Boklund-Lagopoulou also notes that Richard Hill was 'right in the centre of both the developing middle-class literary culture and of the growing market for written popular literature'. See Boklund-Lagopoulu, *'I have a yong suster'*, p. 22.

[58] Greene, *EEC*, p. 320.

[59] See Appendix III, pp. 230-233.

Lincoln.[60] Balliol therefore contains repertoire that was circulating up to seventy-five years before its creation. Hill's interest in carols was expansive and encompassed some of the earliest layers of this repertoire.

Hill's primary location in London, and the possibilities of travel associated with merchant life, place him in a position whereby he or one of his clerks would have had multiple opportunities to hear, read, and record carols over the years. This may explain the large number of carols recorded in this collection and the fact that many of them date from the early fifteenth century. If some of the concordances with early-fifteenth-century manuscripts are compared, however, then variation can be seen as the fifteenth century progresses. The carol *In Bethlehem that fair city* can be found in six manuscript sources: Balliol, OxEng, Trinity, Ryman, Lincoln, and London Thornton.[61] Transcriptions from each carol are found in Appendix IV.[62] OxEng, Trinity, and Lincoln all have Norfolk connections, with Trinity potentially also travelling to London with its scribe.[63] London Thornton is a manuscript anthology compiled by Robert Thornton (also the compiler of Lincoln Thornton).[64] London Thornton stems from the first half of the fifteenth century and contains an incomplete copy of *In Bethlehem that fair city* that appears to have been copied from memory with the scribe attempting to recall the words of the carol and only remembering parts of it.[65] Ryman is a late-fifteenth-century collection of carols by James Ryman, a Franciscan Friar from Canterbury.[66] Ryman and Lincoln are the closest in date to Balliol. The structure of the carol is relatively stable across the earliest versions of the carol (OxEng and Trinity), with the verses following the same order. In the mid-century to late fifteenth century, the verse order appears to become more uncertain, with Ryman and Lincoln both having a different verse order to OxEng and Trinity and to each other. Balliol is the longest of the five versions, including all five verses. However, the final verse of the Balliol carol is altered. Instead of the command for those gathered to 'make merry among vs', like that featured in Trinity, the carol states 'Be all

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[60] Appendix III, pp. 230-233. Trinity, Sloane, OxEng, and Lincoln all have Norfolk or East Anglian connections. The concordances between Balliol and these manuscripts may suggest a connection between Hill and East Anglia.
[61] Balliol, p. 466; London Thornton, fol. 94v; OxEng, fol. 35v; Trinity, recto; Ryman, fol. 1r.; Lincoln, fol. 3r.
[62] Appendix IV, pp.234-236.
[63] Deeming, 'The Sources and Origins'. See Chapter IV, pp. 128-134. for discussion of the travels of the Trinity Carol Roll.
[64] A study of the London Thornton manuscript is made in *Robert Thornton and his Books: Essays on the Lincoln and London Thornton Manuscripts*, ed. by Susanna Fein and Michael Johnston (York: York Medieval Press, 2014).
[65] Greene, *EEC*, p. 11.
[66] Boffey, 'Middle English Lyrics', p.4.

mery in thys howse'. Unlike OxEng, Trinity, and Ryman, which are all thought to be products of religious institutions, whether this is a monastic origin or a household chapel, the Balliol manuscript is a personal collection of writing. It is unlikely therefore that this is a reference to a monastic house or similar religious institution. The alteration of this final verse may be to change the carol's command to make it appropriate for Balliol's specific audience, which was most likely the household of Richard Hill. Unlike Sloane and OxEng, this book was not created and developed within a religious setting.[67] That is not to say that the content is not influenced by material heard within liturgical environments. The Balliol manuscript does nevertheless show the carol's use within a personal, perhaps more domestic context, where the owner of the manuscript is predominantly a collector of works as opposed to a composer of them. Hill's book is not centred on creation; it is centred on compilation and recollection.

Finding Performance and Memorisation in Non-Notated Books

Having discussed the origins and contexts for the four non-notated carol collections, I now turn to whether we can locate evidence of performance and memorisation by examining these texts. Here the non-notated collections are put in direct comparison with their musically-notated counterparts, to see what this can tell us about performance. This will also demonstrate the value in considering the musically-notated carol books alongside their non-notated equivalents. To begin with I turn once more to OxEng.

It has already been ascertained that OxEng was written by two scribes, Scribe A and Scribe B, with the copying stints shown in Figure 5.4. Wakelin examines whether this book was actually used for singing, deciding in the end that the book was copied from exemplars rather than from memory or performance.[68] He states that there are 'few traces' of the music that would have accompanied the songs of OxEng.[69] However, Wakelin examines this book with the eye of a literary and palaeographical scholar rather than through a combined musicological and literary lens. He also does not note that OxEng is the only non-notated manuscript known to have concordances with all four of the polyphonic carol collections.[70] With

[67] Boklund-Lagopoulou notes that Hill seems to have a taste for carols themed around gaming, sport and play. This potentially provides insight into Hill's domestic life, where these carols may have accompanied these activities within his household. See Boklund-Lagopopulou, *'I have a yong suster'*, p. 208.
[68] Wakelin, 'The Carol in Writing', p. 34.
[69]Wakelin, 'The Carol in Writing', p. 34.
[70] See Figure 5.1.

this in mind, we turn to an examination of Scribe A and B's handiwork within the manuscript, to demonstrate how it reveals the influence of musical notation and performance.

As previously mentioned, the OxEng manuscript is non-notated except for three minor instances of music. The first appears on fol. 40v, where the Latin hymn *Psallimus cantates domino* appears with its burden set to a monophonic tune (Figure 5.5). The second appears on the following folio (fol. 41v), where the burden to *Tidings true* is also set to a monophonic melody (Figure 5.3). The final occurrence of music is on fol. 50v, where the burden of *With pity moved I am constrained* is again set monophonically (Figure 5.6).

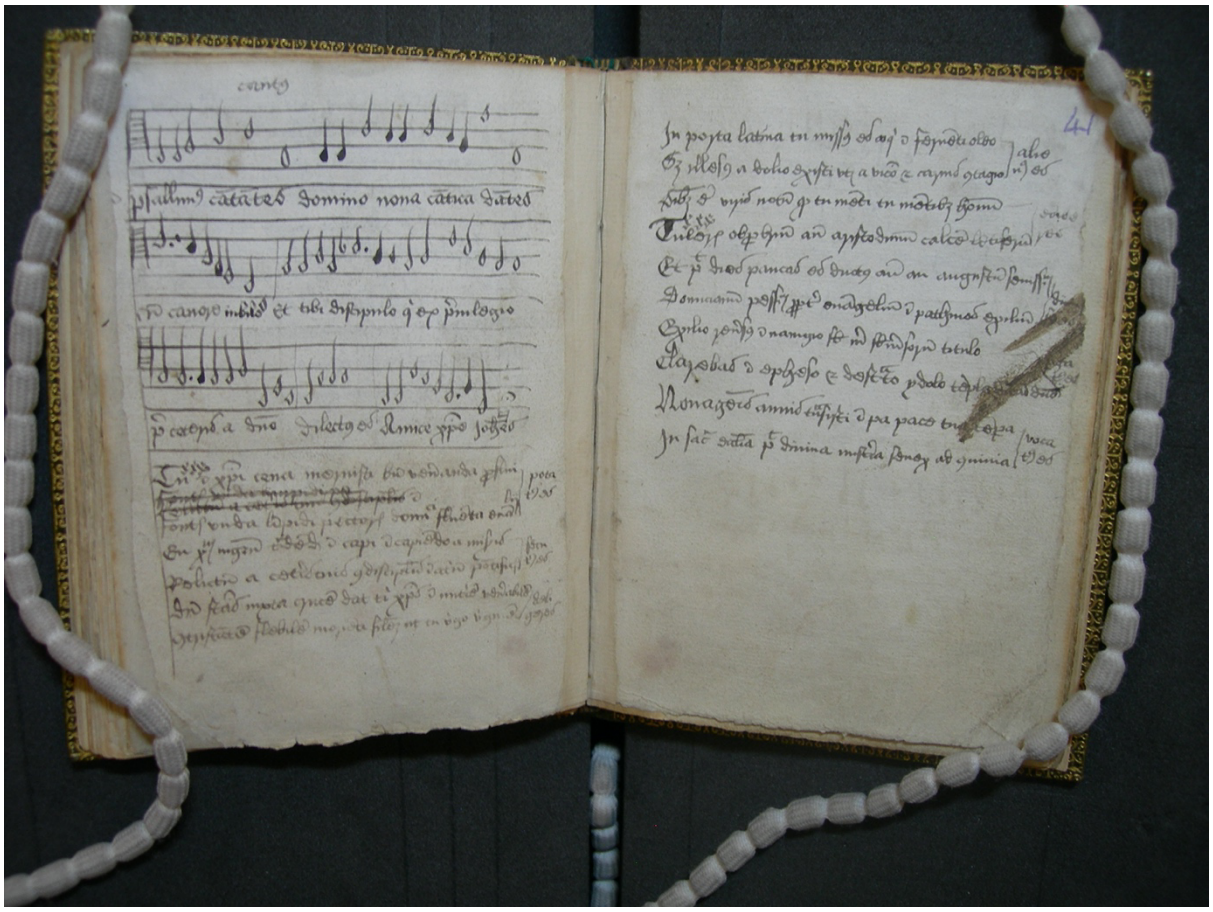

Figure 5.5: ***Psallimus Cantantes Domino*** **in OxEng (fols. 40v-41r).**

(Photo © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford)

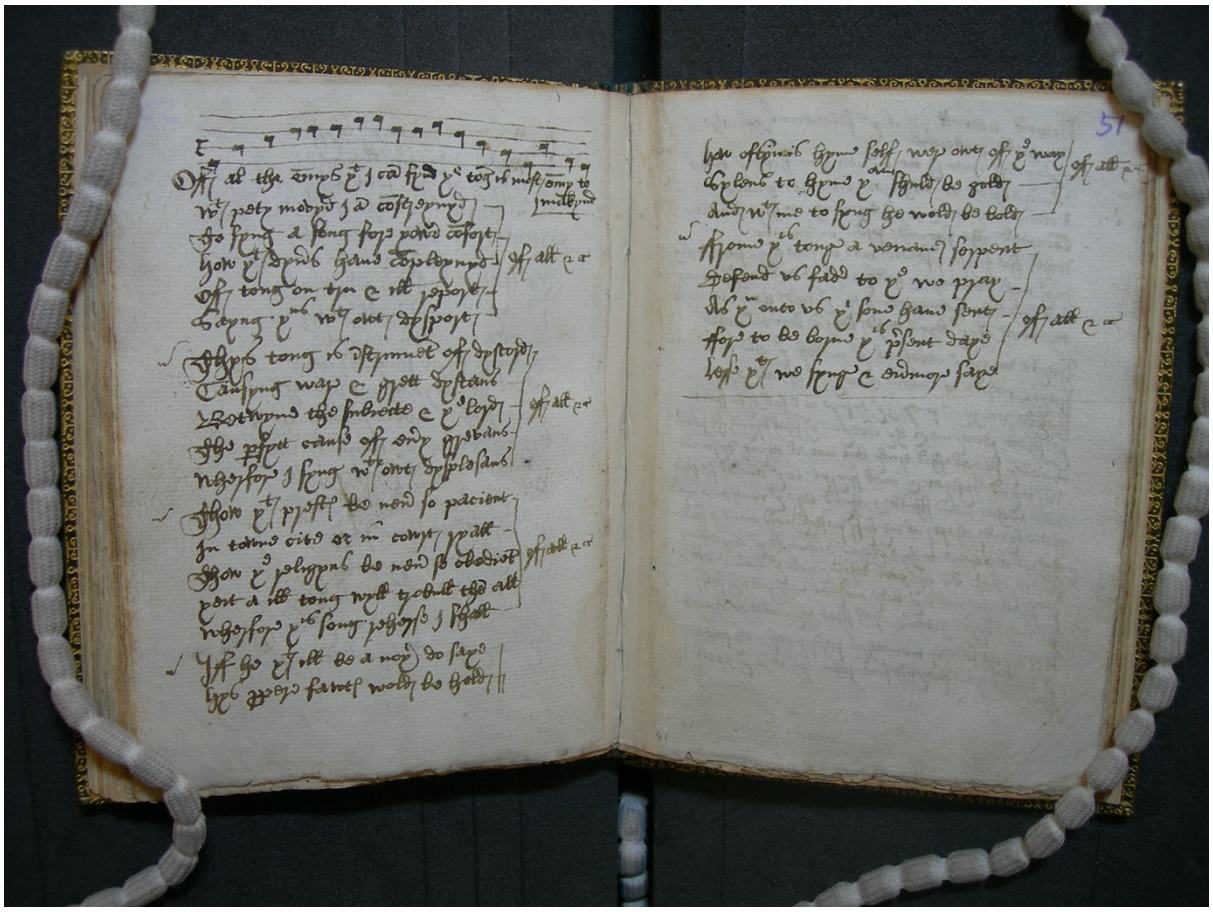

Figure 5.6: ***With pity moved I am constrained*****, (OxEng, fols. 50v-51r).**

(Photo © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford)

Psallimus Cantantes Domino and *Tidings true* are both copied by Scribe A and occur next to each other in the manuscript in the same stint of copying. Underneath *Tidings true* Scribe A has written 'this is þe tewyn for þe song foloyng/yf so be yt ȝe wyll haue anoþer tewyn it may/ be at ȝowr pleasure for I haue set all þe song'.[71] The implication here is that Scribe A has set the words to music rather than copying a pre-existing melody. The music is relatively simple and contains only one voice part. Scribe A appears to have left the entire page to notate the song, with the accompanying note being written over additional staves. This could indicate that the process of composition was taking place directly from the scribe's mind onto the manuscript page at this point rather than the song being copied from exemplar. The scribe seems uncertain of how much space the setting would take and the note implies that the song is one the scribe themselves has set – 'I haue set all þe song'.[72] The only other substantial piece of music a folio earlier, the hymn *Psallimus cantantes domino*, does not contain any unused staves. However, there are mistakes within the lyrics below, with the scribe copying out two lines of lyrics and then crossing them out. This could suggest an issue of memory, with the scribe being unable to fully recall the lyrics of this piece. Alternatively, it could indicate an issue with copying, with the scribe misreading the exemplar from which this piece is copied or else copying in haste.[73] If, as I have hypothesised, OxEng came from a monastic house, then it is likely that the scribe would have been familiar with the musical settings of hymns like this one. *Psallimus cantantes domino* is written underneath the heading '*cantus*'. Although this could be just the word 'song' written in Latin, this term was also used to denote melody or the highest part of a polyphonic composition.[74] It may be then that the inclusion of the *Psallimus* melody within OxEng is a record of the vocal part that the scribe intended to sing within a larger polyphonic work. Despite the error and correction within the additional verses

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[71] OxEng fol. 41v.
[72] OxEng fol. 41v.
[73] Daniel Wakelin makes a thorough study of scribal error and correction. See Wakelin, *Scribal Correction.*
[74] For a definition of cantus see Owen Jander, 'Cantus (i) (Lat.: 'song'), *GMO* (2001), <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.04793> [Accessed: 16th February 2023]. Rastall and Taylor write that the 'singing of polyphonic songs would not normally be considered minstrelsy'. If this is the cantus part of a more complex polyphonic composition then this, again, places OxEng not as a minstrel's manuscript but as a manuscript belonging to a musician with some specific training. See Rastall and Taylor, *Minstrels and Minstrelsy*, p. xxv.

underneath the stave, the music of the piece is copied out neatly without error or correction.[75] This could indicate that the scribe had access to a musical book from which they transcribed this individual part from a larger polyphonic piece. The presence of multiple voice parts within a larger polyphonic music manuscript may also explain the mistakes made when copying the lyrics. We have seen in the preceding chapter that Latin song was often set with all the lyrics directly underneath the music. These lyrics are normally syllabified. Copying just the cantus part from a polyphonic composition where the entire piece is notated and each syllable has been set separately, may have caused confusion when the scribe began to copy the remaining lyrics separate from their musical setting causing the error and correction we see in the additional verses of this hymn.[76] This suggestion places OxEng in a performance environment capable of polyphonic performance. Furthermore, this shapes Scribe A not only as a copyist and composer, but as a potential performer, one who possibly took the cantus line when *Psallimus cantantes domino* was performed. In terms of the creative web model proposed in Chapter II, this shows how different players within the creative web can take on multiple roles – the scribe could be copyist and performer or, indeed, composer and performer. OxEng may then be a performance book specific to an individual, one used to remind them of musical settings and lyrics of different pieces. From the page of this manuscript and by considering it in relation to the polyphonic musically-notated books we have studied, we therefore see the potential echoes of an individual's performance practice and reflections of a wider performance tradition.

In terms of this chapter's focus on performance and memorisation and in light of this argument about OxEng, it is worth considering the previous chapter's suggestion that musically-notated books could be used to follow performances by a patron whilst performers had access to smaller books, 'workday copies' in the words of Jane Alden.[77] Books like OxEng could be these workday copies – books used for

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[75] Even if there was evidence of error and correction in the musical part Iain Fenlon argues that performers would have been able to quickly learn how a part fitted within a polyphonic texture and adapt the music accordingly. Many performers would have also known their lines from memory and would have been able to recall how it fitted within the polyphonic texture. Partbooks provide us with evidence of a medieval performer's ability to read just their part and know its relation to the entire structure of the piece and the other existing voice parts. It is important to keep in mind that medieval memory was more highly-trained than modern memory. See Iain Fenlon, *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources and Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 304. In regard to medieval memory see Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory* and Anna Marie Busse Berger, *Medieval Music.*

[76] Palti notes that the beginning of the Lincoln carols are often uncertain and suggests that this is because of the presence of musical notation accompanying the burden and first verse in the scribe's exemplar. This demonstrates how musical notation could influence copying. See Palti, 'An Unpublished Fifteenth-Century Carol Collection', pp. 269-269.

[77] Alden, *Songs, Scribes, and Society,* p. 8.

recollection and for prompting the performer.[78] Some of the larger more decorative musically-notated books may have been designed for use by a patron to follow along in the same way that Alden suggests French Chansonniers may have been used.[79] Carol books such as Selden or Egerton are certainly decorative enough to be designed for the eye as well as the ear. Moreover, the small structure of the books in comparison to other choirbooks of the time could also suggest use by an individual rather than by an ensemble. This suggestion gives a new context for these non-notated collections to be examined in: if designed as prompts for performance then we might expect that there would be some prompts in relation to the musical requirements too within these books. It may also give us a reason for the relatively high number of non-notated carol collections in comparison to musically-notated books beyond the fact that the non-notated collections were cheaper to produce. Furthermore, examining the non-notated collections whilst considering the potential use of the books as 'workday' copies and musically-notated book as more suited to individual use or for the use of patron, could show the importance of the non-notated collections to the musicological study of the carol as well as the literary. This would demonstrate that the carol needs to be considered in both its notated and non-notated contexts and through an interdisciplinary lens.

If we therefore turn to these non-notated collections with these performance contexts and uses in mind and look at Scribe A's final copying stint in OxEng from fols. 42r to 48r, then there are indications that the scribes considered the melodies required in performance. On fols. 45v, 45r and 47v the scribe outlines pre-existing melodies for each carol. On fol. 45v Scribe A writes that the carol *Sweet Jesu is come to us* is 'A song in þe tune of / and I were a mayd etc'. The scribe provides the heading 'of þe joys of owr lady' for *Mary for the love of thee* on fol. 45r. On fol. 47v they also note that the carol *Under a tree* is 'a song upon /now must I syng etc.' Scribe A therefore provides indications of music, prompting the performer using the book to remember the melody to which the song should be sung.[80] Although *Mary for the love of thee* does not include the 'a song upon' or 'a song in þe tune of' note with its heading, the fact that it occurs in

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[78] Hirsch suggests a similar line of argument in regard to the leaf from Rawlinson. He states that it is 'unsurprising' that the performer has not written the full lyric out, as 'if these lines allude to compositions well known to the scribe-performer of the Rawlinson leaf , it is reasonable to consider that s/he would begin the performance with songs with which s/he was familiar' and therefore 'cited only enough to jog his or her memory' – Hirsch, 'The Rawlinson Lyrics', p. 110.

[79] Alden, *Songs, Scribes, and Society*, p. 8. See Chapter IV, pp. 114-169.

[80] Wakelin writes that cues in books may be 'sufficient to jog the memory'. These references to familiar songs act in the same way as cues in liturgical books, reminding the reader of the song's musical setting. See Wakelin, *Scribal Correction*, p. 2.

a section where the carols are marked out in this way by their respective tunes indicates that this is also a reference to the musical setting for the carol. Scribe A does not write down musical settings for these carols. The prompts in this case appear to be considered enough for the reader. This again suggests that the book was used in a setting in which the songs mentioned were familiar and able to be easily recalled and applied to these carols. This process would require a mental re-setting of new lyrics to an existing melody. The book would help by providing the lyrics to the carol but the existing melody would have to be recalled within the mind. This section of OxEng therefore shows a reliance on memory and a trust in the capability of the performer to be able to set new words to an existing melody.[81] These prompts not only shape this manuscript as a personal prompt book for performance, but they also provide echoes of this performance. The prompts outline the repertoire with which the user of the book was expected to be familiar, the musical abilities expected of the performer, and leaves traces of popular melodies that were used with carol lyrics. Furthermore, these prompts illustrate how the carol repertoire relied on memory and familiarity with pre-existing song traditions for its performance.[82]

The non-notated repertoire within OxEng gives indications of the scribe's understanding of musical performance and instructions for performance, demonstrating that evidence of performance can be found by examining the page. The carol *A patre unigenitus,* shown in Figure 5.7, occurs in the first stint of writing by Scribe A on fols. 32v-33r.

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[81] This is the process of contrafactum. As Zeeman states: 'songs may appear without melodies in manuscripts, but this does not mean that melodies did not exist; in the Middle Ages the practice of contrafactum (setting new words to known melodies), for example, was widespread. See Nicolette Zeeman, 'The Theory of Passionate Song', pp. 233-234.

[82] Hirsch reaches a similar conclusion about the leaf from the Rawlinson manuscript – 'the Rawlinson leaf seems to be that it was primarily intended to help activate what was in effect a rote memory.' Hirsch writes that the sort of memory and recollection abilities that this would require suggests an owner 'who was educated, and probably not ignorant of the more elaborate kinds of memorial reconstruction that were the property of medieval churchmen'. See Hirsch, 'The Rawlinson Leaves', pp. 111-112.

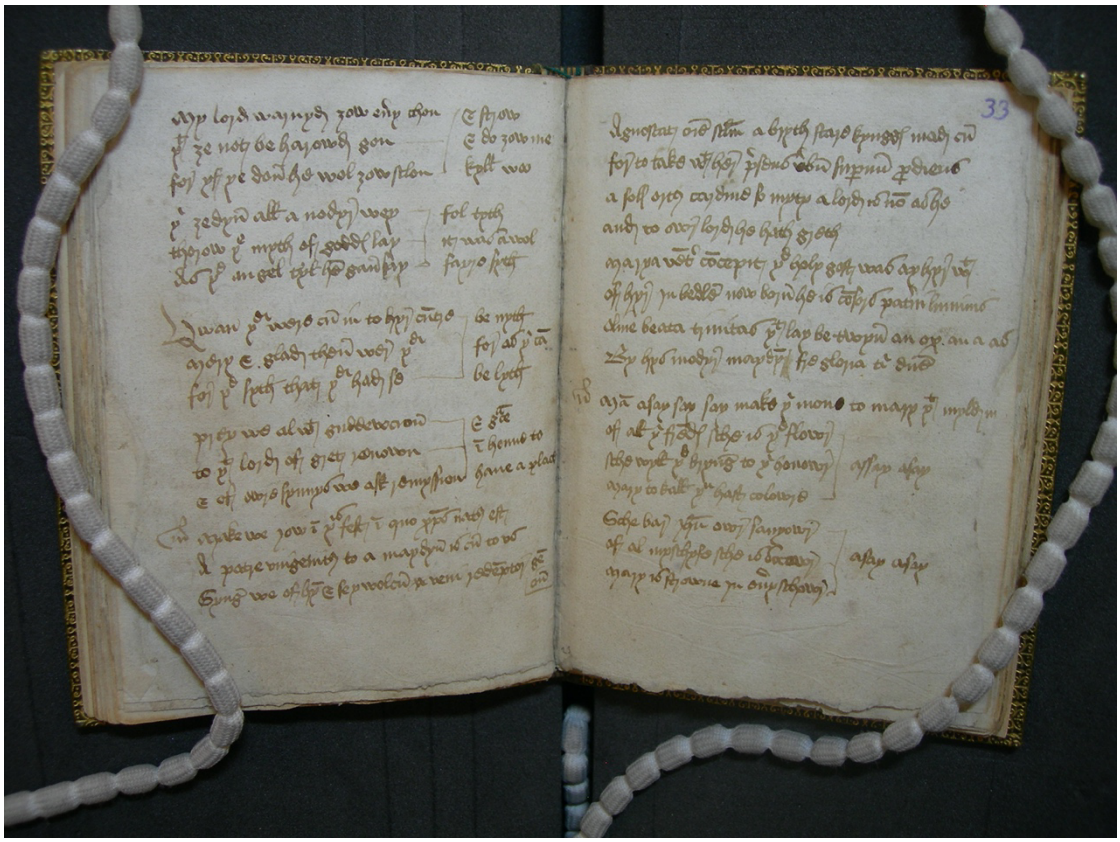

Figure 5.7: ***A patre unigenitus*** **(OxEng, fols. 32v-33r).**

(Photo © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford)

This particular carol is copied in a different way to the one which precedes it, *Now is the twelfth day I-come*, and the one which follows it, *Man asay*. *A patre unigenitus* is written out in two long lines, instead of being split into four. There is no punctus to separate the lines or indicate division, as demonstrated in the following transcription of the piece:

Make we iow i*n* þis fest
in quo Christus natus est

A patre unigenitus to a maydyn is cu*m* to vs
Syng we of hy*m* and sey wolcu*m* ~~ve~~ veni rede*m*ptor ge*n*ciu*m*

Agnoscat o*m*ne se*cu*l*u*m a bryth stare kynges mad cu*m*
For to take with her p*re*sens v*er*bu*m* sup*er*nu*m* p*ro*diens

A solis ortis cardine so myty a lord is no*n* as he
And to owr lord he hath greth

Marya ve*ntre* co*n*cepit þe holy gost was ay hyr w*ith*
Of hyr in bedle*m* now born he is co*n*sors pat*er*ni luminis

Alma beata trinitas þ*a*t lay be twyn an ox an a as
By hys modyr maydy*n* fre gloria ti*bi* d*omi*ni

Many of the carols copied by Scribe A have correct line division and bracketing to indicate rhyme or the division of verses, and a burden prompt written next to each verse. This can be seen on fol. 32v in Figure 5.7 in the last few verses of *Now is the twelfth day i-come*. *A patre unigenitus*, on the other hand, combines two lines of verse into one long line and includes no bracketing. The scribe also makes two particularly noticeable mistakes, omitting half a line of text in the third verse and the repeating the word 'veni' in the second line of the first verse. Within this first stint of writing by Scribe A, the other major occurrence of this two-line format occurs in *This lovely lady sat and sang*, which is also heavily corrected by both Scribe A and B.[83] This suggests that something influenced the way in which *A patre unigenitus* and *This lovely lady sat and sang* was copied, leading to a different layout for the lyrics in comparison to other carols within the book. To explore this, we turn to versions of this carol in the musically-notated repertoire.

[83] OxEng, fols. 17v-18v.

The only other existing versions of *A patre unigenitus* occur in musically-notated form, in Selden, fol. 5r and in Ritson, fols. 28v-29r. Both versions are shown below in Figures 5.8 and 5.9.

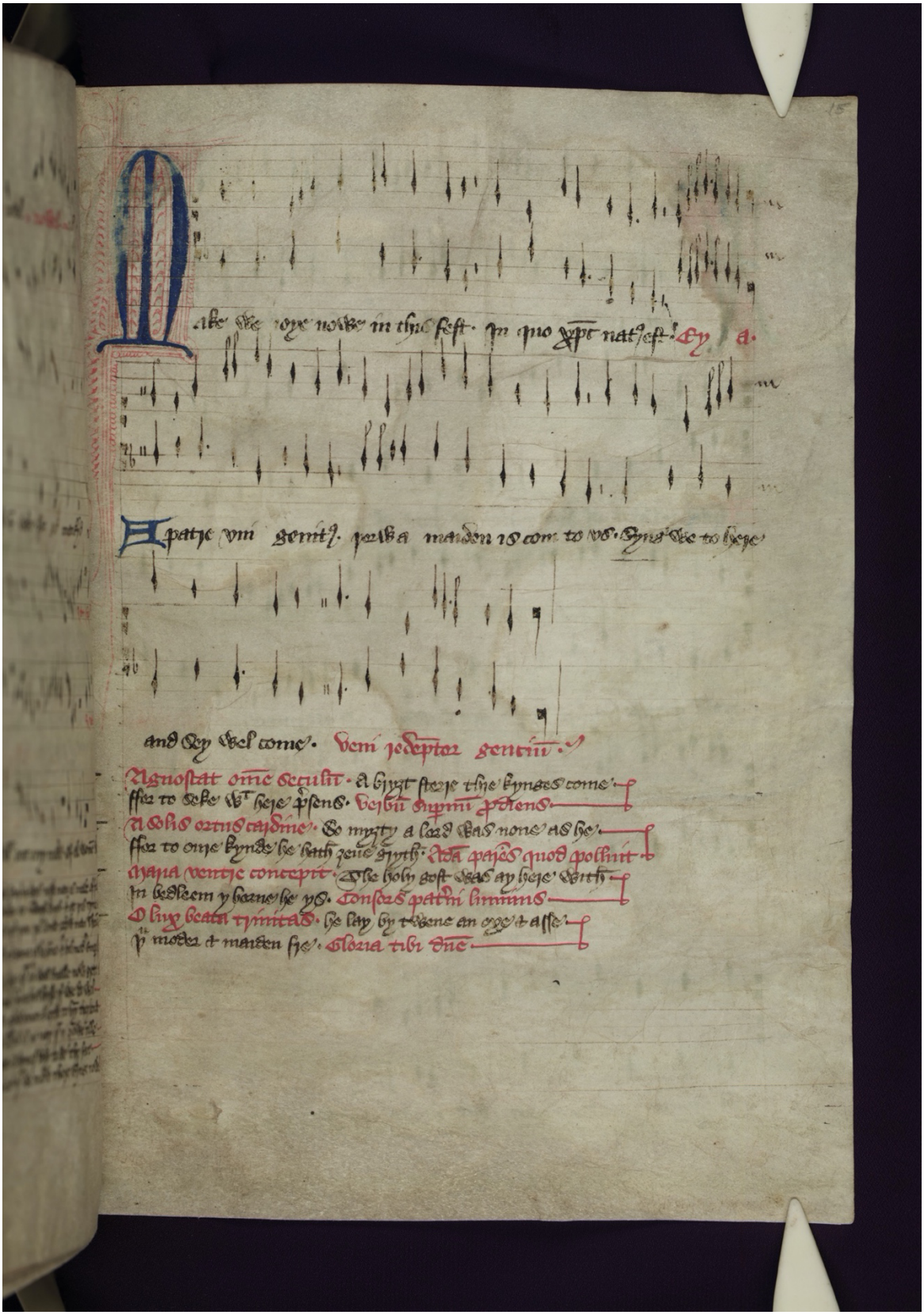

Figure 5.8: ***A patre unigenitus*** **in Selden, fol. 15r (Photo © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford)**

Tenor
Agnoscatt omne seculum,
Virginis proles opprobrium
Ad quod ortus caedimur
Parcens reddemptor omnium

Figure 5.9: *A patre unigenitus* (From the British Library Collection: Ritson, fols. 28v-29r)

Within Selden all the Latin lyrics of *A patre unigenitus* are rubricated. The lines of verse in the verses written underneath the staves also take the same form as the lines in OxEng, with two lines of verse written in one long line. In Ritson numerous errors occur within the piece, particularly with the placement of the text in relation to the music, as shown in Figure 5.9. The following is a transcription of the Ritson *A patre unigenitus* without the music showing where correction and error has taken place:

Now make we ioye in this feste
in quo Chr*ist*us natus est.

Now make we ioy in this fest
In quo Chr*ist*us natus est

A patre unigenitus
III ȝong maydens cam till vs
~~Syng we to hym and say well come~~
Syng we to hym and say well come
~~Veni redemptor~~
Veni redemptor gencium

Agnoscat omne seculum
A bryth sterre iii king made come
A solis ortus cardine
So myrthi a lord ys non as he

gencium
Veni redemptor ~~omniu*m*~~[84]

The Ritson version of *A patre unigenitus* does not include transcriptions of the second and third verse in full. Instead, the first two lines of the second verse and first two lines of the third verse are listed on fol. 28v in the space underneath the staves as shown in Figure 5.10.

[84] Omnium has been subpuncted on the manuscript page, indicating that this is intended for deletion. The correct word is written above it – 'gencium'. The subpunction is shown here through a strikethrough.

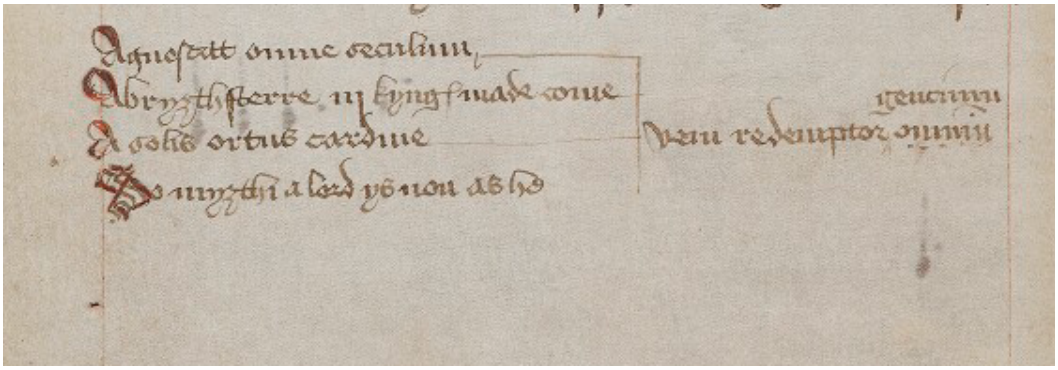

Figure 5.10: *A patre unigenitus* lyrics in Ritson. (From the British Library Collection: Ritson, fol. 28v)

At first glance this looks like a regular four-line verse. However, if one looks more closely at the verse and compare it to the OxEng and Selden versions of *A patre unigenitus*, it is clear that the scribe has written the first two lines of the second verse and first two lines of the third verse, omitting the last two lines of each verse. Where the burden prompt normally goes to the right of the verse, there is the Latin line 'veni redemptor gencium'. This repeats the last line of the first verse 'veni redemptor gencium' instead of featuring 'verbum supernum prodiens' or 'Adam parents quod polluit', the last lines of the second or third verses. The scribe originally writes 'veni redemptor omnium' but corrects this by writing 'gencium' above the phrase, subpuncting 'omnium' to indicate that it should be deleted or forgotten.[85] Extensive correction has also taken place on fol. 29r, with the first verse almost completely re-written by a scribe in red ink. The scribe has also made mention of 'iii yong maidens' rather than the single maiden (Mary) mentioned in the Selden and OxEng versions of this carol. It is unlikely that a scribe intended to go from a four-line verse structure composed of one Latin line, two English lines, and a final Latin line for the first verse to a five-line verse structure for the second verse composed of five lines alternating between Latin and English. Considering the attention the scribe has paid to correcting mistakes, one would expect them to have identified the problem with the change in verse structure if the words underneath the staves had been intended purely as the second verse. The untidy state of this carol and its extensive correction thus suggests that the scribe was copying from memory or from performance. The interpretation of 'thorw a maiden' as

[85] A note of gratitude to Daniel Wakelin for email correspondence regarding correction practices and the use of subpuncting to indicate deletion.

'iii yong maidens' in particular suggests that the scribe has misheard or misremembered a performance leading to an inaccurate representation of the carol on the manuscript page.[86] Alternatively, an explanation for the appearance of the lines written underneath the musically-notated section could be that the scribe intended each pairing of lines to represent two separate verses and prompt the performer's recollection of the remaining lines of each verse. However, the inclusion of the repetition of 'veni redemptor gencium' next to this group of verse lines and the errors made throughout the piece strongly suggests that the scribe was merely struggling with their recollection of the piece in its entirety and using the Ritson page to attempt to write down the words they had heard or remembered, correcting as they wrote. This shows that the Ritson manuscript was not copied entirely from exemplar and was influenced by performance and recollections of performance. It also shapes the manuscript as a work-in-progress and a book intended for ongoing work and revision.[87] This indicates that even in the late medieval period, the carol corpus continued to be transmitted by memory and oral tradition. This process took place alongside copying from written exemplars. Thus, memory was an important part of the carol tradition and the transmission and dissemination of carols. As such, what is not on the page and what has been forgotten or omitted is as important as what is on the page – it gives us insight into the use of these books and the influence of performance on the writing of carols.

Having examined *A patre unigenitus* in the musically-notated books, we now return to the version of this carol in OxEng and what the errors within it may show in terms of performance. The errors in OxEng's *A patre unigenitus* occur within the Latin lines. Firstly, the scribe begins to write 'veni', then crosses it out, and then re-writes the word.[88] The scribe has also missed out an entire line of Latin in the third line. From the Selden version of *A patre unigenitus* it is clear that the missing line in OxEng's *A patre unigenitus* is 'Adam parens quod polluit'.[89] The mistakes in the Latin lines in OxEng may indicate that the scribe was not as comfortable copying Latin as they were with copying vernacular lyrics. Alternatively, this could also

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[86] Catharine Keyes Miller also notes that the scribe has suffered 'a trick of the memory or ear'. See Catharine Keyes Miller, 'A Fifteenth Century Record of English Choir Repertory: B.M. Add. MS. 5665; A Transcription and Commentary (Volumes 1 and 2)', (Yale University: Unpublished doctoral thesis, 1948), (p. 31).

[87] Miller also remarks on 'increasing musical complications' as towards the end of the carols section, suggesting an 'increasing knowledgeability on the part of the compilers'. This may also point towards the use of Ritson as a book for ongoing work and revision, perhaps as a place for the composers and scribes to experiment and grow their skillset. See Miller, 'A Fifteenth Century Record', p. 31.

[88] OxEng, fol. 32v.

[89] See Selden, fol. 15r.

indicate that the scribe was copying from memory and attempting to recall these lyrics, making mistakes when memory lapsed. However, if this was the case then mistakes would probably be expected in other areas of the piece and not just in the Latin lyrics. Instead, it could be that the scribe was copying from a book, like Selden, where Latin was differentiated from vernacular lyrics through methods such as rubrication and more consistent syllabification.[90] This could have influenced the scribe's copying, causing them to approach the Latin lyrics in a different way to the vernacular, leading to mistakes in the song at the point where the text changes from the vernacular. This is reminiscent of mistakes made in the transcription of the carol *There is no rose,* found in the Trinity Carol Roll and in Norfolk, Holkham Hall, MS 751 (Holkham).[91] The following is a transcription of the two versions of *There is no rose*, the first taken from Trinity and the second from Holkham:

***There is No Rose* – Trinity Carol Roll**

[Ther is no] rose of swych vertu
as is þe rose þat bare Jhesu

[There is no rose of] swych vertu
as is þe rose þat bare Jhesu
Alleluya

For in þis rose co*n*teynyd was
Heuen *and* erthe and lytyl space
Res miranda

The au*n*gelys su*n*gy*n* the sheperd*es* to
Gloria in excelcis Deo
Gaud[e]am*us*

[L]eue we al þis wordly merthe
And folwe we þis ioyful berthe
Tra*n*seam*us*

Transcription: There is no rose – Holkham[92]

Make ȝhow mery and do gladly
And [gh] glade be al þhys company

[90] The Selden second verse reads: 'A solis ortus cardine . so mighty a lord was none as he / For to oure kynde he hath yeue gryth . Ada*m* pare*ns* quod polluit'. See Selden, fol. 15r.
[91] Norfolk, Holkham Hall, MS 751. This manuscript is described in Jeremy Griffiths, 'Unrecorded Middle English Verse in the Library at Holkham Hall', *Medium Ævum*, 64.2 (1995), 278-284, <https://doi.org/10.2307/43633097> [Accessed: 25th September 2023].
[92] Transcription taken from Griffiths, 'Unrecorded Middle English Verse', p. 282.

letabund*us*

Þer is no rose of [su]che v*er*tu [h]
has ys þe rosse þar bar [a] Iehsu
alleluya

In þat rose conteynyd yt was
heuyn *and* herþe *and* lytyl spas
ros mira*n*da

by þat rose ȝe mow a se [þat he]
þat he ys gode y*n* personys þre
pare forma

Y blessyd be schege a chylde
For he ys y bore boþe meke and mylde
gaudiam*us*

Leue we al þys worlyche mys
And take we al þys worlyche blys
g*ra*siam*us*

Jeremy Griffiths notes that the scribe of the Holkham *There is no rose* appears to have had trouble with line division, struggling with knowing where one line ends and another begins: 'There is some indication in the pattern of deleted letters in this copy that the lines of verse were not clearly separated in the scribe's exemplar and that the separation was being undertaken by the scribe as he wrote'.[93] However, Griffiths does not explore this idea further despite knowing that this particular carol existed in musically-notated form in at least one fifteenth-century manuscript (Trinity). Carols like that in Selden or Trinity have their burden and first verse directly below the musical notation and then additional verses listed out underneath the stave. Sometimes these additional verses are written out in two long lines as previously shown in Selden's *A patre unigenitus* in Figure 5.8. The Trinity *There is no rose* also sets out its four lines of verse into two long lines. Thus, the scribe may have been copying from musically-notated manuscript with a similar layout to that of *There is no rose* in Trinity or *A patre unigenitus* in Selden. When the scribe came to write down the lyrics they had to figure out where separation should occur. The mistakes in Holkham may therefore demonstrate the influence of musical notation and the use of musical manuscripts as exemplars on scribal copying. The mistakes may also occur in this instance if the scribe was not copying from an exemplar but, instead, was

[93] Griffiths, 'Unrecorded Middle English Verse', p. 281.

copying from memory or directly from performance. In both cases the mistakes on the page are reflective of the influence of performance or instructions for performance on the writing of the carol.

Copying directly from performance could have also influenced the ability of the Holkham scribe to separate lines of verse. When the carol was performed line separation may not be immediately apparent to the listener. This could be further complicated by a polyphonic musical setting with multiple voice parts interacting with each other. To write the carol down the scribe would have to remember the words from performance, figure out separation of the lines within their mind, and from this write the words down on the page. [94] This could provide an alternative explanation for the issues with line separation in the Holkham manuscript – what we see on the page of Holkham may be the mental exercise of the scribe as they try to distinguish different lines of verse whilst replaying a performance within the mind. In relation to the errors within OxEng's *A patre unigenitus,* the same issue could apply. The missing lyrics may not just point to a place where the scribe paused in their copying and then resumed without realising they were missing lyrics; it may indicate a lapse in memory. The crossing out of 'veni' in the first verse could be a point where the scribe looked from exemplar to manuscript, started writing, doubted themselves, crossed it out, and then checked the exemplar again, but it could also show a process of scribal recall, where the scribe is trying to copy the words from memory and doubting their initial recall. Again, we know that *A patre unigenitus* existed in polyphonic musically-notated form in at least two manuscripts (Selden and Ritson). The existence of these errors in the OxEng manuscript and the change in copying style to write the lines of verse in two long lines rather than actively undertaking line separation, certainly suggests that the OxEng copyist was working from an exemplar containing musical notation if not directly from performance. If we look at one of the musically-notated pieces within OxEng, *Tidings true*, then it is noteworthy that the remaining lyrics of the piece, copied out ten folios later by Scribe B, are also copied in two long lines instead of being separated into four lines of verse. This sets a precedent for the copying patterns we see in *A patre unigenitus,*

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[94] Jonathan L. Ready describes how 'scribes often memorized text as part of their training […]. The scribe's performance from memory might produce distinctive manuscript marked by "memory variants". He also notes that the version of the text produced by a scribe could be affected by both knowledge of exemplars and memorised versions of the text – 'the text he [the scribe] produced was the result of negotiation between his immediate memory of what he had just encountered in the exemplar and the versions of that and related works he kept stored in his memory'. See Jonathan L. Ready, 'The Scribe as Performer and the Ptolemaic Wild Papyri of the Homeric Epics', in *Orality, Textuality, and the Homeric Epics: An Interdisciplinary Study of Oral Texts*, *Dictated Texts, and Wild Texts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 185-234, (pp. 205-206).

strengthening the case that the mistakes we see can be attributed to copying from an exemplar containing musical notation. Correction and error within OxEng could therefore point towards the influence of musical notation and performance on the copying of lyrics, giving glimpses of the echoes of the performance culture beyond the words on the page.

The Lincoln manuscript, like OxEng, also differs in the way some of its carols are copied. The appearance of the carols in Lincoln differ from the traditional carol format in non-notated collections. The majority of carols in non-notated books have the burden written at the head of the carol, separate from the verses. The verses then follow, normally with bracketing indicating rhyme and a burden prompt to the right of these brackets. The first seven Lincoln carols are, instead, written out as a block of poetry. The stanzas and burden are not separated. This is reminiscent of some of the carols discussed from the Egerton manuscript, although the appearance of the text in Lincoln is less prosaic than the Egerton carols. The Lincoln scribe still treats these first seven carols in a poetic style despite avoiding stanza separation or making clear which part of the song is the burden. The final two carols are then written more in line with the traditional carol – as verse with refrain prompts written to the right of the brackets connecting each stanza. Palti argues that the use of different carol formats demonstrates 'flexibility within the written tradition' of the carol and that the scribe was influenced by their source material.[95] This variation, however, could say as much about the environment in which the songs were written down as it does about their source material.

The carol *Listen lords veriment* in Lincoln is also referred to as *The Shoemaker's Testament* and lists the various tools of the shoemaker trade.[96] Edward Wilson argues that the presence of this carol could demonstrate a link between the manuscript and a trainee shoemaker, with the carol used as a mnemonic device to memorise the names of tools.[97] Although Wilson suggests a shoemaker's apprentice as a suitable

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[95] Palti, 'An Unpublished Fifteenth-Century Carol Collection', p. 271.

[96] June Swann writes how 'the first list of shoemaker's kit appears in the shoemaker's testament carol of the last quarter of the fifteenth century: a paring board, trenchet (knife), lasts, lingels (thread), shoeing horn, turning stick, stirrup, block, bristles, tallow, blacking pot and nails, all recognisable as kit of the 'hand-sewn man' (as makers of handsewn shoes are known) of today'. See June Swann, *Shoemaking* (Aylesbury: Shire Publications, 1986), pp. 4-5

[97] Wilson, 'Two Unpublished Fifteenth-Century Poems', p. 21. Kimberly Rivers states that the Dominicans and Franciscans both had a particular interest in mnemonic memory systems. As we have seen, the mendicant orders also had a strong link with the development and dissemination of the carol. Rivers also describes how 'mental imagery was a hallmark of most medieval mnemonic systems'. See Kimberley Rivers, 'Writing the Memory of the Virtues and Vices in Johannes Sintram's (d.1450) Preaching Aids', in *The Making of Memory in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Lucie Dolezalová (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 31-48, (p. 39).

performer for this carol, this takes a narrow and very literal view of memory-training and the relationship of the carol and memorisation.[98] Discussing the role of grammar in memory training, Anna Marie Busse Berger writes of how Guarino of Verona (c.1374-1460), a Renaissance grammarian, had his students memorise lines which they were expected to then repeat back to him word-for-word.[99] Guarino stressed in a letter to Martino di Metteo Rizzoni that it was more important to pay attention to the repetition of the phrase than the understanding the student had of it.[100] Considering the fact that grammatical exercises are a central part of the Lincoln manuscript and the presence of *Listen lords veriment* as a potential mnemonic device, it could be argued that the Lincoln manuscript was a manuscript involved in the process of memory training. If this is the case then the focus of the scribe may have been more on the accurate copying of the text from memory, rather than the appearance of the carol on the page. This may explain why the first seven carols of the Lincoln manuscript do not take the traditional carol layout. *Listen lords veriment* may therefore be an exercise in musical memorisation, with choirmasters using this carol in a similar way to Guarino of Verona's use of Latin lines: to test the ability of their students to repeat pieces verbatim and therefore train their memory. If the carol repertoire was intended for memorisation, then having choristers memorise and repeat carol pieces may have encouraged the development of musical and textual memory. The variation from the traditional carol layout in the Lincoln manuscript, the inclusion of a carol seen as a mnemonic device, and the presence of grammatical exercises in the manuscript, could therefore provide evidence of training for performance and of a chorister using carols as a way of preparing the memory for musical performance.[101] To return to the initial discussion of Lincoln's provenance and history, this hypothesis would fit with Palti's assertion that this manuscript could have belonged to a music teacher or

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[98] Wilson, 'Two Unpublished Fifteenth-Century Poems', p. 21.
[99] Busse Berger, *Medieval Music*, p. 115.
[100] Guarino of Verona, 'Letter to Martino di Metteo Rizzoni of October 28, 1425', cited in Paul F. Grendler, 'Grammatical Drill and Elementary Reading', in *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1991), pp. 194-202, (p. 196) and translated in Busse Berger, *Medieval Music*, p. 115.
[101] Orme writes that 'reading and song were often considered to be part of grammar, since they centred on two of its elements: the letter and the syllable'. Some schools taught reading, song, and grammar as part of their curriculum. Sometimes reading and song were taught at one school and grammar at another – 'implying different locations or masters for the two levels of study'. See Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Schools: From Roman Britain to Renaissance England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), pp. 66-67.

their student. Thus, it may situate the Lincoln manuscript in an environment associated with chorister education in the fifteenth century.[102]

Variation in text and structure provides us with clues about performance and the intended use of manuscripts. The Sloane manuscript does not contain the levels of error and correction seen in OxEng. However, the variation in its carols, like that in Lincoln, does prompt questions relating to performance and memorisation. Sloane contains two carols that also appear in the polyphonic carol books – *Holy maiden blessed thou be* and *As I lay upon a night*. Both carols are copied in Sloane without correction. *As I lay upon a night* occurs in three other sources: two of the polyphonic carol books (Trinity and Selden) and in Balliol, the non-notated book with the highest number of concordances with musically-notated carol collections.[103] Figure 5.11 shows the lyrics of all four versions of *As I lay upon a night* in comparison with one another.

[102] I specifically do not mention song schools in this argument, as Orme notes that mention of specific song schools is rare in texts after 1300, but records show that there was a more dedicated focus on the education of 'choristers alone, without […] other boys'. This coincided with the rise and expansion of polyphonic performance – 'Boys, for the first time, made a distinctive and essential contribution to church music through singing separate parts […] A new cathedral officer began to be employed to organise the performance of polyphony and to teach it to the boys, a person usually called the 'clerk of the chapel". This differed from the original song-school structure of cathedral precentor and succentor. See Orme, *Medieval Schools*, pp. 64-65.

[103] See Appendix III, pp. 230-233.

Trinity, recto	**Selden, fol. 13v**
Alma Redemptoris mater As I lay vpon a nyth My þowth was on a berde so brith That men clepyn Marye ful of myth Rdemptor*is* mater To here cam Gabryel with lyth And seyd 'Heyl be þ*o*u, blysful wyth' To ben clepyd now art þ*o*u dyth Redemptoris mater At þat wurd that lady bryth Anon conseyuyd God ful of myth Than men wyst weel þat sche hyth Redemptoris mater Qwan Jhesu on the rode was pyth Mary was doolful of þat syth Til sche sey hym ryse vp rith Redemptoris mater Ihesu that syttys in heuene lyth Grau*n*t vs to comy*n* beforn thi sith Wyth þat berde that is so brith Redemptoris mater	Alma redemptoris mater As I lay upon a ny3t my þou3t y say a semly syght þ*a*t called was mary bri3t Redemptoris mater Ther come Gabriel with ly3t And saide haile þou swete wy3t To be clepyd þ*o*u art y dy3t Redemptoris mater Whan Ih*e*su was on þe rode y py3t Mary was dory of þat sy3t Tyl þ*a*t she say hy*m* ryse upry3t Redemptoris mater And aft*er* to heue*n* he toke his fly3t Ther he is nowe in blysse bry3t And w*ith* hym þ*a*t swete wy3t Redemptoris mater
Sloane, fol. 30v	**Balliol, p. 465**

Alma redemptor*is* mater As I lay vpon a ny3t My þowt was on a mayde bry3t Þat men cally*n* mary of my3t Redemptor*is* m*ater* To her*e* cam gabriel so bry3t *And* seyde heyl mari ful of my3t To be cald þu art a dy3t Redemp*toris* Aft*er* þ*a*t word þ*a*t mayde bry3t A no*n* co*n*seyuyd god of my3t *And* þ*er*by wyst me*n* þ*a*t che hy3t R Rryght as þe su*m*ne schyn*i*t in glas So Ih*es*u in his mode*r* was *And* þ*er*by wyt me*n* þ*a*t che was R Now is born þ*a*t babe of blys *And* qwen of heuene his mode*r* is *And* þ*er*fo*re* þink me þ*a*t che is R Aft*er* to heuene he tok his fly3t *And* þ*er* he sit w*it*h his fad*er* of my3t W*it*h hy*m* is crownyd þ*a*t lady bry3t Redemptoris mater	Now syng we all in fere, alma rede*m*ptor*is* mat*er* As I me lay on a nyght Me thowght I sawe a semly ~~syght~~ wyght That clepid she was ryght Alma rede*m*ptor*is* mat*er* To her co*m* an angell w*it*h gret lyght And sayd hayle be þ*u*, blessid wyght To be cleped thou art ryght Vt sup*ra* At that word the maydyn bryght A no*n* co*n*ceived God almyght Then knew mary what she hyght Alma Redemptoris mater Vt supra Whan Ihesu on the rode was dyght Mary was sorofull of that syght Tyll aft*er* she saw hy*m* ryse vp right Alma rede*m*ptoris mat*er*

Figure 5.11: Transcriptions of *As I lay upon a night*

Verse	Trinity	Sloane	Selden	Balliol
1	As I lay…	As I lay…	As y lay…	As I me lay…
2	To her cam Gabryel…	To here cam Gabriel…	Ther come Gabriel with lyght…	To her com an angelll…
3	At that wurd…	After that word…	Tber she conceived God almyght…	At that word…
4	Qwan Jhesu on the rode…	Ryght as the sunne schynit…	Whan Jhesu was on the rode ypyght…	When Jhesu on the rode…
5	Jhesu that syttyst…	Now is born that babe…	And after to heuen…	
6		After to heuene…		

Figure 5.12: Verse structure in all four versions of *As I lay upon a night.* Colours are used to demonstrate how the verses correspond across the four manuscripts.

The basic structure of this carol across the fifteenth century remains relatively stable. There are five verses that appear within the carol structure repeatedly across the course of the century. Sloane includes two unique verses (4 and 5) that are not found in any other versions of the carol, as highlighted in Figure 5.12. Both of the unique verses found in the Sloane version of *As I lay upon a night* share some particular similarity with the words of *In Bethlehem, that fair city* as shown in Figure 5.13.

Sloane, *As I lay upon a night* (fol. 30v)	**Balliol, *In Bethlehem, that fair city* (p. 466) (EEC no.21a)**
Rryght as þe su*m*ne schyn*i*t in glas So Ih*e*su in his mode*r* was *And* þe*r*by wyt me*n* þ*a*t che was Redemptoris mater	As the so*n* shynyth thorow þ*e* glas So Ih*e*su in her body was To s*e*rue hy*m* he geve vs g*ra*ce O lux b*ea*ta Trinitas
Now is born þ*a*t babe of blys *And* qwen of heuene his mode*r* is *And* þe*r*fo*r*e þink me þ*a*t che is Redemptoris mater	Now ys born owr Lord Ih*e*sus That mad mery all vs Be all mery i*n* thys howse Exvltet celu*m* lavdib*us*

Figure 5.13: Comparison of verses in Sloane's *As I lay upon a night* with carols in Balliol and Selden

As I lay upon a night and *In Bethlehem, that fair city* both occur in several manuscript sources – *As I lay upon a night* in four different sources and *In Bethlehem that fair city* in five. The additional verses of Sloane occur at the same point as the verses found in *In Bethlehem that fair city (*verses 4 and 5). This could indicate that the scribe mixed up the two popular carols and inadvertently added extra verses to A*s I lay upon a night*. However, the variation in *As I lay upon a night* suggests that the scribe's use of these verses was, in fact, intentional. There is some change in wording to ensure that the additional verses fit the overall metre of the piece. The last line of each verse is also altered so it has a smoother transition into the refrain line 'redemptoris mater'. For example, the line reading 'be al mery in thys howse' from *In Bethlehem, that fair city* is changed to 'And þerfore þink me þat che is' in the Sloane version of *As I lay upon a night*. The scribe therefore makes an effort to alter the verses from *In Bethlehem, that fair city* so that it suits the structure and wording of *As I lay upon a night*. The addition of the two verses and their alteration thus appear purposeful. By using verses

from another well-known carol the scribe may have been trying to ensure that the carol had a familiar appeal to as wide an audience as possible, playing on a collective cultural memory of popular songs and pieces. Alternatively the scribe may have required a longer piece for a specific performance context. *In Bethlehem, that fair city* primarily considers the birth of Christ while *As I lay upon a night* focuses on the Annunciation. Including the two verses from *In Bethlehem, that fair city* the scribe of Sloane's *As I lay upon a night* extends the story of Christ past the annunciation and to the Nativity itself. The variation within these verses and within Sloane's *As I lay upon a night* may therefore point towards the carol being made more appropriate for the celebration of the Nativity as opposed to purely a song for the celebration of the Annunciation. Thus this variation may demonstrate how the Sloane *As I lay upon a night* scribe considered issues of performance whilst composing this carol.

The Sloane scribe did not just think about performance context when writing *As I lay upon a night*. The lack of interruption in metre or rhyme in relation to the additional verses of the carol suggests that the scribe was aware of the sound of these lyrics in performance. This could also suggest that the scribe thought about how lyrics would be able to fit with any musical setting and whether mentally setting these additional verses to music in performance would pose trouble to the performer. Whether or not these lyrics were performed aloud, the scribe nevertheless attends to how they are read and thus performed and heard internally. This internal performance or performance for the self is largely reliant on learned sounds, internal voice, and what one expects to hear within the piece. It is easy to pick up error within a poetic or musical work by reading it even if this is done silently, as we are able to mentally hear the page.[104] This process may

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[104] The ability to hear sound internally has been described as 'auditory imagery' and using the term 'notational auditation'. Warren Brodsy, Yoav Kessler, and Jane Ginsborg describe how musicians rely on 'musical imagery just as much […] than the actual external sounds themselves' and that musical images, such as notation on the page, 'possess a sensory quality that makes the experience of imaging music similar to that of perceiving music'. In effect, when musicians see the page and internally 'perform' the music they are also acting as a listener to that music. See Warren Brodsky, Yoav Kessler, and Jane Ginsborn, 'The Mental Representation of Music Notation' , *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Human Perception and Performance*, 34.2 (2008), 427-445, DOI: 10.1037/0096-1523.34.2.427 [Accessed: 30th September 2023], (p. 427). The composer Robert Schumann (1948-1967) also described this experience to his students by telling them that they should get to the point that they could 'hear music from the page'. See 'Musikalische Hause – und Lebensregeln', in *Robert Schumann Im eigenen Wort*, ed. by W. Reich (Zurich: Manesse Verlag, 1967), pp. 400-414, (p. 402). Christian Hoppe et al also produced a study which examined the difference in the silent music reading experience by trained and untrained singers. See Christian Hoppe et al, 'Silent Music Reading: Auditory Imagery and Visuotonal Modality Transfer in Singers and Non-Singers', *Brain and Cognition*, 91 (2014), 35-44, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.bandc.2014.08.002> [Accessed: 30th September 2023].

be made easier in regard to musical works if one has musical training. Paul Lennard outlines the differences between the act of listening for him and his wife, a professional musician:

> For my wife music has a specific syntax and set of expectations. It has a grammar quite as precise as the grammar of speech. She not only is acutely aware of intonation but also hears the quality of notes, the subtlety of the rhythm, and the line of the music in a way that is opaque to me. […] She notices single wrong notes in what to me is the blur of a rapid run during a piano performance. We listen differently.[105]

Lennard's wife is therefore able to listen to the music in greater detail than Lennard himself because of her musical training. Her ear is trained to listen for certain aspects of harmony, rhythm, and musical structure. If we think about this process and apply it to reading the page and being able to mentally listen to the piece within the mind, it is likely that musicians were able to internally listen to the words on the page and 'hear' how they correspond to the music. Thus, they could have a sense of whether any changes or adaptations to the lyrics would have an effect on the performance of the piece as a whole. This may explain how well the additional verses of Sloane's *As I lay upon a night* fit into the piece: the scribe may have had a level of this awareness. This is not to say that the scribe was or was not a musician – instead it is to say that they had an awareness of sound and of how what was on the page translated to performance (internal or external). It is important therefore to shape performance not just as an act translating words and music into external sound, but also an act within the confines of one's mind as they scan the page and internally hear their own reading of the text and music before them.[106] As such, in the writing of *As I lay upon a night* we find an effort to retain a consistent sound across stanzas and an awareness of sound and performance that may not, at first, be immediately apparent when considering these non-notated works separate from considerations of performance, orality, and aurality.

Conclusion

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[105] Paul Lennard, 'Music Changes the Brain', in *The Oxford Handbook of Music and the Body* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 99-111, (p. 105).

[106] Adrian Armstrong et al describe this type of silent performance as a 'virtual, mental re-enactment through reading'. See Adrian Armstrong et al, 'Formal Inscriptions of Performance', in *Performative Literary Culture* ed. by Arjan van Dixhoorn and Susie Speakman Sutch (Leiden: Brill, 2023), pp. 29-64, (p. 29).

The non-notated carol books have consistently been treated by scholars as separate from their notated counterparts, existing with little connection between them. Scholars like Palti have gone so far as to say that non-notated carols and notated carols are two circles of a Venn diagram which overlap but only just.[107] This chapter, however, shows that considering the non-notated books alongside their notated counterparts sheds light not only on carol culture more generally, but also on performance, scribal practices, and the dissemination of carols in late medieval England. It also raises questions regarding the present scholarly understanding of performance and what that entails compared to a medieval understanding of the same concept. When studying a non-notated lyric, we have to acknowledge that the lyric itself has a soundscape. It is the consideration of this wider oral and aural life that allows us insight into the way lyrics have been understood, copied, and passed down to us across the centuries. This examination of four non-notated collections has kept at its forefront the fact that these works are best understood by keeping sound, performance, and the ability to hear the page central to their study. By doing this we can ascertain that these non-notated collections have the potential to have been used in collaboration with their notated counterparts as rehearsal and reference works, as books for training the musical memory, as prompts during performance, and as workday copies containing essential repertoire. In addition, an examination of the evidence of performance and memorisation in these books shows that performance influenced the copying and writing of lyrics. Thus, evidence of the influence of performance and of the carol as a memorised repertoire can be found by studying the page. Although it has to be acknowledged that much of what is inferred from the page about performance does remain hypothetical, this is also true of many of our arguments and suggestions in regard to medieval culture as a whole. We cannot witness the performances of the late medieval period. However, we can assess what has been passed down to us: the manuscript page. By considering the musically-notated carol books alongside their non-notated counterparts and approaching performance through literary, historical, palaeographical, and musicological perspectives we find echoes of performance culture present on the page. Thus, we begin to see that medieval scribes were acutely aware of the sounds they were translating into writing, whether they were copying from memory or

[107] Palti, 'Synge we now', p. 198.

from exemplar, and that performance, whether intentionally or unintentionally, often made its mark on the page.

CONCLUSION

As we re-examine the late medieval carol, we do not just see a descendent of the carole, nor just a 'song on any subject, composed of uniform stanzas and provided with a burden', nor, in fact, a decidedly 'English' form.[1] Instead, once we take a comparative approach to the carol and place it within its different written and performance contexts and within its place in England and on the Continent, we see a form which could travel, was easy to adapt, and occupied a liminal space. Moreover, we begin to hear the music of the carols sound from the page. This thesis has shown that more nuance is needed in the study of the carol. When we approach any late medieval musical form, we must do so with a mindset that reaches beyond the English Channel and with an interdisciplinary focus. Throughout this study I have considered how the carol developed, the contexts in which it developed, its relationship to the Continent, the major players involved in its transmission and dissemination, and the evidence of performance on the page. From this I have addressed two overarching questions: what is the late medieval carol? And can we find traces of its performance purely by examining the page? To conclude I will examine how this study has addressed and answered these questions. Furthermore, I will consider what the further implications for carol studies and wider lyric and performance studies are with these answers in mind.

What is the Late Medieval Carol?

This thesis began with an exploration of current scholarship relating to the carol, emphasising that much of what has been written has been and continues to be largely reliant upon the work of Richard Leighton Greene and John Stevens.[2] In particular, it is Greene's definition of the carol that has been used as a starting point for most major studies of the form.[3] Greene's definition, stated again at the beginning of this conclusion, that the carol is a 'song on any subject, composed of uniform stanzas and provided with a

[1] Greene, *EEC*, pp. xxxii-xxxiii.
[2] Stevens, *MC*.
[3] Greene, *EEC*, pp. xxxii-xxxiii.

burden' is a narrow one.[4] It relies on form and structure and focuses on what we can instantly see on the page and recognise as being a carol. What is lost within Greene's definition is any sense of purpose, context, or performance that contributes to making a piece a carol in nature. As stated in the introduction to this thesis, medieval lyrics occupy space that is both poetic and musical. To consider a lyric independent of either context is to give a view of the form that is at best, unbalanced, and at worst, biased. Stevens's *Mediaeval Carols* added a welcome musicological focus to the study of the carol and brought together the macaronic and vernacular carols with their Latin cantilenae equivalents. However, Stevens's collection again was built on the work of Greene and therefore took as its basis Greene's definition of the carol. This thesis has added to the new interdisciplinary approaches currently being taken in carol studies by scholars such as Chaganti, Eustace, and Butterfield. It merges the literary, musicological, historical, and palaeographical lenses that are needed to give a holistic view of the carol and also attends to the carol corpus as a whole by considering the musically-notated carol books alongside the non-notated. But in doing so what has this thesis established? And have we moved any closer to understanding what the late medieval carol is?

In Chapter I and Chapter II I suggested that the developmental pathway for the medieval carol is more complex than suggested by current scholarship – that it did not develop solely from the carole dance-song and did not have a connection to ideas of circularity or roundness. Through etymological investigation, examining the different texts in which the carol occurs and the different contexts, and making a comparative analysis of the carol in relation to other continental forms, I concluded that the carol was influenced not only by dance-song but also by its relationship with the mendicant orders and by similar forms that were developing on the Continent, namely the lauda-ballata. By showing that the carol *Thou that hangest there so high* paraphrased Jacopone da Todi's dramatic lauda *Donna del Paradiso*, Chapter II showed that there is a potential relationship between the late medieval carol and medieval cycle plays. This is a relationship which is similar to that of the dramatic lauda and the Italian sacre rappresentazione. In addition, Chapter II demonstrated that the carol retained a link to movement despite losing its connection with dance during the fifteenth century. It was a musical piece used for both secular and liturgical circumstances and able to be affected by the space of its performance and to re-cast the space in which it was performed. The carol

[4] Greene, *EEC*, pp. xxxii-xxxiii.

thus operated with liminality, working with and across spaces, structuring movement through space, and directing the performer and audience's mind towards key messages through its burden chorus and the act of participation.

Chapter III further developed the discussion of the carol's relationship to the Continent by showing how the polyphonic carol books found a place in the aristocratic and ecclesiastical household chapels of the late medieval period. It showed that to describe the carol as an 'English' form is to misunderstand the culture of exchange, transmission and collaboration happening throughout the late medieval period. Building on the international approaches of scholars like Elizaveta Strakhov, Chapter III demonstrated that the creative culture of the late medieval period in Europe was influenced by travel, exchange, and the close relationship of England to the Continent. Household chapels, courts, armies, and musicians were frequently on the move to and from the Continent, creating as they moved, moving as they created.[5] With this international mindset in mind, Chapters IV and V examined the carol in its musically-notated and non-notated forms, concluding that the carol was primarily designed to be performed off-book and from memory, with the non-notated carol collections potentially acting as prompts or 'work-day copies' for musicians and the more lavish musically-notated books acting as books for reference, rehearsal, and as copies for use by patrons or prominent members of the household.[6] The carol therefore was embedded not just within the page when it started to appear within fifteenth-century books, it was embedded in memory.

From the investigations carried out within this thesis, we can therefore begin to build a fuller picture of the carol outside of its structural components and what was assumed about the form during the mid-twentieth century. The late medieval carol was a form with international impact, which was created and performed by people of all social standings across liturgical and secular contexts and spaces. It was participatory in nature, encouraging those who heard it to join in with the piece and to be both audience and performer within the creative web. Furthermore, the carol was a form that was intended for memorisation. Although it is preserved within musically-notated and non-notated copies, its life was one

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[5] Strakhov, *Continental England.*
[6] Alden, *Songs, Scribes, and Society,* p. 8.

which remained oral and memory-based, with written records supplementing its ability to be transmitted, circulated, and performed.

The Carol in Performance: Can We Find Evidence of Performance?

Having summarised the nature of the late medieval carol the question now arises of whether we can tell anything about the carol's performance merely by exploring what is now left of this form – the carol books and the written word. In the Introduction I noted that there is scepticism surrounding our ability to find evidence of performance by examining the page.[7] However, I have shown that turning to the carol with an interdisciplinary focus allows us to see beyond text and notation and from this find the influence of performance.

Chapter I established that there is a strong link between the carol and the mendicant orders, orders which were actively involved in the act of translation and writing during the late medieval period. It also showed the carol's structure bears similarity not just to the virelai, which has long been considered one of the carol's closest forms, but also with the laude and the processional hymn. As such, this provides new contexts for the performance of the carol and creates new links with continental forms outside of the French formes-fixes. Chapter II explored these potential performance contexts, touching on the carol in the church, in late medieval drama, and as a celebratory feasting song. From this it ascertained that the carol was a form readily adapted to different performance contexts and not confined to any particular place or occasion. Chapter III then focused on the performance of the polyphonic carol, studying how polyphonic carol books may have travelled with their respective households from place-to-place and perhaps even internationally. Moreover, it looked at the evidence for the carol's performance in continental sources, concluding that the relationship between England and the Continent during the period of the Hundred Years' War created a culture of exchange and collaboration. This resulted in the carol influencing forms on the Continent and continental music directly influencing the music of the carol. Chapter IV then considered

[7] Wakelin, 'The Carol in Writing', pp. 25-49; Palti, 'An Unpublished Fifteenth-Century Carol Collection', pp. 260-278.

the orality and memorisation of the carol, positing that the polyphonic carol was still able to be performed from memory. This created questions around the influence of this memorisation and orality on the written word, which was addressed in Chapter V which drew on the non-notated repertoire to find the influence of performance on the manuscript page. Chapter V concluded that it is essential to examine the non-notated repertoire with the musically-notated repertoire in mind and vice versa if we are to gain an understanding of the carol in performance. Furthermore, by examining the mistakes, corrections, and variation in carol manuscripts we are able to find evidence of performance and instructions for performance – from the act of memorisation to being unable to ascertain line division due to copying from either musically-notated sources or from recall of performance. We can therefore gain a sense of the scribe's musical process by looking at the page and from this hear beyond ink, paper, and parchment to the performance landscape of the fifteenth century.

Hearing the Page: A Re-Assessment of the Late Medieval Carol

The late medieval carol is a form with a complex history. It is a form that deserves to be examined through an interdisciplinary lens and within its combined performance and written traditions. This thesis has opened the door for further study of the carol in an international context, for the examination of the carol tradition in relation to medieval drama, and for the re-orientation of the carol as a form comfortable in any performance space. In addition, it has shown that the carol's history is full of nuance. The carol is the product of different performance, literary, and cultural traditions, and it finds its full prominence in the environment of the Hundred Years' War. Within this period a particular figure comes to light as a significant force in carol culture – Bishop Edmund Lacy. His life connects to institutions linked to the carol repertoire – from the Chapel Royal to Exeter Cathedral – and to prominent musicians of the time who were associated with carol compositions, from Dunstable to Trouluffe and Smert. This is an area particularly ripe for further exploration and this thesis lays the fundamental historical and prosopographical groundwork for further investigation. Finally, over the course of this thesis I have shown that committing words to a page does not separate a piece from its performance context. By examining the page and what is written on it we can begin to see the music and performance behind it. As such, when we approach not just the carol but the

medieval lyric more generally, we should do so with an ear to the page as well as an eye. Behind text lies performance, even though the voices of those who originally sung the songs before us have long stayed quiet.

APPENDIX I: *DONNA DEL PARADISO*

Full text and translation of Jacopone da Todi's *Donna del Paradiso.*[1]

Donna del Paradiso, - lo tuo figliuolo é preso	Lady of Paradise
Iesú Cristo beato	The Blessed Christ / your child is taken
Accurre, donna, e vide – che la gente l'allide!	Hurry, Lady, see / how the crowd is flaying him:
Credo che llo s'occide, - tanto l'on flagellato	They will surely finish him off, / so harsh is their buffeting.
Como esser porrìa – che non fece mai follia,	"How can this be, / For he has done no wrong?
Cristo, la speme mia, - omo l'avesse pigliato?	Christ, my Hope! / Why is he apprehended?"
Madonna, egli è traduto, - Iuda sí l'ha venduto	"He is betrayed, Lady, / sold by Judas
Trenta denari n'ha 'vuto, - fatto n'ha gran mercato	For thirty silver pieces; / My, what a bargain!"
Succuri, Magdalena, - gionta m' è adosso piena!	"Help, Magdalen, / pain seizes me!
Cristo figlio se mena, - como m' è annunziato	As was foretold / my son is being beaten".
Succurri, Madonna, aiuta! – ch'al tuo figlio se sputa	"Help, Lady! Help! / Now they spit on him.
e la gente lo muta, - hanlo dato a Pilato.	The people push him forward: / They hand him to Pilate".
O Pilato, non fare – o figlio mio tormentare,	"O Pilate, don't permit / my son to be tormented:
Ch'io te posso mostrare – como a torto é accusato.	I can show / that he is maliciously accused".
Crucifige, crucifige! – Omo che se fa rege,	"Crucify him! Crucify him! / According to our law,
secondo nostra lege, - contradice al senato.	A man who makes himself king / challenges the Senate".
Priego che m'entendáti, - nel mio dolor pensáti;	"I beg you, hear me! / Consider my sorrow!
forsa mò ve mutate – de quell ch'avete pensato. –	Perhaps you can still go back / on your decision".
Tragon fuor li ladroni – che sian suoi compagnoni :	"They are dragging out thieves / for his companions.
De spine se coroni! – ché rege s'è chiamato.	Let him be crowned with thorns / if he is king".
O figlio, figlio, figlio! – figlio amoroso Giglio,	"Son, Son, O Son! / Son, Loving Lilyflower!
Figlio, chi dà consiglio – al cor io angustiato?	Who, Son, will console / my anguished heart?
Figlio, occhi giocondi, - filgio, co non respondi?	Son of the Laughing Eyes, / Son, why don't you answer?
figlio perché t'ascondi – dal petto ove se' lattato?	Why do you spurn / the breasts that suckled you?"
Madonna, ecco la cruce, - che la gente l'aduce,	"Now the people bring the cross / on which the True light
Ove la vera luce – déi essere levato.	will be uplifted".
O croce, que farai? el figlio mio torrai?	"What are you doing, Cross? / Are you taking off my Son?

[1] The Italian *Donna del Paradiso* is taken from Jacopone da Todi, 'Pianto de la Madonna de la Passione del Figliolo Iesù Cristo', in *Jacopone da Todi e I Suoi Canti*, ed. by Marino Fioroni (Todi: Atanòr, 1928), pp. 139-141. The translation is taken from Jacopone da Todi, 'LAUD 93: The Lament of Mary', in *The God-Madness,* ed. and trans. by Pádraig J. Daly (Dublin: Dedalus Press, 2008), pp. 51-56. The layout of both poems has been adjusted slightly to allow for a parallel translation.

E que ci aponerai, - ché non ha en sé peccato?
What have you against him, / Who never did wrong?"

Succurri, piena de doglia, ché 'l tuo figliuol se spoglia;
"Quick, Sorrowful Lady! / Your son is stripped naked.

e la gente par che voglia – che sia en croce chiavato.
The crowd want him / nailed to the wood".

Se glie tollete 'l vestire, - lassatemel vedire
"Now they have torn off his clothes, / Let me see

come 'l curdle ferire – tutto l'ha 'nsanguinato.
how the cruel lash / has bloodied him".

Donna, la man gli é presa – e nella croce gli è stesa,
"Lady, they have taken his hand / and stretched it on the cross.

con un bollon gli è fesa, - tanto ci l'on ficcato!
With a nail they have pierced it: / In this manner they have fixed it.

L'altra mano se prende, - nella croce se stende,
Now the second hand is taken: / They spread it on the wood.

e lo dolor s'accende, - che piú è multiplicato.
The pain increases, / burning him up.

Donna, li piè se prenno – e chiavellanse al lenno,
They take his feet now, Lady: / They fix them to the tree,

onne iontura aprenno – tutto l'han desnodato.
Every limb outstretched, / wrenching him all over".

E io comencio el corrotto: - Figliolo, mio deport,
"I will begin my keening: / My Son! My Comfort!

Figlio, chi me t'ha morto, - figlio mio delicato?
Who is it who slays you, / Delicate Child of Mine?

Meglio averíen fatto, - che 'l cor m'avesser tratto,
They would have done me better service / to have torn out my heart,

Che, nella croce tratto, - starce desciliato.
Rather than stretch it on this cross".

Mamma, o sei venuta? – mortal me dai feruta,
"Mother, why are you here? / You wound me to the quick.

ché 'l tuo pianger me stuta, - chè 'l veggio sí afferrato.
Your lamentation overwhelms me, / as I watch it take hold".

Figlio, che m'agio anvito, - figlio, patre e marito,
"Have I not cause enough, my Son? / Son, Husband, Father.

Figlio, chi t'ha ferito? – figlio, chi t'ha spogliato?
Who is it who has stripped and injured you?"

Mamma, perché te lagni? – voglio che tu remagni,
"Mother, why so you keen, / when I want you to remain,

che serve i miei compagni – ch'al mondo agio acquistato.
To watch over these companions / That I have won from the world?"

Figlio, questo non dire, - voglio teco morire,
"Don't speak like that, Son!" / I want to die with you,

non me voglio partire, - fin che mò m'esce 'l fiato.
Never part from you / Till my last breath is drawn.

Ch'una agiam sepultura, - figlio de mamma scura,
Let there be one burial place for us both / Son of a Doleful Mother.

trovarse en affrantura – matre e figlio affogato.
Let them find us together, / overcome by sorrow".

Mamma col cuore affletto, - entro a le man te metto
"With broken heart, My Mother, / I place you with John.

de Ioanne, mio eletto ; sia il tuo figio appellate.
He is my chosen: / Call him your son".

Ioanne, esta mia mate – tollela en caritate,
John, here is my mother: / Take her for charity.

Aggine pietate – ca lo core ha forato.
Pity her: / Her heart is broken".

Figlio, l'alma t' è uscita, - figlio de la smarrita,
"Son, Son for the Forsaken Woman, / Son of the Lifeless Woman

figlio de la sparita, - figlio attossicato!
Poisoned Son, / Your soul has gone from you.

Figlio bianco e vermiglio, - figlio sena simiglio,
Red Son and White Son, / Son incomparable,

figlio, a chi m'apiglio? – figlio, pur m'hai lassato.
To whom will I cling / Now you are gone?

Figlio bianco e Biondo – filgio, volto iocondo,

figlio, perché t'ha el mondo, - filgio, cusí sprezato?
Figlio dolce e piacente, - filgio de la dolente,

figlio, hatte la gente – malamente trattato!

O Ioanne, figlio novello, - morto è lo tuo fratello,

Sentito aggio 'l coltello – che fo profetizato.
Che morto ha figlio e mate – de dura morte afferrate,

Trovarse abracciate – mate e figlio abracciato.

"Fair Son and White Son, / Son of the Merry Countenance,
Son, why does the world / So despise you?
Sweet Son and Darling Son, / Son of the Grieving Mother,
Son, of the people / Have treated you wickedly".
"John, new son of mine, / your brother has died:
I have felt the knife / That was foretold.
It has slain both son and mother. / Callous death has seized us:
Let us be found in the end embracing, / Mother and son embracing".

APPENDIX II: THE REPERTOIRE OF THE FOUR POLYPHONIC CAROL BOOKS

The following tables show the entire repertoire of each of the four polyphonic manuscripts. The carols are indicated in bold. The Latin *cantilenae*, which take the same form as the carol, are highlighted in bold blue text. The carols have been cross-referenced with EEC and DIMEV and the cantilenae have been taken from MC and checked against inventory lists on DIAMM.

Trinity (c.1415-1425)		
Recto/Verso	**Name**	**Attribution**
Recto	**The holy ghost is to thee sent**	**Anon.**
Recto	**In Bethlehem that fair city**	**Anon.**
Recto	**As I lay upon a night**	**Anon.**
Recto	**This babe to us that now is born**	**Anon.**
Recto	**A principle point of charity**	**Anon.**
Recto	**In Bethlehem this bird of life**	**Anon.**
Recto	**Our king went forth to Normandy (The Agincourt Carol)**	**Anon.**
Recto	**Now God almighty down hath sent**	**Anon.**
Recto	**Abide I hope it be the best**	**Anon.**
Recto	**A babe is born of high nature**	**Anon.**
Recto	**Of this martyr make we mend**	**Anon.**
Recto	**To thee now Christs dear darling**	**Anon.**
Recto	**There is no rose of such virtue**	**Anon.**
Verso	De Sancta Trinitate: Benedicta sit sancta Trinitas	Anon.
Verso	De Angelis: Benedicte dominum omnes angeli	Anon.
Verso	Oficium corporis Christi: Cibauit eos ex adipe frumenti	Anon.
Verso	De sancta cruce: Nos autem gloriari portet	Anon.

Figure 2.1: Repertoire of the Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.3.58 (Trinity Carol Roll)

Selden (c.1450-15000		
Folios	**Name**	**Attribution**
3r-3v	Mater ora filium	Anon.
3v-4r	Sancta Maria virgo intercede pro toto	Anon.
4r-4v	Sancta Maria virgo intercede pro toto	Anon.
5r	**Holy Writ sayeth which no thing is soother**	**Anon. (John Dunstable?)**
5v-6r	Ave regina	Leonel Power
6v	Beata mater et innupta	John Dunstable (?) Gilles Binchois (?)
7r	**Exortum est in love and liss**	**Anon.**
7v	**Man have in mind how here before**	**Anon.**
8r	**Good day Sir Christmas our King**	**Anon.**

8v-9r	Miles Christi gloriose	Anon.
9v	**This rose is railed on a rice**	**Anon.**
10r	**Now well may me mirths make**	**Anon.**
10v	**Holy Maiden blessed Thou be**	**Anon.**
11r	**Omnes una gaudeamus**	**Anon.**
11v-12r	Regina caeli Laetare alleluia	Anon.
12r	**Deo gracias persolvamus**	**Anon.**
12v	Ave regina caelorum – Funde preces ad filium	Anon.
13r	Funde virgo ter beata	Anon.
13v	**As I lay upon a night**	**Anon.**
14r	**Worship be the birth of thee**	**Anon.**
14v	**Out of your sleep arise and wake**	**Anon.**
15r	**A patre unigenitus**	**Anon.**
15v-16r	**A babe is born of high nature**	**Anon.**
16r	**Alleluia. Pro virgine- Diva natalicia**	**Anon.**
16v-17r	Ave regina caelorum – Funde prees ad filium	Anon.
17v-18r	**Our king went forth to Normandy**	**Anon.**
18r-18v	As I lay upon a night II	Anon.
19r	**I-blessed be Christs sonde**	**Anon.**
19v	Glad and blithe mote ye be	Anon.
20r	Y saye said by prophecie	Anon.
20v	Nesciens mater virgo virum	Anon.
21r	Sancta Maria virgo intercede pro toto	Anon.
21v-22r	**A new work is come on hand**	**Anon.**
22v	Gaude terra tenebrosa	Anon.
23r	**The holy ghost is to thee sent**	**Anon.**
23r	Hail blessed Lady which has born	
23v	**This is the song that ye shall hear**	**Anon.**
24r	**Lo Moses bush shining unbrent**	**Anon.**
24v-25r	**David ex progenie nata fuit**	**Anon.**
25r	**Fetys bel chere**	**Anon.**
25v	**Thou holy daughter of Sion**	**Anon.**
26r	Hail blessed Flower of virginity	Anon.
26v-27r	Nesciens mater virgo virum	Anon.
27r	**Ecce quod natura – Ecce novum gaudium**	**Anon.**
27v	**In Bethlehem this bird of life**	**Anon.**
28r	**A song to sing I have good right**	**Anon.**
28v	**That lord that lay in an ass stall**	**Anon.**
29r	**This word wondereth of all thing**	**Anon.**
29v	**Abide I hope it be the best**	**Anon.**
30r	Eterne rex altissimus	Anon.
30v-31r	Speciosa facta es	Anon.
31v-32r	Tota pulchra es amica mea et macula	John Plummer
32v	Tapster fill another ale	Anon.
33r	Welcome be ye when ye go	Anon.
33v	If thou flee idleness	Anon.

Figure 2.2: The repertoire of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Selden B.26 (Selden)

Egerton (c.1450-1500)		
Folios	**Name**	**Attribution**

6r	Gloria laus et honor tibi sit rex criste redemptor	Anon.
6v-7r	Coetus in excelsis te laudant	Anon.
7v	Blank staves	-
8-10v	En rex venit	Anon.
10v-11v	Gloria laus et honor tibi sit rex	Anon.
11v-12	Coetus in excelsis te laudant	Anon.
12v-13	Plebs hebrea tibi cum palmis	Anon.
13-14v	Unus autem ex ipsis	Anon.
15-16v	Passio Domini nostril Jesus Christi secundum Mattheum	Anon.
16v-17r	Kyrie	Anon.
17v-18	Sanctus	Anon.
18v-19	Agnus Dei	Anon.
19v	Blank staves	-
20r-24v	Passio Domini nostril Jesu Christi secundum Lucam	Anon.
25r-28v	O redemptor sume carmen	Anon.
29r-33r	Inventor rutili dux bone luminis	Anon.
33v-36r	Rex sanctorum angelorum	Anon.
36v-37r	Alleluia	Anon.
37v-41v	Salve festa dies toto venerabilis evo	Anon.
42r	Salve festa dies	Anon.
42v-43v	Crucifixum in carne laudate	Anon.
43v-44r	Alleluia	Anon.
44v-45v	Dicant nunc Judaei quo modo milites	Anon.
46r-47r	Alleluia. Salve virgo mater Dei	Anon.
47v-48r	Audivi vocem de caelo	John Tuder
48v	Audivi vocem de caelo	John Tuder
49r	**Tibi laus, tibi Gloria**	**Anon.**
49v-50r	**Princeps pacis strenue**	**Anon.**
50v-51r	**David ex progenie nata fuit**	**Anon.**
51v-52v	**Omnes gentes plaudite**	Anon.
53r	**Thou holy daughter of Sion**	Anon.
53v-54r	**Sol occasum nesciens**	**Anon.**
54v	**I shall you tell this ilkl night**	Anon.
55r	**Father and Son and Holy Ghost**	Anon.
55v-57r	**Hail most mighty in Thy working**	Anon.
57v-58r	**Cum virtus magnifica patris**	**Anon.**
58v-59r	**His sign is a star birth**	Anon.
59v-60r	**Ivy is both fair and green**	Anon.
60v-61r	Anglia tibi turbidas	Anon.
61v	**Benedicite Deo Domino**	**Anon.**
62r	**Johannes Jesu care**	**Anon.**
62v-63r	**All Holy Church was but a thrall**	Anon.
63v	**Worship of virtue is the meed**	Anon.
64r	**Exultavit cor in Domino**	**Anon.**
64v	**Princeps serenissime**	**Anon.**
65r	**Ecce quod natura – Ecce novum gaudium**	**Anon.**
65v-66r	**As Holy Kirk makes mind**	Anon.
66v	**Holy Writ sayeth which no thing is soother**	Anon.
67r	**Hail be Thou Mary most of honour**	Anon.
67v	**Verbum patris hodie processit**	**Anon.**
68r	**Illuxit leticia**	**Anon.**
68v	**Omnes una gaudeamus**	**Anon.**
69r	**Alleluia pro virgine Maria**	**Anon.**
69v-70r	**Omnis caterva fidelium**	**Anon.**

70v-71r	**Comedentes convenite**	**Anon.**
71v	**Gaudeamus partier**	**Anon.**
72r	**Parit virgo filium**	**Anon.**
72v-73r	O potores exquisite	Anon.
73v-74r	Vina qui non gustat pura	Anon.
74v-75r	Cum regina sit in maria, dea potest appellari	Anon.
75v-76r	Cantemus Domino socie cantemus honorem	Anon.
76v-77r	Cantemus Domino socie cantemus honorem	Anon.
77v-78r	**Untexted carol**	**Anon.**
78v	Blank staves	-
79r	**Lauda salvatorum**	**Anon.**
79v-88v	Blank staves	-

Figure 2.3: Repertoire of London, British Library, Egerton MS 3307 (Egerton)

Ritson (c.1450-1500)		
Folios	**Name**	**Attribution**
3r	Miserere mihi, Domine	John Norman
3r	Benedicamus Domino	Anon.
3v-4r	Stell acaeli extirpavit que lactavit	Anon.
4v-5r	**Benign Lady blessed might Thou be**	**Anon.**
5v-6r	**Johannes assecretis**	**Anon.**
6v-7r	**Dic erodes impie**	**Anon.**
7v-8r	**The boars head that we bring here**	**Richard Smert**
8v-9v	**Dievs wous garde byewsser tidings I you bring**	**Anon.**
10r-11r	**I Joseph wonder how this may be**	**Anon.**
11v-12r	**Man be merry I thee rede**	**Anon.**
12v-13r	**Gabriel brighter than the sun**	**Anon.**
13v-14r	**Salve sancta parents**	**Anon.**
14v-15r	**The higher men climbeth the sorer is the fall**	**Anon.**
15v-16r	**Ave decus saeculi – Ex Maria virgine**	**Richard Smert**
16v-17r	**Soli deo sit laudum Gloria**	**Richard Smert** **John Trouluffe**
17v-18r	**Of Mary Christ was bore**	**Richard Smert**
18v-19r	**Regi canamus gloriae**	**Anon.**
19v-20r	**O of Jesse thou holy root**	**Anon.**
20v-22r	**O David thou noble key**	**Richard Smert** **John Trouluffe**
22v-23v	**In this vale of wretchedness**	**Anon.**
23v-24r	**When God was born of Mary free**	**Anon.**
24v-25v	**Herod that was both wild and wood**	**Anon.**
26v-27r	**O blessed God in Trinity**	**Anon.**
27v-28r	Laetere Cantuaria	Anon.
28v-29r	**A patre unigenitus**	**Anon.**
29v-30r	**Jesu of a maid Thou wouldest be born**	**Richard Smert**
30v-31r	**When lordship is lost and lusty looking withall**	**Anon.**
31v-32r	**Holy Writ sayeth which no thing is soother**	**Anon.**
32v-33r	**Glorious God in Trinity**	**Richard Smert** **John Trouluffe**
33v-34r	**Tidings true told there is true**	**Anon.**
34v-35r	**A child is born of a maid**	**Richard Smert**

35v-36r	**Now to do well how shalt thou do**	**Anon.**
36v-37r	**Now well may me mirths make**	**Anon.**
37v-38r	**To thee now Christs dear darling**	**Anon.**
38v-39r	**Your light grievance shall not me constrain**	**Anon.**
39v-40r	**A kings son and an emperor**	**Anon.**
40v-41r	**When Jesu Christ baptized was**	**Richard Smert** **John Trouluffe**
41v-42r	**Out of the chaff was pured this corn**	**Anon.**
42v-43r	**Man have in mind how here before**	**Anon.**
43v-44r	**Jesu of a maid Thou wouldest be born**	**Anon.**
44v-45r	**Jesu for Thy wounds five**	**Anon.**
45v-46r	**While I was young and had courage**	**Anon.**
46v-47r	**I have I-sought in many a side**	**Anon.**
47v-48r	Salve, Regina misericordiae	John Dunstable Leonel Power
48v-49r	**To thee now Christs dear darling**	**Anon.**
49v-50r	**This world is but a vanity**	**Anon.**
50v-51r	**God send us peace and unity**	**Anon.**
51v-52r	**O God we pray to Thee in special**	**Anon.**
52v-53r	**Be Thy birth Thou blessed Lord**	**Anon.**
53v-54r	I have been a forester long and many a day	Anon.
54v	Alleluia	Anon.
54v-55r	Nesciens mater virgo virum	John Trouluffe
55v-56r	Beata Dei genitrix Maria	Mower
56v-57r	Nesciens mater virgo virum	John Trouluffe
57v-58r	Nesciens mater virgo virum	Richard Smert
58v-59r	Ave regina caelorum	John Trouluffe
59v-60r	Regina caeli laetare, alleluia	Anon.
60v-62r	O lux beata Trinitas	Mower
62v-64r	Lumen ad revelationem gentium et gloriam; Nunc dimittis	Anon.
64v-65r	Stella caeli extirpavit que lactavit	Thomas Pack
65v-66r	My woefull heart of all gladness barren	Sir William Haute
66v-67r	Be peace ye make me spill my ale	Anon.
67v-68r	Absence of thou causeth me to sigh and complain	Anon.
68v-69r	The high desire that I have for to see	Anon.
69v-70r	O blessed Lord how may this be	Anon.
70v-71r	Thou man envired with temptacion	Anon.
71v-72r	Now help Fortune of thy goodness	Anon.
72v-73r	Fair and discrete fresh womanly creature	Anon.
73v-84r	Missa Rex summe	Thomas Pack
84v-95r	Missa de Gaudete in Dommio	Thomas Pack
95v-106r	Te Deum laudamus – We praise thee	Thomas Pack
106v-107r	Salve festa dies	Anon.
107v-109r	Gaude virgo mater Christi	Anon.
109v-112r	Salve festa dies	Sturges
112v-113r	Gaude sancta Magdalena	Thomas Pack
113v-120r	Missa	Petyr
120v-121r	Dicant nunc Judaei	John Cornysh
121v	Benedicamus Domino; Deo gratias	Anon.
122r	Salve festa dies	Anon.
122v-123r	Sancta Maria virgo intercede pro toto	Anon.
123v-124r	Nesciens mater virgo virum	Anon.
124v-129r	Salve regina mater misericordiae	W.P.
129v-131r	Anima mea liquefacta est	W.P.

131v-133r	Nunc Jesu te petimus	Anon.
133v-135r	Alone alone	T.B.
135v-136r	My heart is in great mourning	Anon.
136v-137r	Pastime with good company	Henry VIII
137v-140r	So put in fear I dare not speak	Anon.
140v	Alone alone	Anon.
141r	In wilderness	Anon.
141v-142r	Pastime with good company	Henry VIII
142v-143r	Dicant nunc Judaei	Anon.
143v-144r	The burn is this world blind	Anon.
144v	Vostre tres doulx regart playsant	Gilles Binchois
145r	Miserere mihi, Domine	John Norman
145v-146r	Up I arose in verno tempore	Anon.
146v-148r	Hey how the mavis on a briar	Anon.

Figure 2.4: The repertoire of London, British Library, Add. MS 5665 (Ritson)

APPENDIX III: CONCORDANCES BETWEEN NON-NOTATED AND MUSICALLY-NOTATED COLLECTIONS

The following table shows a list of macaronic and vernacular carol concordances between the non-notated carol books and the musically-notated books.[1] A manuscript abbreviations list for the books featured within the table is also included for clarity.

Manuscript Abbreviations List

Manuscript	Abbreviated Name
Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.3.58	Trinity
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Selden B.26	Selden
London, British Library, Egerton MS 3307	Egerton
London, British Library, Add. MS 5665	Ritson
Oxford, Balliol College, MS 354	Balliol
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. poet e.1	OxEng
London, British Library, Sloane MS 2593	Sloane
Oxford, Lincoln College, MS Lat. 141	Lincoln
Taunton, Somerset Records Office, MS D/B/bw 123	Taunton
Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates' 19.3.1	Advocates 19
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 77	Bodley
Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee. 1.12	Ryman
London, British Library, Add. MS 31042	London Thornton
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 233	Corpus
London, British Library, Harley MS 275	Harley 275
London, British Library, Harley MS 4294	Harley 4294
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 302	Audelay
Cambridge, St John's College, MS S.54	St John's
Norfolk, Holkham Hall, Earl of Leicester MS 229	Holkham
Oxford, Lincoln College, MS Lat 89	Lincoln 89
Birmingham, Birmingham City Archives, Halesowen Court Rolls, Hagley Hall Collections, No. 346333	Birmingham
Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ll. 1. 11	Cambridge
London, British Library, Harley MS 3300	Harley 3300
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Musaeo 23	Musaeo

Figure 3.1: A list of shelfmarks and the abbreviated names used for each manuscript

[1] Some carol titles have been shortened due to the constraints of space within the table.

	Trinity	Selden	Egerton	Ritson	Balliol	OxEng	Sloane	Lincoln	Taunton	Advocates 19	Bodley	Ryman	London Thornton	Corpus	Harley 275	Harley 4294	Audelay	St John' s	Holkham	Advocates 1	Lincoln 89	Birmingham	Cambridge	Harley 3300	Musaeo
Now well may me mirths make		x		x					x																
A principle point	x													x										x	
In Bethlehem,	x				x	x		x				x	x												
This babe to us	x				x																				
As holy kirk			x							x	x				x										
A patre unigenitus		x		x		x																			
To thee now, Christs dear darling	x			x	x	x										x									
A babe is born	x	x															x								

When Jesus Christ baptised was				x	x																			
Over all gates			x															x						
There is no rose	x																		x					
Holy Maiden, blessed thou be		x					x																	
As I lay upon a night	x	x			x		x																	
When lordship is lost				x																x				
Holy writ		x	x	x		x																		
Man have in mind		x		x	x																x			
So well is me begone				x																				
Worship be the birth of thee		x																				x		
Out of your sleep		x																					x	

Jesu, of a maid				x				x																
Gabriel brighter																								x
Total					**6**	**4**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**

Figure 3.2: Concordances between the four musically-notated books and the non-notated collections

APPENDIX IV: TRANSCRIPTIONS OF *IN BETHLEHEM THAT FAIR CITY*

The following texts are transcriptions of the carol *In Bethlehem that fair city* from all of its manuscript sources (Balliol, OxEng, Selden, Trinity, Ryman, and London Thornton).

Trinity (c.1415-1425), recto
Nowel syng we now al *and* sum Ffor rex pacificus is cum In Bedlem in þ*a*t fayr cete a child was bore of a madyn fre Ther xal a lord *and* prynce be A solis ortus cardine Childyn were slayn ful greth plente Ih*e*su for þe loue of þe Qwerfor*e* her*e* sowlys sauyd be . Hostis herodes impie As sunne schynyth thorw þe glas . So Ih*e*su in his moder was The to seue now gra*n*th vs gras . o lux beata trinitas Now god is comyn to wurchepy*n* vs . Now of marye is born Ihesus Make we mery a mongys vs . Exultet celum laudibus

Figure: 4.1: Transcription of *In Bethlehem that fair city* from Trinity

OxEng (c.1450-1500), fol. 35v	
To blys god bryng vs al *and* su*m* C*hrist*e rede*m*ptor om*n*i*um*	
In bedle*m* þ*a*t fayer cyte Was born a chyld þ*a*t was so fre Lord *and* p*r*i*n*ce of hey degree	i*am* lucis orto sidore
Jh*e*su for þ*e* lowe of þ*e* Chylder wer slayn grett ple*n*te In bedle*m* þ*a*t fayer cyte	a solis ort*is* cardine
As þ*e* sune schynyth i*n* þ*e* glas So Jh*e*su of hys mode*r* borne was Hy*m* to serue God gyffe vs g*r*a*c*e	o lux beata trinitas
Now is he owr lord Jh*e*sus Þ*us* hath he verily vysyt vs Now to mak mery a mo*n*g vs	Exultet celu*m* laudibus

Figure: 4.2: Transcription of *In Bethlehem that fair city* from OxEng

London Thornton (c.1400-1450), fol.94v
Exultet celu*m* laudibus In Bathelem in that fare sete

Jesus was borne of Mare fre

For he ys prens

Figure: 4.3: Transcription of *In Bethlehem that fair city* from London Thornton

Ryman (c.1450-1500), fol.3r	
Synge we now both all and sum C*hris*te redemtor omnium	
In Bethelem that fayre cite Born was thys chylde so fayer *and* fre That lorde *and* kyng shal ever be	A solis ortus cardine
Right as the son shynyth on the glasse So Cryste Jesu in ow*r* lady was Hym to saue God sende vs grace	O lux beata Trinitas
Cheldren were slayne grete plente Jesu Crist alle for the loue of the Lorde helpe vs yf thy wyl it be	Host*is* herodes impie
Now ys he boren of ow*r* lady The son of the fader that sytthyt an hye For ow*r* synnys cry we all mercy	Jesu saluator seculi

Figure: 4.4: Transcription of *In Bethlehem that fair city* from Ryman

Lincoln, (1450-1500), fol. 3r[1]
To blysse god bryng vs all *and* sume C*hrist*e redemptor o*mni*um
In bedleem in þ*a*t fayr cyte A chyld was borne of owr lady That schall lord *and* pryns be A solis ortus cardine
He is borne of owr lade W*it*howten wembe of hyr body Ffadyr and sone þ*a*t syttys so hye Ih*es*u saluator seculi
Ryth as þe sone schyne in þe glas So Ih*es*u in his modyr was Hym to serwe god gif vs gras O lux beata trinitas

Figure: 4.5: Transcription of *In Bethlehem that fair city* from Lincoln

[1] Stanza separation has been undertaken to aid the comparison between the different versions of the carol. This has been checked against the transcription of the carol provided in Palti, 'An Unpublished Fifteenth-Century Carol Collection', p. 266

Balliol (c.1500-1550), p.466	
To blis god bryng vs all *and* su*m* Christe redemptory omn*ium*	
In bedlem in that fayer cyte A chyld was born of owr lady Lord *and* prynce þ*a*t he shuld be	A solis ort*us* cardine
Chyldren were slayn grett ple*n*te Jh*e*su for the love of the Lett us neu*er* dampned be	Hostes herodes ympie
He was born of owr lady W*i*t*h*owt we*m*mb of her body God sou þ*a*t syttyth on hye	Jh*e*su saluator seculi
As the so*n* shynyth thorow þ*e* glas So Jh*e*su in her body was To s*er*ue hy*m* he geve vs g*ra*ce	O lux b*ea*ta trinitas
Now ys born owr lord Jh*e*sus That mad mary all vs Be all mery i*n* thys howse	Exvltet celu*m* lavdib*us*

Figure: 4.6: Transcription of *In Bethlehem that fair city* from Balliol

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